

PRESS

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PRESSMEN PEEVED

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New Saan MD Stephen Mulholland is puzzled by moves at the group's *Cape Times* to seek a court interdict to block the sale of the newspaper's press.

The action has been threatened by staff members who have formed an association to fight the planned merger of printing operations with the *Cape Argus*. They give fear of retrenchment as the reason.

Says Mulholland "I am distressed that they haven't approached me to find out what Saan is doing. I'm also sorry that their moves were reported in the *Cape Times* without giving the company the opportunity to comment, which is accepted practice in responsible journalism regardless of the company concerned."

Mulholland, who flies to Cape Town

this week to explain the situation to staff, points out that the merger of printing operations in Johannesburg and Cape Town has been going on for some time. "It's a matter of survival for the whole group," he says.

A spokesman for the *Times* staff association estimates that rationalisation could put as many as 400 jobs at stake, and he says the newspaper is a "viable operation" which has never made a loss.

Mulholland, however, discounts claims that the *Times* is a profitable newspaper. "Without the contract to print the *Sunday Times*, the *Cape Times* is in a loss situation," he tells the *FM*.

"What we are doing follows an accepted US practice, based on the Newspaper

Preservation Act of 1969, which allows newspapers to merge all but their editorial functions in the interests of survival and of the public.

"There are dozens of such agreements in the US — we did not invent this approach."

In any event, he says, the press has "virtually" been sold for US\$4m and the deal should be through in about three months.

□ Saan announced this week that it had sold its head office building at 171 Main Street, Johannesburg. The name of the buyer has not been disclosed. The company says suitable alternative accommodation is being arranged following the rationalisation of its operations.

The Press - caught in jaws of a vicious vice

Argus Correspondent

THE ECONOMIC squeeze on the South African newspaper industry has been summarised by Mr Hal Miller, executive chairman of the Argus group, in a single sentence "Quite simply, we are caught in the twin jaws of a vicious vice — spiralling costs and a diminishing market"

The dilemma over production costs is legendary, beginning with the startling rise in newsprint prices to above R1 000 a ton (The Star alone pays well over R2 million a month to feed its presses)

And there is a gamut of hurdles all the way to the imposition of GST not only on advertisements but also on newspaper cover prices — a double taxation that the whole industry is fighting

The end result is that newspapers cost far more to produce, even without the cost burdens of distribution services, than readers pay for them at the newsstands

The market side is even more complex. The problems here have been well identified in the United States, says Mr Miller, where a few years ago daily newspapers came to face a set of difficulties that stemmed partly from sociological trends and partly from electronic media competition

"The larger newspapers went on a bout of ruthless takeovers and mergers to eliminate the competition," he says



Mr Hal Miller

"Back in 1925 there were no fewer than 500 cities in the US that had at least two newspapers in competition. By last year, the number had dropped to only 25.

"The survivors found their own routes to profitability, but we believe the route they took would be a mistake in South Africa. Here, the future of newspapers is crucial to the future of the whole country

"Our diverse communities, with diverse opinions, mean we need to keep as many newspapers going as possible. They need to be economically viable though — otherwise there's no chance of real freedom of expression

"Old divisions between newspa-

pers are no longer logical. There must be competition, but somehow we have got to get together to work out the best longer term solutions such as rationalisation and diversification"

"There's a lot of thinking going on about the marriage of newspapers and magazines and the electronic media. It's imperative"

So will newspapers survive in the end?

Says Mr Miller "I have a picture in mind of the year 2000 where we find a slippered gentleman sitting in his study with a good cigar and a good brandy — browsing through his newspaper

"Browsing through a paper — turning to the leader page to read the editorial opinion on current affairs and in turn also becoming absorbed in an article on the facing page, looking in the small ads with the intention of buying a refrigerator and ending up buying a VW Beetle

"Electronics don't allow browsing, which makes newspapers unique. I can't expect a computer to make me chuckle. I need to read Punch for that

"Browsing — in preference to listening to a cacophony of electronic sounds — that's the magic of newspapers. And why I for one will still be buying them at the end of the century. But then again, allow for the fact that I'm a conservative old newspaperman"

How

Journalists warn of beatings, harassment

BY PAT SIDLEY

THE annual congress of the Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ) last weekend revealed a growing concern that the profession is threatened as never before.

Delegates reported journalists are having to cope with the problems of working in a war situation — with the dangers that situation entails, both to the safety of the journalists and the survival of independent reporting.

In a normal war, SASJ national organiser John Allen told the congress, journalists could not report adequately on both sides. They would be shot by one side as a traitor.

This resembled the current situation in Natal, where journalists on the Argus company's Zulu-language paper, *Ilanga*, are faced with warring groups, each wanting to claim the newspaper and its journalists as their own.

For these journalists, many of whom have found themselves severely injured and in hospital, the battle is between the UDF and Inkatha. And, congress delegates reported, for the "protagonists" in this battle, there is no such thing as an independent journalist: one is perceived either as a supporter of a particular group or faction or as part of its opposition.

While sources and subjects threaten the existence of independent journalism, the government has not been idle, delegates around the country reported serious state action against journalists.

Professor Gavin Stewart, head of the Department of Media Studies at Rhodes University, said it appeared that newspapers had less trouble from communities if they made some noticeable attempt to reflect the views of all sections of those communities. However, in the case of the Cape Times and Eastern Province Herald, this attempt at balance appeared to exaggerate official attention.

The SASJ resolved to publicise the plight of its journalists, to try to speak to groups like the UDF or Inkatha, to take up issues of "balanced reporting" with editors who may, through their selection of news, inadvertently encourage attacks on their staff, and to ask overseas organisations and governments to protest to various political groups about the intimidation of journalists.

The SASJ also plans to document the harassment of journalists.

● Many contributors to the Weekly Mail have been harassed in the course of their work during the past year.

Reporter Gavin Evans was detained for several days when the State of Emergency was declared.

Photographer Gideon Mendel has on several occasions come under attack from both police and others.

Port Elizabeth correspondent Mike Loewe earlier this month received threats to his life.

In East London, shots were fired through the door of the house of Frans Kruger, injuring a young woman there. In another attack, his car was set alight and destroyed.

Last week, reporter Phillip van Niekerk was beaten while covering the NP/AWB punch-up in Pietersburg.

FINAL 30/5/86

POLITICAL REFORM

Wimpie speaks out

Rapport editor Wimpie de Klerk, creator of the *verlig/verkramp* terminology, laid it on the line last week when addressing businessmen at the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut's AGM in Johannesburg

His remarks, incidentally, follow the de-

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parture of a kindred spirit, *Die Vaderland's* editor, Harald Pakendorf, from his post — apparently because his views have leapt ahead of that newspaper's management and readership

De Klerk, brother of the relatively conservative Cabinet Minister F W de Klerk, spoke just before KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's no-holds-barred address on the preconditions for meaningful political reform and black participation

Wimpie de Klerk said major reforms announced to date — such as the opening of CBDs, scrapping of the pass laws, full freehold rights, and SA citizenship for blacks — merely “created the climate for the real powersharing agenda

“At the moment we are still negotiating about the negotiation process and do not yet have an actual agenda for powersharing on the table Steps like the National Forum, black representation on the President's Council, the National Statutory Council and even some kind of national convention still represent only these preliminary stages,” De Klerk commented

Government must put its reform agenda on the table, with a definite time scale, as well as its perception of the new constitution for SA, he went on Every representative political grouping must be included in these discussions, “including the nationalistic elements in the African National Congress”

The agenda should include

- A new constitution — replacing the existing tricameral one, which cannot be “doctored” — with black representation, “based on a confederation of our own making”,
- Creating a new political foundation, since

a “race federation” is not acceptable to the majority black population The new dispensation should be regionally based, with local and regional authorities, parliament and an executive authority,

Getting rid of all discriminatory legislation — including the Group Areas Act and race classification legislation — and replacing these with “new measures to protect group rights”, and

A “realistic” economic redistribution, with whites prepared to channel much of their existing benefits to the Third World sector of the population

Positive content

De Klerk says supporters of powersharing must cease calling themselves “moderates,” as this word has a neutral or negative connotation in some circles And, to oppose the negative force of the revolutionaries, it is necessary to give powersharing a positive content and to create urgent and visible results on this road, he adds

“The two major forces in South African politics today stand for revolution and for powersharing Attempts by revolutionaries to grab power by force is opposed by those seeking powersharing through negotiation I believe the so-called rightwing assault will not play a significant role in the resolution of our political dilemma”

But to create positive momentum for powersharing two things were necessary, De Klerk felt The first was to break the spiral of intimidation — which prevents the majority of blacks from letting their voices be heard — while actual powersharing had to proceed faster and show positive results ■

Journalists slam police after editor questioned

By Jon Qwelane

The questioning this week of newspaper editor Mr Ameen Akhwalwaya by the Security Branch is causing a storm in journalistic circles, with the Media Workers Association of South Africa strongly condemning the police action

Mr Raymond Louw, executive board member of the International Press Institute, said yesterday the IPI "deplores all such actions which can only have as their intention the intimidation and harassment of journalists".

Mwasa condemned the intimidation of one its members, and said such tactics would not stop journalists doing their duty

Mr Akhwalwaya attacked the local media for their silence when a black editor was being "victimised"

"We all know how white newspapers would have reacted had I been a white editor. The noise would have been deafening.

QUESTIONED

"The police wanted to know if I supported the United Democratic Front and the Transvaal Indian Congress, yet they know very well that, for example many Afrikaans newspapers support the National Party and English newspapers the PFP but their editors are never called in to be questioned about it

"Even the black newspaper *City Press*, owned by the Afrikaans publishing house Nasionale Pers, openly supports the UDF. Yet its managing director has not, as far as I am aware, ever been summoned by the police to explain who finances the newspaper or which political organisation it supports," said Mr Akhwalwaya yesterday

A police spokesman said yesterday it was not policy for the SAP to comment on routine investigations, and the police did not see their way clear "to even inquire whether (Mr Akhwalwaya's) allegations are true"

Summons served on editor

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — A summons has been served on the Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr George Farr, and the newspaper's crime reporter, Mrs Niki Kotze

The summons, signed by a magistrate of East London, orders them to testify in connection with a police investiga-

tion into allegations of subversion against the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and certain of their representatives

The subpoena was served on Mr Farr in his office by two senior security police officers

It ordered Mr Farr and Mrs Kotze to give a

sworn statement that Mr Farr or his representative was approached by three men who said they represented the UDF and Cosatu, and who issued a statement relating to the May Day stay-away

The statement was published in full in the Daily Dispatch on March 30

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The Press and the fight for the truth

One of the most concise commentaries on the state of Freedom of the Press inside South Africa can be found in a comparison between the first and the current editions of a manual that is a constant companion of all editors — "The Newspaperman's Guide to the Law".

The legal gauntlet that has to be run before the presses start rolling was had enough when the late Kelsey Stuart, a Johannesburg attorney, compiled the original edition in 1968. It took 109 pages plus a five-page index to list all the laws to be negotiated.

A fourth edition, published a few weeks ago, shows the multitude of new hazards that have been added to the perils of the newspaper trade. The new team of authors has had to increase the thickness of the manual three times over to cover a list of laws that by now has grown to more than 100.

When the International Press Institute carried out a global survey six months ago it branded South Africa the most restrictive nation in the democratic world on the issue of Press freedom.

"Today," bemoans Mr. Michael Green, editor of the Daily News in Durban, "a newspaper editor has to be a reasonably accomplished amateur lawyer if he is to keep himself and his colleagues safe from prosecutions, fines, civil damages and even jail."

larger problem concerns ideas, policies, issues, grievances, promises and perceptions. In a phrase public images.

The selection by individual newspapers of the issues to be given prominence raises more complications. Style magazine flushed out a classical example in a recent issue.

Here we see the contrast in approach on the day that followed the announcement of the 1986 Budget. "SA's glumagland" it was decided on a guided tour of budget details. "Anger" shared the Sowetan with picture coverage of long queues of pensioners outside Orlando Communal Hall, trapped in the pouring rain as they waited to collect their grants. Economic coverage "Bread price rise looms".

There can also be grave hazards in the choice of emphasis that newspaper editors decide to give to news events and the sort of comments they express on trends.

Coverage of the news in South Africa has become booby-trapped by a maze of Press laws which add to the problems confronted by the newspaper industry. Daily newspapers also have new competitors — knock-and-drops and "the alternative media".

MICHAEL CHESTER reports.

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Police admit helicopter could have been used

Mamelodi death toll is now 13

The Star



Bad faults in the flow of official information to the Press can cause utter confusion on the newsstands as newspapers battle to dig out the facts, as is borne out by the examples on the right and at the bottom.

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Police admit helicopter could have been used

Mamelodi death toll is now 13

The Star

So thick

The hazards have become so dense that he or his deputy editor are often called on as many as 20 or even 30 times a day to give judgment on news items that set nerves jangling over possible infringements.

On occasion the law simply looks an ass — as when the Daily News a while ago ran a photograph of a jackpot winner looking spellbound at a pile of banknotes. The paper was in turn rapped over the knuckles by the Reserve Bank.

You can show a picture of banknotes on a TV screen but in print? Oh dear, no.

Far more ominous, however, are the penalties threatened if newspapers trespasses beyond the barred wire fences of restrictions laid down by the Internal Security Act, the Protection of Information Act, the Poisons Act, the Prisons Act.

Why don't the newspapers just play it safe and omit any

material that could possibly be legally dangerous?

Because says Mr. Green, "their duty is to inform the public, not be silent."

The right of the Press to publish is simply the right of the public to know. That is why every editor has to push as hard as he can to publish as much legitimate information as he can, while keeping himself and his newspaper out of the soup.

The problems are often compounded by the veil of secrecy drawn across information by official sources. Also it has

been noted by Mr. Harvey Tyson, editor of The Star, "Sometimes reluctance to face the truth makes officialdom subconsciously distort the picture."

He picked out the illustrations reproduced here to give an example of how faults in communications can leave the public in utter confusion.

The Citizen evidently relied on official statements that were issued — and got the facts wrong. The Sowetan used independent observation — and came closer to the truth — and came closer to the truth — and came closer to the truth — and came closer to the truth.

The Star had to cross-check on all versions to tell it how is really was (The SABC ducked the problem "because it was confusing").

Mr. Tyson remarked "If South Africans are to solve their problems they have to have accurate information about them. My example involving statistics is easy to appreciate and quantify, but the

pose, names such as Frontline and New Nation on one side of the political spectrum, Die Patriot and Die Stem on the other.

The first issue of The Indicator a year ago made it plain whom it was setting out to address. Articles came from the Solidarity Party, the United Democratic Front, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation.

"We're aiming at the serious reader who wants to know what is really going on," says Mr. Anton Harber, editor of the Weekly Mail, launched by casualties of the RDM and Sunday Express closures.

"Our feeling is that the larger papers don't reflect the real political mood in South Africa. There's demand for a more outspoken Press."

"We're aligned to no political party. Our aim is to fight apartheid and the status quo."

The debate over both the freedom and the quality of the Press in South Africa will no doubt go on without end.

Most of the big newspapers were so engrossed in circulation battles and sparring with TV back in 1978 that they took little notice when Mr. Noel Coburn and Mr. Terry Moolman laid their plans to invade suburbia with knock-and-drop free sheets.

The free sheet experiment had been tried out some years earlier in several of the metropolitan centres and few had survived.

The nonchalant dismissal of knock-and-drops as really serious competition was to be regretted by several of the major Press Chieftains.

Mr. Coburn and Mr. Moolman quit their posts as joint managing directors in the marketing division of Republic Press and moved into the small Caxton printing company to make it the base for their foray into the market.

Rise and rise of the free sheet

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Simple Formula

"Our formula," says Mr. Coburn, was simple. It involved lots and lots of parochial news and concentration on local retailers for the advertisements — High Street shopping centres, restaurants, plumbers electricians.

Added to this was a distribution network that would ensure copies were delivered to virtually every household in any specific neighbourhood.

Between them, they have created a money-spinning chain of more than 40 free-sheets — around Johannesburg, across to Rustenburg in the west, Verwoerdburg to the north, along the Natal coast in the east and down into the Cape.

Caxton, which charted the route to knock-and-drop market success, was able to put the harvest on display when it peeled open the interim results for its 1985/86 financial year.

In the seven months up to last September 30, turnover had risen to more than R84 million from the R43 million a year level when Mr. Coburn and Mr. Moolman moved in. And a run of losses had been converted into an after-tax profit of R3 353 000.

Newspapers are caught in vicious cost vice — Miller

The economic squeeze on the South African newspaper industry has been summarised by Mr. Hal Miller, executive chairman of the Argus Group. In a single sentence "Quite simply, we are caught in the twin jaws of a vicious vice — spiralling costs and a diminishing market."

The dilemma over production costs is legendary, beginning with the startling rise in newsprint prices to more than R1 000 a ton (The Star alone pays well over R2 million a month to feed its presses).

And there is a gamut of hurdles all the way to the imposition of general sales tax not only on advertisements, but also on newspaper cover prices — a double taxation that the whole industry is fighting.

The end result is that newspapers cost far more to produce than readers pay for them at newsstands.

The market side is even more complex.

"Here," says Mr. Miller, "the problems have been well identified in the United States, where a few years ago daily newspapers came to face a set of difficulties that stemmed partly from sociological trends, and partly from competition from the electronic media."

The larger newspapers went on a bout of

Police admit helicopter could have been used

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The Star

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The Star

Editor questioned by police

SPAR

29/5/86

By Jon Qwelane

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Top South African journalist Mr Ameen Akhalwaya, editor of the weekly Lenasia newspaper *The Indicator*, was questioned by the Security Police at their Soweto headquarters in Protea yesterday

"The police took down all my personal particulars and I was asked to state all the political organisations to which I belong or once belonged," said Mr Akhalwaya "I said there were none"

He said the police wanted to know if he supported the Transvaal Indian Congress and the United Democratic Front, and also who financed his newspaper

"I said I was an independent journalist supporting no political organisation, and my paper was open to all shades of opinion provided they were within the law" Then a police photographer took a photograph of him.

He believes the questioning stems from this week's issue of the paper, which reports extensively on the 10th anniversary of the Soweto 1976 uprising "The policemen who questioned me were very polite," he added

Police question Lenasia editor

COPY Times 29/5/86 (243)

JOHANNESBURG — The editor of the Indicator of Lenasia, Mr Ameen Akhalwaya, was yesterday questioned by security police about the political content and other aspects of his newspaper.

In its May issue, published on Tuesday, the Indicator carried several articles on the 10th anniversary of the June 16 Soweto student uprising.

On Tuesday night security police left a note at his Lenasia home asking him to call at Protea police headquarters at 7 30am yesterday and to bring his passport and identity document along.

Yesterday morning his lawyer, Mrs Priscilla Jana, contacted the police and was told Mr Akhalwaya had been called for a "personal check".

Mr Akhalwaya, former metropolitan editor of the Rand Daily Mail and chief sub-editor of the Sunday Express, and Nieman Fellow at Harvard University 1981 and 1982, presented himself at Protea at noon.

He said particulars were taken about his personal life and notes made from his ID book and passport. His photograph was also taken.

"I was asked which organizations I belonged to, whether I supported the Transvaal Indian Congress and the United Democratic Front, how I obtained the political information for the Indicator and who financed the newspaper.

"I said the Indicator was an independent newspaper which did not support any specific political organization, and that its columns were open to all as long as they complied with the law. The newspaper's finances are derived from advertising," he said. — Sapa

CAPE TIMES 29/5/86 (243) (304A)

Editor 'not in danger'

JOHANNESBURG. — The position of Dr Willem de Klerk, editor of Rapport, was not in danger, the chairman of Rapport Uitgewers, Dr Willem van Heerden, said yesterday

In a statement reacting to speculation that Dr De Klerk might be forced to resign his position, Dr Van Heerden said the editor of the Afrikaans Sunday paper enjoyed the support and loyalty of the directors of Rapport Uitgewers and would continue to hold his post.

The editor of Die Vaderland, Mr Harald Pakendorf, last week announced his resignation

Later reports said he had been forced to resign after pressure was put on him by publisher Perskor's directors, part-owners of Rapport

Dr Van Heerden's statement said reports in the "Prog-supporting press" that Dr De Klerk would be forced to resign were untrue and "petty politics"

The owners of Rapport — Perskor and Nasionale Pers — supported the government's current reform initiatives "very positively" and attempts to place the leadership of the company (Rapport Uitgewers, made up of Perskor and Nasionale Pers) on a collision course with Dr De Klerk were below the belt.

The statement also accused papers carrying speculative reports on Dr De Klerk's resignation of not adhering to "basic journalistic use" in not contacting management for comment before "twisted reports" were published — Sapa

Summons served on editor

Carr Times 29/5/86
Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — A summons has been served on the Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr George Farr, and the paper's crime reporter, Mrs Niki Kotze

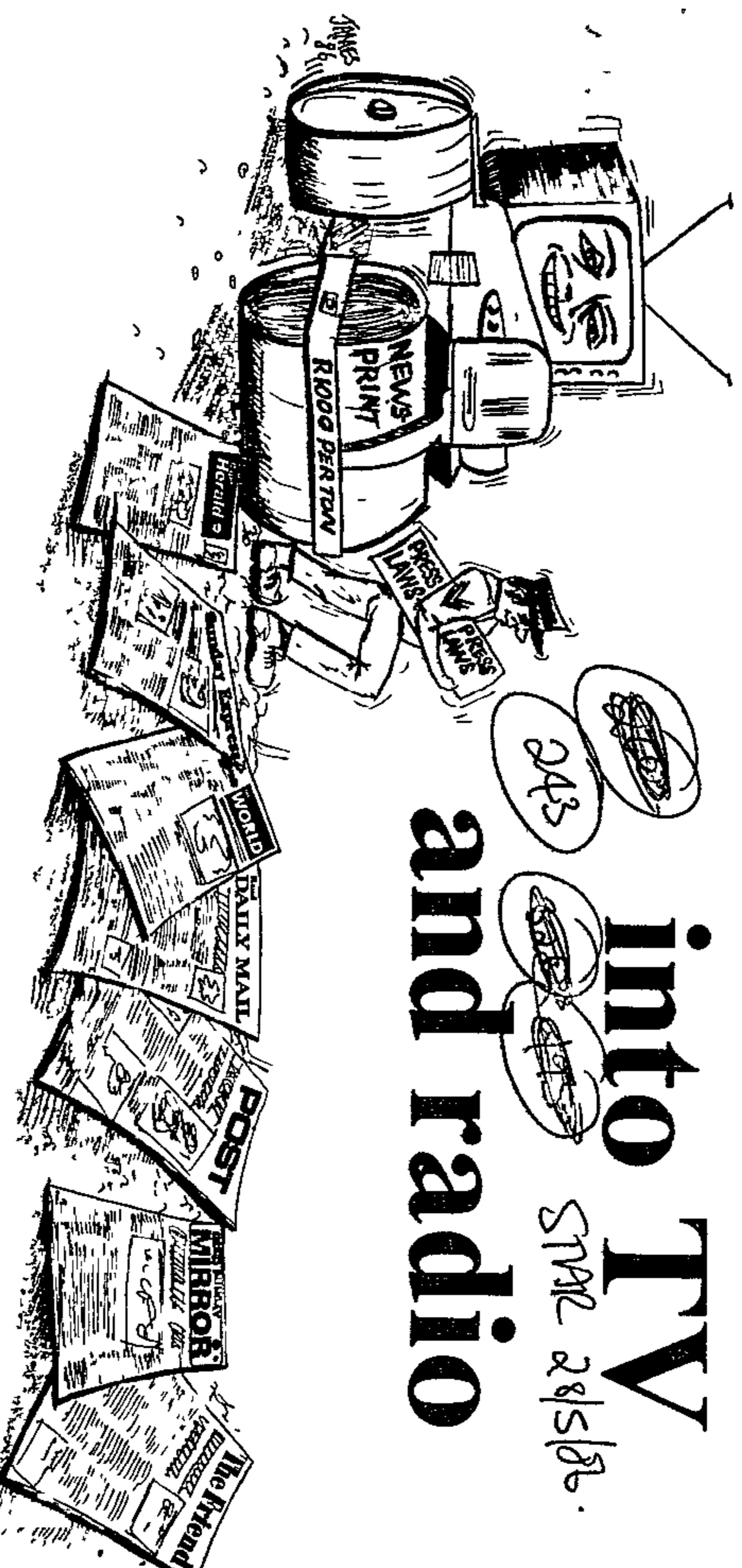
The summons, signed by a magistrate, orders them to testify in connection with a police investigation into allegations of subversion against the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and certain of their representatives.

It orders Mr Farr and Mrs Kotze to give a sworn statement that Mr Farr or his representative was approached by three men from the UDF and Cosatu who issued a statement over a May Day stayaway.

R60-million launch of subscriber system

Big Press thrust

into TV and radio



The R60 million launch of M-Net TV, the new subscriber system, looks likely to prove the start of a massive thrust by the Press into the electronic media.

Mr Ton Vosloo, chairman of M-Net, forecasts that the Press will seek deeper inroads into television and radio now that the controversial SABC monopoly has been broken.

And longer term ambitions are to branch out into all spheres of electronic communications as high technology spawns radical new systems.

"We are confident we can ultimately convince the government that more TV and radio services should be in the hands of the private sector," he said.

And we are encouraged by signs that the road may soon be cleared for more privatisation on the airwaves — especially among the regional radio stations.

It is significant that out on the newsstands, the partners in the Press consortium that has formed M-Net are locked in fierce competition for slices of the market.

A recent count found the four giants among the partners locked in battle with the Argus accounting for 62 percent of the overall circulation of the daily newspapers, followed by Natalian Pers with 18 percent and Perskor and SAAN with about 12 percent each.

Hatchets buried

Inside M-Net, the hatchets have been buried and the rivals sit smoking peace pipes as they chart their invasion into the electronic media.

Mr Vosloo, former editor of Beeld, has been at the vanguard of Press negotiations with the government for a chance to compete with the SABC ever since he was appointed managing director of Nationale Pers two years ago and called in special advisers to weigh the potential of the electronic media.

Cracking the SABC monopoly had become an economic necessity for the Press as the corporation gobbled up more and more advertising, first expanding commercial time from 5 percent to 8 percent and in turn spreading commercials to TV2 and TV3 and now TV4.

"The daily newspapers have been hit worst of all as advertising expenditure on TV has been reaped in by the SABC while they themselves were locked out of even the opportunity to compete.

"True, the newspapers were too fat around the middle to be inclined to put up a real fight when the danger signals started flashing a few years ago. But now the economic problems of the Press have reached crisis level and expansion into the electronic media is crucial.

"The Press is now re-defining its entire future strategy. Newspapers will survive. Television will survive. The two services must make the most of new information sources.

"Research and development will now be given top priority to explore the new avenues of electronic communication.

"The, potentially, in educational services, make the mind boggle.

There are bound to be more casualties before we fasten on to new solutions.

"But new doors are being swung open by electronics. M-Net itself looks like taking until around 1988 to reach break-even point and more into profit. However, it's only the start.

"Modern technology and the world of tomorrow mean a wholesale revolution in communications.

"It is not only orthodox TV and radio services that will be involved. One can now quite easily visualise school kids and students sitting at home on study projects with an electronic screen and print-out device — all linked into a host of new information sources.

"Research and development will now be given top priority to explore the new avenues of electronic communication.

No profit for 15 out of 20 dailies

The immediate ambition is to convince the government that the Press is vital to the State as well as to the general public and society as a whole.

In turn we need to persuade the government to coordinate a brand new approach to Press issues.

"We don't intend to seek government subsidies.

"But every nation in the western world uses special economic packages to ensure the survival of the Press. All we want is a fair deal.

"If four or five newspapers are bleeding to death, it's obvious there is an urgent need for the government to join in the Press in addressing the issue."

Tomorrow: The strange hold of Press laws — will newspapers survive?

The Competition Board, in its probe into the Natal Mercury merger into the Durban branch of the Argus group, was shaken by estimates that a mere five out of the 20 daily newspapers in South Africa were likely to show any profits at all.

Eye-brows were raised higher when experts suggested that in fact there were still too many newspapers in certain areas, such as on the Witwatersrand.

Ailing Press still faces casualties and a long wait for TV investment to pay

While the Press celebrates its triumph in finally winning a significant foothold in TV, none expects the first moves into the electronic media to be an automatic panacea for all the economic ailments of the newspaper business.

There are still widespread fears that the casualty toll has not ended yet.

According to researchers, at least 15 of the big dailies are running in the red and four of five are hanging by a thread in hard commercial terms.

Studies show that the entire Afrikaans Press can show only two newspapers showing profit — Die Burger and Rapport. And the red ink is flowing in wide sections of the English-language Press, too.

The motivation in moving into TV is to find longer term solutions to financial hassles. However, observers say the benefits of bigger stakes in the electronic media will take time to show.

Mr Ton Vosloo, chairman of M-Net, the newspaper consortium formed to handle the pay-TV exercise believes that it may take until 1988 to reach an initial target of 150 000 subscribers needed to break even and start a trickle of profits.

PROFITS SHARED

The M-Net profits, when they start, will be shared by all four of the big newspaper groups, plus two small independents — the Natal Witness in Maritzburg and the Daily Dispatch in East London — which will divide 5 percent.

Nationale Pers, as a front-runner in the lobbying that finally succeeded in breaking the SABC monopoly, is the largest shareholder in M-Net with a 26 percent stake. The Argus, Perskor and SAAN each have a 23 percent interest.

Meantime, while the profit flow is awaited, the economic fog persists over much of the newspaper industry.

Economic problems have not been the only cause of newspaper disasters.

CLOSURES

The events that caused far more serious alarm in the Press world were the closures of the Rand Daily Mail and Sunday Express, which raised scares about the future of the entire South African Associated Newspaper group.

The silence left behind as the two voices were cut dead was deafening, especially to liberals who are still in mourning.

There is still bafflement how SAAN within the space of only a couple of years, popped from a money spinner into a financial chasm. It shows bank overdrafts of R46 million.

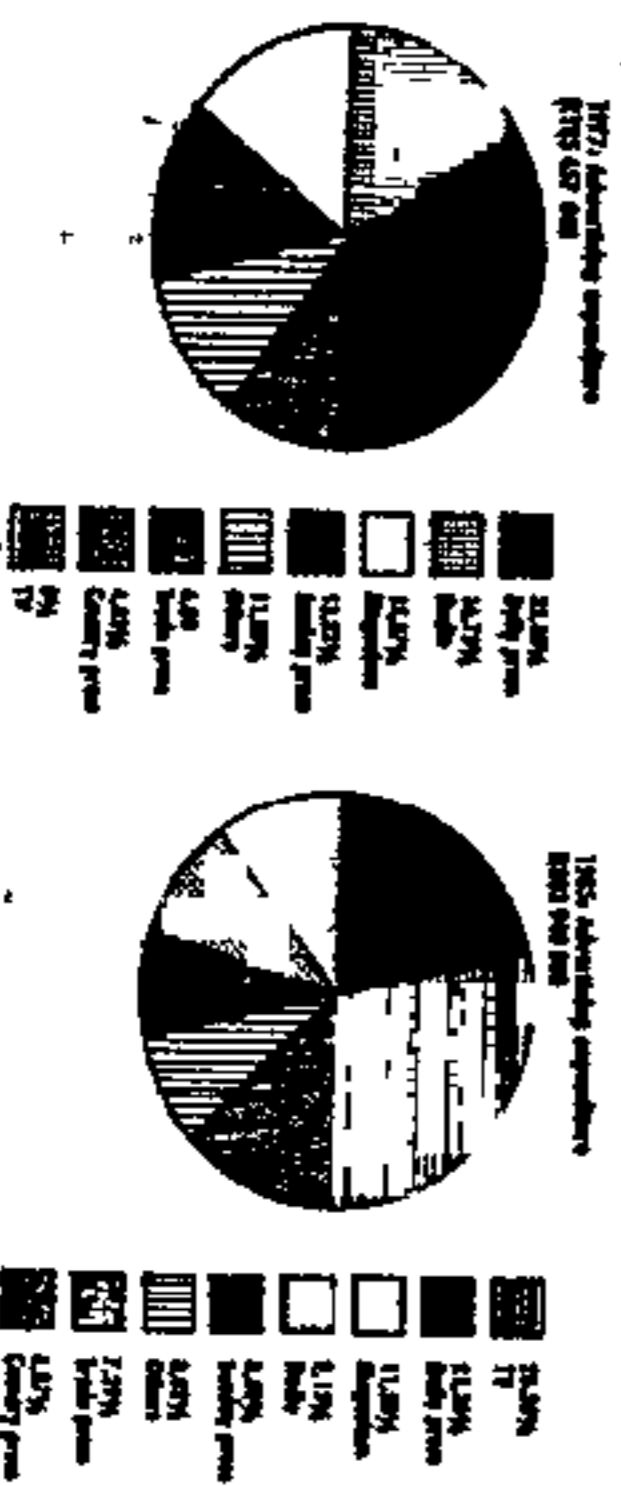
Mr Stephen Mulholland, drawn from the editorial side to become managing director of SAAN in a monumental reshuffle shows more anger than despair about the debacle.

In typical style — "decisive, impatient and willing to buck convention" — he laid the blame at failures inside the former SAAN management.

"The old management team failed to pay enough attention to group structure, corporate culture, discipline and proper strategic planning," he told me.

"If financial realities were sacrificed for purely journalistic objectives, it was a management error."

"We have now approached the Argus group to enter into rationalisation talks — and they are going very well. If only SAAN had done it sooner perhaps the Rand Daily Mail would be alive and kicking today."



Two pie-charts track the dramatic invasion of the SABC into advertising since the launch of TV commercial slots. Worst hit have been the daily newspapers, whose share of the cake had shrunk from 32.85 percent in 1977 to 21.26 percent by last year, while SATV increased its bite to 28.55 percent as it used its state monopoly to hold out all competition.

No profit for 15 out of 20 dailies

The Competition Board, in its probe into the Natal Mercury merge into the Durban branch of the Argus group, was shaken by estimates that a mere five out of the 20 daily newspapers in South Africa were likely to show any profits at all.

Eyebrows were raised higher when experts suggested that in fact there were still too many newspapers in certain areas, such as on the Witwatersrand, where no fewer than eight dailies were slugging it out.

The Competition Board turned attention to an economic dilemma that spread far beyond the Natal Mercury and engulfed the entire Press world.

Among the revelations collected in evidence:

- TV and radio had now acquired no less than 30 percent of the entire pool of spending on advertisements, with a catastrophic effect on the economic viability of newspapers and magazines

SLICE INCREASED

- The slice increased as commercial slots expanded from TV1 to the launch of TV2, TV3 and now TV4

- On top of that, SABC radio was now using the launch of more and more local stations — plus the spread of advertisements to the reshaped main English and Afrikaans services — to compete with low tariffs for the advert expenditure of small businesses.

- Knock-and-drops, distributed free to consumers and packed with advertisements, were a new development in the battle for adverts.

- In a formidable escalation in newspaper production costs, the price of newsprint — the most significant single raw material expense — had soared in only five years from R520 to R1 060 a ton.

- Prices of such items as printing ink and plates for the presses had also spiralled with inflation, weak rand exchange rates, and new technology

DISTRIBUTION

- Distribution expenses had soared along with higher transport costs

- Much of the capital equipment needed by the industry had to be imported — exposed to a 10 percent import surcharge as well as swings in exchange rates

- Imposition of general sales tax on advertising services — being fought tooth and nail by the newspapers — had also been sharply negative.

The Competition Board weighed the problems and put in a significant remark itself in its final report. Problems inside the Press were exacerbated not only by prevailing economic realities but also by the limits that had held newspaper companies back from diversification into the electronic media

It also blamed the prolonged exclusion from the electronic media for accentuating the degree of concentration in the newspaper industry — an issue still bristling with controversy

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Cape Times 28/5/86 (243) ~~2081~~

Plight of two editors linked to Nat split

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON — The Editor of the Cape Times, Mr Anthony Heard, yesterday said the jobs of South Africa's two leading Afrikaans newspaper editors were under the axe — because of the enlightened contribution they made to debate at a time of increasingly hawkish state influence on the media.

Mr Heard said the plight of Mr Harold Pakendorf of Die Vaderland and Dr Wimpie de Klerk of Rapport was symptomatic of the serious split in the Afrikaner nationalist movement — and indicated that the Cabinet hawks, or what could be called the law-and-order brigade, were dominant.

Interviewed for BBC radio in Lisbon, where he has received the 1986 Golden Pen of Freedom Award from the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers, Mr Heard said Mr Pakendorf, in particular, had challenged verkrampte controls.

Mr Heard said "This is all symptomatic of the serious split in the Afrikaner nationalist movement. We have seen a lot of difficulty in places like Pietersburg with major violence breaking out at meetings."

In this situation any newspaper editor trying to do an enlightened job would obviously be under pressure. "It would appear to me that Mr Pakendorf has been taking a lot of chances in the interest of trying to get

some real change going in the country and it looks like he is going to pay the price," Mr Heard said.

He also said that "Mr Pakendorf's paper, I would say par excellence, has been more enlightened than many English-language newspapers."

It had been very critical of the State-run broadcasting services and had run interviews with Mrs Winnie Mandela when it had not been absolutely clear whether this was permissible in terms of the law.

"And Rapport, while perhaps not quite as pioneering, has certainly been on the side of what we would call verligtheid."

Asked to comment on Afrikaans newspapers being at odds with the SABC, Mr Heard said. "Well there are much more independent-minded people in charge, and the broadcasting system has been very, very heavily controlled by the State."

"I think these journalists have just revolted against that form of journalism, which has been really totally unacceptable."

Mr Heard said that within the ethos of Afrikanerdom Die Vaderland and Rapport had been playing a role "almost as courageous" as that of the extinct Rand Daily Mail.

But in terms of the "macro situation" in South Africa a paper like the Rand Daily Mail was "streets ahead".

● Picture, page 4

27/5/86
Only
black
journalists
invited

London Bureau

ONLY black journalists are being invited to the first national meeting of black members of the local-government union, Nalgo.

Invitations to the conference, which is to be held in Leeds on Saturday, state: 'Black journalists are invited to attend the closing session.'

But representatives from the conference steering committee would be available for interview by all journalists at the end of the session

It is the first time any union has discriminated among journalists, and it could lead to protests from the National Union of Journalists

Among the subjects to be discussed will be the union's attitude towards South Africa

The conference theme is that black workers deserve a better deal within and outside the trade-union movement

Delegates, it is said, will consider recommendations on tackling racism within Nalgo and making sure that the union responds more effectively to the wider interests of its black members

New national structures to enable black 'self-organisation' will be high on the agenda

The final session, to which only black journalists are invited, will discuss 'a programme of future action'.

27/5/86 (243) X

Heard's plea at top press meeting

From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON — The Editor of the Cape Times yesterday issued a public appeal to the Soviet leader, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, to set free a Soviet dissident editor serving a five-year "strict-regime" prison sentence.

The appeal came from Mr Anthony Heard when he accepted the Golden Pen of Freedom Award in Lisbon yesterday

Mr Heard became the third South African to win the coveted award from the FIEJ, a world-wide association of newspaper publishers and editors, for his "fearless and courageous" reporting of the truth and, in particular, his interview with the banned president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo

The FIEJ (Federation Internationale des Editeurs de Journaux et Publication) is holding its annual conference in Lisbon where Mr Heard is a guest-of-honour

In accepting the award, Mr Heard said he believed freedom, and tyranny, were indivisible and that he wanted to highlight the plight of a dissident editor in the Soviet Union "where there are people who suffer at the hands of equal or worse tyranny".

"I think particularly of a person who, I am told, was also seriously considered for this award, Yury Shikanovich, who persisted for many years in producing a human rights magazine called 'A Chronicle of Current Events' in the Soviet Union

"For his troubles, this internationally-known mathematician spent two years in a psychiatric hospital in the early 70s and is currently serving a five-year term of strict-regime imprisonment in the Perm region of the USSR for 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'

Courage

"When he finishes the prison term he faces another five years of internal exile"

Mr Heard said the journal Shikanovich edited on-and-off from 1969 to 1982 was considered important uncensored, material on human rights in the USSR and had been praised by Dr Andrei Sakharov — "another brave dissident"

"Shikanovich is now 53 and he has a wife and daughter

"His courage in persisting this way in the cause of free expression earns my very humble and sincere congratulations and respect

"I should like to issue a public appeal to the Soviet leadership from the, perhaps unusual, quarter of a white South African newspaper editor to reconsider Shikanovich's case

"I have read current speculation about the possible release of Dr Sakharov and I would like to make this special appeal Please consider releasing Shikanovich also," Mr Heard said.

In accepting the prestigious Golden Pen award, Mr Heard said he came from a "twilight world" in which free expression "languished in a half-light"

"I can chronicle numerous cases where journalists have suffered at the hands of the authorities for having simply done their job

"They have been detained, they have been whipped, they have been warned off, they have been threatened, they have been denied information, they have had their cameras, pictures and notes taken away, and they have been charged in court.

"But many of them have continued to do their job, to my mind, in a way which is exemplary and I would hope that the newspaper world is prepared to take note of this," Mr Heard said

He said the Cape Times was a "liberal institution" with a history of 110 years

"It employs journalists of many different shades of colour and conviction

"Perhaps, the one common thread in this mosaic is a commitment to give the public as much information as possible

"I should like to make the point that this award is accepted as much on behalf of that grand company of people as on my own," he said.

'Defence of freedom' prize

Staff Reporter

THE prestigious Golden Pen of Freedom Award for 1986 — presented yesterday to Cape Times Editor Mr Anthony Heard — was awarded by the FIEJ, the Paris-based 26-nation International Federation of Newspaper Publishers.

The annual prize is in recognition of the genuine defence of the freedom of the press by a person, group or institution.

The recipient's defence of freedom must be carried out for the benefit of all

The criteria for considering candidates are

● That the most courageous act a newspaperman can commit is to proclaim the truth — sometimes at the risk of personal freedom or life — in a country where oppression holds sway

● That it is praiseworthy to seek out truth in the midst of dangers in a country experiencing repression or civil strife or in a war zone.

● That an even greater difficulty often exists in a free and democratic society in saying something that runs counter to the established way of thinking and breaks with the national consensus

● That the integrity of the journalistic deed can only be fully appreciated if the deed is seen in its context. A conversion, however genuine, cannot make up for years of conformism or meek acceptance

● The act of courage the Golden Pen of Freedom seeks to reward should reflect a longheld set of unswerving attitudes

The presentation marks the third time that a South African has received the award

In 1978 Percy Qoboza of The World and Donald

Council Bill published

PRETORIA — The National Council Bill was published in Friday's Government Gazette for comment

The Bill provided for "participation in the planning and preparation of a new constitutional dispensation" and the granting of a voice to blacks in the processes of government in the interim, the notice said

Comment may be submitted to the Director-General, Constitutional Development and Planning, Private Bag X644, Pretoria, 0001, not later

Journalist expelled

27 5 86 WEDNESDAY NAM.
A JOURNALIST working for the
Windhoek newspaper, The Namibian,
has been given three days to leave the
country.

Kevin Toolis, 26, a British citizen,
was informed this week that his
temporary residence visa would not
be renewed and he would have to
leave Namibia by Saturday

He was warned that he would be
liable for prosecution under the
Aliens Act if he did not leave

Late yesterday, Toolis was
attempting to make last-minute
representations to the authorities.

No decision yet
S.M.L. 26/9/86 243
on future of editor

The chairman of Perskor, Dr Willem van Heerden, today denied rumours that *Rapport* editor Dr Wimpie de Klerk is to be axed

"We have taken no such decision," said Dr van Heerden.

Dr de Klerk was not available for comment this morning. He told *The Sunday Star* he was aware of the rumours but could not confirm or deny them. He expected developments within the next week.

He is the second Afrikaans newspaper editor under pressure for his verligte views. Last week *Vaderland* editor Mr Harald Pakendorf was forced to resign by the Perskor board.

'Liberal' editor faces the axe

BUDAY

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21/5/84

BEULAH BROWN

WIMPIE de Klerk is the second newspaper editor facing forced resignation for being too left for the National Party in what seems to be a clearing process in the Afrikaans Press.

Following the same road as Harold Pakendorf, editor of *Die Vaderland*, De Klerk is well-known for his TV programme "Om die Waarheid te Se" and his verligte views in his editorial column "Kortom".

De Klerk, aware that he is facing the axe, says "I am aware of the rumours, but have not been informed yet I expect things to develop in the next week or so."

It is believed the crisis point in his expected forced resignation was his decision to invite controversial poet Breyten Breytenbach, who left SA to go into exile, to receive the *Rapport* prize for literature in April.

Breytenbach used his acceptance of the prize to launch an attack on the moral bankruptcy of the Afrikaner's churches.

Although *Rapport* was the only Afrikaans paper to consent to printing a PFP advertisement, it did not, however, appear in yesterday's issue of the Afrikaans Sunday paper.

SA editor warns of 'Rhodesia syndrome'

CAPE TOWN — Public ignorance of all relevant views on important matters led to the "Rhodesia syndrome", in which official censorship robbed people of an appreciation of new forces, Mr Tony Heard, *Cape Times* editor, said when he received the Golden Pen for Freedom Freedom Award in Portugal today

The main reason for his presence at the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (FIEJ) award ceremony in Lisbon, he said, was that in November 1985 he published an interview with banned ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

"That fact of itself should be unexceptional, indeed should be seen as routine journalistic practice the world over," he said.

The provisions of South African law state that it is a criminal offence, punishable by a jail term of up to three years with no option of a fine, to quote a banned or listed person

"My court case comes up again in the Regional Court, Cape Town, on June 17 and it is therefore invidious for me to comment in any direct way on the issues that the court will have to decide upon," he said

"Suffice it to say that Mr Tambo is an increasingly important player in the crisis which is unfolding in my part of the world, and authentic journalism cannot ignore that."

"If it turns out to be a criminal act, punishable by a prison term, to simply convey what is in another person's mind, in the circumstances in which I acted, then let it be. I happen to take my profession seriously."

Mr Heard said attempts by governments to interfere with the free flow of information must be resisted by journalists.

— Sapa.

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Afrikaans press bans PFP advertisements

Political Correspondent
THE PFP's latest advertising campaign has now been banned by all Afrikaans newspapers throughout South Africa. The directors of Rapport, the mass-circulation Afrikaans Sunday

newspaper, yesterday told the PFP's agent that it would renege on an earlier undertaking to run an advertisement forming part of the party's "Save SA" campaign.

It is understood that the turnabout follows on

an order from Cabinet level.

The latest move follows an earlier decision by the editors of Die Burger and Beeld to refuse to run a PFP advertisement—unless references critical of the government and the SABC were erased.

Reacting to the latest decision by Rapport to drop the ad which has already run in a number of English-language newspapers, the PFP's special projects head, Mr Peter Soal, said.

"We have now been denied access to a large portion of the market that we wanted to make an impact on and which needs to be presented with an alternative.

"At a time when people should be open to change and be ready to form new opinions after 38 years of naked racialism, their options are being limited by the very people who should be committed to the free flow of ideas."

He said the only alternative open to readers of Afrikaans-language newspapers was "the clap-trap being dished up by the slavish Nat Press and the SABC".

Mr Soal said since the appearance of reports that Nasionale Pers editors has refused to run PFP ads unless they were "sanitized," the party's offices had received dozens of calls saying they would be boycotting magazines published by the group.

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Pringle award for Cape Times editor

JOHANNESBURG — The editor of the Cape Times, Mr Anthony Heard, was last night honoured by South African journalists with the Pringle award for outstanding services to journalism

The Southern African Society of Journalists presented the award at its annual congress to Mr Heard in absentia, describing him as "a brave man" and "a courageous editor"

Mr Heard is in Portugal to receive the Golden Pen of Freedom Award from the International

Federation of Newspaper Publishers in a ceremony next week

A citation read at the presentation quoted one of the judges as saying, "This was the year of Tony Heard" and that he had earned the award twice over

The award would have been richly deserved, said the citation, for the role the Cape Times had played in covering some of the most turbulent events in modern South African history

"Unflinchingly, without fear or favour, in the face of official displeas-

ure and retribution, the Cape Times has reported vividly and at first hand on insurrection and political violence in the Western Cape, a story with fateful implications for South Africa as a whole," it said

"It could not have been written without the persistence and courage of good journalists. It could not have been published without the determination of a courageous editor. Without both, the country would have been denied vital insights and information"

The citation said the veil of secrecy that the security forces sought to draw over some of their activities would have remained intact without the actions of the Cape Times. "South Africans would have been kept in ignorance of things done in their name"

Brave

The citation praised Mr Heard for upholding the finest traditions of his craft, performing a signal service to his profession, his readers and his country

It concluded "It is a truism that credible journalism demands that the public's right to information is paramount. Sometimes it is necessary for a brave man to show that the words are not empty."

● In a prepared acceptance speech read out for Mr Heard by the head of Journalism and Media Studies at Rhodes University, Professor Gavin Stewart, he saluted "a South African journalistic profession which is bloodied, perhaps, but also unbowed"

Mr Heard said the embattled journalistic profession was probably threatened more seriously now than at any stage since Pringle and Fairbairn and others won the right to publish freely from autocratic British authorities in the last century — Sapa

'Deaf ears' to cry of press freedom

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CAPE TIMES 20/5/86
JOHANNESBURG — Journalists must find ways of returning to a higher standard of professionalism or there was a danger society would stop taking them seriously, the outgoing president of the Southern African Society of Journalists, Mr David Allen, said on Thursday night

In his valedictory address at the opening of the SASJ annual congress in Johannesburg, Mr Allen warned "Our opponents are growing stronger, and our cries for the maintenance of press freedom are falling on an increasing number of very deaf ears.

"We ignore this at our peril. Freedom only exists to the extent that society recognizes it, so we need to begin winning allies, not through sycophantic pandering, but by paying very careful attention to the way our craft is practised."

Go on line for standards

Journalists must demonstrate a new commitment, a willingness to go on the line for the standards they say they value

"To recount the many abuses, harassments, threats and assaults against journalists acting in the line of duty, to describe again the countless attempts that have been made in newsrooms across the country to have news altered or censored to suit one or other interest group, to re-tell the stories of publications which have died in the last year and the fears we have about the fate of more next year, would be unnecessarily repetitive," he said

"Yet, through it all, is the quite bizarre phenomenon that while reporters are being beaten, editors threatened, copy changed, newspapers closed and journalists retrenched, everyone — literally, without exception — continues espousing the virtues of a free press, and of a free news media in general," said Mr Allen

Lack of experienced editorial staff, the draining away of talent, declining editorial standards, the absence of entrepreneurial initiative, the growing imposition of commercial demands on editorial considerations, and other factors, had — together with the authorities' consistent undermining of the profession — done far-reaching damage to the image and reputation of the press. — Sapa

The Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

SOWETAN 23/5/86

One of the council's functions is to receive and act upon complaints from members of the public who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or other news media directly. Complaints must relate to published editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publication. But late complaints may be accepted if good reasons can be advanced.

The address is: The Conciliator/Registrar, SA Media Council, P.O. Box 5222, Cape Town, 8000. Telephone: (021) 46-7317. Inquiries are welcomed.

PF^{23/1/78} slates Afrikaans ad censoring

By Shirley Woodgate

The Progressive Federal Party has slated the drastic censoring demanded by the Nasionale Koerante group before it will run a PFP advertisement in two of its major Afrikaans newspapers.

PF²⁴³ secretary-general Mr Robin Carlisle said that when the ads were returned in their edited form nearly 80 percent of the content had been deleted.

The three-quarter page advertisement, submitted to *Beeld* and *Die Burger*, set out PFP policy and criticised the SABC and the Government.

Passages that had been removed included references to doing away with hurtful discrimination by granting full citizenship rights for all without discriminating on the grounds of sex, race or religion.

An entire section relating to PFP principles was

cut out and the heading shortened from "The SABC won't let you see the movie, so read the book", to "Read the book".

Rapport had indicated it will use the advertisement without cuts, and it is to appear in its original form in *The Sunday Times* and *City Press*, said Mr Carlisle.

The advertisement has already appeared in full in *The Star*, *Pretoria News*, *Sowetan*, *Business Day* and *Weekly Mail*.

Mr Carlisle added: "This incident is both stupid and tragic. If this is the level of political sophistication of a newspaper, then the managing director will have to run around with a little axe."

"It is tragic to think we cannot get our message across in these papers even when willing to pay."

Pakendorf ousting 'blow to credibility'

THE credibility of the Afrikaans press has been dealt a severe blow by this week's resignation of Die Vaderland editor Harald Pakendorf according to PFP spokesman on the media, Dave Dalling

"It is clear," he said, "that the conservative elements in Perskor have moved to ensure that their newspapers follow a much more pro-Nationalist line, a line to the Right rather than to the Left"

It was also clear, he said, that these elements had decided that Pakendorf's views had been far too liberal and forthright for the company and the propaganda they had to publish

"So they kicked him out," Dalling said

Pakendorf had raised Die Vaderland from "no more than a Nat party rag"

By WILMAR UTING

to a good, honest newspaper, he said

Particularly in Beeld and Die Vaderland, a far more honest political approach had been brought to bear Die Vaderland had criticised the government, its reform policies and the police Pakendorf had visited Lusaka and had spoken to the ANC and had published his views

"Now these newspapers are being seen as a danger The editors have to be brought into line or kicked out This is a great pity The Afrikaans papers will become just government tools," Dalling said

Pakendorf could not be reached for comment, nor could Perskor managing director Koos Buitendag, but newspaper sources say Pakendorf

was taken to task over several issues, not the least being his newspaper's coverage of township unrest

Independence of a party political line had also been evident in editorial comment and literary reviews He had expressed his opinion, published in a book about the ANC, that 'we should talk to the ANC because it is possibly the most important instrument of black political expression I suspect the government does not talk to the ANC precisely because it is important," he had said

It is understood that not only Perskor has insisted on its editors toeing a strictly Right, pro-government line

Pressure has also been put on Rapport editor Wimpie de Klerk by the management of Nasionale Pers to

avoid articles which criticise Nat policy or personalities He was particularly admonished over an uncomfortably scathing speech by Breyten Breytenbach in Pretoria last month when the poet was awarded the Rapport prize for literature

"Wimpie has put up a fight, but he has had a gun put to his head," one source said

"The government is shaking in its boots at the moment over the rightwing They will do anything to mollify the rightists"

When De Klerk's office was approached yesterday, Weekly Mail was told he would not discuss Pakendorf's resignation, nor was he "in a position" to discuss his relations with the Nasionale Pers board, the office said

Argus storms back with substantial earnings rise

23/5/86 SPAL 243

By Peter Farley
Investment Editor

The Argus group stormed back in the second half of the year — after a dismal first six months — to post a substantial lift in net income for the 12 months to end-March

Attributable income in the second six months was virtually triple the R2,4 million in the first half, to make a full year bottom line of R9,1 million after only R6,3 million in the previous 12 months

Much of this can be attributed to the first time consolidation of 49,9 percent associate Caxton — which was previously accounted for in the share of retained earnings

But a seven percent increase in gross revenue, combined with reduced running costs, allowed trading income to rise by almost 30 percent — despite turnover being only 16 percent up on the previous year

This meant that the group's pre-interest margins increased last year to a shade under six percent, from 5,2 percent in the previous financial year.

On the newspaper side, a 39 per-

cent increase in circulation revenues — mainly through cover price increases — more than offset a two percent dip in advertising revenues. The decline was held to two percent after the inclusion of the *Natal Mercury* for the second half, otherwise the rest of the group was down by five percent

Management singles out *The Star* and, particularly, *The Saturday Star*, for increasing circulation last year, while elsewhere in the group sales tended lower

Nevertheless, closures and re-trenchments clearly had the desired effect of protecting operating margins and it appears that the group has come out of a difficult period leaner and more efficient.

On the investment side, however, income was almost halved to R2,8 million after the passing of dividends by 40 percent associate SA Associated Newspapers.

But further rationalisation moves, specifically the creation of the joint printing company with SAAN, should enhance profitability all round in the current financial year

The group's entry into the field

of electronic information — through the recent investment in Maister Directories, the Info service and the yet-to-be launched M-Net television system are said to be trading satisfactorily, though it seems likely that they have yet to contribute much in the way of profits

The consolidation of Caxton's results was clearly an important factor in the renewed strength of the group's bottom line performance. And its dominance in the "knock and drop" markets, and increasing influence in the printing arena after the takeover of Hortors bodes well for future growth

The preliminary figures have been restated after the accounting changes at subsidiary CNA-Gallo, though with this operation holding its own in difficult circumstances the net contribution was beneficial

Looking ahead, management says that despite the general improvements now resulting in a stronger profit performance it would "be prudent to assume that there will be no more than a modest increase in earnings this year"

Afrikaans newspapers reject PFP adverts

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Progressive Federal Party advertisements critical of the SABC and Government policy have been rejected by the country's biggest Afrikaans newspaper publishers — unless the party agrees to censor them heavily

Readers of the major daily Afrikaans newspapers were therefore being denied access to its advertisements, the party claimed yesterday

Mr Peter Soal, director of special projects for the PFP, said that an advertisement the party had recently submitted for placing in newspapers of Nasionale Koerante, publishers of *Beeld* and *Die Burger*, would only be accepted if they were heavily edited

The advertising copy submitted to the company

had been returned in the edited version which, the company said, its editors were prepared to accept as an advertisement

The original advertisement was to have been headed "The SABC won't let you see the movie, so read the book"

Nasionale Koerante editors were prepared to accept only "Read the book"

The following sentence was cut completely "However, thanks to the Government's blatant manipulation of the SABC, it hasn't always been easy to communicate what we are for"

A sentence which referred to getting South Africa "out of the mess the Nat Government had created" was changed to read "getting South Africa out of its present mess"

Entire sections referring to details of PFP policy were deleted The acceptable version of the adver-

tisement was reduced to eight sentences

A letter accompanying the edited copy suggested that as the advertisement would not take up as much space, the money saved should be used to place it also in *Oosterlig*, another Nasionale publication

Mr Soal said Nasionale Koerante would not allow its newspaper readers to make up their own minds "They decide what their readers will be allowed to digest," he said

Mr Soal said the PFP was at a great disadvantage because it was excluded from the SABC as well as private radio stations which did not take political advertising Many magazines would not take the PFP advertisements either

"This is a depressing state of affairs. We are in a climate of reform and while the PFP has a positive contribution to make it is denied access to all sections of the public," he said.

Vaderland editor criticised police actions and SABC censorship

When the editor of *Die Vaderland*, Mr Harold Pakendorf, was forced to resign after a political clash with conservative members of the Parker board, his "verligte" political views became the focus of attention

ESTELLE TRENGOVE reports.

Editorial comment written by the former editor of *Die Vaderland* over the past two months showed his views fell predominantly within the scope of "verligte" National Party politics.

Mr Harold Pakendorf did, however, do three things that fell to the Left of verligte NP thinking.

- Calling on the Government to negotiate with representative black leaders;
- Criticising police for some methods they used to control unrest areas; and
- Criticising the South African Broadcasting Corporation for the way it censored news.

Mr Pakendorf made repeated calls on the Government to speak to recognised and representative black leaders.

In an editorial comment published on May 13, he said that as a part of reform, it remained essential to negotiate with recognised black leaders, "even if they are more radical than the Government would like them to be".

Around the same time, *Die Vaderland* gave prominence to a sympathetic interview with Mrs Winnie Mandela. Mr Pakendorf said in an editorial perhaps the time had come to allow the voices of jailed African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, and his wife Winnie to be heard.

In an editorial on April 28, he said the police played an essential role in maintaining law and order in unrest areas. He lashed out, however, at policemen who used "violence, terrorism and intimidation" to suppress unrest.

Such policemen should be brought to book through the normal democratic process of the law, he said.

This editorial followed a front-page lead story containing allegations that policemen in disguise were responsible for destroying the Alexandra homes of "comrades" and



Mr Harold Pakendorf

tion Committee.

On May 13, Mr Pakendorf again wrote he believed it was necessary for the South African Police to exercise control in unrest-torn townships.

"But by going into an affected area with a Casspir, throwing teargas, shooting and killing a few people, one does not exercise control," he said.

Last month, *Die Vaderland* carried an article stating the SABC did not always broadcast the whole truth and allowed Cabinet Ministers to prescribe what it should broadcast.

Mr Pakendorf said in an editorial on April 24 the paper had information the SABC applied widespread and strict censorship to its broadcasts.

He said this was unacceptable and undermined the SABC's credibility and claims to be an independent medium.

Mr Pakendorf clearly saw political reform as the key to future peace in South Africa.

In his editorials, he strongly supported the Government's reform programme. He said repeatedly it was making good progress, for example when the pass laws were abolished.

Even these conventional "verligte" opinions on reform could, however, have caused friction between him and conservative members of the

Vaderland staff looking for new jobs

More than half the editorial staff at *Die Vaderland* are looking for other jobs because they are so deeply upset about the departure of editor Mr Harald Pakendorf, according to sources close to the newspaper.

Mr Pakendorf was forced to resign after pressure from conservative elements on the Perskor board.

The official Perskor statement said Mr Pakendorf had informed the board that he would be leaving the company after 22 years service.

Several stories and editorials in the newspaper in recent months apparently annoyed conservative cliques.

● SABC TV news reader Mr Riaan Cruywagen took a swipe at the departing editor on last night's bulletin when he said, "It seems it's not only at the SABC that people who take sandwiches for lunch are called optimists."

● See Page 11.

Uncertain future for family

By ANDREW DONALDSON

WHEN Ms Joyce Mbenzi reported for domestic work yesterday morning at a communal home in Gardens, she had no idea what she may be returning home to last night.

On Sunday at 11.30pm, while she and her two-year-old daughter Octavia lay sleeping in her squatter shack, a vigilante crashed down the door, doused the contents of her home and set a match to it.

She was lucky. She saved her daughter and most of her possessions from the fire without injuring herself.

She never slept on Sunday night. On Monday evening, she slept — in between checking to see if her possessions were still safe in the street — on the floor of a nearby church with hundreds of other homeless people.

Last night, she and her daughter were going to a relative's home — provided it was safe.

During the day, while she worked, her furniture and possessions lay in the street, guarded by a man friend.

Ms Mbenzi's employers offered her temporary accommodation, but she turned the offer down.

"No, I'm just going to have to put my trust in God. I'm going to start again. Build up my home by myself again when it's safe and try and look after my daughter's future."

With the violence, there seemed little chance that she will be able to start reorganizing her life. She's even considering moving to Site C — a move that she's resisted up to now.

"Would you like to live in Crossroads now?" she asked.

You're alive — that's the main thing, I assured her.

"That can change. Easy," she replied.



Cape Times photographer Obed Zilwa outside the Guguletu police station yesterday morning after he was released from the cells where he had been held overnight. Mr Zilwa was arrested by police while covering Crossroads fighting on Tuesday. He was not charged.

Staff Reporter

CAPE TIMES photographer Mr Obed Zilwa, who was arrested in Nyanga East, was released yesterday morning after spending a night in the Guguletu police cells.

Mr Zilwa, 18, was released without any charges being brought against him.

Asked by the Cape Times yesterday why Mr Zilwa had been arrested and held for more than 14 hours, a police liaison officer for the Western Province, Captain Jan Calitz, said that shortly before 4pm a group of about 40 people of mixed race were dispersed by police after an illegal gathering in Mahobe Drive.

A barricade was being constructed and, after police fired teargas, "an arrest was made" as people scattered. Mr Zilwa was held for questioning in connection with a public violence investigation at that particular site and released the next morning, he said.

Photographer tells of arrest

Mr Zilwa was traced to Guguletu police station late on Tuesday night — hours after his disappearance was reported.

The News Editor of the Cape Times Miss Jane Arbous, went at midnight to the station to attempt to secure his release.

"When we realized he was missing from the area, we were desperately worried. Anything could have happened in such dangerous conditions.

"Unfortunately, attempts to get him out of the cells failed."

A "shaken, but relieved" Mr Zilwa said yesterday he had been arrested in Zwelitsha Drive soon after photographing a teargassing incident.

"I was running to a house to get water because my eyes were streaming from the tear-

gas. A police lieutenant, who emerged from police vans parked nearby, called me while a policeman pointed a shotgun at me.

"I was placed in the back of a van where I was asked to identify myself and explain what I was doing in the area. When I said I was employed by the Cape Times, a policeman said 'Sies'."

Petrol bombs

"The police then drove to Nyanga Bush where they picked up four five-litre cans and four petrol bombs. The police video unit arrived and filmed the petrol bombs and, later, me.

"I was taken to the Guguletu police station where I was asked about the petrol bombs by a lieutenant who opened a docket.

"He told me to listen to their statement and to be careful of what I said because I would have to repeat it in court.

"He asked me if I had seen any barricades or fires in Mahobe Drive, or if I had encouraged people to commit acts of violence. When I said I had not, he said 'I am telling you that you were among those people in the street.' I denied this," said Zilwa.

"The policeman then closed the docket and asked me to sign the statement before they locked me up.

"When I asked the lieutenant if I could telephone my parents or the Cape Times, he said I would not be allowed to contact anybody until the investigating officer arrived.

"When I asked what I was being charged with the lieutenant said he had been telling me all along," said Zilwa.

Commenting on Mr Zilwa's account of the arrest, Captain Calitz said he could not comment as the matter was still under investigation and *sub judice*.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Political Correspondent

THE editors of the Burger and Beeld have refused to run a PFP advertisement in their papers — unless references critical of the government, the National Party and SABC are erased.

A draft of the proposed half-page advertisement — part of the PFP's "Save SA" campaign — was returned by Nasionale Pers to the party's media agents with the sections four editors are prepared to accept".

The editors refused to allow more than half of the original text of the draft advertisement to be published in their papers.

Sections deleted from the advertisement included:

Burger, Beeld spurn PFP ad

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● "The SABC won't let you see the movie ...";

● "... Thanks to the Government's blatant manipulation of the SABC, it hasn't always been easy to communicate what we (the PFP) are for.";

● An assertion that the "Nat government" had created the mess in which South Africa was,

● A statement that discrimination, domination and persecution were conditions that existed under the present Nationalist government and that the PFP feared

these conditions "would exist under any form of minority-rule government.";

● That the PFP rejected a "winner-takes-all parliamentary system such as we have at present" and instead proposed that everyone be represented on a Federal Council with protection for minorities; and,

● That the PFP believed in free association and that no one should be forced to belong to any "grouping".

A later version of the PFP ad has already ap-

peared in several English-language newspapers and the mass-circulation Sunday newspaper Rapport — owned jointly by Perskor and Nasionale Pers — has agreed to publish it

The PFP's special projects head, Mr Peter Soal, said yesterday: "I find it strange that the editors of the two newspapers do not have sufficient confidence in the intelligence of their readers to expose them to alternatives and let them make up their own minds."

"At a time when the government and its newspapers are encouraging the electorate to adopt an open-door approach to reform, these editors seem to be bent on ensuring that their readers have closed minds"



By RAYMOND LOUW

THE "white Press" has failed to prepare white people for the inevitable democratic, non-racial set-up in South Africa, Bishop Desmond Tutu told 300 editors and publishers at the annual assembly of the International Press Institute in Vienna this week

Tutu told the IPI gathering most "white" newspaper

White Press has failed - Tutu

CITY PRESS 18/5/86

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pers had "sold their souls in exchange for immediate realisable advantages - mainly financial ones - which go hand in glove with popularity in the white community"

The papers, he said, were shortsighted in not identifying with the long-term interests of SA as a whole

He slammed State-run SABC as "a lickspittle sycophant of the government"

The Press, he said, had failed to bridge the gap in understanding between whites and blacks in a deep-

ly divided society
Tutu said the *Rand Daily Mail*, the *Sunday Express* and the *Cape Times* - which had tried to shake whites out of their complacency by covering black views - had either stopped publishing or were in danger of closing

Later, at a Press conference before 60 journalists and photographers and at a public meeting attended by about 4 000 people arranged by the Dr Karl Renner Institute and Amnesty International, Tutu expressed fears about his moderating influence being swept away. He was given a

standing ovation by the crowd

The purpose of invoking sanctions is to tell the SA government to go to the conference table before it is too late, he said

At the Press conference, he was introduced as a "spokesman for the black majority", but he immediately corrected the speaker, saying he was part of the "struggle for justice and freedom for all people in SA"

Bishop Tutu's visit to Vienna coincided with a boycott of SA goods conducted by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and a special communication campaign by the Bonn branch of the African National Congress which had sent one of its representatives to address meetings in the country

Five dead in 'war of independence'

12/5/86 CITY PR

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By SINNAH KUNENE and CP Correspondents

KWANDEBELE'S "war of independence" raged on yesterday - with at least five people dead and anti-independence groups involved in running battles with police

Hundreds of people have been injured in the battles, but official details are unavailable because cops in the area have enforced a news blackout

All they'll say is that five people have been shot and there is "sustained fighting" in the area

According to residents, cops and troops were involved in massive confrontations with hundreds of marching youths, who took to the dusty rural roads in protest at the ban on an anti-independence meeting near Ndzundza Royal Kraal

The security forces fired rubber bullets, birdshots and teargas to disperse the youths, who began their protests in earnest on Tuesday at the funeral of vigilante victim Jacob Skosana

Skosana's mutilated body was found last week, and residents blamed the Umbokotho vigilante group for his death

Opponents of the vigilantes clashed with police at the funeral, and were teargassed and shot at

Details of the five casualties are scant

A 35-year-old man was reportedly shot in the mouth, another victim was found dead in a street and a youth died of bullet wounds when police shot at youths allegedly raiding a supermarket



KwaNdebele crowds gather - in defiance of local police

It's not known how the other two died

Another youth was hit by a bus as pandemonium broke out

Several shops belonging to Cabinet Ministers have been set alight in the first real demonstration of opposition to KwaNdebele's "independence"

A massive stayaway was also staged in the area as workers joined the protest

Meanwhile, KwaNdebele's Tribal Council has given the Cabinet two days to explain the formation of Umbokotho, as well as the homeland's pending "independence" - set for December 11

The council has given the homeland Cabinet until the end of this week to explain the Umbokotho's existence, and why it insists on going for "independence"

Spokesman Prince Sozakhona Mahlangu - chairman of the tribal authorities - says Cabinet Ministers appointed by King David Mahlangu would pull out of the body if the Cabinet doesn't meet the deadline

"The king and his subjects do

not want independence - nor the Umbokotho

"We want Umbokotho abolished and independence stopped," the prince said

The king says he wasn't consulted on either independence or the formation of the Umbokotho last December

He has called an urgent meeting this week to express his opposition to independence, and Prince Sozakhona has urged all concerned people in the territory to attend

The meeting is unlikely to ease the tension in the homeland - Citizen Liaison Minister Fanie Mahlangu warned this week "No citizens of KwaNdebele should attend that meeting because it is illegal"

"Citizens should go to work as usual"

Mahlangu also insisted that everything was "under control" in the homeland

● The United Democratic Front-affiliated Moutse Youth Congress has lauded the "people's protests" in the homeland

"This is the first large-scale protest against independence," a spokesman said

Until recently, few people gave the proposed "independence" much thought

But now, what started as a collection of half a dozen resettlement camps in 1977 is being billed as an "independent state"

Suddenly, it has become a point of burning confrontation between thousands of people in the homeland and between various government officials

Screaming girl beaten by 3 men

W/G Argus 17/5/86

Weekend Argus Bureau
PORT ELIZABETH — A journalist has told of the stark terror she experienced when she was attacked by three burly men with sjamboks at the darkened entrance to her flat.

Miss Barbara Orpen, 25, has cuts and weals across her upper body after the vicious attack.

From a refuge on the coast near East London where she is recovering from her ordeal Miss Orpen said she had no idea why she was singled out.

"I'm not a member of any organisation or group that might have given the deranged men

reason to attack me. As a journalist I have conscientiously avoided becoming involved.

"But my boyfriend is a member of the End Conscription Campaign and it may have been revenge against him that motivated the attack, or maybe they thought that by attacking me they could intimidate him."

She said that on the night of the attack she heard running footsteps behind her and turned to see three white men wearing balaclavas coming towards her. She thought they were chasing someone else and merely stood and watched them.

"Suddenly they surrounded me and started thrashing me with sjamboks. The suddenness of the attack — they didn't even say anything — just added to the sheer terror.

"I started screaming and cried for someone to help me, cringing against the wall trying to protect my face. But no one came and they kept hitting me.

Freedom chants at funeral

JOHANNESBURG. — Several thousand mourners today flocked to the Alexandra funeral of eight blacks allegedly slain by vigilantes.

About 1 000 people crammed into St Michael's Anglican Church for the service, and 3 000 to 4 000 packed the church courtyard and narrow streets nearby.

Police with shotguns patrolled the area in armoured personnel carriers and at midday parked in front of the church.

An officer, using a loudspeaker, ordered those who could not fit into the church to disperse.

The crowd jeered, chanted freedom slogans and refused to move. After conferring by radio, the police pulled a short distance away.

● A funeral for four youths who died in a clash with police at a May Day rally in Wattville, Benoni, was held at the Anglican Church in the township this morning. There were no incidents. — Sapa.

Too scared

"After about 10 seconds — it seemed like 10 years — they suddenly stopped and ran off."

Miss Orpen believes the men had been lying in wait for her for some time.

"I'd been out for supper with a friend," she said. "I'd just parked my car and walked across the parking area, about 80 metres or so, when the men rushed out at me from some hiding place."

"The frightening thing is that no one came to help me. Afterwards, as I lay there crying, a man came out of a flat and said he had been too scared to come out when he heard me screaming."

"He was even too scared to walk me to my flat in case they were waiting for me."

"Eventually a young girl who lives in the flats came and took me to my flat and called a doctor."

Recently Miss Orpen's boyfriend, Mr Peter Hawthorn, was attacked by a group of men.

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A Tutu-style lambasting ⁽²⁴³⁾ for SA press ⁽²⁴³⁾

BISHOP Desmond Tutu had harsh words to say about the South African press as a whole and praise for a few specific newspapers in his keynote address to the International Press Institute this week

He said the South African press has "done a Dr Faustus on us, it has sold its financial soul in exchange for immediate advantages"

He said the newspapers tended to identify their immediate interests with white interests and not with the long term interests of the nation as a whole. He was "deeply saddened to see how our newspapers which should be our salvation serve us so ill given the fact that the SABC would not know what to do with the truth if it stared it in the face"

White newspapers, he said, have "by and large fallen down very badly in executing this formidable communications exercise" The demise of the Rand Daily Mail had worsened this position, but the gap was being filled to some extent by the year-old Weekly Mail

He qualified his criticism of the press as whole since it would otherwise give the impression that "all South African newspapers had been totally spineless" He said there had been some newspapers, of which one or two are still in existence, which had been true to the "best traditions of outstanding journalism"

He mentioned by name the now defunct Rand Daily Mail and Sunday Express, the Daily Dispatch and the Sunday Times when they had been under the editorships of Donald Woods and Joel Mervis respectively. He also mentioned the former editors Laurence Gandar, Raymond Louw and Allister Sparks

Economy and restrictions leave newspapers in a sorry state

Concern about SA Press

SMA 15/5/86 (243)

By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

The Press in South Africa today — struggling under a mountain of restrictive laws and great economic pressure — had been left in a disturbing state, a leading South African editor said last night

Mr Anthony Heard, editor of the *Cape Times*, said in his address to the International Press Institute conference in Vienna yesterday that numerous laws and regulations bore down on South African newspapers, making their job of informing the public a difficult one

While a great human tragedy was busy unfolding in South Africa, the Press were hampered at almost every turn by restrictions which affected reporting on defence, the police, strategic materials, quoting banned persons, endangering internal security and a host of others

"The genius is that this not left to an office censor. The genius is that every editor must be his or her own censor," Mr Heard added

MANAGEMENT

According to Mr Heard, economic pressures also played an important role in the South African Press.

"Left out of the rich television advertising cake — indeed having been amazingly complacent in the comfortable years before TV was allowed — and sometimes not blessed with the calibre of management required for a high-profile public role, the Press finds itself in a harrowing economic plight"

Mr Heard added that in an industry where the journalist had to be prepared to be blamed for everything that went wrong, job satisfaction and career development tended not to rate very high

"But in the midst of the turmoil there is a magnificent corps of journalists doing a magnificent job, of which the world should take note," Mr Heard said

Wille, The Cape, Goodwood, Kuilsriver, Port
monstown, Wynberg, Durban, Alberton, Benoni,
Kpan, Germiston, Johannesburg, Kempton Park,
gel, Oberholzer, Pretoria, Randburg, Randfontein,
rings, Vanderbijlpark, Vereeniging, Westonaria,

London
noon

Superseding w.d. no : 341

Press has key role in the unfolding SA crisis

Cape Times 15/5/86 243

IN THE fast-polarizing situation in South Africa, frequently suspicion marks the relations among the different press ventures

It is my view that established newspapers must go to great lengths, and at times even take calculated chances, to demonstrate that they appreciate and understand the plight of the masses in the country — otherwise they will be consistently rejected as house journals for the white establishment. In the long run, that means their death, for the future of South Africa is going to be intimately tied up with the growing clout, politically and economically, of the black masses

Be that as it may, the newspapers and news-sheets representing all these diverse interests now address the crisis that is developing in South Africa, and they do so in a muted but not totally ineffectual way. And, for their pains, they are harassed in different degrees by the authorities. That includes the severe procedure of detention without trial, experienced particularly among the more radical newspaper staffs, who have suffered greatly at the hands of the forces of law and order

Do justice

The Cape Times must ensure charges from government ministers that it is the mouth-piece of the mass-action United Democratic Front and of the African National Congress. We are not a newspaper, trying to do a job of informing the public

And we are as concerned to do journalistic justice to the case of the authorities as to the case of the demonstrators. That way, you can end up inadvertently in the middle

The very fact of offering a version of the facts that differs from that of the police authorities, indeed which on occasion reflects on police activity, is highly unpopular. Apart from being seen as rankly unpatriotic, it can bring the courts of the land down on one's head with a thump

A shrewdly designed Police Act provides that it is an offence to publish "untrue matter" about police activities without having "reasonable grounds" to believe it is true

Checking

In the real world where multiple versions of the truth tend to abound, it is virtually impossible, if the letter of the law is applied, to report what is going on without running foul of the



This is an extract from the speech by the Editor of the Cape Times, Mr A H HEARD, to the International Press Institute in Vienna yesterday

back with a blanket denial that the events reported took place, and threaten to prosecute if the report is published?

What if they say that the report is wrong in some respects but refuse to specify? What if they say it will take time to investigate the report — whereas any journalist knows that to delay hard-news is almost as good as discarding it? What if the police say that the report discloses the commission of a suspected offence, and that they are therefore investigating it and for this reason the matter is now sub judice and nothing about it can be reported before the court process, which can be months ahead?

What if the police demand the source of the story, and threaten to use a subpoena against the journalist or newspaper to secure this source, a procedure which faces newspapers with a Catch 22 situation. They are naturally reluctant to keep sources, for fear of facing a subpoena and jail if they do not disclose, but good journalism requires having the most detailed account of sources

What do you do in all these situations? You simply have to work out your own salvation or damnation

The pitfalls and complications

Publish and be charged is the watch-word, as quite a few editors have discovered in various courtrooms of the country. Including me — over the quoting of remarks made in an interview by Mr Oliver Tambo, leader of the African National Congress

As a banned or listed person, he may not be quoted in South Africa — incidentally, unlike equally controversial guerilla leaders like Yasser Arafat (who may be quoted in Israel) or Sam Nujoma (who may be quoted in Namibia)

The pressures on the press are not only legal. They include warnings and threats from government ministers, prudence on the part of proprietors who (it should be stressed) must take responsibility for valuable assets, and the natural reluctance by editors and reporters to land their papers, which are very small businesses with tiny circulations compared with the great newspapers of the world, in court and other wrangles which are hugely expensive in money and in tied-up executive time

There is a voluntary and independent Media Council, well-run and professional with two eminent ex-judges heading it, but the downside is that

liberal editors are pretty used to being paraded around like the elephant man, as a sort of performing oddity, so that foreign visitors can see real, live, breathing, campaigning editors

But on the other hand, the security establishment (and, indeed, a great deal of the power structure) is highly critical of the role of the press, and clearly believes that it is a major part of the problem in South Africa

"Hang the messenger" is a knee-jerk response from officialdom when things go wrong in South Africa. Hence, recent action against my own newspaper, involving the police simply cutting off all relations with us after certain reports and comments — not that that stopped us from getting the news

Complacent

Moreover, this action was ironically an official invitation to us not to take reasonable steps (under the Police Act) to check our news — which, of course, we did not take up because of our own traditions and sense of responsibility. So we have had to go to extra lengths to substantiate our reports. But to find every policeman in the land turning his back on you does not make press life any easier

The economic pressures on newspapers have become severe, too. Left out of the rich television advertising cake, and indeed having been amazingly complacent in the many comfortable years before TV was allowed into South Africa, and sometimes not blessed with the calibre of management required for a high-profile public role, the press finds itself in harrowing economic plight

Circulations are static or falling. Two-digit inflation, for a dozen years without let-up, has eroded the economic base. The economy has slumped. Costs have rocketed, including that major cost, newsprint

The death, for one or other reason, of great newspapers such as the Rand Daily Mail (indeed half a dozen other lesser-known titles have disappeared in the past two years), has disillusioned journalists, many of whom have emigrated to Australia or elsewhere

Hang in

Mergers and plant-sharing are going ahead in a spirit of urgency, which, if not carefully handled, could whittle down the press to a few

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judgment in the Eastern Cape province finding a reporter of the Eastern Province Herald guilty under the Police Act, if not overturned on appeal, could reinforce this situation

Newspapers simply have to take the most meticulous precautions by checking out every fact with the police. The only way to have a watertight defence against a prosecution for not taking reasonable steps to check is not only to phone but to telex reports to police HQ for comment

It is obvious that police HQ, working under heavy pressure, can receive on-the-spot reports which prove to be faulty, as happened on March 21 last year over the Langa, Uitenhage, shootings, leading to incorrect information being given to Parliament by the Minister of Law and Order

Which prompts thoughts on why the police should resent the fact that newspapers go to great lengths to make available as many credible versions of the facts to the public as possible. Surely, this should be welcomed, as contributing to a clearer and fuller understanding of what has happened?

When reports are referred to the police for confirmation or comment, complications and dilemmas can arise. For instance, what if the police come

mind you, while the newspaper is rushing to production with the equivalent of a medium-sized novel — to write, plan, print and distribute. An editor of the Johannesburg Star said in the fifties that editing in South Africa was like walking through a minefield blindfold. Well, in the eighties perhaps it can be said that the press have mislaid their white stick

The state of the press in South Africa today is disturbing. Numerous laws and regulations bear down on newspapers which are trying to do their job of informing the public on a great unfolding human tragedy. Almost wherever you turn, there are restrictions — on defence, police, prisons, strategic materials, quoting banned persons, endangering internal security, fostering boycotts or the aims of banned organizations, etc

The genius is that this is not left to an office censor, which would permit the editor to work light duties leaving the hard work to a bureaucrat. No, the genius is that the editor must be his or her own censor

The censor exists in the editor's own head. For, the way the law is structured, you may publish if you wish, but then you can be prosecuted for what you publish if it contravenes a maze of laws and regulations

paper up to R10 000 for contravention of an ethical code

There has been no time since the present government came to power when it was not, in some way, threatening the press, either publicly or privately. The press has been ominously told to "put its house in order" many times. Various commissions have produced voluminous reports on the press. The Hansard reports of Parliament are rich in attacks on newspapers and individual journalists

The proprietors, editors and even the Media Council's proceedings enjoy the critical attention of government ministers, and there are signs that new steps are being considered. These could include the establishment of a register for journalists, which would in effect involve licensing them, and giving the Media Council a statutory base which could mean effective government control. Such steps would turn the current twilight of press freedom into night

At the base of the South African government's approach to the press is an awkward ambivalence

The press is most valuable to officials abroad who wish to point to a free press as one of the reasons why the country should be treated better, invested in, traded with etc. And

my own newspaper, which held its own in the market for more than a century, enjoying a favourable morning slot, finds itself having to enter into a sharing of non-editorial departments with our afternoon competitor — but, I might add, with legally binding guarantees of many years of future publication and economic strength which look satisfactory in the circumstances

The key thing for the press to do is to hang in there while the crisis unfolds, doing its job as reporter and commentator

I see the role of the press as the oil in the negotiating machinery for a new South Africa. It can help both white and black, in this potentially great country, to find one another, providing a unique bridge based on a readership which in many cases is half white and half black, and relying on a sturdy tradition which gives it powerful locus standi in the unfolding drama

Whether it will hang in there, or will succumb to political or economic predations, remains to be seen. Maybe, one day its problems with black nationalism will be as great as current problems with Afrikaner nationalism and, previously, with imperial power. But, whatever one might think of that, there is certainly still a job to be done

BUDAY

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Heard calls on Press to heed blacks

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VIENNA — *Cape Times* editor, Anthony Heard has urged SA newspapers to appreciate and understand the attitudes and plight of blacks — or face eventual ruin.

He told the International Press Institute's annual conference yesterday that blacks felt locked out from media attention.

He said newspapers should note the remarks made in Vienna on Monday by Bishop Desmond Tutu who said blacks felt their views were not represented in the white Press.

"Established newspapers must go to great lengths — and at times take calculated chances to demonstrate that they appreciate and understand the plight of the masses in the country — otherwise they will be consistently rejected as house journals for the white establishment," he said.

"In the long run that means their death, for the future of SA is going to be intimately tied-up with the growing clout — politically and economically — of the black masses."

Heard, delivering a report on the state of the SA Press, said newspapers were addressing the crisis in a "not totally ineffectual way".

He detailed the problems that reporters encountered in violent situations and the difficulties editors faced under a deluge of regulations covering publication of unrest reports.

Heard told the conference, attended by 320 editors and media controllers from 50 countries, that he saw the role of the Press as "the oil in the negotiating machinery for a new SA".

It could help both white and black, providing a bridge based on a readership which in many cases, was "half white and half black".

He said that the stand taken by the *Cape Times* had not affected its advertising. In fact there had been a slight gain. — Sapa.

SUGAR MANUFACTURING AND REFINING INDUSTRY
Parties Employer Organisation: The Sugar Manufacturing and Refining Employers' Association
Trade Unions: The Amalgamated Engineering Union; The Natal Sugar Industry Employees' Union; The South African Electrical Workers' Association; The Sugar Industry Employees' Association SA
and Steel Workers',
Elders' Society; The Allied

sa, Inanda, Lower Tugela
t Shepstone, Umzinto,

: 24 days after 2 years

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Lower Umf
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Footnotes
1. Annual Leave - All
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14/5/82
243

Court to review ruling on subpoena

PORT ELIZABETH — The Grahamstown Supreme Court is to review a ruling on an inquiry involving editors and news editors of the *Eastern Province Herald* and the *Evening Post*.

The ruling, by Port Elizabeth magistrate, Mr P Rothman, was submitted for review yesterday and the matter has been provisionally postponed to May 30.

The inquiry follows subpoenas served on editor of the *Herald*, Mr J C Viviers, *Herald* deputy news editor Mr Andre Erasmus, *Evening Post* deputy editor Mr Trevor Bisseker and *Post* news editor Mr Cliff Foster, to "declare all they know" about an alleged contravention of Section 57(1) of Act 74 of 1982 by Mr Mkhusele Jack and others.

VAGUE

The subpoenas were served by the security police and the four newsmen are required to hand over notes and film taken by two freelance journalists at the Mabhida memorial service in the Dan Qeqe stadium on March 31.

At the first appearance on April 14, the newsmen's defence counsel, Mr D S Dison, challenged the subpoenas, were vague, unreasonable and embarrassing.

However, Mr Rothman ruled on April 22 that the inquiry did not have the jurisdiction to set aside subpoenas issued by another magistrate and that the prohibition orders were valid — Sapa

Newspapers 'pander to white interests'

CAPE TIMES 13/5/86 (243)

VIENNA — Bishop Desmond Tutu has accused most South African newspapers of "disastrous pandering to white interests" by failing to tell their readers about the true situation in the country.

He told some 320 newspaper editors, journalists and media controllers from 50 countries here yesterday that anyone reading them would think South Africa was a country going through a period of calm and stability "rather than one which is facing traumatic times".

Bishop Tutu was guest speaker at the annual conference of the International Press Institute.

'Birthright'

He told the IPI members that by and large the white English and Afrikaans press had "abandoned its birthright for a mess of pottage".

He exempted from his criticism the defunct Rand Daily Mail and said the new Weekly Mail had filled the gap to a limited extent.

The Cape Times, he said, tried to describe the harsh realities of South Africa and shake whites out of their complacency.

Among those attending were the editor of the Cape Times, Mr A H Heard, and Mr Raymond Louw, formerly of the defunct Rand Daily Mail, both of whom Bishop Tutu lauded in his speech as exceptions to the rule.

He said that from reading South African newspapers it could be thought that South Africa was going through a period of calm while in



Bishop Tutu addresses the International Press Institute in Vienna yesterday.

reality an average of three people died in unrest-related incidents daily, troops were being used against the civilian population, children were boycotting schools and the rand had been "battered".

Most newspapers did not appear to really believe that the present dispensation was "on the skids", that change was going to happen and when it did there might have to be a day of reckoning when every institution and everybody would be judged harshly about whether they advanced or hindered the liberation process.

"In this respect most white newspapers have done a grave disservice to the people of South Africa in not helping to prepare whites for the inevitable — a more just, a more equitable, a more

democratic and non-racial set-up," he said.

Bishop Tutu branded the SABC a "lickspittle sychophant" of the government and an extension of the propaganda arm of the Nationalist government.

He accused newspapers of telling whites what they wanted to hear — that they were an embattled people under threat from a hostile world.

The bishop conceded that the South African press was on the whole a great deal more free than in most other parts of Africa.

But he described this as a "deliberately cultivated aberration by the South African authorities" who used it to persuade the outside world to believe that "things were not so bad in the country".

'Outstanding'

He said there had been some newspapers, of which one or two are still in existence, which had been true to the "best traditions of outstanding journalism."

He mentioned by name the now defunct Rand Daily Mail, The Sunday Express and the Daily Dispatch.

He singled out the Sunday Times under editorship of Joel Mervis for its coverage of the "Info Scandal" and the Rand Daily Mail for its "persistence" which led to a judicial inquiry into the shootings at Langa last year — an inquiry which brought to light that the account given initially by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, was "less than accurate" — Sapa

BUDAY.
Mess-of-potage jibe at media

Tutu says Press panders to whites

13/5/86. (203)

VIENNA — Bishop Desmond Tutu has accused the SA Press of failing to tell readers what is going on in the country.

He told 320 journalists from 50 countries yesterday that most newspapers pandered to white interests

Tutu, guest speaker at the annual International Press Institute conference, said white Press had abandoned its birthright for a mess of potage.

"Most white newspapers have done a grave disservice to the people of SA in not helping to prepare whites for the inevitable — a more just, a more equitable, a more democratic and non-racial set-up"

Tutu added *The Cape Times* tried to describe harsh realities and shake whites out of their complacency

He branded the SABC a "lickspittle psychophant" of government.

Tutu also accused newspapers of telling whites only what they wanted to hear

The Star acting editor-in-chief Rex Gibson said "I believe *The Star* is doing an effective job of acting as a bridge between black and white, but not a perfect one. The better papers also seek those aims"

Business Day editor Ken Owen said "All newspapers tend to give expression to perceptions and convictions of communities they serve.

"I am sure that, if Bishop Tutu is right, he and his community will in time produce newspapers to give expression to their perceptions and convictions. They will then not need to rely on the media he criticises."

Die Vaderland editor Harald Pakendorf said there was a communications gap between communities.

"Tutu is asking for something that is not easy to realise. Newspapers have a specific market to address"

He added: "Accepting Tutu's criticism, I wonder why he finds it impossible to ask the obvious question. What is the black Press doing to explain the white situation to its readers?"

Tutu conceded in his speech that the SA Press was a great deal freer than in most other parts of Africa

He described this, however, as a "deliberately cultivated aberration by the SA authorities" who used it to persuade the outside world to believe that "things were not so bad in the country". — Sapa

UDF slams Sunday paper's report

SOWETAN Reporter

THE Northern Transvaal region of the United Democratic Front yesterday dismissed a report in a Sunday newspaper as "misleading, alarmist and irresponsible journalism".

The region's publicity secretary, Mr Peter Mokaba, issued a statement condemning a news focus report on the Lebowa homeland and the role of the UDF in developments there.

In the statement, he said. "The impression we get from the statement published in the Sunday newspaper which says 'the former ANC member talks of the spread of the liberation war undermining the authorities of the State and the destruction of the Lebowa's system of government'.

"We refuse to associate ourselves with this statement. We have no such strategy and we do not want this newspaper to draw up one for us

"The reporters concerned are maliciously telling lies when they claim that the UDF's Northern Transvaal region has taken over the Students Representative Council offices at the University of the North as its headquarters. We have our own offices in a Pietersburg Indian complex and have never used the SRC offices at any stage," the statement added.

The organisation also rejected a reference in the report which said the UDF had a programme to eliminate "grey areas".

"The UDF feels strongly that such irresponsible and false reports are geared towards endangering the lives of our own people who have already been victims of unprovoked violence from the farmers, police and army," the statement said.

"By deliberately distorting facts and causing alarm the newspaper is actually trying to justify and legitimise the violence against our people. We must strongly warn that those who spread lies and fan fires of racialism shall not be forgiven by history.

"The UDF has long warned that the violent actions of farmers and police in the northern Transvaal have plunged the area into a state of civil war, that the police and army and the vigilantes are plunging this country further into crisis as a result of the newspaper's false report," the UDF said.

Sowetan 13/5/86

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throughout in the buffer zone and adjoining residential areas. One section patrols the buffer zone and the other two sections patrol Munsieville and Dan Pienaarville.

The patrols for the buffer zone are maintained for 24 hours per day and the rest at irregular times and routes.

- (b) (i) The total expenditure will only be determinable when the SA Defence Force has withdrawn.
- (ii) ± R14 600
- (c) (i) None
- (ii) 30
- (d) The information supplied above is for the period from 28 January 1986 to 30 April 1986.

Foreign correspondents
 917 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs *Caen 1679* *243*

- (1) Whether foreign correspondents wishing to work in the Republic are required to apply for work permits at South African embassies or consulates prior to travelling to the Republic, if so, (a) what requirements do such correspondents have to meet before being granted work permits, (b) how many applications of this nature were (i) received, (ii) granted and (iii) refused in 1985, (c) what were the reasons for the refusals in each case and (d) which newspapers, magazines or broadcasting companies did the (i) successful and (ii) unsuccessful applicants represent.
- (2) whether applications for work permits by foreign media personnel received by such embassies or consulates are referred to any other State Departments before being granted or refused, if not, why not, if so, (a) to

what other Departments and (b) for what purpose?

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

- (1) Yes. The completed applications together with the comments and recommendations of the relative Head of Mission are forwarded to the Department of Foreign Affairs for onward transmission to the Department of Home Affairs for consideration and a decision.
- (a) Applicants must submit applications on the prescribed forms in which they must, inter alia, indicate the purpose and period of their visit. Each application is considered on merit. When considering applications, special attention is paid to the extent of objectivity towards the Republic which the applicant reflects in his reporting.
- (b) (i), (ii) and (iii) The honourable member is referred to my reply of 11 April 1986 to question nr 687.
- (c) and (d) It is not customary to divulge reasons for refusals of applications and separate statistics are not kept on this basis either.
- (2) Yes
 - (a) The Department of Foreign Affairs, the Bureau for Information, the Security services and any other department which may have an interest in the subject matter on which reporting is to be done.
 - (b) In order to obtain recommendations from the above-mentioned institutions to present the Minister of Home Affairs with a balanced evaluation on the desirability of allowing the applicant to enter the Republic of South Africa for the purpose requested in the application.

Cape Province: admission to hospitals

952 Mr H H SCHWARZ asked the Minister of Finance:

- (1) Whether he has been consulted regarding the requirement that patients seeking admission to hospitals in the Cape Province are to provide the hospitals concerned with their income tax numbers, if so, (a) when, (b) by whom and (c) what was his response thereto, if not,
- (2) whether he will investigate this matter, if not, why not,
- (3) whether the Department of Inland Revenue or any office of the Receiver of Revenue will be required to provide any information to the hospital services in respect of any persons making use of these hospitals, if so, (a) what specified information, (b) why and (c) in terms of what statutory provision,
- (4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

beth, (f) Kimberley, (g) East London, (h) Bloemfontein and (i) Johannesburg?

THE MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT, HOUSING AND WORKS

	R
(a) Cape Town Metropolitan area	14 857 162
(b) Durban Metropolitan area	7 227 789
(c) Pietermaritzburg	497 409
(d) Pretoria Metropolitan area	10 892 656
(e) Port Elizabeth Metropolitan area	3 929 646
(f) Kimberley	830 570
(g) East London	1 382 373
(h) Bloemfontein	3 866 472
(i) Witwatersrand Metropolitan area	17 430 628

TUESDAY, 13 MAY 1986

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE

- (1) No
- (2) No. It is a private matter between the hospital authorities and the patient.
- (3) No
- (4) It is not deemed necessary to issue a statement on the matter.

† Indicates translated version

For oral reply

General Affairs

State President.

Own Affair

Construction of houses
 71. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Works

What amounts were spent by his Department in the 1985-86 financial year on the construction of houses for Whites in (a) Cape Town, (b) Durban, (c) Pietermaritzburg, (d) Pretoria, (e) Port Elizabeth,

- (1) What are the (a) names of and (b) positions held by each of the persons who accompanied him to the coronation of the king of Swaziland in April 1986;
- (2) whether he or any member of the South

Swaziland: coronation of King
 *1 THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION asked the State President:

1677

MONDAY, 12 MAY 1986

1678

MONDAY, 12 MAY 1986

†Indicates translated version

For written reply

General Affairs
Bureau for Information
1677
243
243
HANS WILG SOAL asked the Deputy
Minister of Information

(1) Whether the Bureau for Information keeps a record of register of the foreign correspondents working in the Republic, if so, (a) when was this record or register commenced, (b) how many foreign correspondents were there in the Republic as at the latest specified date for which information is available, (c) what are the (i) names and (ii) nationalities of these correspondents and (d) for which newspapers, magazines or broadcasting companies do they work in each case,

(2) whether foreign correspondents are required to (a) register with and/or (b) acquire a permit from his Department before they may work in the Republic, if not, from whom do they obtain permission; if so,

(3) whether foreign correspondents are required to renew their permits to work in the Republic, if so, (a) at what intervals, (b) why, (c) how many correspondents (i) applied for, (ii) were granted and (iii) were refused renewed permits to work in the Republic during the latest specified period of six months for which information is available and (d) what were the reasons for refusing these applications in each case?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION

(1) Yes The Bureau for Information keeps a register of all foreign corre-

spondents who apply for accreditation Accreditation is done on a voluntary basis and information in this regard was given in question number 550

(a) to (d) Fall away.

(2) (a) No

(b) Yes, work permits are required by foreign correspondents. Such permits are administered by the Department of Home Affairs

(3) (a) to (d) Fall away

Whether the South African Defence Force recently took steps to bring about peace and quiet between the residents of Munsieville and Krugersdorp, if so, (a) what steps, (b) what is the (i) total and (ii) monthly expenditure involved in this, (c) how many (i) officers and (ii) other members of the South African Defence Force are involved in guarding the boundary between Munsieville and Krugersdorp and (d) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(a) The SA Defence Force is not responsible for the combating of unrest in Black townships. It is the task of the SA Police. The undermentioned steps taken by the SA Defence Force must be seen as support to the SA Police to establish peace and quiet between the inhabitants of Munsieville and Krugersdorp

— The Commando unit established a temporary base which is maintained at all times, in the buffer zone between Munsieville and the White schools of Krugersdorp

— One platoon is deployed

HoA

Cape Times 12/5/86

Conference on press freedom

263

VIENNA — Editors, publishers and broadcasters gathered yesterday for the 35th general assembly of the International Press Institute, a three-day conference on problems of press freedom and news coverage around the world

The Archbishop-elect of the Anglican Church in South Africa, Bishop Desmond Tutu, is expected to open the meeting today with an attack on the coverage of South Africa's racial situation by news media in that country

He contends that white-controlled media, both independent and State-owned, largely fail to provide balanced, thorough coverage that could help to solve the issues.

300 delegates

Some 300 delegates, nearly all from the West and the Third World, will attend the conference in the Hofburg, the former Austrian imperial palace. The IPI is a London-based, independently-financed organization that seeks to promote press freedom.

Among the other speakers will be the Editor of the Cape Times, Mr A H Heard

Panel discussions will focus on problems of censorship, conflicts between national security and the public's right to information, coverage of environmental questions and the ways the East and the West are presented in each other's news media — Sapa-AP

ONE TIME DISB

News ban on Times lifted

JOHANNESBURG — A six-week ban on police news to the Cape Times has been lifted by the Commissioner of Police, a spokesman for the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) said last night.

He said a working arrangement — that the Cape Times again have access to police information — was agreed to after the NPU/SAP liaison committee met in a special session in Pretoria on Tuesday.

The meeting followed complaints that the agreement between the SAP and the NPU had been broken by both parties — Sapa

Two in contempt of court

JOHANNESBURG. — Weekly Mail journalists Anton Harber, 27, and Jo-Ann Bekker, 25, were found guilty of contempt of court in the Delmas Court yesterday.

Mr Justice Kees van Dijkhorst, the judge presiding in the Delmas treason trial still in progress, accused Harber, the co-editor, and Bekker, a reporter, of publishing objectionable articles about the trial in last week's edition of the newspaper.

The judge said four sentences in particular were speculative, and could have a bearing on the outcome of the trial.

Harber and Bekker admitted that they had mistakenly attributed a published set of notes to the judge. An attorney gave evidence that the notes were his own.

Harber was fined R750 (or three months), and Bekker R200 (or one month), suspended for two years.

Harber was instructed to publish an apology in terms approved by the judge.

Mr Dennis Kuny appeared for the accused.

— Sapa

Cape Times 7/5/86

Press survival 'enhanced'

2003

SOUTH AFRICA'S media watchdog body yesterday said rationalization negotiations between SAAN and Argus should be seen against the background of economic threats to the newspaper industry, but also cautioned against long-term joint operations

A statement issued by Mr M A Diemont, former Appeal Court judge who was authorized by the SA Media Council's executive committee to issue a statement on behalf of the council, said the current negotiations were initiated by SAAN

Mr Diemont is alternate chairman of the council and chairman of the council's committee appointed to investigate and report on developments which might lead to monopolistic trends in the media

"The proposed rationalization arrangements do not endanger the existence of any newspaper. On the contrary, information available to the Media Council offers convincing assurances that the survival prospects of newspapers concerned will be enhanced," the statement said

"No newspaper's editorial identity is threat-

ened by the moves towards rationalization now being negotiated

"But joint management, joint advertising, joint accounts and joint printing arrangements could possibly in the long term place such identity in jeopardy and efforts by the parties to the negotiations to guard against this possibility have been noted," it said

"The council notes public assurances by SAAN and Argus that everything possible will be done to reduce hardships from retrenchments resulting from the proposed rationalization"

SAAN publications affected by the current rationalization proposals are the Sunday Times, the Cape Times, Business Day and the Financial Mail

Argus publications involved are the Star, the Sunday Star and the Argus

A SAAN spokesman said last night "We welcome the balanced and well-informed approach of the Media Council and also their keen and constructive interest in the affairs of the newspaper industry in general"

Spectrum

Violence!

US report's incontrovertible evidence clears TV cameras

By ALAN DUNN, of The Argus Foreign Service, in Washington

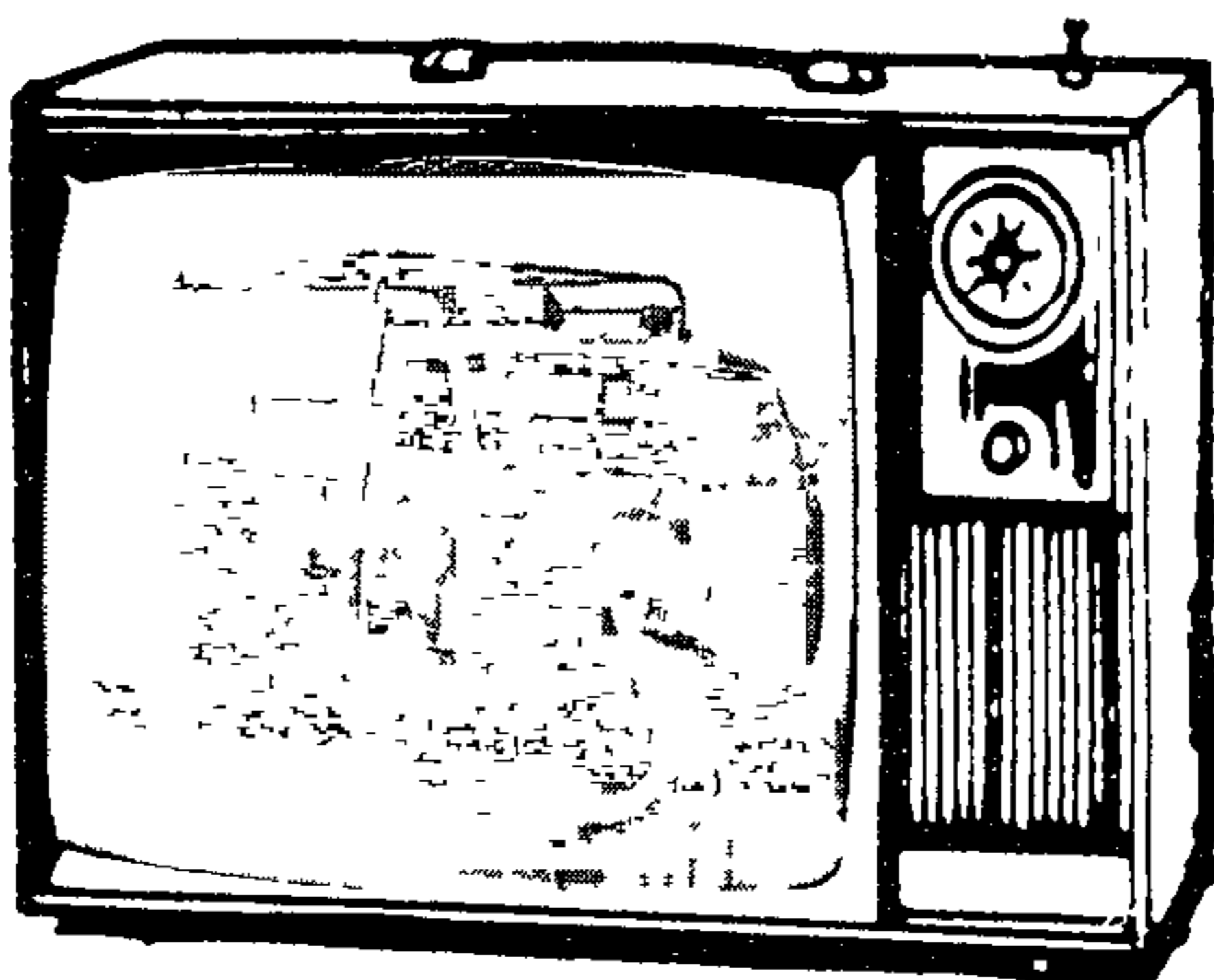
THE blackout on television cameras in South Africa's unrest areas provided "incontrovertible evidence" that TV coverage did not produce violence, a new US study has found.

The camera ban also initially deterred US news networks, but then created a different, deeper coverage of the Republic's problems on television news, a study by New York University's News Study Group has found.

It is carried in the latest mass-circulation American *TV Guide*, a weekly magazine which requested the analysis. The study monitored the mainstream CBS, NBC and ABC networks three months before clampdown and during three months of it.

IMMEDIATELY after the camera ban on November 2, the networks concentrated on news about the order itself — "television was devoting less time to riots and deaths than to its difficulties trying to cover them. In the first three days following the ban, CBS evening news devoted 10 minutes and 30 seconds to South Africa, almost all of it to the ban," the study said.

Pretoria's tactics worked, however, in the first weeks of



WHILE Pretoria may have won some early victories through the camera ban, the study concluded, it "may have lost the news war" by challenging television's freedom.

the prohibition. November was one of the bloodiest months in South Africa last year, with 101 people killed and in December 92 died. "So much for the official claim that the cameras caused the violence," it said.

Both CBS and NBC admitted that the move had succeeded initially in keeping South African violence off the screen. "If that's success, well, yes, they succeeded," said a CBS executive. "I don't think that anyone has

been fooled by the fact that there were no pictures," he added.

BY late November, the networks embarked on different coverage. In December, the three networks' coverage more than doubled that in November. December's air-time was also 35 percent up on October's.

Black activist Mrs Winnie Mandela, the study noted, was featured 17 times in December. The networks were going beyond violence into "previously untouched analyses of attitudes and causality," it said. "By the beginning of this year, the networks were digging into the roots of South Africa's unrest. As ABC's (anchorman) Peter Jennings said to us, the coverage had begun to shift from daily 'bang-bang' visuals of violence to deeper, more analytical journalism," the study group said.

"In March, the government announced it was lifting its ban on camera coverage. The networks, however, say they're still impeded by police," the study said.

While Pretoria may have won some early victories through the camera ban, the study concluded, it "may have lost the news war" by challenging television's freedom.

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2nd DAY

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SAAN is on the comeback trail



SAAN has fallen on hard times and is rationalising many of its operations. Some assets have been sold to reduce debt but new chairman Pat Retief (left) is determined SAAN will not lose its editorial independence. Retief talks to LESLEY LAMBERT

SOUTH African Associated Newspapers' new chairman Pat Retief is determined that the embattled newspaper group should return to profitability and continue operating as an independent Press group

The appointment of Retief, executive director of JCI — which has an approximate 20% stake in SAAN — has inevitably fuelled speculation that an Argus/SAAN monopoly under Anglo American control is already a *fait accompli*

Retief disagrees "Monopoly implies a merger or control over the entire English Press by one group, and that is precisely what we are trying to avoid. We have no desire to reduce competition and wish only to ensure the survival of a vigorous and viable English morning newspaper group

"We are determined to see SAAN return to profitability because it can operate independently and forcefully only if it is financially sound."

Apart from one year's experience as a SAAN director, Retief has not been involved in the newspaper industry and plans to get to know it a lot better in the next few months

He insists his role will not be to manage the affairs of the company but rather to provide whatever management assistance is required to achieve the objective of returning SAAN to profitability as soon as possible

The new management team — which includes MD Stephen Mulholland and deputy MD John Featherstone — have a tough task ahead

Despite the battering SAAN has taken — from economic conditions that have shrunk the advertising cake and, in turn, the newspaper industry — Retief is, nonetheless, confident the team will achieve its objective

Not only is he encouraged by the latest developments, in which SAAN has sold some assets to reduce its debt, but also by recent discussions on rationalising the printing and administrative facilities of Argus and SAAN.

Asked whether editorial independence

will be the only independence SAAN will enjoy after the rationalisation dust has settled, Retief says with the caution of a diplomat "The only interdependence will be in the printing, distribution and administration functions, which clearly makes sense from the point of view of both groups"

He emphasises that the chief objective is to maintain SAAN mastheads, which include the *Financial Mail*, *Sunday Times*, *Business Day*, *Cape Times*, *Eastern Province Herald* and the *Evening Post*, as viable independent newspapers

A vital prescription for the improvement of SAAN's financial performance, Retief says, is dramatic cost-cutting through sensible rationalisation of all areas of operation, with the exception of editorial — which will remain totally independent.

Retief is concerned about lay-offs that inevitably accompany this further rationalisation. It is one of the most difficult aspects of the new position.

"Clearly, we will do whatever we can to help the individuals to find suitable alternative employment and, if that's not possible, to enter into what I hope will be mutually satisfactory arrangements."

Retief has strong political views on the need for change in SA. He has always believed that the future depends on the rapid urbanisation and education of the majority of South Africans.

"We have been doing the reverse for the past 25 years. The sooner we begin communicating with every political party with something to contribute to this society, the better."

He adds, a touch cynically, that his views have remained constant over the years and have not been adapted with the same urgency as those of many others in the business community.

Retief is chairman of JCI coal division and Consolidated Murchison and is the executive director responsible for the manpower/administration divisions of the company

Waiting for... Percentage of wage paid Maternity days per pregna

SIR — The extracts from 'The Black Press' are very interesting because when analysed, they prove to be a mixture of falsehoods, distortions, and twisted half-truths.

Black Press distortions'

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Maurice
S/S

- 3. Prov
- Cov
- Wor
- Emp
- 5. Leav
- Cov
- Wor
- Emp
- Ann
- 6. Sick
- Cov
- Wor
- Emp
- Ann
- Ann
- Qua
- Wai
- Per
- Mat

The excerpts on the past fingerprinting of blacks are typical. As the black culture did not include schools or a written language, writing was something quite new, and when reference books were introduced a majority still could not write. Such persons could not be identified by a signature, and the only alternative was a fingerprint.

The propaganda about indignity and humiliation is nonsense, designed to mislead the whites, who have done so much to uplift the blacks, into feeling guilty. They have never received a word of thanks for these achievements, for example the conquest of diseases, nor any word of acknowledgement from outside South Africa.

Humiliation

Equally misleading is the propaganda about 'blacks being forced to carry reference books at all times' (*Ilanga*) and 'how many of them (whites) could ever imagine the humiliation of being asked in the street to

produce their identification' (*Sowetan*)

But this happened to a white man I met and he was fined for not carrying his book of life. For anyone unwilling to produce the money the only possible alternative is jail.

In respect of carrying identification the law has been similar for whites and blacks. I have just enquired from the police, and they stated that whites are still compelled to carry their book of life under penalty, even now when blacks are not so compelled.

There is a similar fuss over continuing to record a person's race, even though concealed in a code number. But recording race is practised in a majority of countries which have different races, and only South Africa is criticised for it. It can of course be useful when trying to cope with social, economic or

medical problems, which often can be related mainly to one race group.

Relentless

Whites are complaining about fingerprinting in a different context. It is the relentless drive of the bureaucracy towards total control which worries them, and a central bureau in which everybody is fingerprinted and computerised, and eventually turned into a pawn in a socialist state, is the threat that should be recognised and opposed vigorously by all race groups.

As for the constant references to 'liberation', they are nauseating. The UDF and the left-wing churchmen support the ANC, which like every marxist/communist organisation, is openly dedicated to the seizure of power by bloody revolution, and the establishment of a dictator-

ship in which all of the freedoms at present enjoyed by blacks, e.g. a free Press, freedom of movement, will be abolished.

Hypocrisy

In a communist state none of these freedoms exist, and the whole population is quite literally enslaved by a small clique of cruel, ruthless intellectuals. With cynical hypocrisy they call this, 'the dictatorship of the proletariat', but in reality it is a dictatorship **OVER** the proletariat.

In quelling resistance they expect and plan to murder millions, e.g. about

All
Yes
Yes

The Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

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One of the council's functions is to receive and act upon complaints from members of the public who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or other news media directly. Complaints must relate to published editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publication. But late complaints may be accepted if good reasons can be advanced.

The address is: The Conciliator/Registrar, SA Media Council, P.O. Box 5222, Cape Town, 8000. Telephone: (021) 46-7317. Inquiries are welcomed.

members of the board will ... than the economic growth rate ... the department's budget vote

ARGUS 2/5/86 (182) (122) 243

Green light to Argus acquiring Natal Mercury

Parliamentary Staff

THE Government has agreed to the acquisition of the Natal Mercury by the Argus Group

The acquisition was the subject of a Competition Board investigation following Government concern about the degree of concentration in the newspaper industry.

The board found that the takeover was the lesser of two evils, with the alternative being the closure of the Natal Mercury.

In a report tabled in Parlia-

ment yesterday the board said that the power to appoint the editor of the Natal Mercury must be vested in the directors of Robinson and Company, the former owners of the Mercury who now have a 30-percent holding in the new company, Natal Newspapers

EDITOR'S ROLE

The editor of the Natal Mercury had also to have complete responsibility for the editorial policy of the Natal Mercury.

The board rejected arguments that the deal to save the

Natal Mercury was a merger, saying it was an "acquisition".

Among other things, it pointed to the 70-percent majority shareholding the Argus Group held in Natal Newspapers and the fact that it had control of the board of directors

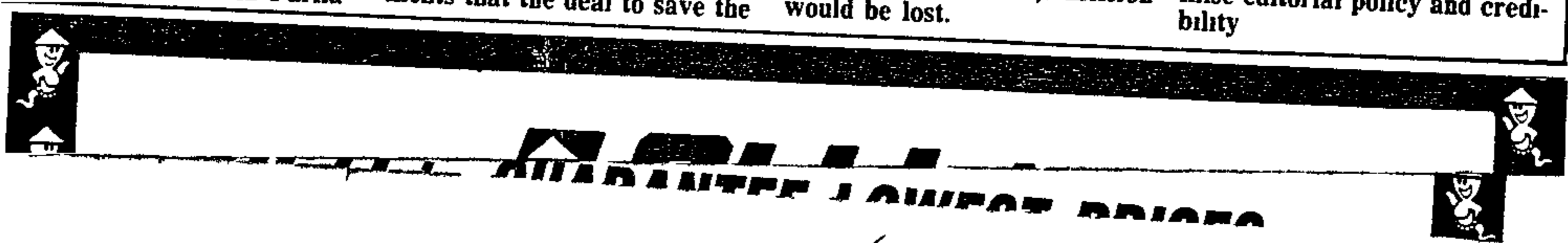
The board agreed that the Natal Mercury would have been faced with closure if the deal had not taken place.

In 1984 a loss of R163 000 was shown and it was projected that by 1987 R1,7-million would be lost.

It would not have been in the public interest for an old-established newspaper such as the Natal Mercury to close down

Other options were considered South African Associated Newspapers, which already had a 49-percent shareholding, was dismissed as a possible purchaser because it was also facing financial difficulties

The board believed that sale to an Afrikaans newspaper group would seriously compromise editorial policy and credibility



CMT 7/19/85
2/15/86

'Yes' to Natal paper plan

Political Staff

THE formation in Durban of Natal Newspapers in which the Argus has 70 percent of the shares and Robinson and Co, publishers of the Natal Mercury, 30 percent, has been approved by the Competition Board

In the report on its investigation into the deal, the Board says that the agreement, while not "perfect", is better than closing down a newspaper.

It goes into detail about the rising costs of production and declining advertising revenue available to newspapers because of the SABC's monopoly of TV and radio services.

The deal has been approved subject to two important conditions which will ensure the editorial independence of the Natal Mercury

'Vested'

The Board believed that while the deal provided a measure of editorial freedom for the editor of the Natal Mercury, "even such limited degree of editorial freedom is preferable to a situation resulting from the closure of the relevant newspaper, as happened to The Friend in Bloemfontein, the Rand Daily Mail in Johannesburg, the Sunday Express and recently the Cape Herald in the Western Cape".

The deal was approved on condition that. "The power to appoint the editor of the Natal Mercury must be legally vested in the board of directors of Robinsons where it has always been, and;

"The editor must have complete responsibility for the editorial policy of the Natal Mercury."

25/86
OK for press takeover

WEEKLY 11.

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CAPE TOWN The Competitions Board has recommended that no action be taken on the Argus Company takeover of the Natal Mercury's publisher, the Robinson Company.

Announcing this yesterday, Trade and Industry Minister Dawie de Villiers said he had directed the board

last October to investigate the takeover in terms of the Maintenance and Promotion of Competition Act

The board had now reported and had recommended no action, and after consideration he had decided to accept the board's recommendation, De Villiers said. — Sapa

THE ARTS/BOOKS

A clamour of alter-egos
from the letters column

I MISTRUSTED political mysticism and the religious instinct in politics, and yet as I travelled the country, I had a series of encounters with religiously inspired blacks, browns, and whites who couldn't wait for liberation to be liberated. They had an instinct that could be undervalued as romantic or utopian, but I learned to regard them as South Africa's glory, if not its hope, its moral, if not its political, centre. They were members of the smallest minority in the country, these liberated South Africans, for they were those who defined themselves as South African before they mentioned a colour, tribe, or ethnic group.

I don't mean to suggest that they were the only decent people in the land or that they were likely to be the ones who would finally resolve its conflicts. I mention these free South Africans because not to do so would be to take no account of the positive moral energies that invigorate and partially redeem the present, keeping alive a sense of a South Africa that could be not an inevitable South Africa brought into existence by unseen forces of historical necessity but not entirely a mirage either, for it exists in tiny outcroppings — in these lives, in lives like these, in the lives that they, and those like them, touch.

Joe Seremane was sent into internal exile by the state's security apparatus and arbitrarily transmogrified there from a black South African with no rights into a Bophuthatswanan with rights existing on paper like assets in a frozen account. As a black man who had once dared to take a political stance, he was expected to learn the lesson that his fate was controlled by invisible and anonymous officials, that destiny was what they said it was.

But Joe Seremane had a sense of humour as well as a sense of the absurd. The South African system, as he experienced it, was a practical joke played on his personality. And his personality was simply too large and expansive to stay bottled up in a dusty township called Montshwa, where he had been dumped, a place of total obscurity in the western Transvaal.

An alert reader of the letters columns in the English-language newspapers of Johannesburg or the nearer-to-hand Mafikeng (after an orthographic reform, Mafikeng) Mail might have noticed a few years ago that Montshwa had suddenly become the unlikely platform for a whole chorus of un intimidated, sometimes mocking black voices. There were Pax Patria and Domus Vero, Justice Lover, and Black Savage, Kubu Segathlhe, and Jack Senwamadl (a surname ominously translatable as "one who drinks blood"), not to mention an urbane and chatty Montshwa-based jazz critic named Monty Simon and, coming closer to the source of this din of free and unsolicited opinion, a certain Wetsho-O-tsele Seremane.

The editors of the letters columns were slow to catch on. On one glorious morning, two of Joe's epistolary alter egos managed to make themselves heard in the Rand Daily Mail. Addressing whites under his various aliases, Joe Seremane could be both caustic and tender. Sometimes he was not above taking on the black man's burden and seeking to uplift his readers from their slough of racial superstitions and fears. At his best he could be caustic, tender and uplifting all at once.

Addressing the white hope South African pugilism was offering to heavyweight boxing, Gerrie Coetzee, Justice Lover explained his reasons for rooting for one of his fellow South African's black American opponents. "Gerrie, you and I and all of us are caught up in a nasty historical trap!" his open letter began.

He then drew Gerrie Coetzee's attention to a controversy aroused by a decision to desegregate the Pretoria stadium where the fight was to be held. What had the local authorities been trying to avoid? "My black body," answered Justice Lover, "totally disregarding my beautiful, tolerant and patient soul." How could he root for a white South African boxer while he himself was not accepted as a South African? "No, Gerrie," he concluded, "I'll back you the day that you and I are Azanians in a unitary nonracial and nondiscriminatory state."

"My beautiful, tolerant and patient soul." There was a touch of self-mockery in the words perhaps, but they should have melted the hardest white heart. Pax Patria could also spread the balm of black compassion for whites, assuring his "white brothers" that blacks were not reared to hate, even those who have suffered terrible pains which we would never want to recount — because it hurts — in the police cells and prisons. The casual reader could take this as a rhetorical device, but the testimony was autobiographical. "Are we going to be denied what is rightfully ours because of



Joe Seremane was arbitrarily transformed from a black South African with no rights into a Bophuthatswanan with pretend-pretend rights. Fortunately, Joe had a well-developed sense of the absurd ...
The second in our series of extracts from the Pulitzer Prize-winning book **MOVE YOUR SHADOW** by JOSEPH LELYVELD of the New York Times.

your fears that are really unfounded?" Pax Patria asked. "I'll keep trying to forgive," Justice Lover was writing in his next published effort a couple of weeks later, "but for how long?"

By the time I met him, Joe Seremane and his entire cast had been virtually frozen out of the Johannesburg letters columns, but their, or his, epistolary spree was still gathering momentum. Now he was speaking mainly to blacks, especially blacks who were learning to think of themselves as Bophuthatswanans. When even the Mafikeng Mail showed signs that it might have heard enough from Domus Vero, Kubu Segathlhe stepped into the breach and started to run off his own home-typed newsletters for circulation in the townships. The man would not be turned off or silenced. "The Rustic's Viewpoint" these latest screeds were called.

Some rustic. Joe didn't grow up in the bush but in a township near Johannesburg, from adolescence on, he made himself a part of the history of his time and paid the price. He had travelled through southern Africa, his restless and inquiring mind had travelled the world. Yet cast adrift in a homeland, he became haunted by the perception that the homeland blacks — the biggest, fastest-growing segment of black South Africa, after all — were being written off by blacks who imagined themselves to be in the "struggle" as surely and completely as they were being written off by whites. To assail the policies and deprivations of the Tinkertoy homeland regimes, to try to keep black nationalist sentiments alive inside the arbitrary and invisible borders of the tribal states, was to run the risk of conceding them a measure of recognition. Or so orthodox black nationalists seemed to imagine, if the struggle were to be saved from a possibly fatal compromise, in their view, Bophuthatswana could not be seen to exist, and neither could Bophuthatswanans. It thus followed that there could be no alliance with anyone involved in opposition politics in the homeland.

Yet someone, Joe saw, had to keep a spirit of debate and quest alive in these stagnant satrapies, someone like Domus Vero or Kubu Segathlhe, two of his personae who became especially adept at playing the bumpkin with a sly sense of mischief as well as mission.

It all was pouring forth in a steady flow from a little study this self-liberated black man had built for himself in the backyard of his township house in a homeland. The first time I visited there, he showed me the scrapbook in which he had compiled his missives. "Mightier than the Sword," he had written on the cover. I knew Joe then only as a fieldworker of the South African Council of Churches, responsible primarily for staying in touch with various communities of rural blacks who had been forcibly resettled in the homeland.

But he overflowed that role, that definition, too. The letters he dashed off only hinted at the energy, wit, and amplitude of his conversation,



Joe Seremane: 'My black body, my beautiful, tolerant and patient soul'



Winnie Mandela: a heroine worthy of Tolstoy

in which his whole body seemed engaged, his long fingers eloquently playing to the rhythm of the words and his long face catching and reflecting every shading of humour.

He also had one of those South African laughs that are not merely rich and full-throated but become a kind of statement, a small triumph of personality, the response of strong individuals to the ridiculousness of having to pass a whole life trapped in someone else's dream. The blacks I knew who had suffered most seemed to laugh the best, while whites who had suffered least were always lapsing into self-pitying laments about the tragedy of their dilemma and how grievously they were misunderstood.

Winnie Mandela laughed when she spoke about her visits to her husband, with whom she had not had a truly private moment in 21 years; how on her last visit he had upended himself on the other side of the Plexiglas window in the prison visiting room in order to show her a toe that required an operation because of an ill-fitting shoe. "I saw the foot for the first time in 21 years," she said, laughing.

Mamphela Ramphele, a political co-worker of Steve Biko and the mother of his child born four months after his death, laughed when she spoke about the stunting of black political efforts that followed his removal from the scene. "That is why the Boers really scored," she said, laughing.

In each case it was a bright laugh, unforced and unaffected, that did not deny a crushing personal tragedy but seemed, somehow, to subsume it. These women were heroines worthy of Tolstoy. Joe Seremane's laugh had that heroic quality, too.

The crucial fact about Joe's letters, I discovered on my next visit, was that they had started soon after his release from a period of detention in which he had been tortured. The garrison state had fallen on him with its full weight, and he had then stood up, dusted himself off, and spoken out. His emotional reaction, a sense of revulsion that expressed itself as a kind of pity for his interrogators, was too strong to stay contained, and finally he made the mistake of telling a high Security Police officer that he had tried to understand the hate and bitterness he saw in his questioners

and only hoped he never experienced anything like that himself. "You've preached enough, Joe," the officer said brusquely.

Joe, who was then nearly 40, hadn't wanted that long to discover that he was as good as whites, that their categories and definitions didn't work for him. His father was a stern, self-disciplined Shona from the then Rhodesia who worked as a clerk on a gold mine near the town of Randfontein, his mother's origins were Tswana, but she would smack her children for referring to a playmate as an Ndebele or a Xhosa. "Those are your people," she would say. So he had never thought of himself as a Shona or a Tswana, only as an African.

The sharp cutting edge of apartheid was just beginning to slice into the land, and he was of the last generation of urban black children who sometimes played with whites. "The mine dumps were the no-man's-land where we played," he told me. "It was maybe there that we gauged ourselves against our masters and thought that we had no right to feel inferior."

His first taste of political struggle came at the same time, during what was known as the Defiance Campaign in the early fifties when the Congress movement, adopting the Gandhian tactic of civil disobedience, dispatched its supporters into segregated "whites only" facilities. Joe Seremane and his teenage friends in Randfontein were never recruited or trained for civil disobedience, but they got the idea as soon as they heard about it and headed straight down to the post office to shout, "This is our country!" and other slogans on the white side of the barrier, until a police van arrived and they were hauled off to the station for a caning and, finally, sent home with a warning to behave like good little *kaffertjies*.

The police were less indulgent when they picked him up, a decade later, for agitation on behalf of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress. In 1963 he was sent to prison on Robben Island with the most stalwart blacks of his generation, to break rocks and carry night soil for six years.

It was another opportunity to gauge himself against whites, and Joe remembers it with a certain exhilaration. "Sometimes, late at night, when my thinking gets reckless and crazy," he said, "I find myself wishing that my sons will have an opportunity to experience it. I don't really mean that, but when I look around at my contemporaries, 70 or 80 percent of them are washed out, done in, defeated by the system. The ones who survive, the reborn lot, the people who have been regenerated and re-energised are the ones who came off the island."

A black man of Joe's generation could be dazed when he contemplated the various destinations reached by his contemporaries, all of whom had started out with a confident expectation that they would live to be free men in their country. The dispersal of energies and commitment testified to the power of the system, but a single man, Joe Seremane believed, could still show the limitations of that power through clear thinking and plain speaking. So, when his peregrinations through the country as a cigarette company salesman led the authorities to suspect that this Robben Island alumnus might be travelling to forge clandestine links between the rebellious Soweto students and the underground, he found himself preaching about the problem of bitterness to an officer of the Security Police.

He had not meant to end up a Christian. In his youth the example of the way the whites in the country practiced their faith had led him to consider conversion to Islam. On Robben Island he went to church only because Robert Sobukwe, the Pan-Africanist leader, was being detained in a cottage near the chapel and it was sometimes possible to glimpse him and even show him a clenched fist as a gesture of support on the way to worship.

Even now he wonders about the Christian patience and forgiveness of his people. "If it's such a good thing," he asked, "why don't they see it?" But it's not the old story of what whites fail to see that goads him, living in a homeland, but the parody that these little black despots make of the Pan-Africanist dream he carried to prison, it's the spectacle of other blacks' accepting as a kind of fulfilment this sham democracy.

His jeremiads go unheeded. He is the village scold. Some of his old cohorts may even feel that by staying in Bophuthatswana, he has opted out of the struggle. But he is his own liberation struggle, and at least he has liberated himself.

• **MOVE YOUR SHADOW**, South Africa Black and White will be published in South Africa this month by Jonathan Ball. Price: R29,50. The next Weekly Mail extract will appear in a fortnight.

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office in the Saan building Known as a low-profile personality, his precise function in the building is equally low profile and no-one is quite sure why he has an office there Among the recent company announcements about appointments his name was not mentioned

"Moolman and Mulholland are both very forward, capable and hard-nosed bulls, but with their strong personalities there is no way they are going to stay together, so something has to happen here," McGregor said

"After discussions in Johannesburg last week, I believe what will happen is that Caxton's will take over the Financial Mail, Mulholland will go along with it to run it and Mr Moolman can then retire as wealthy consultant The Sunday Times may even go along with the FM, which would really put Caxton's on top of the heap"

At present Caxton's was relying on Style magazine and free sheets, and the free sheet market was a very vulnerable one

"Anyone who can get the advertising can bring in a free sheet and knock you out of business I know, because it has happened to me," McGregor said With the FM, and possibly the Sunday Times, Caxton's would be secure

Business Day, he said, was a bit of an enigma, but the probability was that it would end up as a

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Rand DAILY MAIL JOHANNESBURG SATURDAY, MARCH 16 1985 R57 27c + 5c for postage

DEATH OF THE MAIL

A special voice
 CRISIS, numerous times for newspapers — but also for South Africa. A recession induced in part by Nationalist politicians who withdrew their advertising from the press, the closure of the Rand Daily Mail. A statement by the Board of South African Associated Newspapers yesterday said heavy financial losses had made it impossible to keep the Mail alive longer.

Departing with it is another notable newspaper — the Sunday Express. Unlike other papers the business tragedy, the loss of a job that can well be seen, there is a tragedy for South Africa too. There are no more newspapers to report on the political and social consequences of these decisions. For the first time in a long time...

A step in the right direction for PW
 The Rand Daily Mail is to close. The last publication date will be on April 16. The Sunday Express is to merge with the Sunday Star and will effectively be closed. The business of the Rand Daily Mail will be sold to the Board of South African Associated Newspapers, which will be responsible for the future of the paper. The closure of the Mail is a tragedy for South Africa too. There are no more newspapers to report on the political and social consequences of these decisions. For the first time in a long time...

How the RDM announced its demise ... after Saan promised 'we'll close no titles'

business section of the Star — if it survived at all, being, as another observer put it, "authoritative in neither business nor news"

McGregor said he was certain a similar merger would one day take place between the two Afrikaans newspaper groups, Perskor and Nasionale Pers — but not until the disappearance from the scene of the present managements who were at daggers drawn

"I have always been convinced that Nasionale

Pers is backed by Sanlam, and Perskor executives speak quite openly and bitterly of this as a fact

"The enmity between the two groups is such that there is no chance of a rationalisation there, no chance of them getting into bed together, until the present management retires. But when they do, amalgamation will come so fast we won't know what happened," McGregor said

Meanwhile, the Argus/Saan rationalisation plans are marching confidently on — even before the



ROLL OF THE DEAD

AFTER South African Associated Newspapers closed down the Rand Daily Mail and Sunday Express last year, other newspapers toppled like a line of dominoes

The closing down of the Mail and Express was announced on March 15 last year Saan also closed down the Soweto News and Sports Ace

The Argus Company closed the Friend in Bloemfontein, retrenched staff and moved the press to Kimberly where the Diamond Fields Advertiser was amalgamated with Northern Cape Printers. A weekly free sheet (a "knock and drop") was launched in association with the DFA, with the contingency plan that if the DFA losses could not be turned around it would be reduced to a weekly or twice-weekly free sheet.

Argus also closed the Sowetan Sunday Mirror in the Transvaal and the Cape Herald in Cape Town to replace the Herald the company increased the number of its free sheets from one to three

Moving further into the free sheet market, the Argus also started four free sheets at the Pretoria News

Now ominously close to extinction are the Saan-owned Cape Times and part Saan-owned Natal Mercury, whose administrative departments — including advertising and marketing — are being merged with those of the Argus-owned Cape Argus and Daily News respectively.

chronic lack of resources which mean that they are unable to offer their readers a full service even if they wanted to

All this does not, of course, mean that we should stop reading newspapers. All of them tell us part of the truth and so they tell us something of what we need to know — some of them also offer some of the analysis, feature writing and competent reporting whose demise this article has bewailed, although sporadically and erratically. Indeed, it is often possible, by reading seven or eight papers, to piece together some idea of what is really happening. The tragedy, of course, is that only professional dilettantes like this author have the time to do that. Most readers have to rely on only one or two papers and so they do not know that they are getting only part of the truth.

This means that, in some ways, the press is doing as much as apartheid itself to polarise us. Its own war against itself has ensured that we can imbibe either the prejudices of the "white", the "black" or the "alternative" press; all in their own way reinforce their readers' view of the world rather than challenging it

This suggests that, despite the plethora of "political news", the press — whether "mainstream" or "alternative" — is still failing in its most basic task. In a divided society such as ours, it is the press's job to challenge its readers' perceptions and to make them aware of views, issues, people and organisations from which they are cut off. Because the press is not doing that, it is simply reflecting — and sometimes reinforcing — the polarisation which apartheid has created, not breaking it down. And that is a failure for which no amount of unrest coverage can compensate

The press's failure to bridge this gap might have one other consequence — it may well have ensured that the idea of a free, critical, independent and challenging press has failed to take root and that a post-apartheid government will have as little respect for a free press as the present one

And if that does happen, as it did in other African countries, the newspaper owners and managers who did so much to ensure the press's demise will still not understand the reason why.

journalists, by firing successful but "political" editors, by cutting the "space" offered to reporters so that complex issues had to be reduced to a few meaningless paragraphs — they drove the best and brightest of our journalistic talent out of the local profession. While the process was not as dramatic, the other opposition newspaper company, Argus, was equally unwilling to encourage or reward talented journalists — and still less those who rocked the political boat.

The profession was generally debased, but the damage to political and social reporting was most severe. Newspaper owners insisted that white readers didn't want to know about politics because it was boring or threatening. So did many editors — and so sport or crime reporters became a prized commodity, political reporters an expensive nuisance.

The process has been going on for a long time and the result is that, with few but honourable exceptions, only the mediocrities — or the timid ideologues — are left. For a while it didn't matter — conflict was hidden and the press got by on a steady diet of trivia. Now it does. The mainstream press now realises that their readers want to know what is happening around them. But their own policies have ensured that there are now few reporters left who are capable of doing the job.

A crucial part of this self-destruction is the elimination of the black journalist. When the Mail mounted its 1976 coverage, it had a dozen more black reporters it could send into the streets — by the time it closed it had only a few, as do most of its rivals now. The reason, of course, is that the people who run the press found black journalists automatically threatening. They offered them a pittance — often they refused to hire

them permanently at all and paid them only by the line or the word. They did not train them, nor did they promote them.

This goes a long way towards explaining why coverage of black society fails to reflect its complexity. Firstly, the press has only a handful of reporters left who actually live in the areas where the battle is being waged. This means that coverage is inevitably distant. It is not rooted in the communities where it is occurring and so it often has to rely on the claims of activists or the police rather than the observation of reporters.

Secondly, because all editors and senior editorial staff are residents of white suburbia, the decisions about which news is important is being taken by people who often have never visited the areas they are making decisions about, let alone met their residents or leaders. The gulf is often so great that they might as well be directing coverage of a foreign country and this may well explain why we are sometimes better informed about Libya than about Tembisa.

The press's failure to train and reward black journalists also explains why the white-owned black press is often as frustrating a source of news as the "white press". To be sure, because these papers concentrate on events in black areas, they often provide raw information which isn't available in the white-oriented dailies. But years of neglect mean that these papers are so crippled by a lack of expertise that they are often unable to give a coherent account of a court case, let alone to analyse complex currents in black politics — or that the most articulate reporters are often those most committed to promoting a particular organisation.

In short, the press's current failure is one of competence, this has less to do with government

restrictions than with a conscious policy which its owners have pursued for years.

This policy is also responsible, in a less obvious way, for another reason why the press is unable to inform us now: the fact that many of those reporters who are still able to analyse events colour their reporting with a commitment to a particular group or leader which ensures that what they tell us is consciously or unconsciously distorted.

This is, of course, not the sole preserve of "left wing" journalists. Their more conservative — and more senior — colleagues find no contradiction between railing against "committed journalism" while punting white political parties or ideologies such as "free enterprise". But that's small comfort to us out here who actually want to know what's happening, nor is the fact that it is the conservatives who run the press who are mostly to blame for the emergence of this sort of journalism.

In their attempt to debase the profession, newspaper owners and their editorial camp-followers have ensured that no-one will stay in journalism for very long unless they are exceedingly incompetent — or extremely dedicated. The fact that some of the dedicated ones happen also to be committed to a particular group is inevitable.

But what of the "alternative press"? If the mainstream is inadequate, can't we look for succour there? Like the black press, some of these newspapers do offer information you can't get anywhere else, but it would be a foolhardy soul who relied on them alone. Most are firmly committed to one or other political group and this often ensures that they are as misleading as the mainstream "white press". They also suffer from a

THE ECONOMY

Free market lobby slips down a peg at Mercabank

JUDGING from last week's Mercabank debt seminar, one cannot but feel that the free market lobby is losing further ground. From the mid-70s it was very much in vogue to "let the markets do the talking".

But recently, with the economy sliding dangerously, economic wisdom has been changing. No longer are the markets the holy cow that some economists and businessmen had us believe.

Guest speaker Louis Geldenhuys (economist at stockbrokers George Huysamer) in attacking the Mercabank authors for focusing too narrowly on politics and ignoring South Africa's structural economic problems, brought out a few home truths.

The audience, which included free marketeers such as Aubrey Dickman, Jan Lombard, Ronnie Bethlehem and Rudolf Gouws, hardly budged after Geldenhuys outlined the reasons for the weakness in the economy, suggesting that the liberalisation of the financial markets led to the foreign debt build-up (particularly the short-term nature thereof) as the rand plunged, short-term borrowings abroad rocketed and capital outflows increased.

"The build-up of our foreign debt occurred at a time that we were doing the 'right' things in terms of interest and exchange rates. Was there an explanation for this or was it a mere coincidence?" he asked.

In addition, the authorities were allowed to be complacent "in that they relied increasingly on market interest and exchange rates and thereby underplayed the importance of financial prudence".

Pointing to poor growth, Geldenhuys made it clear that the approach should not be that we need foreign capital to stimulate growth, but "we have to engineer an economic climate that will attract foreign capital".

Sadly, such a climate seems remote. Our economy is riddled with, among other factors, chronic unemployment, virtually no structural investment, inflation almost four times the level of SA's main trading partners, growth refusing to pick up (according to Reserve Bank governor Gerhard de Kock it was once again negative in the first quarter), and over \$2,2-billion to be paid to overseas creditors by June next year (contrary to what the Press has led us to believe all evidence suggests that the vast majority of funds owed will be paid and not rolled over).

Such a sick economy is hardly likely to encourage investment, both foreign and local. Couple this with political instability and disinvestment pressure and it seems foreign investors must be mad to invest in SA. Unfortunately, what aggravates the situation further is that all these factors mutually reinforce each other. The spiral has to be broken.

De Kock correctly points out there is no connection between the present labour, capital and the capacity situations and investment and consumption.

"The labour is there, the capital is there, the surplus production of capacity is there, and yet the inducement to invest and the propensity to consume are

Free marketeers at the Mercabank seminar on debt sat in silence as guest speaker Louis Geldenhuys slaughtered some holy cows. ANDREW SMYTHE-WATSON reports

inadequate".

What he underplays is that the climate is not conducive for investment.

As Geldenhuys says "Obviously we will have to make political progress. But this is unlikely to be sufficient".

So far we have witnessed at best meagre political progress. The "economic climate that will attract foreign capital" certainly seems far off.

Again Geldenhuys "The lack of urgency to provide direction is a major factor behind our *ad hoc* approach and almost total lack of confidence in the ability of the authorities".

Interesting figures to emerge from Mercabank are

- SA's foreign debt increased sixfold in dollar terms and more than twentyfold in rand terms from 1970 - 1985, reaching R65,8-million in August 1985

- \$13,6-billion of the total \$23,7-billion debt was inside the standstill net. Private banks owed \$8,8-billion of the former amount.

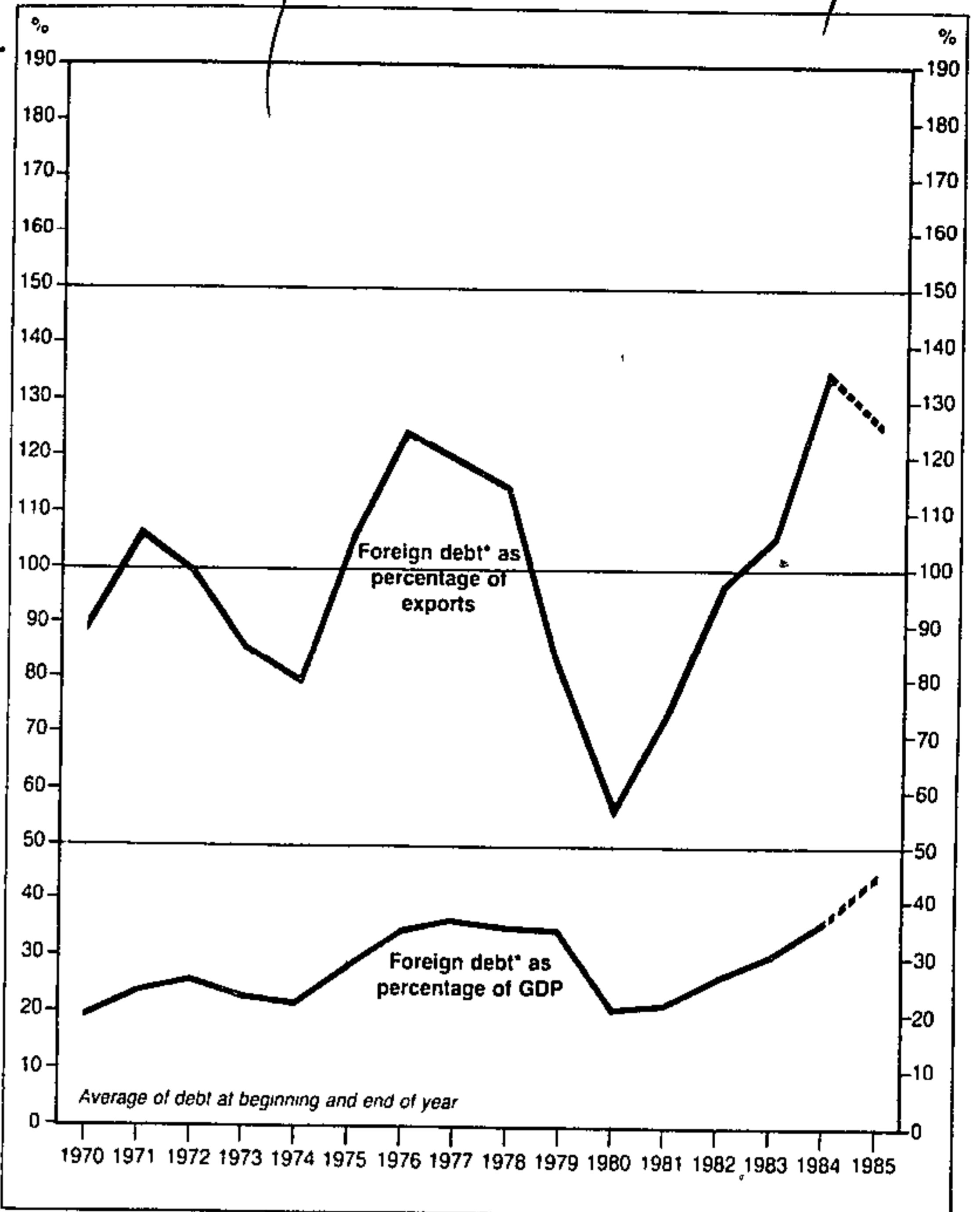
- Since 1980, SA's foreign debt as a percentage GDP more than doubled to about 45% and interest payment increased to about 7% of exports.

- The debt standstill could not prevent an outflow of nearly R5-billion during the last three months of 1985.

- The Reserve Bank probably lost more than R2-billion in 1985 on forward exchange contracts.

- From 1980 to 1984 exports of mining products and basic metals and metal products amounted to almost 80% of total exports (gold 47%).

- From 1970 to 1984 capital inputs in manufacturing increased 154% compared to a 25% rise in labour inputs.



Figures from the seminar: Foreign debt and interest payments as a percentage of gross domestic product and exports. Graph Mercabank Focus on Key Economic Issues, April 1986

Turning Tokyo's thinking inside out

THIS weekend the world's economic leaders will gather in Tokyo to try once more to figure out where they have gone wrong.

Whatever the conclusions of the seven leaders of the rich world, they will have been preceded in their deliberations by another team of summitters whose conclusion on the nature of such economic problems has already been reached. According to The Other Economic Summit (Toes), the industrial countries have no-one to blame but themselves.

That is unlikely to be the same message the Tokyo seven put forward when they come round to releasing their final communique. More likely they will turn to the same levers they have sought help from before: freer trade, the elimination of artificial barriers, the rescheduling of debts and the demand that Third World countries "rationalise" their economies.

According to Toes, such efforts will be a waste of time. Says Jonathon Porritt, an environmentalist and one of the key speakers at the conference: "It is these very prescriptions that are at the root of the problems, and no lasting solutions will be found until a very different set of economic priorities are introduced".

Toes has met twice before, preceding the Bonn summit last year, and the London summit of 1984. Arguing that conventional economic practices are designed primarily to maintain the prosperity of the industrial nations whether or not they are of benefit to the Third World, it makes a point of offering alternative solutions to righting the imbalance.

Already they are claiming some success. As Toes director Paul Ekins points out, the Bonn summitters devoted one of the five sections of their final communique to environmental concerns. The follow-up on these concerns may have been "singularly unimpressive", but it is an indication that world leaders have begun to recognise that their actions affect a broader sphere than finances

The Big Seven world leaders meet at Tokyo this weekend to try and construct a new world economic order. Perhaps they should heed the message from another economic summit which argues that the industrial nations have only themselves to blame. KELLY McPARLAND reports from London

alone.

One of the chief questions raised at the 1986 Toes conference in London was whether conventional economics by its very nature sabotages development efforts, increasing poverty and damaging the environment in the balance.

Porritt argues that they do. The type of "development" that has been prescribed in recent years, he says, "has actually decreased the poor's capacity to survive".

It has been done by eliminating access to the natural resources which used to keep people in developing countries alive.

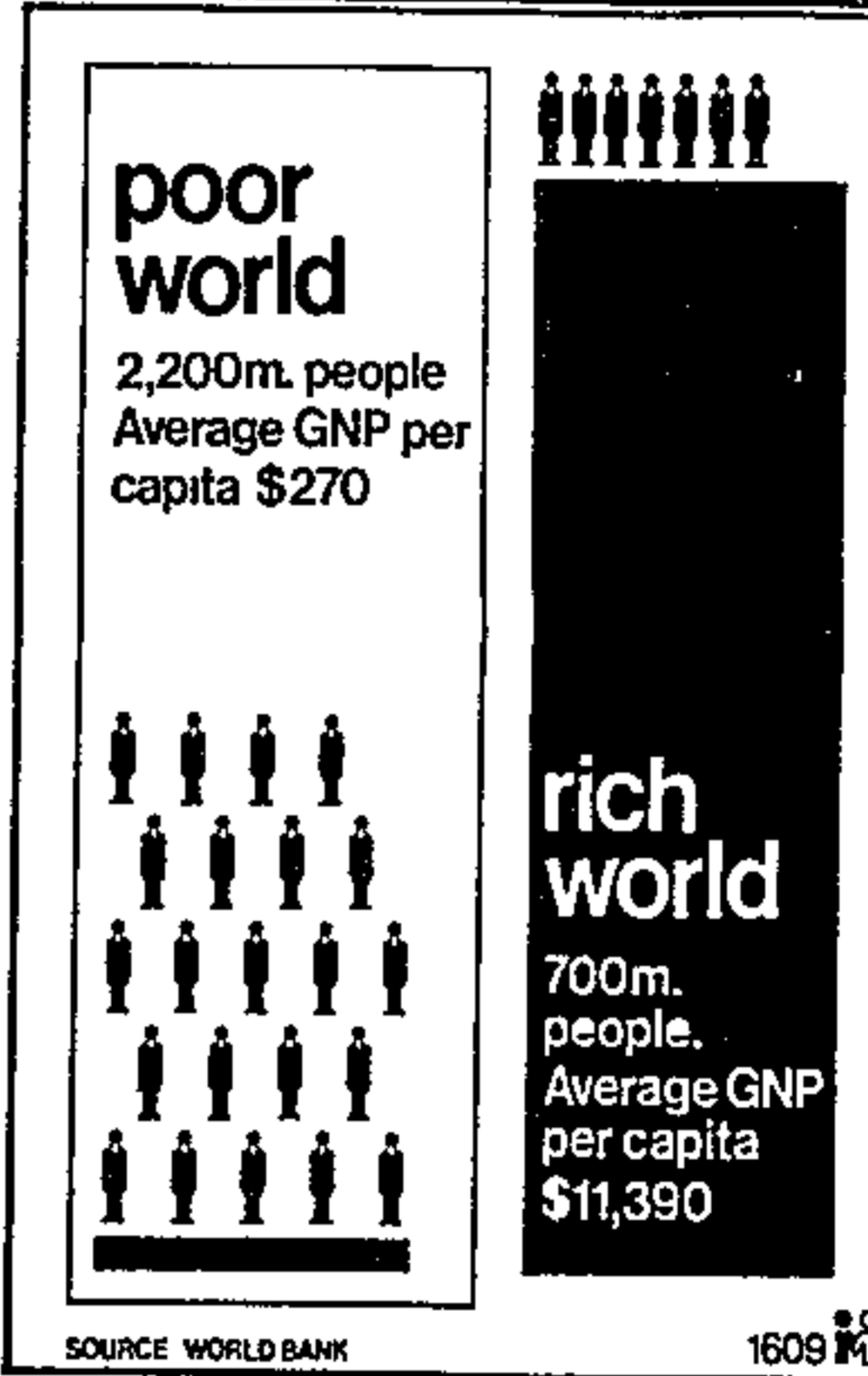
Millions of acres once used to produce food on which people survived have been lost to timber operations, dam projects, cattle ranching or cash cropping for export.

Most Western aid is tied to these projects because they increase trade and provide money to repay debts. Often the projects leave the land barren and sterile, however, while the income goes to past debts rather than replacing the lost food.

In support of Toes' sad conclusion are the unhappy results of many recent schemes. Almost a quarter of Central America's rain forest has been stripped to provide grassland for beef for US hamburger chains. The average US cat now eats more beef than the average Central American, who can't afford it.

In Niger, cultivated land has increased by half, but production is up only four per cent because farmers have been pressured on to unsuitable land. Vast sections of productive soil

How much for how many



have been drained of their nutrients and turned into desert.

The emphasis on trade brings developing countries into close contact with multinational corporations. Throughout the Third World, however, the added cost of multinational involvement in food production is at least three times the value of the food itself — making it

too expensive for local people.

Sometimes it seems that the economic approach taken by industrialised countries is calculated to fail or do damage. Western consultants encouraged the borrowing which boosted Third World debt payments from \$2,5 billion in 1970 to \$51 billion a decade later, often charging rich fees for their advice.

Although those same consultants now acknowledge the hardship necessary to repay the debts, seldom does the West seem aware of the suffering caused to individuals.

Sudan is an example. To pay the interest on its \$10 billion external debt, it has two choices — cut grain imports and starve, or cut energy imports and collapse the economy. Either way, Toes delegates were told, hundreds of thousands could die.

At first glance it seemed possible that lower oil prices would be a boon to such cash-starved debtors. But most Third World countries have had to borrow so heavily to finance past purchases that any savings are already pre-spent.

Any attempt to solve these problems through recourse to past remedies will be condemned by Toes, which is sending two representatives to the Tokyo summit to argue its case. — Gemini News Service

Screen Training Project
Vacancy

Screen Training Project (STP), is a community-based project teaching media skills and offering facilities for the production of media. Its main work is the silkscreening of posters and T-shirts.

STP works with people from a wide range of community-based organisations which are working for a democratic South-Africa.

STP has vacancies in the following areas:

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Some posts are available immediately, others will need to be filled within the next three months.

We invite applications from all people who have an interest in the media & preferably some experience in media. Applicants should have organisational experience and be committed to working for a free and democratic South Africa.

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Closing date for Applications: 16 May 1986

Doonesbury

BY GARRY TRUDEAU



AT the bottom of the whole sorry saga of the undermining of South African Associated Newspapers — now in the last stages of terminal illness — was the determination of Anglo American to drive the company into unprofitability, Robin McGregor, editor and publisher of "Who Owns Whom", said this week.

This view also had strong support from a number of observers of the ramifications of the past year — since the closing of the flagship of the English press, the Rand Daily Mail, and its sister paper, the Sunday Express.

As one former executive put it "After the RDM closed, nothing was sacrosanct, not morals, not ethics, not promises."

And Dave Dalling, PFP spokesman on the press, said Saan's newspapers had been reduced to "mere vassals of the Argus company" with the takeover of all its servicing functions — as well as marketing and distribution — by the Argus.

"Now Argus will crack the whip and Saan, or what is left of it, will jump," Dalling said.

McGregor, who has closely watched movements at Anglo, Argus and Saan, predicted a year ago that the method Anglo (the major shareholder through Johannesburg Consolidated Investments) would use to bring all the English papers into one group — the Argus — would be to drive Saan into

Crumbling fortunes at 171 Main St

a loss situation

"I believe, and everything that has happened since then bears me out, that they are destroying Saan this way rather than have to overcome public objections that all the English papers are under the control of one group and the Argus has been handed a monopoly," McGregor said this week.

These moves were

- The Argus's destruction — at a cost of R20-million in concessions to advertisers — of Saan's main property advertising section carried in the Express

- The launch of the Sunday Star and earlier editions of the daily Star

- The "rationalising" of all Argus and Saan administrative departments at the Mercury and Daily News

- A similar move involving Saan and Argus papers in Cape Town and Johannesburg

"There was some clever planning done," McGregor said.

In May last year Saan's overdraft with Standard Bank was R15-million. After the cost of

It's been a turbulent year for the press since South African Associated Newspapers closed down the Rand Daily Mail and Sunday Express; half a dozen more titles have followed them into oblivion, and Saan itself hovers perilously close to disaster

By WILMAR UTTING

retrenching journalists, adding themselves of the then MD Clive Kinsley, board chairman Ian McPherson and later acting MD John King, closing down distribution of the Johannesburg papers, seeing a significant loss in advertising — including the Sunday Times, 60 percent of whose profits depend on advertisements — the overdraft has soared to more than R40-million. Hopes for solvency and a profit situation by March next year are built on the sale of its Main Street building and presses (Amaprop, Anglo's property-owning

company did a rescue job by buying the building for which Saan needed R10-million.) Further costs will follow when the company discards between 600 and 700 administrative staff members when it completes its rationalisation in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town.

A gloomy Saan executive told Weekly Mail "If rationalising does not turn things around Saan could be insolvent by the end of this year, its assets sold and the company dissolved."

Weekly Mail learned that January and February losses totalled nearly R4-million. McGregor said a present Saan executive had told him the company was now losing R3-million a month.

"Everything is in such a mess that it's actually quite easy to sort it out," he had told McGregor.

"What we now have at Saan is two bulls in one kraal," McGregor said, referring to Steve Mulholland, new Saan MD and former editor of Financial Mail, and Terry Moolman of Caxton Press, which has now secured both the Argus and Saan advertising contracts. Caxton now controls almost 100 percent of the advertising in the English press. Moolman recently moved into a

A press we deserve

A YEAR after the Rand Daily Mail's closure, the prophets of doom have been confounded. We can still learn as little from the press as we could then.

To explain when the Mail closed, many commentators suggested that a great night was about to fall over the country. Whites would lose their last link with life in the townships and we would be told only what the establishment wanted us to know.

But, in one sense, the reverse has happened. Not only has an "alternative" press sprung up, committed to highlighting black resistance to apartheid. As conflict has escalated, the mainstream press has found it increasingly unable to ignore events in the black areas.

Reports of unrest, foreign pressure and social ferment often dominate our newspapers. The views of militant apartheid opponents are given greater coverage than ever before: a year ago, the press barely mentioned black resistance groups; today ANC representatives are quoted regularly. Allegations of Security Force brutality, abuses against detainees and even reports on prison conditions — all areas which had been barely reported or unreported for years — have reappeared. Indeed, the turmoil has even filtered through to pro-government papers, some of whom have begun to criticise the government's handling of township unrest and its refusal to talk to the ANC.

But does this mean that we can now know all we need to know about our society by reading newspapers? Alas, no. The press is still offering us, not a picture of life around us, but a sketchy road map whose directions often have to be deciphered by a skilled navigator. We may be told far more than we were a year ago, but not as much as we were told five or 10 years ago. And the fault lies as much with those who own and manage the press as with the government which has sought to emasculate it.

In varying degrees, the media, whether mainstream or "alternative", still tells us about the more dramatic signs of conflict in our society. We know that there is turmoil in the black areas, that people have died at the hands of young black militants and the police, that anti-apartheid pressure is growing. But that is about all we know — and it isn't enough.

Over the past year, our society has become far more fluid and complex than ever before. The government and business have lost many of their old certainties and are responding to black dissent in unprecedented ways, profound changes have occurred in black politics — a debate over tactics and policy is raging between competing organisations and within them. These changes are as — if not more — important than the violence which produced them.

Yet little of this is reflected in the press. Often, it

When the Rand Daily Mail, flagship of South African liberal journalism, closed a year ago this week, it seemed to many that a critical opposition press in this country would die with it. Perhaps they exaggerated: the press has in fact shown an unprecedented interest in black resistance groups and the views of militant apartheid opponents. But the coverage remains patchy; we get much drama, but very little understanding.

STEVEN FRIEDMAN
reports

doesn't even try to tell us about them — and, when it does, the coverage is either sketchy and trite or coloured by the reporter's commitment to a particular organisation or interest group.

Firstly, the factual reporting itself is often grossly inadequate. Reports are either too short or superficial — they tell us that there is conflict, but nothing about its immediate causes or who was involved. When police fire on "residents", who was protesting and about what? What organisation, if any, do they support? What triggered off the unrest? These facts are often more important than the event itself, yet they are often ignored.

Thus, when last August's troubles began in Natal, it took the press four days to offer any explanation for them at all. When it did, its account was vague and often contradictory. When violence erupted in Queenstown, it took a full week before we were told that the conflict centred around attempts to enforce a consumer boycott.

This means we are being told, at most, half of the story. We are offered a daily diet of melodrama without the slightest inkling of who is doing what to whom, let alone why.

One obvious explanation for this is government restrictions, but this is only part of the answer. There was, for example, little noticeable difference between the quality of coverage during the Emergency and that before or after it. The restrictions are indeed severe, but if they have not prevented the press from reporting the existence of conflict, there is no reason why they should prevent the press from explaining it.

The problem becomes even more acute when important events happen outside a newspaper's own area. When the leaders of Port Elizabeth's consumer boycott were banned, an event which imperilled a unique attempt at negotiation between militants and business, Johannesburg's biggest daily, The Star, didn't report the event at all.

When squatter resistance prompted the end of influx control in the Western Cape, well before the government scrapped it elsewhere, the Johannesburg press didn't even report the fact. Natal townships have been in ferment for months without a word appearing in the press outside the province.

So, despite the quantity, unrest coverage is still short on quality. But unrest is not the only sign of conflict in our society. Anti-apartheid resistance is complex. There are tensions between competing organisations and ideologies, between the unemployed and workers, students and parents, the unemployed youth and students. There are differences over tactics, such as the use of violence, the need for democratic organisation and so on. New tactics are being endorsed by some groups, rejected by others. These debates and differences may well determine our future and it is crucial for all of us to understand the issues involved, yet here the press fails us even more lamentably.

Thus events like the emergence of street committees in the townships or unique local negotiations between black groups and the white authorities are barely reported by the press, let alone analysed. Even an event such as the Natal "indaba" is covered sparsely and inadequately. How many reports do we see which try to evaluate the strengths, weaknesses and support of anti-apartheid groups or leaders? Is Natal really Buthelezi country? How effective and popular are the UDF or National Forum? Are the townships really ungovernable? Ask yourself when last you read a report which seriously tried to address these and countless similar issues.

We are sometimes not much better off when we rely on the press to understand changes in white society. The business community's professed commitment to change is a good example. Organised industry has adopted a charter which commits it to work for fundamental change — and yet how many reports have you read which describe, let alone evaluate, what it is doing about it and what the implications might be? American companies have also committed themselves, in theory, to a wide-ranging programme to seek change, but again the silence is deafening. When reports do appear, they usually either extol the business moves or dismiss them as irrelevant — they rarely, if ever, assess them.

These events are ignored because they are not dramatic. Our press is ill at ease with complexity — "body count" reporting is far easier. But because our society is now more complex, this sort of reporting is all the more inadequate.

Predictably, the malaise deepens if we rely on the press to help us understand society, rather than simply to provide us with raw information. We urgently need analysis and commentary which can



cut through the rhetoric and explain the complexity which lies behind it. But not a single paper employs a commentator capable of doing this — we are either served platitudes by "political commentators" ill-equipped to understand the more complex world around them or "analysis" which is a thinly-disguised apologia for particular groups. Still less are we offered feature writing which goes beyond the platitudinous and offers us a real insight into people, communities and issues we do not encounter in our daily lives. In a society in which apartheid has often succeeded in cutting us off from people and events only a few kilometres away, this may well be the most pressing need of all — but the press often does more to reinforce this mental separation than to break it down.

This is not a new malaise. Indeed, it predates the demise of the Mail by some years; in its last five years it was guilty of most of the failings which now afflict its survivors. But it has not always been so.

The white-owned mainstream press has always been less than the standard-bearer of liberty it claims to be. But a decade ago, the Mail was still capable of mounting sustained coverage of the 1976 unrest which really did tell us what was happening in the townships and which often captured the subtlety and nuance which now escape the press. It also offered vigorous investigative reporting and some fine feature writing. But, by the time it died, it was no longer doing this. It had fallen victim to a process which also explains the press's current malaise.

The people who owned the Mail didn't like challenging journalism because it challenged them as much as the government. In a variety of ways — by offering poor pay and conditions to top

Govt go-ahead for 'acquisition' of Natal Mercury

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STAR 2/5/86

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Government has agreed to the "acquisition" of the *Natal Mercury* by the Argus group

The "acquisition" was the subject of an Competitions Board investigation as a result of Government concern about the degree of concentration in the newspaper industry.

The board found that the takeover was the lesser of two evils, the alternative being closure of the *Natal Mercury*

In a report tabled in Parliament yesterday, the board said the power to appoint the editor of the *Natal Mercury* had to be vested in the directors of Robinson and Company, former owners of the *Mercury* who now have a 30 percent holding in the new company, Natal Newspapers.

The editor of the *Natal Mercury* "must" also have complete responsibility for the editorial policy of the *Natal Mercury*.

The board rejected arguments that the deal to save the *Natal Mercury* was a merger, saying it was an "acquisition"

MILLIONS SPENT

The board pointed to the 70 percent majority shareholding the Argus group held in Natal Newspapers and the fact that it had control of the board of directors.

The Competitions Board agreed the *Natal Mercury* was faced with closure if the deal had not taken place

Millions of rands had been spent on a new printing press as well as computer equipment which had been made more expensive by the drop in the value of the rand as well as the 10 percent surcharge on imports

In 1984 a loss of R163 000 was shown, but it was projected that by 1987 R1,7 million would be

Advertising revenue had been lost because of the advent of television and "knock-and-drop" local newspapers

Another factor had been the introduction of general sales tax on advertising

It would not have been in the public interest for an old established newspaper such as the *Natal Mercury* to close down

Neither would the 70 percent of the 639 employees whose jobs were rescued have welcomed the loss of jobs.

Had the *Natal Mercury* closed down, the *Daily News* would have been in a stronger monopolistic position.

Other options were considered

South African Associated Newspapers, which already had a 49 percent shareholding, was dismissed as a possible purchaser because it was also facing financial difficulties

The board believed that sale to an Afrikaans newspaper group would seriously compromise editorial policy and credibility. An independent investor would be faced with the same problems, and again there would have been no guarantee of future editorial policy

● The board was "not impressed by the argument that the acquisition agreement will not restrict competition (between the *Daily News* and the *Natal Mercury*)

"To the extent that competition survives it will be the result not of market mechanism, but of an easily variable policy decision of the single owner . . .

"The board is also of the opinion that the continued publication of the *Natal Mercury* is not guaranteed

"The possibility of a decision to cease publication of the *Natal Mercury* on purely economic grounds cannot be disregarded . . ."

SAAN, Argus agree on rationalisation

243 STAR 1/5/86

South African Associated Newspapers Ltd (SAAN) and the Argus Printing and Publishing Company (Argus) had agreed in principle to rationalise the activities of their Cape Town newspapers (the *Cape Times* and *The Argus*), Mr Stephen Mulholland, MD of SAAN, said in a statement yesterday.

He said "The initiative in this rationalisation was taken by SAAN and is based upon the American models as provided for in the Newspaper Preservation Act which was passed by the American legislature in 1969.

"SAAN's initiative in this matter was prompted by the prospect of increasing losses being made by the *Cape Times* following the loss by that newspaper of the contract to print and distribute the Western Cape

edition of the *Sunday Times* together with other factors impacting upon its financial performance.

"The loss of the *Sunday Times* distribution contract flowed from the need to rationalise the distribution of SAAN's publications throughout the country by re-joining the partnership which controls the Allied Publishing Company.

"In addition, the Goss Metro press, which was originally purchased by SAAN in 1976 to print both the Western Cape edition of the *Sunday Times* and the *Cape Times*, has been sold as part of SAAN's continuing effort to reduce its crippling debt burden.

"At SAAN's request, *The Argus* will take over all activities now carried out by *Cape*

Times staff with the exception of the editorial activities which will continue to be the sole responsibility of SAAN, as provided for in a long-term agreement.

"Journalists employed to produce the *Cape Times* will be members of SAAN, and the editor of the *Cape Times* will continue to be responsible only to the board of SAAN."

Mr Mulholland explained in an interview that *The Argus*, in performing non-editorial functions for the *Cape Times*, would absorb a number of *Cape Times* staff for this purpose. No editorial staff would be affected.

"SAAN is confident that by pursuing this course of rationalisation, it is ensuring the long-term financial viability and continued publication of the *Cape Times* which would otherwise be

seriously in question.

"At the same time, this method serves to preserve the editorial independence of the *Cape Times* as a trusted voice in the Western Cape community, serving all sections of the population and enjoying a considerable reputation both at home and internationally.

"SAAN wishes to stress that at no stage was an approach in terms of the rationalisation upon which it is now embarked made by the Argus company.

"SAAN took the initiative in approaching the Argus company with the proposals in regard to the rationalisation of the activities of the two newspapers with the sole purpose of securing the future of the *Cape Times*," the statement said — Sapa

Argus-SAAN plan for future of *Cape Times*

SA ASSOCIATED NEWSPAPERS and the Argus Printing and Publishing Company have agreed in principle to rationalise the activities of the *Cape Times* and the *Argus*

In a statement issued yesterday, SAAN MD Stephen Mulholland said that, at SAAN's request, the Argus company "will take over all activities now carried out by *Cape Times* staff — with the exception of the editorial activities which will continue to be the sole responsibility of SAAN, as provided for in a long-term agreement"

Cape Times editorial staff would remain SAAN employees and the editor of the *Cape Times* would be responsible only to the SAAN board

Mulholland said the rationalisation, which he emphasised followed an approach by SAAN to the Argus company, was prompted by the prospect of increasing losses at the *Cape Times*

The *Cape Times* recently lost the contract to print and distribute the Western Cape edition of SAAN's *Sunday Times*. This and "other factors impacting upon its financial performance"

Business Day Reporter

prompted the decision

Mulholland said the *Cape Times* lost the *Sunday Times* contract because of the need "to rationalise the distribution of SAAN's publications throughout the country by re-joining the partnership which controls the Allied Publishing Company"

He said the Goss Metro press, originally purchased by SAAN to print both the Western Cape edition of the *Sunday Times* and the *Cape Times*, had been sold as part of SAAN's continuing effort to reduce its crippling debt burden

Mulholland said SAAN was confident the rationalisation would ensure the long-term financial viability and continued publication of the *Cape Times* — "which would otherwise be seriously in question"

He said the method of rationalisation would "preserve the editorial independence of the *Cape Times* as a trusted voice in the Western Cape community serving all sections of the population and enjoying a considerable reputation both at home and internationally"

had not been kept

15/86 18 24

Agreement to help Cape Times

JOHANNESBURG. — South African Associated Newspapers Ltd (Saan) and the Argus Printing and Publishing Company (Argus) have agreed in principle to rationalise the activities of their newspapers in Cape Town, the Cape Times and The Argus, the managing director of Saan, Mr Stephen Mulholland, has announced.

He said Saan wanted to stress that at no stage was an approach in terms of the rationalisation made by the Argus Company. Saan took the initiative in approaching the Argus Company with the proposals with the sole purpose of securing the future of the Cape Times.

He said the rationalisation was based on American models as provided for in the Newspaper Preservation Act passed by the American legislature in 1969.

Saan's initiative had been prompted by the prospect of increasing losses being made by the Cape Times following the loss by that newspaper of the contract to print and distribute the Western Cape edition of the Sunday Times together with other factors impacting on its financial performance.

The loss of the Sunday Times distribution contract flowed from the need to rationalise

the distribution of Saan's publications throughout the country by rejoining the partnership which controls the Allied Publishing Company. In addition, the press which was originally purchased by Saan in 1976 to print both the Western Cape edition of the Sunday Times and the Cape Times has been sold as part of Saan's continuing effort to reduce its "crippling debt burden".

"At Saan's request," Mr Mulholland said, "The Argus will take over all activities now carried out by Cape Times staff with the exception of editorial activities, which will continue to be the sole responsibility of Saan, as provided for in a long-term agreement."

Journalists employed to produce the Cape Times would be members of Saan and the editor of the Cape Times would continue to be responsible only to the board of Saan.

"Saan is confident that by pursuing this course of rationalisation it is ensuring the long-term financial viability and continued publication of the Cape Times, which would otherwise be seriously in question. At the same time this method serves to preserve the editorial independence of the Cape Times," he said. — Sapa.

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Requiem for a 'bridge between races'

CMT TOS 30/14/86 (248)

By CLARE HARPER
A YEAR ago today, the Rand Daily Mail was closed by South African Associated Newspapers

The Mail was the largest morning newspaper in the country and the second-largest daily, with a circulation of 115 000 and an estimated daily readership of 600 000 to 700 000.

It gained an international reputation after adopting the cause of the voiceless and voiceless black communities in the 1960s and was seen by many as "a bridge between races".

Responding to news that the Mail was to be closed last year, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said that "a new South Africanism is taking over... and the media will have to take notice. A new spirit of national

unity is gradually taking control... and this will supersede party political differences".

Others were less optimistic about the future. Shock, outrage and disbelief were expressed over the decision to close the Mail by the Progressive Federal Party, extra-parliamentary political organizations, the international media, academics, journalists and readers — but the public outcry failed to save the newspaper

In just over a year a number of other newspapers have been closed, including SAAN's Sunday Express, Argus's the Friend, in Bloemfontein, the Sowetan Sunday Mirror and, recently, the Cape Herald.

SAAN management attributed the Mail's closure to the brittle financial state of the newspaper industry. The former managing director of SAAN, Mr Clive Kinsley, said that "there were simply no suitable marketing or management solutions to what was basically an editorial problem".

The Southern African Society of Journalists blamed management "incompetence" for the R45-million losses over 10 years, which were used to justify the closure.

Some observers, including the former deputy editor of the Mail, Mr Benjamin Pogrand, claimed the Mail's losses were not insupportable and that "major factors of the closure included a management hostile to what the Mail represented and less than efficient in administration and business".

Today, the morning market for white readers of English-language newspapers in the country's largest metropolitan area, Johannesburg is dominated by the Citizen. Its circulation has risen from 69 000 to 110 000.

In his final front-page Mail editorial the editor Mr Rex Gibson, warned that "the press is going to have to be more vigilant in defending its freedom than ever".

APR 1

Cape Times 29/4/86 (213)
'No news blackout' on Times

Political Staff

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, yesterday denied charges in the House of Delegates that the police had imposed a news blackout on the Cape Times

Replying to the Solidarity MP for Springfield, Mr M Rajab, Mr Le Grange said during the vote on his department's budget that all he wanted from the Cape Times was that it should be "more disciplined". He said there was an agreement between the

Commissioner of Police and newspapers of the National Press Union for the accreditation of journalists, who were acceptable to the police, to receive certain information.

"The Cape Times has failed to accredit any journalists in this manner," Mr Le Grange said

The Commissioner had subsequently decided that in terms of the agreement the Cape Times should not get this information. He hoped the matter would be resolved at a meeting on May 6

● Mr Le Grange has misdirected himself. There is a police news blackout on the Cape Times, involving all types of news — not only confidential background material for which the specially-accredited card is intended. It is also incorrect to say that the Cape Times has failed to accredit any journalists. Such accreditation has, in fact, applied to the Cape Times in the past, and an application for a senior journalist to be accredited has been made. The Cape Times continues to give a full news service, in spite of the blackout. — Editor, Cape Times

SAAN
chief
assures
staff

CME Tarkis
5/4/86

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Chief Reporter

THE managing director of SA Associated Newspapers (SAAN), Mr Stephen Mulholland, assured the staff of the Cape Times yesterday that the editorial independence of the Cape Times would be guaranteed in SAAN/Argus rationalization moves now being made.

He confirmed that the Cape Times press at Paarden Eiland had been sold and that the newspaper's office building in Burg Street was being sold. The Cape Times would, from a date yet to be fixed, operate from the Argus Building in St George's Street and all departments other than editorial would be merged with those at the Argus.

He was unable to say anything at this stage about the future employment of members of the Cape Times staff other than those in the editorial department.

● Before Mr Mulholland addressed an urgently-called meeting of the Cape Times staff, the Editor, Mr A H Heard, said he had been informed of certain guarantees and binding arrangements which appeared, at face value, to secure the paper "for a very long time to come and on a basis which is economically sound."

He added: "I am in the process of making certain comments and proposals, and am hopeful that my views will, in essence, be met by those who decide the paper's destiny. If this happens, then I shall publicly and openly endorse and defend the arrangements."

● Full report, page 11

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Bus DAH 25/4/86

The journalistic profession needs ordering — Stoffel



● BOTHA

THE "ordering" of the journalistic profession — particularly the electronic media — needed urgent attention, Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha said yesterday.

Replying to debate on his vote in the committee stage of the budget, he told the House of Assembly that urgent attention would have to be given to the question of alternative media not subject to the code of conduct administered by the Media Council.

He said it was accepted in some quarters that what government meant by a free Press was one that did not criticise government or the National Party.

That view was unfounded. Government was not against criticism as such. Government would be satisfied, if not always happy, if the Press implemented the norms laid

down in the code of conduct drawn up by the Newspaper Press Union (NPU).

But although the code was a good one, there were still unsatisfactory areas.

There was "continual negative reporting" from certain newspapers, and one got the impression that, for them, news was defined as anything government would not like to see in print.

Some areas of the Press were so selective in their presentation of facts that only negative aspects were emphasised. It was unrealistic to ask

for uniformity of perception from the Press, but government did ask for balance, and for the Press to give a wide berth to polarisation.

Botha said the increasing publication of resistance literature in the alternative media and in "knock and drops", which were not subject to the Media Council, was a disturbing phenomenon.

These publications were aimed at politicising particular target groups, encouraging resistance to the state, and regarded the NPU and the Media Council as irrelevant. This matter deserved

urgent attention, he said.

Albert Nothnagel (NP Innesdal) said it was essential that government helped strengthen the Press in the interests of the future and the ideals of freedom that all South Africans stood for.

He told the Assembly it would be tragic if the M-Net subscription television system to be run by the country's newspapers collapsed because of a lack of advertisements.

With one or two exceptions, SA had a very responsible Press and the country owed it a vote of thanks for its contribution

to making SA a dynamic country of development and promise.

Nothnagel said the Press could play an important role in the political debate as an instrument for dialogue between politicians, church leaders and other opinion-formers.

Without a free Press, democracy, the free market system and socio-economic debate was impossible.

"If we want to commit self-destruction, the easiest way is to destroy the freedom we enjoy in a broad sense," he said

Tiaan van der Merwe (PRP Green Point) said that giving only selected journalists access to SA was the worst possible way of ensuring that a true picture of SA was projected overseas.

He said it appeared that government was "getting rough" with foreign journalists by refusing them visas or work permits.

Botha had told the House that of the applications by journalists to enter the country dealt with between June and December last year, the 332 refused almost equalled the 350 approved. — Sapa.

Cape Times building ^{ARGUS} being sold, ^{25/1/86} says MD ²⁶³

Staff Reporter ²²²

THE Cape Times building in Burg Street is being sold and the newspaper will operate from The Argus building from a date still to be decided.

According to a report in the Cape Times today the managing director of South African Associated Newspapers (Saan), Mr Stephen Mulholland, said the move was part of Saan/Argus rationalisation plans.

Mr Mulholland also confirmed that the Cape Times press at Paarden Eiland had been sold.

All departments other than editorial would be merged with those of The Argus.

Addressing Cape Times staff yesterday Mr Mulholland guaranteed the newspaper's editorial independence, the report said.

He was unable to say anything at this stage about the future employment of staff other than those in the editorial department.

Mr Mulholland said the newspaper industry was going through tough times and Saan of which the Cape Times was a wholly-owned subsidiary was faced with having to wipe out an accumulated debt of R45-million.

The rationalisation steps embarked on in the past few weeks were based on commercial judgment and seemed to him to be the only rational, logical approach to the problem.

Warning to journalists

17645 25/4/86 243
Parliamentary Staff
THE Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, says he will take action against foreign journalists who "misbehave"

He told Parliament yesterday that he would not hesitate to deport or withdraw the residence or work permits of such journalists.

Speaking in the House of Assembly's budget debate on the Home Affairs vote, Mr Botha said South Africa had a "terrible image" on overseas television and video material. In certain cases he had asked journalists to speak to him.

Mr Botha referred to recent talks he had with top people from Columbia Broadcasting System executives after he had indicated work permits of some CBS staff would be withdrawn.

Agreement had been reached on that occasion and the journalists were allowed to stay.

Earlier in yesterday's debate Mr Tlan van der Merwe (PFP Green Point) said it appeared the Government was "getting rough again" with foreign journalists by refusing them either visas or work permits or both

It was "bad news" that between June and December last year the number of refused applications from foreign journalists had almost equalled the number of those approved.

During that period 350 applications had been approved and 332 rejected. Another 274 applications had not yet been dealt with.

Mr Botha released the information in response to a question in Parliament

Mr van der Merwe said that if the Government wished to project a true picture of South Africa overseas it was going about it in "the worst possible way" by selectively allowing and refusing media men to work here.

Cape Times 25/4/76 (243)

Guarantees on future of Times

By ROGER WILLIAMS
Chief Reporter

THE managing director of SA Associated News papers (SAAN), Mr Stephen Mulholland, told staff of the Cape Times yesterday — at a meeting requested urgently by them — that the Cape Times' continued editorial independence would be guaranteed in SAAN/Argus rationalization steps now being taken. The rationalization plan was designed to ensure the continued existence of the Cape Times on a profitable basis, he added. It would also ensure that the Editor would continue to be responsible to SAAN and to no-one else.

Mr Mulholland said the Cape Times' printing press at Paarden Eiland had been sold and that its building in Burg Street was in the process of being sold. The newspaper would continue to be produced under its present Editor and editorial staff from within the Argus Building in St George's Street.

It had not yet been decided when the move would be made and to what extent staff other than editorial might have to be declared redundant. (The present staff establishment of the Cape Times is 464 overall, of which 85 are on the editorial staff.)

Mr Mulholland said all departments other than editorial would be merged with the Argus, on whose presses the Cape Times and also the Cape edition of the Sunday Times would be printed.

Contract

A contract under which the rationalization plan would operate was being drawn up, and copies would be made available to the editor and general manager of the Cape Times when completed, for their approval. This contract would ensure "a sensible, logical sharing of profits by the Cape Times and Argus."

In introducing Mr Mulholland to a full turn-out of staff, who have been living and working in a state of uncertainty and anxiety for the past few months, the Editor, Mr A H Heard, said he had been categorically informed that the 110-year old Cape Times, South Africa's oldest daily newspaper, was not for sale, "though there are potential buyers."

He added "I have no control over that, but I can say that it places an enormous onus on the owners to ensure that the Cape Times does not die."

"In recent discussions, I have been informed of certain guarantees and certain binding arrangements which appear, at face value, to secure the

paper for a very long time to come and on a basis which is economically sound.

"I am in the process of making certain commitments and proposals, and am hopeful that my views will, in essence, be met by those who decide the paper's destiny."

"If this happens then I shall, publicly and open-



Mr Mulholland

ly, endorse and defend the arrangements."

Mr Mulholland was accompanied yesterday by Mr John Featherstone, managing director of Natal Newspapers, who has been seconded to SAAN as deputy managing director for six months, to assist in the current rationalization programme.

Mr Mulholland said he was carrying out what he found "a painful duty". He was deeply conscious of the achievements and traditions of the Cape



Mr Heard

Times — "a proud journalistic product" — which was regarded as one of the world's great newspapers. And, he added, he held the Editor, Mr Heard, in the highest regard.

But, he said, the newspaper industry was going through tough times, and SAAN, of which the Cape Times was a wholly-owned subsidiary, was faced with having to wipe out an accumulated debt of R45-million, and he had been appointed to take steps to accomplish this in the shortest possible time.

"I have been given the job by the shareholders to turn the company around, and this is what I intend doing, as soon as I can."

Mr Mulholland said the rationalization steps he had embarked on in the past few weeks were based on a commercial judgment and seemed to him the only rational,

logical approach to the problem.

"We have the best minds in the country working on it — and I'm sure the end result will be a viable Cape Times in the long term."

Asked about problems raised by Argus concerning the printing of the Saturday edition of the Cape Times, Mr Mulholland said he could give an assurance he would fight for a six-day Cape Times.

He said "I took on this job on the basis that there would be good faith between Argus and SAAN, and everything that has happened so far indicates to me that there is good faith on both sides, and that the Cape Times will survive, in a profitable state."

"I understand there has been talk of a 'hidden agenda', or of some sort of sinister plan on the part of Argus — and perhaps of SAAN as well — to ensure that the Cape Times will gradually be submerged into the maw of Argus, that the Cape Times will eventually become just a memory, in the masthead of the Argus."

Damage

"But nothing whatsoever has happened in the many meetings and negotiations we have had with Argus to suggest that this is so. In fact the indications have been entirely to the contrary. I have not come across anything that indicates that the Argus wants to damage the Cape Times."

"In any event it would not make sense for Argus, which has a 40 per cent shareholding in SAAN, to allow the Cape Times, a SAAN subsidiary, to die."

Mr Mulholland said the future of Cape Times staff other than editorial staff could not be assured, but he added "I want you to accept from me that I'll deal honestly, openly and fairly with you."

The present establishment of 464 includes staff in the Burg Street building and at the newspaper's operations at Paarden Eiland and Salt River.

Yesterday's meeting was called by an urgently-formed staff association representing all departments of the Cape Times, and which has adopted a constitution which gives the association's objectives as, among other things:

● "To ensure the continued existence of the Cape Times as a viable newspaper serving the community of the Cape Province."

● "Generally to work to the ideals of a free press throughout South Africa through the preservation of the Cape Times."

Parliament and Politics

Govt to 'look at' journalists

Cape Times 25/4/88
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Political Staff
and Sapa

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — There was a lack of formal order (formele ordening) in the journalistic profession, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday.

Replying to debate on his budget vote, Mr Botha said he was aware of journalists' objections to such a move, but another look had to be taken at the issue urgently — at the electronic media in particular.

This is the strongest indication that government is taking a new look at the Steyn Commission Report, which advocated a formal journalists' register

Mr Botha's warning to the press follows the recent allegation by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, that the Cape Times had become the mouthpiece of the ANC and the UDF

Mr Botha said yesterday it was unfounded to claim the government saw a "free press" as one that did not criticize the government.

Resistance literature

But he added that "continual negative reporting" gave the impression that for certain newspapers news was defined as anything the government would not like to see in print

Mr Botha said the increase in resistance literature in alternative media — which were not subject to the Media Council — was disturbing

These publications were aimed at politicizing target groups, encouraging resistance to the State, and they regarded the Newspaper Press Union and the Media Council as irrelevant, he said

This matter deserved urgent attention

Mr Botha said he would not hesitate "one moment" to deport or withdraw the residence or work permits of foreign journalists who "misbehave"

In particular cases he had asked the journalists to come and speak to him

"Top people" of CBS had come to see him when he indicated the work permits of their South African staff would be withdrawn

'Terrible' film on torture

An agreement had been drawn up after a "very satisfactory" discussion, and those particular journalists had been allowed to stay.

Referring to a film shown recently on the British Channel 4 television station which contained interviews with people who said they were tortured in this country, he said he still had to ascertain the facts about this "terrible" film

It was clear, however, that the people who made the film had come to the Republic under false pretences, and certainly not as journalists.

● Newspapers were the "gem" (kleinood) of democracy and needed to be protected, Mr Albert Nothnagel (NP Innesdal) said during the debate

He said it was essential that the government helped strengthen the South African press, which with one or two exceptions was very responsible

Without a free press, democracy, the free-market system and socio-economic debate were impossible

He said newspapers were the most important platform for debate and communication — Sapa

Cape Times 22/4/86
243

Staff will fight SAAN press sale

Staff Reporter

EMPLOYEES at the Cape Town branch of South African Associated Newspapers, owners of the Cape Times, have taken legal advice and representatives said yesterday they will fight any attempt by SAAN management to sell the press on which the Cape Times is printed

It was confirmed yesterday that employees in all departments of SAAN, Cape Town, are in the final stages of establishing a staff association which will represent the staff but which will not have any trade union functions or take over present union activities

Representatives said the association was being formed as rumours mounted of extensive "rationalization" of the Cape Times with the Argus and fears that this could lead to retrenchments on the Cape Times

Members of the association's steering committee said strong ru-

mours had done the rounds in the newspaper world that SAAN intends selling two presses in Johannesburg and the SAAN, Cape Town, press to cover debts and to pay off its overdraft.

Attorneys acting for the committee confirmed yesterday that they have advised the association they are exploring the possibility of bringing an interdict to restrain SAAN from disposing of the Cape Town press.

The steering committee of the staff association heard at its meeting yesterday that the Cape Times is a viable newspaper which has not made a loss in its 110 years of existence

Members of the committee felt yesterday that financial problems being experienced by the SAAN group nationwide were not in any way the result of the Cape Times's trading position, and that the Cape Times "should not suffer the consequences of bad management elsewhere".

Man beat lover with iguana

Own Correspondent

NEW YORK — A man who beat his girlfriend with her pet iguana, and then tried to make her eat it, will be jailed on charges of aggravated assault and animal cruelty, a judge said yesterday

The court was told that Harry Kostic, 32, attacked Miss Beverly Swain, 25, when she arrived at his home to remove her belongings, including the pet

Kostic threw the lizard against the wall, clubbed Miss Swain with it, cut it into pieces and tried to force them down her throat. Kostic will be sentenced on Friday, Judge Elliot said

Nat MP in plea for Govt to help Press

STAR 243
25/4/86

PARLIAMENT — It was essential that the Government helped to strengthen the Press in the interests of the future and the ideals of freedom which all South Africans stood for, Mr Albert Nothnagel (NP, Innesdal) said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the Home Affairs Budget Vote, he said it would be tragic if the M-Net subscription TV system, to be run by newspapers, collapsed because of a lack of advertisements.

DYNAMIC LAND

With a few exceptions, South Africa had a responsible Press, and was owed thanks for its contribution to making South Africa a dynamic land.

Mr Nothnagel said the Press could play an important role in the political debate as an instrument for dialogue between politicians, church leaders and other

opinion formers. Without a free Press, democracy, the free market system, and socio-economic debate was impossible.

The Press was able to report in depth on more serious issues that SABC-TV could not address because of its limitations.

Newspapers were the "treasure" of democracy and needed to be protected.

Calling on the Government to help the Press, Mr Nothnagel said: "We must not be insensitive about any newspaper that is going under." Newspapers were a great source of information, but unfortunately people refused to read their content because they disagreed with their opinions.

"We should campaign at schools to make children more aware of reading and the importance of protecting this gem of democracy." — Sapa.

Student concern over newspaper

Cape Times 24/4/86 743

Education Reporter

THE Cape Times was consistent in its honest portrayal of events in South Africa and the Western Cape community had come to rely on the newspaper to keep them up to date on national news

This was said in a statement yesterday by 30 journalism students — 20 first-years and 10 second-years — at the Peninsula Technikon in Bellville

Mr Norman Steyn, spokesperson for the students, who represent the entire Journalism Department, said they had released the statement after a meeting yesterday out of concern for the future of the newspaper

The statement said that as future journalists "we are alarmed at the increasing infringement on press freedom by the government and its allies"

"We admire the Cape Times' stand on the publication of editor Mr Tony Heard's interview with Mr Oliver Tambo, of

the ANC, as well as reporter Chris Bateman's coverage of the Guguletu shootings.

"This is the kind of journalism we aspire to. We see the selling of the presses of the SA Associated Newspapers (SAAN) group as an attempt to close down the Cape Times, thereby depriving the country of a newspaper of integrity"

● Mr Stephen Mulholland, managing director of SAAN, said in Cape Town last night he shared the students' admiration for the paper

"They can be assured that our efforts are directed at keeping alive the Cape Times in its entirety from an editorial point of view and that under the distinguished editorship of Mr Tony Heard we have no doubt that the Cape Times will continue to be a trusted voice in the community"

He said the steps being taken were solely to protect the editorial independence of the Cape Times and to ensure it a long and profitable survival

marathon.

'Deal on press can't be undone'

CAPE TIMES 23/4/66

Staff Reporter

THE managing director of South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN), Mr Stephen Mulholland, yesterday said an agreement had already been concluded for the sale of the press on which the Cape Times is printed and that "the deal could not be undone".

The steering committee of a staff association, formed to represent staff from all departments at SAAN in Cape Town, said the Cape Times was a viable newspaper which had not made a loss in its 110 years of existence.

Mr Mulholland was reacting to the announcement that SAAN (Cape Town) staff had taken legal advice and would fight any attempt by its owners, SAAN, to sell the printing press at Paarden Eiland.

Mr Mulholland disputed claims that the Cape Times was a profitable publication saying that "without the contract to print the Sunday Times it is a loss maker".

SAAN also disclosed yesterday that it had sold its head office building at 171 Main Street, Johannesburg. Neither the price nor the buyer has been disclosed.

It was always the objective to move the press at Paarden Eiland to Johannesburg, where it would have been part of the joint printing operation with the Argus Company, he said.

He said that after ne-

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To page 2



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marathon.

'Deal on press can't be undone'

Cape Times 23/4/66

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Staff Reporter

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23/4/86

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From page 1

negotiations it was decided to do without that press.

An agreement had already been concluded for its sale but his approach was that the sale took place only when the money was in the bank, he said

Attorneys acting for the steering committee of the staff association are exploring the possibility of bringing an interdict to restrain SAAN from disposing of the press.

Mr Mulholland yesterday said "the deal could not be undone"

He said it was ludicrous to suggest that the staff of a company could stop the sale of assets owned by that company.

"We are taking action to turn the Cape Times into a highly profitable publication through rationalization on the lines of the Newspaper

Preservation Act of 1969 of the United States, a country that is a paragon in upholding press freedom," he said.

He said SAAN's aim was to enable newspapers like the Cape Times to survive and prosper.

Responding to reports that a consortium of businessmen may make a take-over bid for the Cape Times, Mr Mulholland said he could not speak for the majority shareholders but he suspected that they would not be sellers

Approached for comment, members of the steering committee said they were not prepared to speak until they had met Mr Mulholland and the deputy managing director, Mr John Featherstone, tomorrow.

It is understood that Mr Mulholland and Mr Featherstone will also be talking to a general meeting of staff tomorrow afternoon

● SAAN sells head office building, page 10

Blackout of news slammed

CAPE TIMES 23/4/80
ECS

Staff Reporter

A MEMBER of the Progressive Federal Party's repression monitoring committee, Mr Jan van Eck, yesterday described the police news blackout on the Cape Times as "a vindictive act of political revenge".

Mr Van Eck, who is also MPC for Groote Schuur, said the Cape Times had done its public duty during the recent unrest by publishing the full truth "and in the process exposing the often outrageous actions committed by some members of the security forces". The blackout was a result of this.

"The Cape Times is now being punished for having kept its readers in the Western Cape fully informed of the nature and the severity of the unrest — contrary to the virtual total news blackout in some other sections of the media, such as Die Burger and the SABC," Mr Van Eck said.

He said the SAP's decision would push South Africa further towards a banana-style republic.

"By not providing the Cape Times with official information the SAP will directly contribute towards more rumour and making people believe that things are actually worse than they are."

SAAN sells Main Street HQ: price not named

243
BUS DAY
23/4/86

JANE STRACHAN and Sapa

SAAN (South African Associated Newspapers) has sold its head office building at 171 Main Street, Johannesburg. Neither the price nor the buyer has been disclosed.

MD Stephen Mulholland said yesterday an agreement had been concluded for the sale of the Paarden Eiland printing plant on which the *Cape Times* is printed.

He said it was not yet appropriate to announce details of buyer and price in the Main Street deal. The sale of the property, considered a key element in the struggle to cut crippling overheads, would make a "small dent" in the company's overdraft, but there was still a long way to go.

No date had yet been set to vacate the building. Various alternatives were being considered to house SAAN editorial staff. Responding to rumours that premises would be found either at 11 Diagonal Street — Barnib House — or at 66 Sauer Street, Mulholland said SAAN would be looking at more modest accommodation, although still as close as possible to the *Star's* Sauer Street offices.

The company was remodelling itself along the lines of the American Newspaper Preservation Act of 1969, whereby newspapers shared all services up to editorial level.

There would, therefore, be large-scale rationalisation with *Argus* and *Caxton*. But SAAN editorial sections would be housed separately.

He disputed claims that the *Cape Times* was a profitable publication.

Without the contract to print the *Sunday Times*, it was a loss-maker, Mulholland said.

In response to a report that *Cape Times* staff was consulting lawyers about a possible interdict to prevent SAAN from selling its plant, he said the deal could not be undone.

"It is ludicrous to suggest that the staff of a company can stop the sale of assets owned by that company. We are taking action to turn the *Cape Times* into a highly profitable publication through rationalisation.

"Our aim is to enable newspapers like the *Cape Times* to survive and prosper."

23/4/86.

Inquiry involving PE pressmen suspended

STAR (243) 23/4/86

PORT ELIZABETH — An application to stay proceedings of an inquiry in terms of section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act involving the editors and news editors of two Port Elizabeth newspapers was granted yesterday pending a Supreme Court review.

This followed a submission by Mr P B Shaw (for the defence) that the very basis of an editor's position, and that of his newspaper, could be undermined by an inquiry of this nature, particularly concerning the reporters in the areas concerned.

SUBPOENAS

The inquiry arose out of subpoenas served on Mr J C Viviers, editor of the *Eastern Province Herald*; Mr Andre Erasmus, the deputy news editor; Mr Trevor Bisseker, acting editor of the *Evening Post*, and news editor Mr Cliff Foster

The subpoenas served on Mr Viviers and Mr Erasmus by the Security Police called on them to "declare all they know" about an alleged contravention of section 57(1) of Act 74 of 1982 (the Internal Security Act) by consumer boycott leader Mr Mkhuseh Jack and others

The subpoenas served on Mr Bisseker and Mr Foster called on them "to give material evidence as to the sup-

posed offence of contravening section 57(1), read with section 46 of Act 74/1982, alleged to have been committed by Mkhuseh Jack and others", and to testify and declare all they knew concerning the alleged offence.

When the inquiry resumed on April 14, Mr D A Dison, who appeared for the defence, challenged the validity of the government notice of September 27

He submitted that the notice was invalid because it far exceeded the powers that the section had given the Minister

He submitted the subpoenas were invalid because they were unreasonable, vague and embarrassing

In his judgment, Mr P Rothman, the inquiry magistrate, said that although section 205 inquiries were usually held separately, he had agreed to hear these together in order to decide the preliminary point that affected them all.

He said it was common cause that all four subpoenas had been served properly

Mr Rothman said the inquiry had no jurisdiction to set aside the subpoenas which were issued by another magistrate.

Referring to the Government order, Mr Rothman said it was not argued that the order was unreasonable

The inquiry proceedings were stayed to May 13 — Sapa

STAR
23/4/76

Saan property sale heralds major change

243

South African Associated Newspapers has launched into a sweeping new rationalisation programme with the sale of both its head office at 171 Main Street in Johannesburg and its large Paarden Eiland printing plant in Cape Town.

The moves are seen as key elements in a drive by the new management hierarchy to pull Saan out of financial troubles that caused the closure of the *Rand Daily Mail* and the merger of the *Sunday Express* with the *Sunday Star*.

Saan managing director Mr Stephen Mulholland has confirmed the two property sales but declined to name the buyers or disclose the price tag on the deals. He said no date had been set to vacate the Main Street head office and Saan was considering various alternatives to house editorial staff.

RATIONALISATION

He said Saan would be looking at "more modest accommodation", although still as close as possible to the Sauer Street offices of *The Star* and the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, with which large-scale rationalisation schemes are being worked out. Saan, he said, was remodelling itself along the lines of the American Newspaper Preservation Act, under which newspapers shared all services up to editorial level.

In response to reports that staffers at the *Cape Times* were consulting lawyers about a possible interdict to prevent the sale of the Paarden Eiland plant, which prints the newspaper, Mr Mulholland said the deal would go ahead.

He said rationalisation aimed to enable such newspapers to survive and prosper.

women withdraw, said in Jack.

Cape Times
Heard
22/4/86
**honoured
by Dutch
publishers**

Chief Reporter

THE EDITOR of the Cape Times, Mr Anthony Heard, who is to receive the 1986 Golden Pen of Freedom award in Lisbon next month, has been invited by the Dutch Newspaper Publishers' Association to address its annual meeting at The Hague in September, at which the Netherlands' annual Press Award will be announced

Members of the Dutch Parliament are among those invited to be present

Mr Karel J van der Zande, general secretary of the association, says in a letter to Mr Heard "We are convinced that the presence of the Editor of the Cape Times and winner of the FIEJ Golden Pen of Freedom 1986 will add an extra dimension to the presentation of the annual Press Award

"I can assure you there will be great interest in what you are going to tell us"

Mr Heard has a number of top-level commitments in Europe in the next few months. In mid-May, he has been invited to address the 35th general assembly of the International Press Institute (IPI) in Vienna, at which the Archbishop-elect of Cape Town, the Rt Reverend Desmond Tutu, is scheduled to be the keynote speaker

The IPI is a body made up mainly of newspaper editors from all over the world

The Golden Pen of

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To page 2



**New-look
Funfinder**

PLAN your weekend with the new bumper edition of Funfinder which appears in the Cape Times on Friday. The new-look Funfinder contains two brand new sections. A pullout television guide, to keep as a daily reference beside your TV set, and a list of weekend sporting fixtures.

**Hammers
hit 8 goals**

LONDON. — English First Division title challengers West Ham thrashed visiting Newcastle 8-1 last night

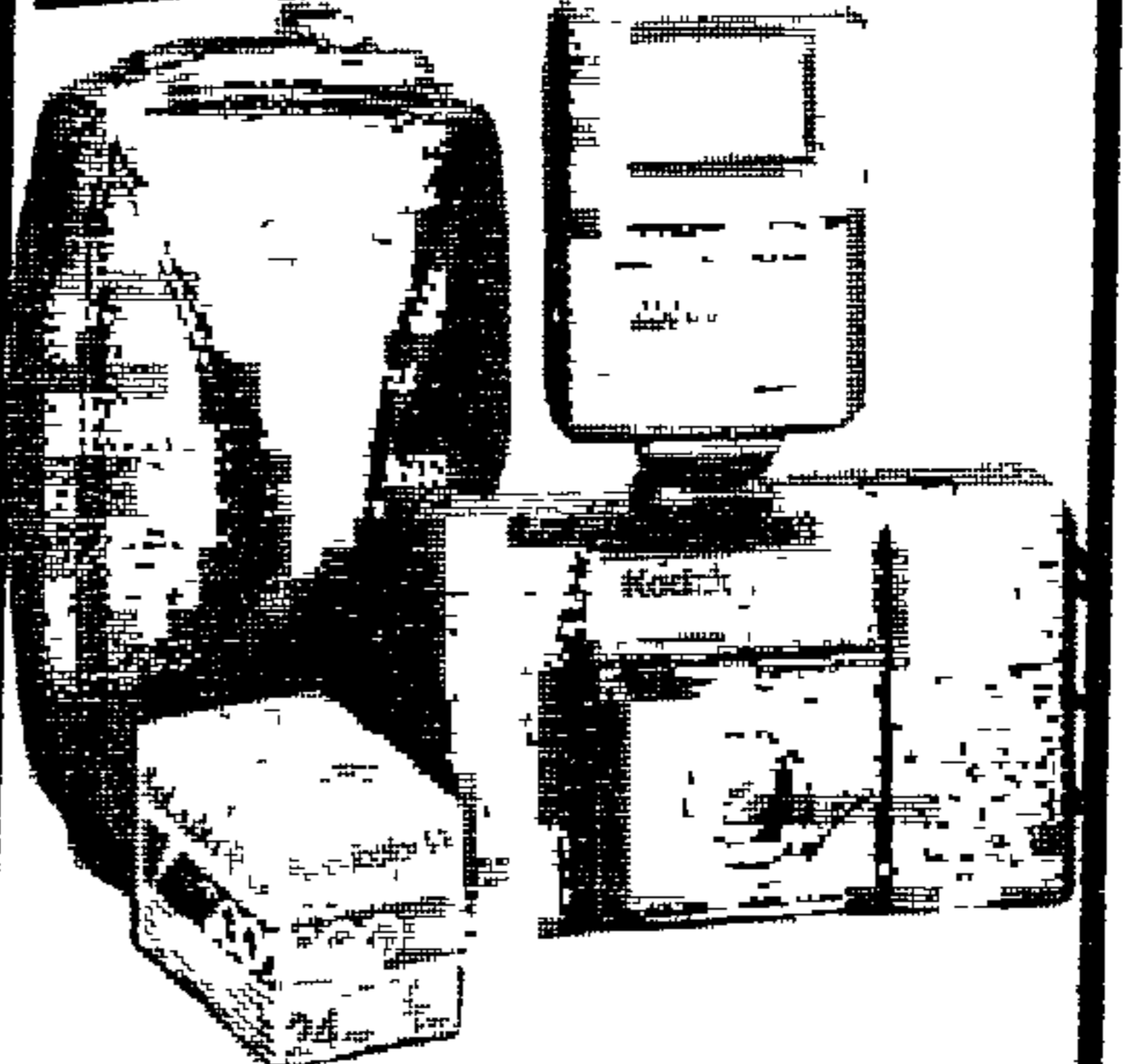
England defender Alvin Martin scored his first hat-trick for West Ham on a night of disaster for Newcastle who used three goalkeepers

● Report, other scores, back page

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CAPE TIMES
22/4/86

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From page 1

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Freedom, which has been awarded to Mr Heard for his "courageous contribution to the cause of press freedom", will be presented to him in Lisbon on May 25 by Lord McGregor of Durriss, chairman of the British Advertising Standards Authority

The presentation will be made at the annual conference of the Paris-based FIEJ, or International Federation of Newspaper Publishers, a body representing publishers in 24 countries of the Western world

● The Golden Pen award recognizes "the genuine defence of the freedom of the press by a person, group or institution" Among the criteria used by the jury, in considering candidates, is that "the act of courage the Golden Pen seeks to reward should reflect a long-held set of unswerving attitudes".

year since its inception The Golden Pen has been awarded every in 1961, except in 1983 and 1984, when no candidate appeared sufficiently convincing to the jury

Recipients of the award have included such people as the world-famous Argentine editor Jacobo Timerman, author of "Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number" — a book about Timerman's torture during two years in an Argentine prison

Other Golden Pen winners have come from trouble-spots of the world including Northern Ireland (Robert Lilley of the Belfast Telegraph, 1977), Turkey (Ahmet Yalman of Hur Vatan, 1961); Czechoslovakia (the Czech Press, 1969), Nicaragua (Pedro Barrios of La Prensa, 1982), the Philippines (Joaquin Roces of the Manila Times, 1985)

50 injured in Maputo blast

MAPUTO — A booby-trapped car exploded in Maputo yesterday, injuring at least 50 people, three of them critically, according to Mozambican military officials.

Two bombs had been planted in a car parked in Avenida Agostinho Neto in central Maputo and went off simultaneously about 5am. Another bomb found near the scene failed to explode.

South African car number plates were found in the wreckage of the vehicle, which was destroyed in the blasts which also partially destroyed two apartment blocks, the officials added.

The explosions left a deep crater in the road.

The officials said they were examining the unexploded bomb, which was apparently timed to go off with the other two.

Mozambique blamed the rebel Mozambican National Resistance (MNR) for the explosions. — Sapa-Reuter.

Appeal on stayaways

MICK COLLINS

THE Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce has appealed to employers not to victimise workers forced to stay away from work on May 1 (May Day) or June 16 (Soweto Day). "Where all other avenues of negotiation have failed and the position looks bleak, we appeal to commerce not to be party to any form of victimisation of individuals," a spokesman said.

He said some companies had already had talks with union officials and managed to swap another holiday for May 1, thus obviating the necessity of applying the "no work, no pay" rule.

"But employers must be careful about allowing employees to work time in. They could well set a precedent."

A spokesman for Assocom said it had advised employers that if negotiation with the workforce had not been successful they should stick to the "no work, no pay" dictum. "Most employers appear to have already resigned themselves to the stayaway but are not prepared to condone it.

"But they can't condone the workforce just taking its own public holidays."

The Transvaal Chamber of Industries said the prospects for a stayaway seem very real. "The general attitude of organised industry is well known, namely "no work, no pay" but this attitude is not binding and employers are free to negotiate."

SAP imposes news ban

Own Correspondent

POLICE Commissioner Johann Coetzee has barred the Cape Times from speaking to police liaison officers and is blacking out SAP news to the paper.

The ban applies only to that newspaper. It follows a Newspaper Press Union (NPU) appeal, on behalf of Cape Times editor Anthony Heard, against the barring of crime

reporter Chris Bateman from the daily police crime conference for the media. Bateman was barred from the conference after reporting on a shoot-out in which three alleged guerrillas were killed in Guguletu, near Cape Town, on March 3.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
— Foreign journalists were welcome in South Africa but they should not involve themselves in unrest or become instruments of propaganda, the Deputy Minister for Information, Mr Louis Nel, said yesterday

Responding to debate on his budget allocation, he said foreign journalists were welcome but did not have a right to be in South Africa

"We are prepared to work with the overseas press on the basis of their freedom of condition they adhere to journalist's ethics, some of which are written and some of which are not"

Some of the foreign media had become part of the propaganda attack against South Africa

He cited an article in Newsweek (April 14) which had reported the

Nel attacks Newsweek

FACTS 22/4/86

"white regime" in South Africa had banned outdoor meetings, including funerals, which were the "only real forum for blacks' political expression"

It had furthermore been reported that police opened fire, killing four people, on a crowd of 10 000 black people who had defied the order

Firstly, Mr Nel said, there was no "white regime" in South Africa. It would have been correct to say blacks had no direct representation in Parliament, but the government was not only white

It was also false to say

funerals were the only real forum for blacks' political expression and unprofessional to mention nothing of the provocation before police had opened fire in the incident reported

The article he referred to had been written "by a Nancy Cooper in New York, with Richard Manning in Johannesburg"

Mr Nel said he had met and knew Manning as a person "prepared to report objectively"

The problem was that the Johannesburg Newsweek reporter was not in control of the final report as it was published

Mr Nel said he had

been approached by senior Newsweek representatives — while he was in the United States last October — who wanted to lodge their objections at the deportation last year of the magazine's former Johannesburg representative, Ray Wilkinson

They had told him they wanted to make it clear Newsweek's position was that its news reporters should be allowed to report freely from South Africa on facts and developments "as they see it and bearing in mind public opinion in America"

Mr Nel said "Foreign journalists are welcome on the basis that we accept we have problems in the country and that they treat us reasonably and decently and according to the international codes (of journalism)," he said — Sapa

Cape Times
22/4/86
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SAP acts on Times reporters

Staff Reporter

THE Commissioner of Police, General Johann Coetzee, has barred the Cape Times from speaking to any police liaison officer and is enforcing an official news blackout on police activities and information.

General Coetzee's ban, which applies only to the Cape Times, follows an appeal by the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) on behalf of the Editor of the Cape Times, Mr Anthony Heard, against the barring of crime reporter Chris Bateman from the daily police crime conference for the media.

Shootout

Mr Bateman was told he was "no longer welcome" at the crime conference after he reported on a shootout in Guguletu in which police killed seven alleged guerillas on March 3 this year. Police cited the reason for his barring as being that he did not possess special police accreditation, which entitles reporters to confidential background information.

Police have launched a Section 27 (1)b Police Act investigation into Mr Bateman's report after first serving him with a Section 205 subpoena to supply them with the names of witnesses quoted in the report. Mr Bateman supplied the police with the witnesses' names after first obtaining the witnesses' permission to do so and obtaining supporting affidavits.

No comment

About a month after Mr Bateman was barred from the crime conference, the Cape Times was told that no reporters from this paper were allowed to obtain comment or information on routine crime stories from the police liaison officers nor official news of police activities, comment on unrest situations, confirmation or denial of detentions and arrests, and comment on allegations against the police.

While reporters on the Cape Times possess or-

inary "press" cards in terms of the NPU-Police agreement signed by the Commissioner, none at present has the "special" police accreditation which is opposed by the South African Society of Journalists. An application has been submitted for the issuing of such a card to a senior member of the Cape Times staff, to replace a specially-accredited reporter who has left the newspaper.

'Biased'

In a letter to Mr Heard, General Coetzee said it appeared that the Cape Times was not prepared "to change its biased and slanderous attitude towards the South African Police".

"My request, in order not to offend anybody, is that until this issue has been resolved to the satisfaction of both parties, journalists from the Cape Times refrain from utilizing our liaison facilities," General Coetzee concludes.

Reversal

The letter was received by Mr Heard almost three weeks ago, but the Cape Times held back the publication of its contents while senior NPU representatives attempted to obtain a reversal of the ban.

The special accreditation card — marked with the police colours of blue and gold — gains senior journalists access to confidential, off-the-record information from senior officers.

Reply

The NPU agreement — termed a "gentlemen's agreement" — lays down guidelines for contact between the press and the police, and includes provisions that the police will be given opportunities to reply to allegations levelled against them.

The Cape Times continues to provide readers with a full crime service although reporters who contact police liaison officers on relevant matters are consistently referred to General Coetzee's letter and denied further comment.

The Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

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^{SOWETAN} One of the council's functions is to receive and act upon complaints from members of the public who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or other news media directly. Complaints must relate to published editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publication. But late complaints may be accepted if good reasons can be advanced.

The address is: The Conciliator/Registrar, SA Media Council, P.O. Box 5222, Cape Town, 8000. Telephone: (021) 46-7317. Inquiries are welcomed.

CME Times 21/4/86

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Rapport objects to Breytenbach's views

Staff Reporter

THE board of directors of the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, Rapport, yesterday announced that it had "serious objections" to the opinions expressed by Afrikaans poet Breyten Breytenbach when he received its Rapport Prize for Literature in Pretoria last week.

Breytenbach told an invited, and mostly Afrikaans, audience that he had come to South Africa to receive his prize because he was "irrevocably tied to Africa" and that he "identified with the liberation struggle of South Africans". He also said that

- "The Afrikaner constituted the world community's secreted insanity"

- "The Afrikaner's contribution to the richness of our world's spiritual heritage is specific — erecting and enthroning racism as an ideal state and then, as a sacrament to this idolatry, enshrining apartheid"

- "Our rottenness is unique and our self-destruction will certainly also be unrepeatable"

- The Afrikaans churches were "morally bankrupt"

Breytenbach's speech was greeted with shock and outrage in Afrikaans church circles

Professor Johan Heyns, moderator of the Northern Transvaal synod of

the Ned Geref Kerk, said Breytenbach approached facts in a "playful but immoral manner".

"He attacks the churches and the thinking establishment in a way that makes it clear that he does not know what is happening in our country"

The Rev Tappies Moller, moderator of the Western Cape synod and editor of Die Kerkbode, said that at least the Afrikaans churches had not encouraged violence but "spread the message of conciliation"

In a front-page announcement in Rapport yesterday, the chairman of its Board of Directors, Dr Willem van Heerden, said that although the board did not wish to comment on the decision to award the prize to Breytenbach, it had "serious objections" to "aspects surrounding the event"

"The board expresses its disapproval of Mr Breytenbach's attacks on the Afrikaans churches, his uncontrolled use of language in public at the prize-giving, which was a painful embarrassment for many guests, and of his political gesture of using part of his prize money in such a way that it conflicts directly with Rapport's policy," the announcement said

Breytenbach said at the prize-giving he would donate part of his R15 000 prize to unspecified organizations working to help political prisoners

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Argus support for Cape Times call

THE Argus chapel of the Southern African Society of Journalists has called on the managements of South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) and The Argus to make their intentions for the future of the Cape Times known immediately.

The call was made in a statement in support of colleagues at the Cape Times who have expressed concern about negotiations between the managements to rationalise some of the operations of The Argus and the Cape Times

This chapel said it deplored the secrecy surrounding the moves and called on the managements to make an "immediate announcement clearly stating their intentions".

Paper faces subpoenas

By PAT SIDLEY

THE Eastern Province Herald was not only attacked by a magistrate in a Police Act case this week, but it now faces subpoenas with a sister newspaper, the Evening Post, under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act.

This week, Juliette Saunders of the Eastern Province Herald was found guilty of breaking the Police Act and fined R100. Her editor, Koos Viviers was found not guilty.

The report in question dealt with a funeral and the behaviour of the police at the funeral. The event, said Viviers when interviewed after the hearing, was a "grassroots" event about which a dozen or so reports were published every week in South Africa. The magistrate found three paragraphs — in a report originally about 1 300 words long — to be untrue.

The paragraphs in question, said Viviers, had quoted eyewitness accounts

The Herald is appealing against the judgment.

Also this week, Viviers and the acting editor of the Evening Post Trevor Bissaker, appeared in court with their respective news editors after being subpoenaed in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act to hand over photographs and notes of what the state claimed was an illegal meeting.

The meeting was attended by about 20 000 people and was held to protest against the ban on meetings.

The editors are contesting the subpoenas on the basis that the meeting was not illegal. Judgment was reserved for next week.

CAM- Times 11/14/86
243 250 259

Judge warns on 'extended' rationalization

JCF

Chief Reporter

THE retiring managing director of the Cape Times, Mr Walter Judge, warned this week against the Cape Times losing, through "extended" rationalization, the entrepreneurial approach that had kept it alive, profitable and vibrant through difficult years.

He was referring to the recently-announced plans of SA Associated Newspapers (SAAN) and the Argus group to rationalize on non-competitive operations such as printing and distribution, to effect major economies.

Mr Judge is going on early retirement at the age of 59, after successfully taking the 110-year-old Cape Times into the electronic era ahead of every other newspaper in Africa, and keeping it profitable in difficult times



Mr Judge

Speaking at a farewell dinner given in his honour by Mr Leycester Walton, chairman of the local management board of the Cape Times, he said

"Our views in regard to the rationalization of the printing and distribution operations are well known. Since they are service functions, combining forces makes sense, the only proviso being that the implementation of rationalization should mean no loss of quality and also substantial cash savings to both parties

"What we are now faced with is not only rationalization of the printing and publishing operations, but the holus-bolus absorption by the Argus of all other departments, such as origination, accounting, advertising and management.

"You could call this an extension of rationalization, but let me warn you that if this course is followed you are going to lose the entrepreneurial approach which has kept the Cape Times alive, profitable and vibrant over the past difficult years."

Mr Judge warned "There is naturally great concern about editorial independence, but if you lose management and marketing initiative, your loss will be just as great

"Your editorial message can be inspiring, but if you are not following the marketing principle of giving value for money, you are a dead duck."

Cape Times 'firsts'

● Apart from being the first newspaper in Africa to be completely electronically edited, computer-set and litho-printed (in 1978), the Cape Times has introduced many "firsts" in Cape Town, many of which have been copied, not just locally but also throughout the country

These "firsts" include the "finders" (Homefinder, Jobfinder, Carfinder and other tabloids such as "Your Money"), free birth notices, wrap-arounds, full-colour property advertisements, illustrated lineage, free ads to private advertisers, and Budget and matric-result supplements.

And latest figures show that the Cape Times' share of the newspaper advertisement market in Cape Town has risen from 21,7 percent in 1980 to 25,5 percent this year

The Cape Times' readership (the total number of people who read the newspapers sold) is, according to the authoritative All Media and Products Survey (AMPS), the highest of any daily in the Cape.

Cape Times 18/4/86
243 222 191 189
**Argus and Times
workers unite**

Staff Reporter

THE Argus chapel of the Southern African Society of Journalists yesterday voiced its support for workers at the Cape Times and called

Cape Times newspapers

"This chapel deplores the secrecy surrounding the moves and calls on Argus and SAAN managements to make an immediate announcement

Judge warns on 'extended' rationalization, page 9

on the managements of SAAN and Argus to make an "immediate announcement" regarding the future of the Cape Times

The chapel statement said: "The Argus editorial chapel wishes to indicate its support for fellow media workers at the Cape Times following moves by SAAN (South African Associated Newspapers) and the Argus Company to rationalize the Argus and

clearly stating their intentions regarding the future of the Cape Times.

"We understand the talks are already far advanced, yet the people most directly involved — those who stand to lose their jobs — have been left entirely in the dark.

"Rumours about what the 'rationalization' will

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To page 2

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From page 1

entail are rife They include.

"● That several hundred SAAN employees — among them Cape Times staff — will lose their jobs

"● That the continued commercial viability of the Cape Times, at present one of the few SAAN publications not losing money, will be put in jeopardy by the rationalization moves

"Rumours such as these already have currency outside the industry and are fuelling speculation that the final aim is to have one major daily newspaper in each city at whatever cost to press freedom and the public's right to know.

"A statement is all the more urgent in view of this."

BUS. DAY
17/4/80 243

SAAN assurances on independence



NO-ONE need be under any illusions about the determination of SA Associated Newspapers (SAAN) to protect and nurture the editorial independence of the titles it published.

This was said yesterday by SAAN MD Stephen Mulholland in response to concerns expressed by journalists and the SA Media Council that current rationalisation between SAAN and the Argus group might lead to the loss of independence for SAAN publications.

And Gordon Waddell, chairman of JCI, SAAN's largest shareholder, repeated earlier statements that SAAN would continue to publish its six newspapers and that the editorial independence of these titles would be maintained.

Mulholland said the Media Council was quite right in saying that financial viability was a precondition for the survival and independence of the Press. "That is why, this strategy has been adopted — rationalisation wherever possible, with editorial at all times excluded.

"The commitment of SAAN management is clear — the survival of titles and

their editorial independence."

Mulholland said his sense of the arrangements with the Argus company was that these were motivated on both sides by the determination to return SAAN to profitability and, with that return, ensuring of the survival of the existing SAAN titles.

"My sense of the negotiations is that they are being conducted in a fair and reasonable spirit on both sides.

"But the the staff of SAAN can rest assured that editorial independence is a non-negotiable issue.

"Our prime objective is the return of the SAAN group to profitability, from a very difficult financial position.

"Journalists and others must understand that the company is in trouble and our shareholders have been very understanding and supportive, to a degree which is more than one can reasonably ask under the circumstances.

"We are working day and night to sort out the problems we are facing. I have been a journalist for 31 years, and I hold as sacred the principle of editorial independence," Mulholland said.

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'Untruths': Editor not guilty, reporter fined

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The editor of the Eastern Province Herald, Mr J C Viviers, was yesterday found not guilty in the Magistrate's Court here of publishing untruths about police action, and a Grahamstown-based staff reporter, Miss Juliette Saunders, who was charged with him, was convicted and fined R100 (or 20 days)

Notice of appeal was lodged against Miss Saunders's conviction

During the trial the State withdrew the charge against EP Newspapers Pty Ltd, which was cited as the third accused Miss Jennifer Hyman, a former Herald reporter, who was originally charged with the same offence, paid an admission-of-guilt fine of R100 before the trial

Mr Viviers and Miss Saunders were charged under Section 27(1) b of Act 7 of 1958 of the Police Act, which makes it an offence to publish untruths about police action, without having reasonable grounds for believing the information to be true.

Eye-witnesses

The hearing was a sequel to a report in the Herald on November 10, 1984, on events which took place during the funeral of an unrest victim in Grahamstown the previous day

The statements which appeared in the Herald alleged that eye-witnesses had seen police using sjamboks, rubber bullets, teargas and a sneeze machine to disperse crowds, and confiscating Azapo and Azasm banners.

Mr Viviers and Miss Saunders had pleaded not guilty to the charge

Handing down his verdict the magistrate, Mr J D E Moony, said the State witnesses were impressive witnesses who had not contradicted themselves. While they had been subjected to lengthy and penetrating cross-examination, they were not shaken.

The magistrate said Mr Viviers had outlined procedures followed on the newspaper to check on reports about police action. Because the edi-

tor could not be on duty all the time, it was inevitable that duties would be delegated

The magistrate found that Mr Viviers, while claiming to be objective, had under cross-examination revealed prejudice against the police. He had been evasive at times and the court had not been impressed with his evidence.

He had, however, discharged the onus on him because he had testified and proved that he had not taken part in the publication of the report or that he could have prevented its publication.

Mr Moony said it was a fact that newspapers worked against deadlines and that it could not be possible to get confirmation on all the reports before deadlines. However, he found that expediency could not overrule the responsibility of journalists.

He said a tyrannical press was as bad as a tyrannical security force.

No message

Referring to evidence by a witness from the police directorate in Pretoria, the magistrate said the witness had said in evidence that he was not presented with the full text of the report when a reporter spoke to him on the telephone and that no telex message was sent to enable the police to answer all the allegations

He said the court was satisfied that three allegations out of six alleged untruths in the report were patently untrue in the report. The untrue allegations were that:

- According to an eye-witness the crowd had just reached the turn-off to the cemetery when a police sneeze machine was used towards the tailend of the procession

- Within minutes reporters saw police vehicles move down from the ridge and from different directions tearsmoke was fired at the crowd.

- According to eye-witnesses police also fired bullets and bird-shot. One eye-witness said he then saw several

and run towards Raglan Road

Mr Moony found Miss Saunders guilty. He said the report had carried her name and that of Miss Hyman, and there was evidence before court that she was at the scene when the incidents took place. He said Miss Saunders had not given evidence at the trial

He said the overall picture created by the report was false in that it gave one the impression that the police had acted without provocation

Mr Moony said although the newspaper's intention had not been to mislead its readers, the actual result in the present case was different.

In mitigation of sentence, Mr Eric Leach, for the defence, said the agreement between the police and the Newspaper Press Union had been adhered to. He referred to the case as "a storm in a teacup"

He said comment on police action had been sought by the newspaper in accordance with the agreement between the police and the NPU. It was given and published.

'No outcry'

Mr Leach said there had been no immediate outcry from the police, had that been done there would have been some remonstrance by the authorities with the Herald and action taken against what the police objected to.

He said the police did not attempt to rectify the situation on the report. He submitted that the police were equally to blame for what had happened. Mr Leach said the police provided the court with three different versions. The court had found that a fourth version, that published by the Herald, had been wrong. He added that the court could have heard 100 versions on the matter

He said the newspaper was not the judiciary, it was not in a position to make final decisions on whether all the reports were true. The overall picture of the report was that there had been trouble and clashes with the

Cape Times
16/4/86

SAAN moves: SASJ hits at 'secrecy'

Staff Reporter

AN emergency meeting of the SAAN Cape Town Chapel of the Southern African Society of Journalists, representing most journalists on the Cape Times, was held on Monday

Members unanimously expressed grave concern about the imminent "rationalization" of the Cape Times and Argus newspapers

This statement was issued on behalf of the executive committee

"We deplore the secrecy surrounding the 'rationalization' and note that no concrete details have been released on the imminent process whereby the two newspapers will be rationalized. We have had to request a meeting with our management on the matter

"The Chapel believes the current negotiations between the Argus and SAAN management will jeopardise both the Cape Times' editorial independence and its future existence

"The meeting resolved

"To request an urgent meeting with SAAN MD, Mr Stephen Mulholland, and Mr Gordon Waddell of JCI — the major shareholder in SAAN and Argus — to answer questions on the implications of the merger for the Cape Times

"To request a meeting in Cape Town with the Argus management, Johannesburg

"The concern of the chapel has also been expressed by employees in other departments of the Cape Times as well as members of the SA Typographical Union"

● An ad hoc committee of Cape Times employees has also requested a meeting with Mr Mulholland

● Mr Mulholland said last night he would be "more than happy to meet with the staff of the Cape Times to discuss the issues involved as soon as possible

"But I must stress that the purpose of what we are doing is the opposite of what the SASJ statement says is their concern — our purpose is the survival of their publication, the Cape Times

'Fair spirit'

"My sense of the arrangements with the Argus company is that these are motivated on both sides by the determination to return SAAN to profitability, and with that return, the ensuring of the survival of the existing SAAN titles

"My sense of the negotiations is that they are being conducted in a fair and reasonable spirit on both sides, and I am confident that this will continue to be the case

"As regards the nuts and bolts of the day to day developments in the process of rationalization, I must say that the situation is fluid at the moment, and it is simply not realistic to give a running commentary on these developments

"But the the staff of the Cape Times and of SAAN can rest assured that editorial independence is a non-negotiable issue

"Our prime objective is the return of the SAAN group, of which the Cape Times is a member, to profitability, from a very difficult financial position

"Journalists and others must understand that the company is in trouble, and our shareholders have been very understanding and supportive, to a degree which is more than one can reasonably ask under the circumstances

"We are working day and night to sort out the problems we are facing. I have been a journalist for 31 years and I hold as sacred the principle of editorial independence," he said

243 Newspaper group's boss reassures staff

Staff Reporter

16/4/66
would jeopardise both the Cape Times editorial independence and its future existence

THE managing director of South African Associated Newspapers, Mr Stephen Mulholland, says the purpose of negotiations between Saan and the Argus Company is to ensure the survival of the Cape Times

Replying to a statement by the Saan Cape Town chapel of the Southern African Society of Journalists on the Cape Times, Mr Mulholland said he would be more than happy to meet the staff to discuss the rationalisation of Saan and Argus newspapers as soon as possible, reports Sapa

He said "But I must emphasise that the purpose of what we are doing is the opposite of what the SASJ statement says is their concern — our purpose is the survival of their publication, the Cape Times."

The chapel statement yesterday deplored the "secrecy" surrounding the rationalisation, noted that no concrete details had been released, expressed grave concern about the rationalisation talks and said it believed the negotiations between Saan and Argus managements

Mr Mulholland replied "My sense of the arrangements with the Argus Company is that these are motivated on both sides by the determination to return Saan to profitability and, with that return, ensuring the survival of the existing Saan titles.

"My sense of the negotiations is that they are being conducted in a fair and reasonable spirit on both sides and I am confident that this will continue to be the case.

NON-NEGOTIABLE

"As regards the nuts and bolts of the day-to-day developments in the process of rationalisation, I must say that the situation is fluid and it is simply not realistic to give a running commentary on these developments"

He assured staff that editorial independence was a non-negotiable issue. The prime objective is the return of the Saan group — of which the Cape Times is a member — to profitability from a "very difficult financial position".

Media council warning

Cape Town 16/4/86
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Staff Reporter

THE South African Media Council has warned newspaper owners of the danger of subordinating independence to managerial objectives.

This was done in a statement released in Cape Town by the council yesterday on recent developments affecting the Argus and South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) groups

"Financial viability is a precondition for the independence of any member of the press. But the method of achieving that viability can have a potential for curtailing the very independence it seeks to ensure," the statement said

"The subordination of editorial independence to overriding managerial requirements seeking to achieve and maintain such financial viability can be counter-productive and diminish the wide and varied spectrum of views and news

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To page 2



BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close)	\$342,00
Rand	\$0,4935/45
FT index (close)	1370,80
BD 100	1217,50

which is the virtue of a free press

"Subject to this consideration, rationalization of the printing and distribution of two or more newspapers makes sense, especially in today's economic climate. Our main concern is that the editorial independence of the co-operating newspapers not be imperilled

"We hope that these considerations will be borne in mind by the boards of directors in the current negotiations between the SAAN and Argus groups," the statement said

The chairman of the council is Mr Justice L de V van Winsen and the alternate chairman is Mr Justice M A Diemont

● The managing director of SAAN, Mr Stephen Mulholland, said last night

"I don't think that anyone needs to be under any illusions about the determination of SAAN to protect and nurture the editorial independence of the titles which we have and for which we have responsibility

"The Media Council is quite right in saying that financial viability is a precondition for the survival and independence of the press, and that is why this strategy has been adopted — rationalization wherever possible, with editorial at all times excluded

"The commitment of SAAN management is clear — the survival of titles and their editorial independence"

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Reporter Weaver's BBC interviews in full

Staff Reporter

IN PARLIAMENT on Thursday, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, made unfounded allegations against Cape Times reporter Tony Weaver based on a selective interpretation of a BBC interview with Mr Weaver on March 4

The Cape Times hereby releases the full transcripts of the March 4 BBC interview mentioned by Mr Le Grange, as well as a BBC interview on the same subject the previous day

Referring to the March 4 interview, Mr Le Grange said in Parliament

"In this interview, he (Mr Weaver) told millions of listeners that according to witnesses they spoke to, the seven dead terrorists were not only innocent — some of whom were on their way to a shop or to seek work — but that the police had actually planted the weapons on them because they had killed innocent people and were trying to make out that they were terrorists

"It is shocking that such a slanted and biased message can be relayed overseas by a staff member of a newspaper claiming to regard its duty is to correctly and fairly inform its readers," Mr Le Grange said

Section 27 (b)

Mr Weaver has also been formally warned that he faces possible charges under Section 27 (b) of the Police Act — which carries a maximum fine of R10 000 or a jail term of five years or both — for this interview and for further reporting in the Cape Times on the shootout

Cape Times crime reporter Mr Chris Bateman also faces similar possible charges for his coverage of the shootout

It is clear from the transcript that Mr Weaver was merely conveying the views of family members on the shootout, he stressed that the Cape Times had "no proof" of the allegations, and at no stage did he state as a matter of fact that weapons had been planted or that the seven men were innocent.

At no stage was anybody quoted as saying any of the men were "on their way to a shop" and in the first interview with the BBC he stated clearly that a handgrenade had been thrown at the police and that at least some of the group of seven had returned the police fire

The following is the transcript of the two interviews

March 3, 1986: BBC INTRODUCTION: "South African police claim that they have shot dead seven members of the banned African National Congress, ANC. The incident took place in the township of Guguletu, near Cape Town. Police claim the shootout arose out of an alleged ANC ambush on a police vehicle. Julian Borger asked Tony Weaver of the Cape Times what exactly had happened"

WEAVER: "At this stage details are still fairly unclear. The official police version of what happened is that at twenty past seven, South African time, this morning, near the Guguletu police station — Guguletu is a black township just outside Cape Town — they stopped a vehicle with seven people inside.

"They say that they had information that the vehicle was on its way to attack another police vehicle and that the vehicle contained ANC guerillas

"Police say that there was a skirmish between them and the guerillas and that a handgrenade was thrown at the police, that shots were fired at the police

An ambush situation

"The information we have so far is that the police opened fire, that it was actually an ambush situation, they obviously opened fire with a fair number of rifles, handguns, and that seven guerillas were killed and a policeman slightly wounded

"Police say that they have seized a number of Kalashnikov AK-47 rifles, a number of rounds of ammunition, and several pistols and handgrenades

"Further than that we do not have a great deal of information at this stage"

BORGER: "Are there any independent eye-witness reports, and do they confirm the police reports?"

WEAVER: "They are still being checked out at this stage, we don't yet have full details on the eye-witness accounts. Police sealed off the area and would not allow the

mission to the area, they refused us permission to take pictures

"Some pictures were taken, and these have to be cleared by the police before we can publish them

"At this stage police are only allowing publication of official police photographs"

BORGER: "Now, police are saying this was an ANC operation. How did they know this?"

WEAVER: "They claim that they were acting on information received. At this stage obviously we can only go on what the police are saying and there is no clarity, no independent confirmation, that the seven were in fact ANC guerillas" (Ends)

Follow-up interview with the BBC, March 4, 1986.

BBC INTRODUCTION: "There is controversy in South Africa over how seven young blacks were killed by police yesterday in the township of Guguletu near Cape Town. The police version is that they were armed members of the banned ANC, that they were preparing to ambush a police vehicle and that they were killed in a shootout. But some people in Guguletu disagree strongly with the police account. Tony Weaver of the Cape Times has been into Guguletu this afternoon. Julian Borger asked him what he'd heard"

WEAVER: "We spoke to the family of Christopher Piet, who is 24 years old, and Jabulani Miya, who is 23 years old. The families of both insist that neither of them have ever been involved in politics of any sort, that they were both on their way to try and find work — they were unemployed — and that both men had never been involved in any kind of ANC activity, and not even activity of any political grouping in South Africa."

BORGER: "Now the police say that the seven men in the van were armed. What do their parents have to say about that?"

WEAVER: "The mother of Jabulani Miya says that her feeling about it is that the weapons were planted on them after the shooting. She is extremely upset, as one can understand, the first thing she found out about her son's death was when she saw his body on television at 6 o'clock

"The mother and aunt of the other man, of Christopher Piet, were told by friends that there had been a shootout, they then went to the mortuary, and found his body there with a bullet through the head

"They both of them say, to quote from the mother, 'He was just an ordinary person, he was not a freedom fighter'"

BORGER: "What do the parents believe happened to their children?"

WEAVER: "Both sets of parents believe — they are obviously extremely bitter about what has happened — they believe that their sons were set up, the whole thing was a setup, this was their feeling and obviously we have no proof of that. Their feeling is that somehow or other the police shot their sons and then planted the weapons on them and are now claiming that their sons were guerillas to justify the fact that they were shot dead"

BORGER: "Have you had any independent eye-witness reports of the ambush, and are they compatible with the police story?"

WEAVER: "We do have three independent eye-witness reports of the ambush, they are compatible to an extent. Three of the witnesses say however that two of the men killed, we have not yet been able to establish which ones, were shot in cold blood. One witness said he ran to a window when he heard gunfire and explosions, and he saw a man lying on the ground, on the pavement, across the road from him. Then, he said, quote, 'one policeman just walked up to him, and shot him in the head'.

"Then another man said one of the men who had been in the vehicle was walking towards the police with his hands raised above his head, when shots were fired and he collapsed

"A third witness said he saw police grab a man, take a pistol from the man's belt, knee him in the stomach and then punch him to the ground. And then, quote, 'a policeman some distance away said that they should shoot him. They then fired three shots into him with a rifle', the man said" (ends)

● In response to Mr Le Grange's attack, Mr Weaver said "The minister's creative interpretation of the BBC interview casts a serious slur on my professional integrity and I challenge him to repeat the allegations outside Parliament so I can sue him

Cape Times

Mr Louis le Grange

TO be attacked by a discredited Minister of Law and Order who should have been relieved of his job long ago is a minor burden for a newspaper to bear. It might even be seen as a recommendation. But when Mr Louis le Grange indulges in wild, inaccurate, damaging and intemperate allegations against the Cape Times, as he did in Parliament on Thursday evening, it requires a passing reply.

Speaking as a member of a government which has almost single-handedly bankrupted a country and reneged on short-term debt to the world, Mr Le Grange is showing some considerable cheek in suggesting that the Cape Times is losing readership and credibility and is in "dire financial straits". The truth is that, according to the latest AMPS survey, the Cape Times has the biggest readership figure in the Western Cape of any daily newspaper. We have traded sturdily in the market for 110 years, and in no year have we made a loss. Times are difficult for all

newspapers at present, as with many businesses. Things are not easy for us either, nor for our parent company, SA Associated Newspapers, which at least has a resolute strategy to turn the corner. But we are confident that the support of all our readers, reflected in satisfactory circulation figures in spite of our unavoidable cover-price increase, as well as the support of business interests who find it worthwhile to advertise in our columns, will underpin our future. To both quarters, we say a warm thank-you.

Personal attacks and questioning of our credibility, editorial control and political stance come strangely from a minister who gave inaccurate information, based on hearsay, to Parliament over the Langa (Uitenhage) shootings; has failed lamentably to control his own police force in unrest situations and is one of the right-wing's strongest protagonists in the Botha government.

Le Grange vs Cape Times: Readers will decide

Cape Times 12/4/86 (243)

IN THE course of his distinctly uncharitable and, in large part, poorly informed and misdirected remarks about the Cape Times in the House of Assembly on Thursday, the Minister of Law and Order did come close to stating a truth about newspapers

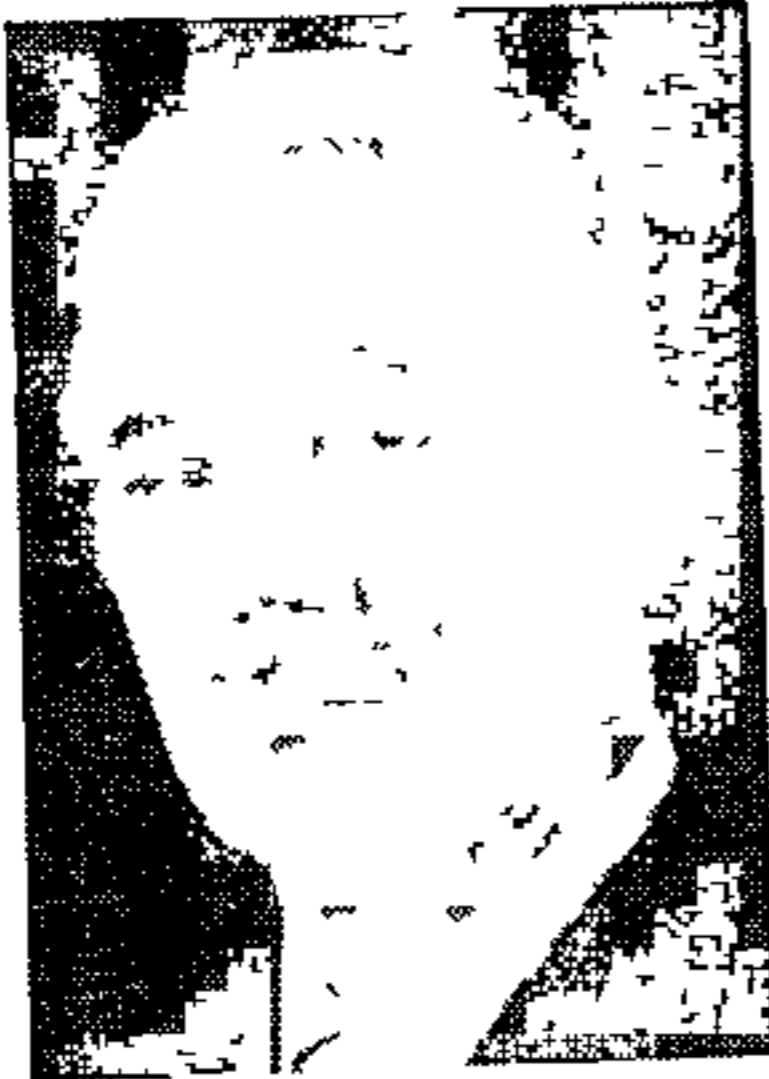
A newspaper is largely directed, controlled and edited by its readers. It is only to the extent that a newspaper enjoys the confidence and trust of its readership and, in large measure, is a reflection of the views, concerns and deepest convictions of its readership, that a good paper is in any real sense influential — or has much chance of surviving in the market-place

Where Mr Le Grange was poorly informed was in his suggestion that the Cape Times is in "dire straits" financially and losing readership and credibility. The facts, as set out in a leading article elsewhere on this page today, are that the Cape Times is profitable, having stood strongly in the market-place for the past 110 years

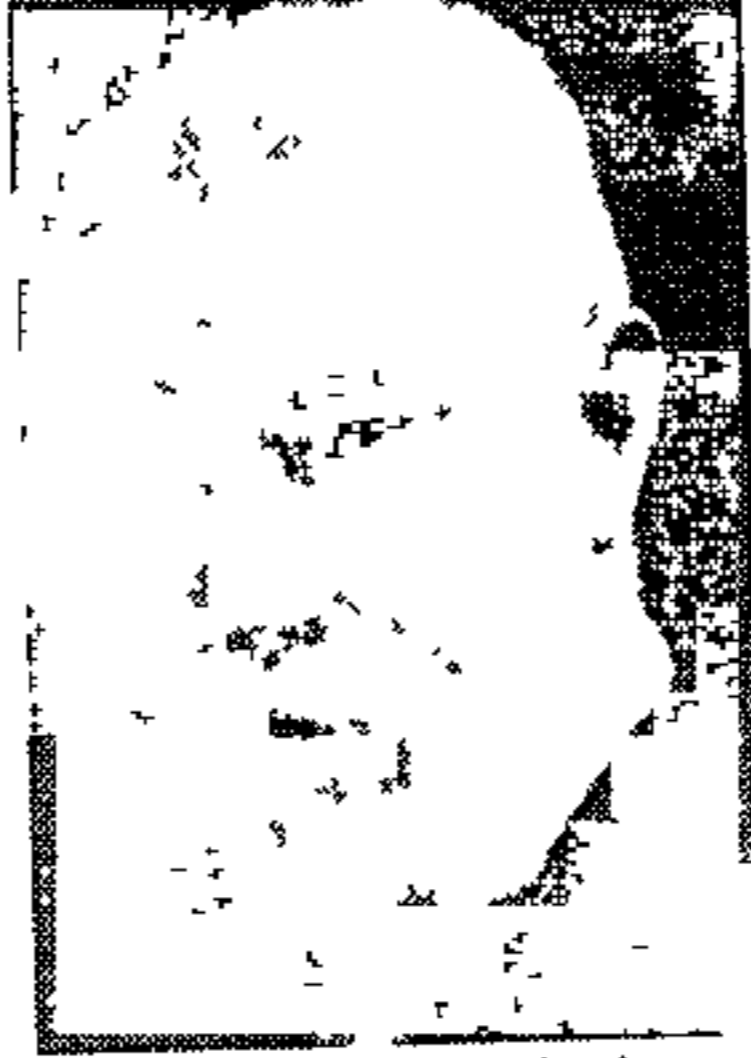
In a newspaper industry which has been hard hit by the economic recession, the Cape Times remains solid and profitable, which cannot be said of Afrikaans-language daily papers, which are indeed in "dire straits", or of many English-language publications which are ailing



Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW



Mr Louis le Grange



Frederick York St Leger

The Cape Times is involved in the rationalization process which is taking place throughout the newspaper industry. But this is not on account of any weakness in its own position in its market. Not at all

The paper's credibility has never stood higher — which is perhaps why Mr Le Grange felt it necessary to launch his broadside

In the community of the Cape and among people elsewhere whose business it is to be well informed, the Cape Times, particularly

since the mid-1970s, has made itself an indispensable source of information

People have come to know if they want the most reliable picture of the state of the nation, of what is happening in the townships and so on, they do better to trust the Cape Times than to rely on the tranquillizing misinformation which is dispensed by SABC radio and television, much of the time, and by sections of the press

They may not always like what they read but they have a shrewd no-

go, however, institutions such as the Cape Times, somehow seem to survive war, rebellion, civil upheaval and any number of punishing depressions, and to just keep rollin' along

Mr Le Grange's broadside was not this newspaper's first brush with authority. Neither will it be the last. Since the Cape Times was founded by an Irish-born clergyman, Frederick York St. Leger, in March 1876, there have been many such clashes, some of them bruising in the extreme. But the Cape Times has invariably lived to fight another day

In the opening months of the Boer War, for example, the paper became deeply embroiled in a dispute with the high command of the Imperial forces who insisted on suppressing the full story of the capture by the Boers of the armoured train at Chieveley, Natal, in which engagement incidentally,

as in the current brush with authority, the test of survival is a simple one. Is the Cape Times honestly reflecting the views, concerns and interests of its readers? Is it trusted by its readership and the community in which it is published?

In the coloured-vote crisis, there was no doubt that the Cape Times spoke for the vast majority of the people of the Cape. Does it still do so today?

If it does, this confidence will be reflected in a buoyant circulation which, in turn, in a free market, will be reflected in the support of advertisers

As things now stand, Mr Le Grange is poorly informed on the facts. But what about his prediction?

As I see it, there is good reason to believe that the Cape Times will still be here 12 months or indeed, 12 years, from now

Barring force majeure, it is the paper's readers

tion it is closer to the truth, much of the time, than the "news" put out by the state-controlled propaganda machine

This is so, I would suggest, because the Cape Times has always tried its best to adhere to the maxim "Audi alteram partem" — "hear the other side" — and, as a result, its readers are acquainted with the view from the townships as well as the official view. And it is precisely this function of a free press that Mr Le Grange finds so offensive

In every question of public controversy, there are at least two points of view. For every incident of violence that takes place, eye-witnesses will produce varying accounts. A decent newspaper tries to put all available versions of the truth before its readers, inviting them to form their own judgment of what is afoot

A craven newspaper, terrified of authority, takes the easy and comfortable way out and merely reproduces the official view, suppressing any other accounts or views which may be available to it

Readers know, from long experience, that the Cape Times, will always try its best to get the other side. It is many years since I was in the field as a reporter, way back in the days of the Sharpeville-Langa state of emergency. But I know what reporters have to endure in trying to get the other side, and I am sure that if readers realized what is involved they would share my admiration for the courage and persistence of the present generation of Cape Times reporters

In any event, Mr Le Grange will be proved right or wrong soon enough. In the present conditions of the economy, the advertising market and the newspaper industry, any newspaper which does not stand solidly with its readers and is well entrenched in its market is not long for this world

Survive

If Mr Le Grange is right his prediction will be vindicated soon enough.

In the perspective of history, in which cabinet ministers and news-

Winston Churchill, was taken prisoner

In a leading article, the Cape Times said the newspaper did not wish to disseminate information to the advantage of the enemy, but it did expect to learn and to be entitled to know what had actually taken place on the field of battle. Suppression of information in such circumstances was "unwarrantable and un-English". A similar comment would be apt enough today

It was also at about this time that a leading article was published attacking "the almost intolerable action of the military censorship in withholding war news and in manipulating war news to suit some inconceivably stupid purpose"

Tradition

Have times changed all that much after all?

After the dark days of the Boer War the Cape Times played a major part in creating the atmosphere of conciliation which led to the Union in 1910 and, in the years thereafter, in leading English-speaking South Africa away from the jingoistic trend, backing General Botha and General Smuts in the old South African Party

As a builder of the Botha-Smuts tradition of broad South Africanism, the Cape Times has on occasion moved slightly ahead of its readers, politically, but it has never lost touch with them.

In 1948 Dr Malan led the National Party to victory and, in the 1950s, there took place the first of the clashes between the Cape Times and the Nationalist government which recur at regular intervals today

This was the titanic constitutional struggle over the abolition by the Nationalists of the coloured vote on the common roll. As a co-builder of the non-racial parliamentary traditions of the old Cape House of Assembly, and having been closely involved in the compromise of Union, which entrenched the non-racial Cape franchise, in a solemn pact, the Cape Times fought in the last ditch to rally public opinion against what it saw as Nationalism's betrayal of a solemn undertaking

Paper becoming UDF, ANC mouthpiece — Le Grange

Political Staff

11/4/86 (243)
PARLIAMENT— After a proud record for more than a century, the *Cape Times* was failing its readers and becoming a mouthpiece of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the African National Congress (ANC), the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said yesterday

NO SECRET

Speaking in the Budget debate, he referred to recent "biased and slanted" reports in the Cape Town morning newspaper and said he would not give its editor the satisfaction of claiming the Government had closed his newspaper

The newspaper would write itself to its own death, he said
It was no secret the *Cape*

Times was in financial difficulties, Mr le Grange said. "Unless it drastically changes its biased and slanted attacks on the Government it will follow the same path as the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Sunday Express*," Mr le Grange said

Referring to recent reports on the Guguletu funeral on March 15 of seven alleged ANC members shot dead by police, he said the *Cape Times* had been in trouble "right from the beginning of this matter".

Mr le Grange said he had made every effort to provide Mr Tiaan van der Merwe (PFP Green Point) with details

The honorable member had still gone to the *Cape Times* with "stinging allegations" about the matter.

Le Grange attacks Cape Times

(243)

CPT TIAN
11/4/86

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Political Correspondent
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

— The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, charged yesterday that the Cape Times had become a mouth-piece of the UDF and the ANC.

In a wide-ranging attack during the budget debate, Mr le Grange also alleged that:

- The Editor hoped the government would close down the newspaper so that he could put the blame for its death on the State

- The Editor had lost control of his staff.

- The newspaper was fast losing readership and credibility, and that its future hung in the balance.

- The newspaper was in "dire financial straits".

- The newspaper was responsible for "slandrous and biased" at-

that he could put the blame for its death on the State will never materialize

"He is closing it down himself because he has lost control over his staff.

"They prescribe to him — for instance, whether to abide by a long-standing agreement between the SAP and the Newspaper Press Union, and he has no say over the matter

"Even as far as accreditation of his staff is concerned he has no power"

Rifles

Mr Le Grange asked whether the Editor knew that that one of the Cape Times' reporters, Mr Tony Weaver, had given an interview to the BBC following the Guguletu incident last month

"In this interview, he told millions of listeners that according to witnesses they spoke to the

THE Editor of the Cape Times, Mr A H Heard, said last night: "I suggest that the minister should have the courage to repeat his allegations outside of Parliament where he does not enjoy parliamentary protection against legal action."

tacks on the government and the SAP.

Mr Le Grange said the Cape Times was "in trouble" with its readers over its handling of the shootout between the police and alleged guerrillas in Guguletu on March 3

"(The newspaper) knows that it is fast losing readership and credibility and that the future of the Cape Times hangs in the balance

"It is no secret that the Cape Times is in dire financial straits.

"It even raised its price by 20 percent to 50 cents in the hope of staying alive but unless it drastically changes its slanderous and biased attacks on the Government and in particular the South African Police, it will continue to drive away its advertisers," he said.

Mr Le Grange said the Cape Times would follow the same path as the Rand Daily Mail and the Sunday Express (which closed down last year)

"I would like to tell the Editor that his hopes of the government closing down his newspaper so

seven dead terrorists were not only innocent — some of whom were on their way to a shop or to seek work — but that the police had actually planted the weapons on them because they had killed innocent people and were trying to make out that they were terrorists," he said

"Isn't it also quite strange that they (the alleged guerrillas) were buried under the Communist flag and with ANC colours draped over their coffins?" Mr le Grange asked

"It is shocking that such a slanted and biased message can be relayed overseas by a staff member of a newspaper claiming to regard its duty is to correctly and fairly inform its readers"

Mr Le Grange said he had "many examples of slanted and biased reporting" in the Cape Times of recent months and "it leaves much doubt as to what its intentions are".

He said the newspaper

C.T. 1170
A From page 1 243
had recently "claimed" that more than 30 000 people had attended a funeral of the "seven terrorists" and that they turned Guguletu "into virtual ANC stronghold".

However, aerial photographs showed that at "no stage" were more than 3 000 to 4 000 people present

"Unfortunately this newspaper, which has had a proud record for over a century, is now hopelessly failing its readers and has become the mouthpiece of the UDF and the ANC."

Referring to reports on the Guguletu shootout, the Minister said the Cape Times had been in trouble over this matter "right from the beginning"

In spite of the fact that of the shootings were the subject of a judicial inquiry in which all the relevant facts and evidence would be tested in an open court, Mr Le Grange said he had made every effort to provide Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP Green Point) with the details

However, Mr Van der Merwe "still went to the Cape Times and made stinging allegations that the matter was 'very suspect'"

"I am not the least surprised that the honourable member raised the questions in House and I am not surprised either at the splash coverage the Cape Times gave on its front page to the honourable member's views," he said

Mr Le Grange said he would not be surprised if the questions raised "were actually compiled by the Cape Times".

● Mr Weaver said last night "The minister's creative interpretation of the BBC interview casts a serious slur on my professional integrity and I challenge him to repeat the allegations outside Parliament so I can sue him for libel"

CAPE TIMES 9/4/86 (243) (287)

Political Staff

A CAPE TIMES journalist had been barred from daily police press conferences on crime because an alleged contravention of the Police Act was being investigated against him, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said yesterday

Mr Le Grange said the Commissioner of Police had "requested" that the journalist — crime reporter Chris Bateman — not attend the crime conferences any longer "in terms of an informal agreement which exists between the police and the Newspaper Press Union"

He said in reply to a question, which was tabled in the House of Assembly by Mr David Dalling (PFP, Sandton), that he was not prepared to name the journalist because the matter was the subject of discus-

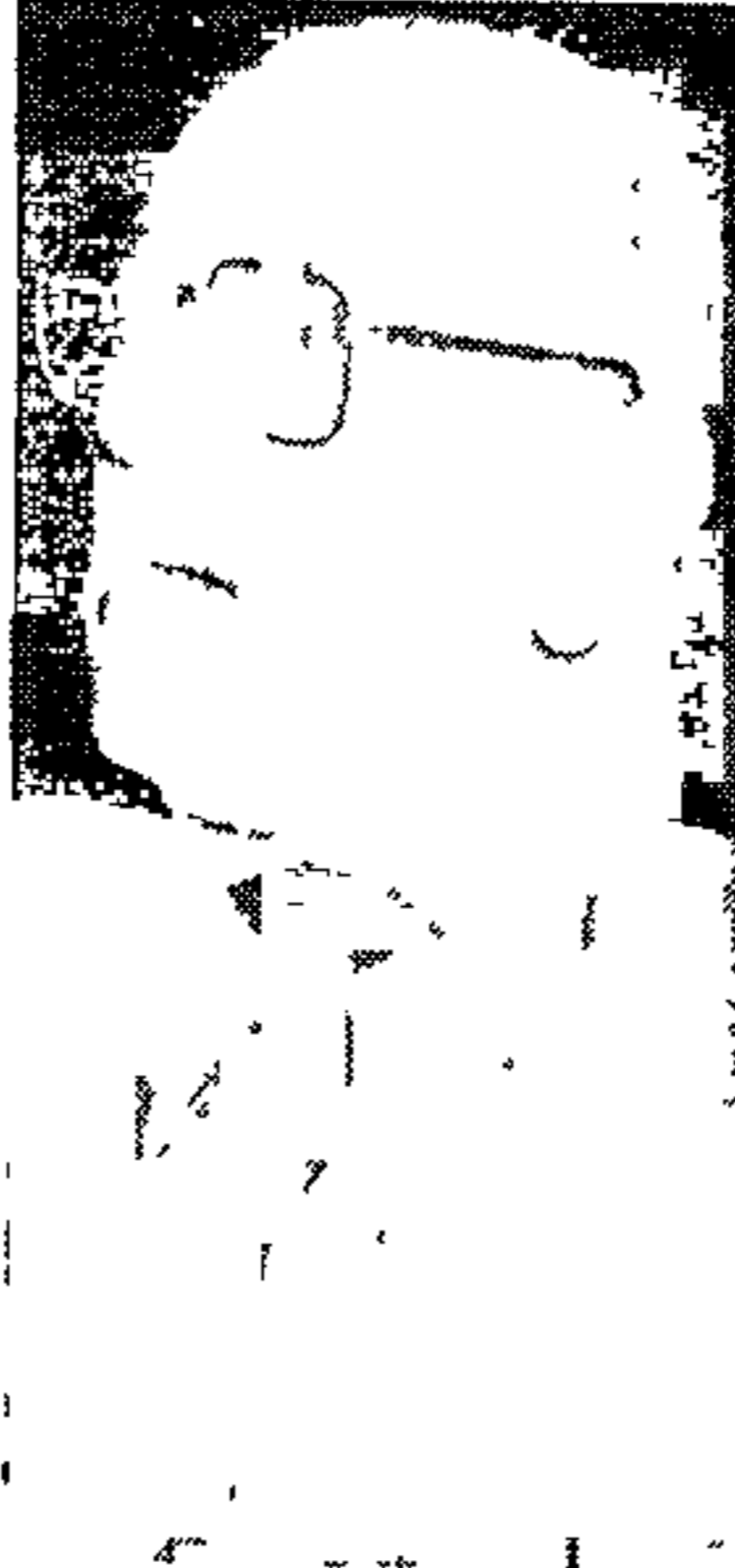
Questions on reporter asked in Parliament

sions between the Commissioner of Police and the Editor of the Cape Times

Mr Dalling said afterwards that Mr Le Grange and the police were wrecking press freedom because of one story

Mr Le Grange said the journalist "was requested not to utilize the liaison facilities of the South African Police, until the matter has been settled to the satisfaction of both parties"

This action had been taken following reports which appeared in the Cape Times about a shooting incident in Guguletu in March this year in which seven alleged terrorists were



Mr David Dalling

shot dead, Mr Le Grange said

The steps were in accordance with the agreement with the Newspaper Press Union which was "an extensive informal agreement to further the interests of both parties in their endeavour to inform the public factually and correctly"

Mr Dalling said "My information is that the answer given by the minister is not accurate

"To say that the Commissioner of Police has requested a journalist not to attend crime conferences is not true

"As I understand it the police have broken off all relations with the

Cape Times — quite contrary to information given by the minister

"How is it that a minister of state can give patently incorrect information to the House?"

"How can a newspaper be victimized and a reporter be blotted out of his job because they don't like what he has done?"

"If they don't like what he has done, the normal course of the law should follow. Either he has got to be charged or he has to be allowed to do his job

"You can't just wreck press freedom because you don't like one reporter's story

"The minister, when I asked him directly, was not even aware of the alleged offence the reporter was meant to have committed. So much for ministerial knowledge," Mr Dalling said

Police investigate Cape Times reports

Staff Reporter

POLICE yesterday launched a Police Act investigation into reports written by two Cape Times reporters and warned the news editor that a subpoena would be served on her unless she supplied police with an affidavit

The investigation is in terms of Section 27b of the Police Act which prohibits the publication of untrue matter regarding security forces without having reasonable grounds. The maximum penalty on conviction carries a R10 000 fine or five years' imprisonment or both.

Major Quinton Visser, head of the Peninsula Murder and Robbery Unit, delivered copies of possible charges which may be put to reporters Chris Bateman and Tony Weaver before interviewing the news editor Ms Jane Arbous.

According to the documents served

on Mr Bateman and Mr Weaver, the investigation relates to publication by the Cape Times of accounts by witnesses to the March 3 shoot-out between police and suspected guerillas in Guguletu, a subsequent interview granted to the BBC by Mr Weaver, and a March 12 Cape Times follow-up report on the original shoot-out.

Sworn affidavits backing the published accounts are in the possession of the Cape Times

Mr Weaver was also formally warned that he faces an additional possible charge under the Criminal Procedure Act (neglecting to assist with an arrest when asked to do so) in connection with an incident in Long Street on February 26 this year.

Ms Arbous was told by Major Visser that the affidavit required of her was related to any changes made to stories prior to publication.

Press under increasing pressure, says Heard

8/4/86 3rd DAY 243

THE Press in South Africa has been subjected to enormous pressures by government and the situation had become "virtually intolerable" for those who believe in free expression, says *Cape Times* editor Anthony Heard.

Writing in the latest edition of the US magazine *Africa Report*, Heard said measures against the Press had gone hand-in-hand with the increased militarisation of South Africa.

Although it was frequently claimed by SA officials that the Press was free, "this claim evokes something of a belly-laugh among many journalists who realise that their freedom is severely qualified."

"With the declaration of a state of emergency last year, the situation worsened and had become vir-

BARRY STREEK

tually intolerable for those who believe in free expression.

"But the fight goes on. There are hundreds of journalists who continue their craft, using every inch of freedom they can squeeze out of a repressive system."

During the state of emergency, government had refrained from introducing all-embracing censorship orders. But the Press was on trial and government could have imposed full-scale censorship.

Heard said that if SA wanted to return to anywhere near the place it deserved in the community of nations, "it must not only reform society socio-economically and politically, but respect human rights and free expression."

3 papers quote Mrs Mandela

CAPL-TICK 8/4/66

(203)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Two more newspapers followed the Sunday Star yesterday and quoted Mrs Winnie Mandela, the banned wife of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela

Yesterday's edition of the Sowetan quoted Mrs Mandela extensively, while the Star ran a face-to-face interview with her

By late yesterday the government had not decided whether to prosecute the newspapers for quoting Mrs Mandela

A spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, yesterday said a decision had not yet been taken, adding that Mrs Mandela remained a banned person

Government sources indicated that no action was planned until the confusion surrounding banning orders has been cleared up

Mrs Mandela's appeal against her banning order is due to be heard soon and Mr Le Grange and his legal advisers are still reviewing the entire matter of banning orders.

The Star's legal representatives yesterday said their decision to allow the article to be published was based on the argument that the order restricting Mrs Mandela's movements was invalid. The ban on quoting her was linked to this order and was therefore also invalid.

Another lawyer said this was a valid argument if the initial conclusion — that the order restricting Mrs Mandela's movements was invalid — was correct. The second consequence would follow if no other restriction order had been issued

However, he said it was difficult to comment without going into the history and the facts relating to Mrs Mandela's banning order, and the order itself.

The confusion arose last week after her lawyers said Mrs Mandela, first banned in 1962, had in fact been unbanned

Her attorneys said the State Attorney had agreed that the ban was no longer in effect following last month's Port Elizabeth Supreme Court decision overturning a similar ban on United Democratic Front official Mr Mkhuseh Jack.

The State Attorney denied that such a decision had been taken

● Mrs Mandela has been banned in terms of section 19 (1) (a) of the Internal Security Act from entering certain areas and attending gatherings. Because of the banning order her name appears on the Consolidated List of Persons who may not be quoted

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(6) whether he will make a statement on the matter?
The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER.

(1) Yes

(a) Searching and arrest

(b) Information was received that persons who were searched *inter alia* for murder, public violence, arson and assault with intent to cause grievous bodily harm, were hiding at the Wilgerspruit Fellowship Centre

(c) The Divisional Commissioner, South African Police, West Rand

(d) 59 members

(e) (i) and (ii) A Brigadier in the South African Police I am not prepared to furnish his name.

(2) Yes

(a) Since the suspects fled into the bushy hillocks

(b) 10 x 9 mm and 1 buckshot

(c) (i) 9 mm Uzi and shotgun.
(ii) 9 mm and buckshot

(3) No.

(a) to (c) Fall away

(4) Yes.

(a) All arrested persons

(b) Since it is normal practice to search arrested persons for their own safety, for the safety of members of the Force and for evidence.

(5) Yes.

(a) 55 persons.

(b) Their ages vary between 12 years and 50 years

(c) and (d) On various charges of murder, public violence, arson and assault with intent to cause grievous bodily harm

(6) No

HANSARD
8/4/86 GCR 908
*15 Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Law and Order.

(1) Whether the South African Police hold press conferences on crime news in Cape Town, if so, (a) at what intervals and (b) by whom may they be attended,

(2) whether any steps were taken against a crime reporter of a certain daily newspaper in Cape Town in respect of his attendance of these conferences, if so, (a) what is the name of this (i) reporter and (ii) newspaper, (b) what steps were taken and (c) (i) why and (ii) by whom were they taken,

(3) whether an agreement was reached between the South African Police and the Newspaper Press Union on the holding of such conferences; if so, what was the nature of this agreement,

(4) whether the steps taken against this reporter are in accordance with this agreement; if not, why not?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) Normally daily.

(b) Accredited journalists who normally report about crime

(2) Yes, the Commissioner of the South

African Police, in terms of an informal agreement which exists between the police and the Newspaper Press Union, has requested *inter alia* that a journalist against whom an alleged contravention of the Police Act is being investigated, not attend the crime conferences any longer

(a) (i) I am not prepared to make known the name of the person, since the matter is the subject of discussions between the Commissioner of the South African Police and the editor of the newspaper concerned in accordance with an agreement between the Newspaper Press Union and the South African Police

(ii) *Cape Times*
The person was requested not to utilise the liaison facilities of the South African Police, until the matter has been settled to the satisfaction of both parties

(c) (i) Resulting from reports which appeared in the newspaper concerned following on a shooting incident in Gugulethu on 3 March 1986 in which seven alleged terrorists were shot dead.

(ii) By the South African Police

(3) Yes, it is an extensive informal agreement to further the interests of both parties in their endeavour to inform the public factually and correct

(4) Yes

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Chairman, arising from the reply of the hon the Minister, will he please give the House the information relating to the nature of the offence which is alleged this particular reporter committed in terms of the Police Act which he mentioned?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I am not aware of any specified transgression of the law which is being raised here. The circumstances which I see as applicable to this case cover a wider field than that of a specified transgression of the law.

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I wish to point out that the hon the Minister mentioned a specific contravention of the Police Act in the earlier part of his answer. I wonder whether he could give us greater detail on that aspect?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, this matter relates in the first instance to the agreement between the Commissioner of Police and the Press Union. This is the essence of it. Furthermore, my reply contained, amongst other things, the following:

... has requested *inter alia* that a journalist against whom an alleged contravention of the Police Act is being investigated ...

I have told the hon member that I do not have the specific provisions readily available now. Thus I owe him an answer about that. I will make inquiries about it and provide him with a complete answer to this question.

HANSARD
8/4/86
GCR 910
*16. Prof N J OLIVIER asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

(1) Whether he has reached any decision regarding the Natal/KwaZulu proposals submitted to him by the Administrator of Natal and the Chief Minister of KwaZulu during March 1986; if so, what is that decision; if not, when is it anticipated that a decision will be reached;

(2) whether these proposals are to be tabled in Parliament; if not, why not; if so, when,

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT, HOUSING AND WORKS.

Since amounts for the 1985-86 financial year is not yet available, amounts spent in respect of housing for Whites in the 1985 calendar year are given as follows.

(a)	Cape Town Metropolitan area	16 859 496
(b)	Durban Metropolitan area	4 806 067
(c)	Pietermaritzburg	461 242
(d)	Pretoria Metropolitan area	15 688 923
(e)	Port Elizabeth Metropolitan area	5 436 545
(f)	Kimberley	1 051 066
(g)	East London	2 002 052
(h)	Bloemfontein	4 078 480
(i)	Witwatersrand Metropolitan area	14 475 356

Answers without electricity
MR G SOAL asked the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Works

Whether any houses in White group areas are not being supplied with electricity at present; if so, what (a) total number and (b) percentage of houses situated in White group areas in each province was not being supplied with electricity as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT, HOUSING AND WORKS

No, not in so far as housing supplied by the Department is concerned

H_oA

†Indicates translated version

For oral reply

General Affairs

Advertisement of speech

*1. Mr E K MOORCROFT asked the State President

- (1) Whether he or any member of his Office gave any instructions to any member of any Government Department concerning the distribution of copies of the contents of the advertisement of his speech at the opening of the 1986 session of Parliament which appeared in certain newspapers during February 1986, if so, (a) to whom were these instructions given, (b) of which Government Departments were they members, (c) in what capacity was each of them employed in these Departments, (d) what was the nature of the instructions and (e)(i) when and (ii) why were they issued,

- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING (for the State President)

- (1) No.
 (2) Falls away

Ministers

*1. Mr R W HARDINGHAM—Agricultural Economics [Withdrawn.]

Answers without electricity
MR G SOAL asked the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Works
 Cape Town newspaper: television interviews
 Mr L F STORBERG asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs†

- (1) Whether he (a) has received rep-

representations or complaints and/or (b) has been informed that members of the staff of a certain Cape Town newspaper, the name of which has been furnished to the Ministers' Department for the purposes of his reply, recently gave television interviews in Western Europe on the position of the freedom of the press in South Africa; if so, (i) what is the name of the newspaper concerned and (ii) what was the purport of the comment on press freedom in South Africa,

- (2) whether he receives transcriptions of (a) interviews and (b) media reports and programmes which are detrimental to South Africa; if not, why not, if so, what action is he taking in this connection?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

- (1) (a) No
 (b) Yes

(i) *The Cape Times*

(ii) The purport of the comment was that reporters had to be careful when reporting on incidents of unrest and that in fact there was not much left of press freedom. Also that the wide jurisdiction of the police, imposes restrictions on journalists.

- (2) (a) and (b) Our missions abroad report regularly on reaction overseas, including media reaction, to events in South Africa. Within my and my Department's capabilities distorted and erroneous reporting is corrected and countered by presenting the facts

*3. Mr J C B SCHOEMAN—Constitutional Development and Planning. [Reply standing over]

H_oA

*4. Mr J C B SCHOEMAN asked the Minister of National Education†

- (1) Whether he or his Department recently received a letter from the Midrand town council in connection with the development of a proposed Coloured residential area at Allandale 10-1R in Midrand; if so, (a) when and (b) what was the purport thereof,

(2) whether this letter was accompanied by a motivation against the development of such an area,

- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID (for the Minister of National Education).

- (1), (2) and (3) The Department of National Education and I, as Minister in that capacity, are not in any way involved in the matter referred to in the question.

It is not within the rules of Parliament to furnish information on matters which are not within the official ambit of responsibility of a Minister's portfolio

In my capacity as political leader I have forwarded representations on the relevant matter to the Minister concerned. Since the representations were addressed to that hon Minister, any questions on the form and content thereof should similarly be put to him

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE. Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister can he inform the House whether the letter concerned was handed to his hon colleague by the hon the Minister?

†The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID: Mr Speaker, I take it that the hon member will realize that I cannot furnish him with a reply to his question since I am not the Minister concerned.

DEATH BLOW

Newsman dies after shebeen raid

SOULET AN
7/4/82

A JOURNALIST in Mahwelereng, Potgietersrus, died shortly after he was arrested with three members of the Azanian People's Organisation last Friday.

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

Mr Lucky Kutumela worked for the Lebowa Times

The three Azapo officials, who were allegedly assaulted by the police and have been admitted in hospital are Mr Terry Kekane, chairman of the Azapo branch in Mahwelereng, Mr Kgalabe Kekane and Mr Dan Thobejane, both executive members of the Azapo branch in the area.

A spokesman for the Police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria yesterday said he could not confirm allegations He said "We can only be in a position to respond to the allegations today Our offices only operate from Monday to Friday"

An executive member of Mwasa last night described the death as "horrifying". "The situation in the country today is much worse than it was during the state of emergency.

"The death of our member is a sign of the times and we wish to assure our community that we have an obligation to tell it as it is."

Mr Thobejane, who is serious, is at the Ga-Rankuwa Hospital, near Pretoria The other two have been admitted at the Mokopane Hospital in Potgietersrus

been in the township late on Friday night when a group of policemen arrived at the house

Assaulted

The police allegedly assaulted a number of people who were in the house before arresting the four, the source said

Our source said the four were taken to the Mahwelereng police sta-

tion for "questioning" "Mr Kutumela died a few hours later," the source said

He could not say whether Mr Kutumela died in the cells or in hospital

A spokeswoman for the Ga-Rankuwa Hospital yesterday confirmed that Mr Thobejane was still in a critical condition. Mokopane Hospital could not be reached for comment

No funeral arrangements have been finalised for Mr Kutumela.

His death follows that of another union member, Mr Joel Phoshoko (28), who died last Tuesday after handing himself over to the police Mr Phoshoko was a member of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Caawusa)

Story page 2

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Heard: Press freedom 'in spite of govt'

Political Staff

THE press in South Africa had been subjected to enormous pressures by the government and the situation had become "virtually intolerable" for those who believed in free expression, according to the editor of the Cape Times, Mr A H Heard

Although it was frequently claimed by South African officials that the press was free, "this claim evokes something of a belly-laugh among many journalists who realize that their freedom is severely qualified

Writing in the US magazine Africa Report, Mr Heard said "What freedom there is exists in spite of, not because of, government.

"The reality is that the South African press has been subjected to enormous pressures from government and security authorities over the years

"With the declaration of a state of emergency last year, the situation has worsened and indeed become virtually intolerable for those who believe in free expression

"But the fight goes on

"There are hundreds of journalists who continue their craft, using every inch of freedom they can squeeze out of a repressive system — in the process, ironically, making it possible for South African officials to claim locally and abroad that they have a free press," he said

Mr Heard said measures against the press had gone hand in hand with the increased militarization of South Africa

"The government argues that the military should be seen as an apolitical shield which protects the environment in which legitimate politics can take place, yet the reality is that it instinctively tends to view the defence forces as part and parcel of the ruling National Party, and some utterances by defence chiefs have confirmed this blurring of the vital distinction between the two "

During the state of emergency, the government had refrained from introducing all-embracing censorship orders apart from restrictions on access to, and the taking of photographs in, unrest areas.

But the press was on trial and during the emergency the government could have imposed full-scale censorship

"In the field, reporters doing their job have been detained, arrested, charged, whipped, moved off and sometimes treated not as the independent observers they are but as activists who must be curbed and even punished "

If South Africa was to take its place in the community of nations, "it must not only reform society socio-economically and politically, but respect human rights and free expression".

FINANCIAL SAAN MANAGEMENT MOVES

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A major restructuring of SA Associated Newspapers' (Saan) management team was announced this week. Incumbent acting chairman and chief executive John King has resigned from both posts, but will continue to act as technical consultant to the group.

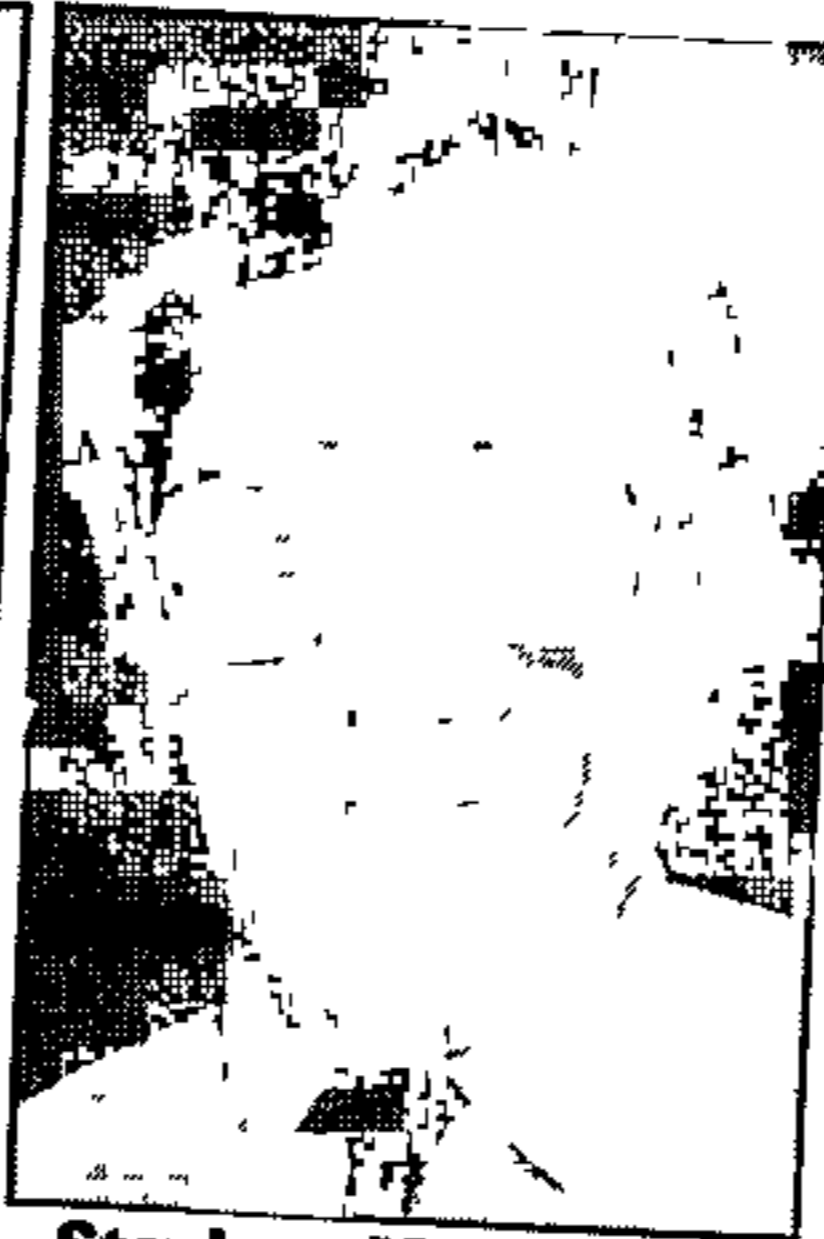
Pat Retief of JCI has been appointed non-executive chairman and Stephen Mulholland, a Saan director and editor-in-chief of the *FM* and of *Business Day*, is to take over as chief executive and MD.

4/4/86
board announcement says he will be responsible for "the restructuring of the administration, accounting, marketing and production activities to achieve the maximum possible reduction in operating costs."

The board has expressed its appreciation for King's contribution to the company "at a difficult stage" and adds: "Saan will remain a newspaper proprietor, with its editors appointed by and responsible only to its board of directors



Pat Retief



Stephen Mulholland



Nigel Bruce

He will also remain editor-in-chief of *FM* and *Business Day*.

Nigel Bruce, present editor of *Business Day*, will become editor of the *FM* and Ken Owen, currently Saan group columnist, will become editor of *Business Day*.

John Featherstone, MD of Natal Newspapers, has been seconded to Saan as deputy MD for six months. A Saan

It will continue the independent publication of the *Sunday Times*, *Financial Mail*, *Business Day*, *Cape Times*, *Eastern Province Herald* and *Evening Post*."

Saan, the board adds, will use its best endeavours to dispose of its building and surplus printing presses as soon as possible to help improve the liquidity of the group.

Political developments and the response of foreign financial institutions will determine whether an extension is needed or further steps called for, says a Bank spokesman. ■

SAAN

SPAK
gets new
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chairman

in major shake-up

South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) has undergone a major board restructuring

The new chairman is Mr P F Retief

Mr Stephen Mulholland has been appointed managing director and chief executive, as well as editor-in-chief of *Business Day* and the *Financial Mail*

He will be succeeded as editor of the *Financial Mail* by Mr Nigel Bruce, former editor of *Business Day*

Mr Ken Owen will succeed Mr Bruce as editor of *Business Day*

Mr John G King has resigned as acting chairman, chief executive and from the board of SAAN, but will continue to act as technical consultant to the group

The board has recorded its appreciation for the contribution of Mr King "during a difficult stage for SAAN"

IMPROVE LIQUIDITY

At the request of Mr Mulholland, Mr J G Featherstone, MD of Natal Newspapers, will be seconded to SAAN as deputy MD for six months from today

He will be responsible to Mr Mulholland during that time for the restructuring of the administration, accounting, marketing and production activities to achieve the maximum possible reduction in operating costs

SAAN will remain a newspaper proprietor, with its editors appointed by and responsible only to its board of directors, and will continue the independent publication of the *Sunday Times*, *Financial Mail*, *Business Day*, *Cape Times*, *Eastern Province Herald* and *The Evening Post*

SAAN is to "use its best endeavours" to dispose of its building and surplus printing presses as soon as possible to improve the liquidity of the group —

Sapa

No more SAAN closures says new managing director

By Peter Farley

The new managing director of SA Associated Newspapers (SAAN), Mr Stephen Mulholland, today gave an undertaking that no more group newspapers would be closed down — but he added the board would ruthlessly pursue a reduction in costs in order to return to profits.

"Management has a mandate to reduce the cost of running SAAN wherever possible, while at the same time retaining the integrity and independence of editorial titles," said Mr Mulholland.

"We are adamant there should be no further closures" SAAN last year closed both *The Rand Daily Mail* and *The Sunday Express*.

Mr Mulholland was yesterday appointed MD, following the resignation of Mr John King who had been chief executive for less than a year after Mr Clive Kinsley retired last year.

At yesterday's board meeting, Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (JCI) executive Mr Pat Retief was appointed chairman of SAAN.

New editorial appointments had Mr Nigel Bruce moving from the editorship of *Business Day* to become the editor of the *Financial Mail* and Mr Ken Owen returning as editor of *Business Day*.

Mr Mulholland would not comment on the management changes and said "it is a question best put to the shareholders."

He said JCI "has played and will continue to play a supportive role in achieving a return to profit at SAAN with the aim of maintaining a vigorous and independent English-language press in SA." In the last 12 months the publishing group registered losses of more than R17 million.

● See Pages 4 and 18

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Trimp

SAAN appoints new chairman

Own Correspondent

THE board of directors of South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) has announced that Mr Patrick Retief, an executive director of Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, has been appointed as company chairman.

In a major board re-

structuring, Mr Steve Mulholland has been appointed as SAAN's managing director and chief executive.

Mr Mulholland will remain editor-in-chief of Business Day and the Financial Mail.

He will be succeeded as editor of the Financial Mail by Mr Nigel

Bruce, previously editor of Business Day. Mr Ken Owen will succeed Mr Bruce as editor of Business Day.

Mr J G King has resigned as acting chairman, chief executive and from the board of SAAN, but will continue to act as technical consultant to the group. The board said it would like to record its appreciation for the contribution of Mr King during a difficult stage for SAAN.

At the request of Mr Mulholland, Mr J G Featherstone, managing director of Natal Newspapers, will be seconded to SAAN as deputy managing director for six months from today.

He will be responsible to Mr Mulholland for the restructuring of the administration, accounting, marketing and production activities to achieve the maximum possible reduction in operating costs.

In a statement the board said SAAN would remain a newspaper proprietor, with its editors appointed by and responsible only to its board of directors.

It would continue the independent publications of the Sunday Times, Financial Mail, Business Day, the Cape Times, Eastern Province Herald and the Evening Post.

"SAAN will use its best endeavours to dispose of its building and surplus printing presses as soon as possible to improve the liquidity of the group," the statement said.

Mulholland plans 'urgent action'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Stephen Mulholland, SAAN's new managing director and chief executive, plans immediate action to sort out the company's dire financial situation.

"I will not vacillate. We must achieve as much rationalization as we can as quickly as possible.

"We are looking at straightforward cost-cutting. No more titles will go and no journalists will lose their jobs," Mr Mulholland said last night.

He said he would rely on the expertise of Mr John Featherstone, managing director of Natal Newspapers and now SAAN's deputy managing director.

Mr Featherstone recently piloted the multi-newspaper merger in Natal into a new company, Natal Newspapers.

He said it made "a great deal of sense for SAAN and the Argus company to share services wherever possible without impinging on each others status as independent publishers".

Referring to SAAN losses — R17-million in the past financial year — Mr Mulholland said it was obvious that "urgent remedial action must be taken" for the company to turn around.

He said the period of Mr Featherstone's appointment indicated its urgency.

Asked about possible redundancies in the company, Mr Mulholland said only that "certain things must change".

He said the primary motivation of the board and of major shareholders Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (JCI) was "the sustenance and survival of a vigorous English language press in South Africa".

"Clearly JCI is in business and is interested in profits, and I share their view that we need to make this company profitable in order to ensure that the English language press survives and prospers."

SA journalist dies in Britain after heart op

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mr Charles Bloomberg, a South African journalist, has died at Harefield Hospital, Middlesex, after a recent heart transplant operation. He was 53.

Mr Bloomberg was among South Africa's most courageous reporters, said *The Observer* yesterday.

"In the early 1960s, at a time when criticism of the regime was ruthlessly suppressed, his

reports — mainly for the *Rand Daily Mail* — exposed the realities of apartheid"

Forced to leave South Africa, he continued his journalistic career in Britain and also researched the highly acclaimed episode on Nazi persecution of the Jews for the "World at War" television series.

He married shortly before his death and is survived by his wife, Hope.

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March

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Readers can complain to SA Media Council

The South African Media Council has asked newspapers to point out that the council will consider complaints from readers who have not been able to get satisfaction from the newspaper concerned.

The council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

It says in a statement that one of its functions is to receive and act upon complaints from members of the public who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or other news medium directly. Complaints must relate to published editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publication. Late complaints may be accepted if good reasons can be advanced.

The address is: The Conciliator/Registrar, SA Media Council, P.O. Box 5 222, Cape Town 8 000. Telephone (021) 46-7317.

● *The Star* has two avenues for complaints to be lodged. Factual errors may be pointed out by telephoning the News Desk, and any corrections will be published in the Keeping the Record Straight column.

The Star also has an Ombudsman. If you have a complaint about editorial matter in *The Star*, you should write to The Ombudsman, c/o The Editor, P.O. Box 1 014, Johannesburg 2 000.

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Reporter thrown into police van and teargassed

DURBAN — Paul Hotz, a *Sunrise Star* correspondent, was among those thrown into a police truck, teargassed and taken to CR Swart Square here yesterday

Hotz, the son of a former Mayor of Durban, Mrs Sybil Hotz, writes I was covering a march by black pupils through Durban to the Ecumenical Centre where they were to hold a meeting.

While they were standing in West Street, some police cars and a van pulled up and the police began sjambokking the students who fled into a store

As they were being hauled out and put into a police van I took photographs

A policeman told me to stop taking photographs. As, to the best of my knowledge, I was entirely within my legal rights, I continued to do so

A few moments later he demanded my film. I told him he had no right to confiscate it

He then grabbed hold of me, and took me to the van. As he was shoving me inside the van, which was already full, another policeman sprayed a burst of teargas directly into my face

I could barely breathe for a few minutes and I could not see

The others inside the van — there must have been about 40 — closed the windows against the teargas.

As the van pulled off the students gave each other advice about what to do if teargassed

When we pulled up at CR Swart Square, a policeman shoved another three inside the van, in spite of the fact that it was already packed.

One of those under arrest began to argue

"I don't give a . . ." the policeman said, and spat in his face.

At the police station a policeman spotted the camera. I was immediately taken aside, given a chance to wash my face, and was then driven to *The Daily News* office by police PRO Captain Chris Heunis

WEEKLY MAIL
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Saan has two conduct codes, says MD King

By WILMAR UTTING

South African Associated Newspapers is acutely embarrassed by the public row that followed its senior finance journalist Stephen Mulholland accepting 6 000 shares from Lifegro, MD John King said yesterday.

"When I agreed to Mr Mulholland accepting the shares I did not foresee things would go awry like this

"We will be more careful in future and make sure this does not happen again," King said

He said he had agreed to Mulholland accepting the shares because Mulholland had asked King's permission in his capacity "as a director of the company, not as a financial journalist"

Mulholland, editor-in-chief of Saan's financial publications Business Day and Financial Mail, is a central figure in the outcry that followed the disclosure last week that a number of financial journalists had each accepted an offer of 6 000 preferential shares from Lifegro, with a resulting profit of R6 000 each.

The morality of this and the ethics involved have been discussed at length in the press

One Finance Week journalist who accepted them was dismissed Another immediately handed over his profits to charity.

The Argus announced it had an unequivocal code No financial journalist could accept gifts of this nature.

King said Saan had a similar code for its financial writers and this was built into their contracts

But Saan had two codes, the second for executives Mulholland had acted under this code as a director of the company As such, he needed only his, King's, permission He had asked for this permission in writing, King said

When it was pointed out to King that an editor had far greater influence over what was published than one of his writers did, King agreed But, he said, Mulholland had become "remote" from the actual running of his publications This was handled by members of his staff

King had not asked Mulholland to dispose of his shares or his profits, but he understood Mulholland was now considering action of this nature

Asked if this were so, Mulholland said he had spoken to a company executive, Barry Harris, and had said to him "If the company wants me to give the shares to charity or to the pension fund I will be happy to do this

"But he said he did not see that this was necessary; I had acted quite openly and correctly."

Mulholland said he had nothing to be embarrassed about He had followed company policy when asking if he could accept the shares.

"This is not a large investment as far as I am concerned," Mulholland said

He added: "I am either honest or I am not."

THE ARTS/BOOKS

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The worst monsters are the ones we've invented

KELSEY STUART'S THE NEWSPAPERMAN'S GUIDE TO THE LAW by William Lane, David Hoffe, David Dison and Clare Tatham (Butterworth, hardcover R74,80, softcover R51,90)

NOT even Louis le Grange has yet got around to drafting some of the frightening press restrictions which editors impose upon themselves

Nasty as the laws restricting the press may be, they're not quite as nasty as the laws which exist in the minds of overly-anxious editorial executives who imagine barriers where none exist.

Consider the following examples

- On Day 1 of the Emergency, a Reef newspaper carried a blank editorial on the front page. The reason, readers were told, was that comment on the State of Emergency was prohibited. Readers were no doubt impressed by the eloquent silence of that large expanse of white paper, but the protest was in vain, whatever else the Emergency laws prohibited, they did not ban editorial comment.

- Shortly after photographs of unrest had been banned under Emergency regulations, unrest broke out in the township of Leandra. More than one newspaper was roused to protest by running blank rectangles where unrest photographs might have been. These protests could have been saved for a worthier cause. Leandra was not an Emergency area, therefore photographs were not illegal.

- For some 20 years after he was sentenced, Nelson Mandela was not quoted in any South African newspaper. The reasons: Firstly, he was a prisoner. Secondly, he was the leader of a banned organisation. Thirdly, he was himself banned.

All three reasons were nonsense. A prisoner can be quoted if the quote does not deal with his crime. The leader of a banned organisation can be quoted if he does not further the aims of that organisation. And lastly and most importantly, Nelson Mandela is not banned.

- Immediately after a commission of inquiry was appointed to look into last year's Langa shootings, press coverage of the subject evaporated. Journalists have long believed that commissions of inquiry are deliberately rustled up by the government to stop the media prying into embarrassing issues. If a newspaper discusses any issue which is before a commission, so the argument goes, then it is in contempt of that commission.

The argument is wrong. Commissions of inquiry are not courts of law and public debate on subjects under inquiry may continue unhindered. The only limitation is on anticipating the findings of the commission.

What do these examples indicate? That after some 35 years under a barrage of restrictive laws, the press has learnt to duck instinctively — even when no punches have been swung.

Ours is a media environment which penalises those who tread dangerously (The Rand Daily Mail, Sunday Express) and rewards those who show due caution (The Star, the Sunday Times). There is a certain reluctance to tussle with the perilous press laws. It is so much easier to kill a contentious story outright than play footsie-footsie with the grey areas of the law.

Which is why the latest edition of the *Newspaperman's Guide to the Law* is so welcome. The book is, like its predecessors, a litany of gloom. 332 pages of thou-shalt-nots. But it is more than that. Its most valuable contribution is that the book is written by



On the legislation treadmill

SO brisk is the traffic in new legislation affecting the press that the *Newspaperman's Guide to the Law* needs constant overhauling. The third edition was released in 1981 and was made obsolete within a year by new legislation, such as the Internal Security Act and the Protection of Information Act.

The latest, fourth edition was held back to include a chapter on the Emergency regulations. The day the book was launched, the Emergency ended.

people who prize press freedom and who, while they warn of the perils, take care to point out paths that lead through them.

The book makes a number of useful suggestions and I shall quote a few.

- Ever since the catch-all Prisons Act of 1959, our jails have been the Great Black Hole of South African journalism. The only ones who risked testing the law, Rand Daily Mail editor Laurence Gandar and reporter Benjamin Pogrand, were found guilty despite taking what the judge himself described as the most extravagant precautions to ensure accuracy.

But times have moved on. In an effort to improve its public image, the Prisons Department has itself altered its attitude. As the *Newspaperman's Guide* explains, it is no longer necessary to reach impossible levels of precision with reports on prisons. It is sufficient if the Prisons Department is given prominent right of reply alongside the report.

- One of the quaint eccentricities of apartheid is that lists of "restricted" people, who may not be quoted, are drawn up from time to time and circulated to newspaper editors. Some of the people on those lists are dead, indeed, have been dead for years.

Journalists have been under the not unreasonable misapprehension that death alone does not free one from official restriction. But, as the *Newspaperman's Guide* argues, the terms of reference of the Internal Security Act deal

The newspaperman's guide, today the single most important book in any newspaper office, was originally written by attorney Kelsey Stuart, who until his death in 1983 was the country's acknowledged expert on press law.

The fourth edition has been brought out by his former colleagues, senior partner William Lane and attorneys David Hoffe and David Dison, assisted by Clare Tatham, who is perhaps the only article clerk ever to co-author a legal textbook.

with living persons only. Therefore the government, no matter how much it would like to, may not silence the dead.

- There are two areas which no South African newspaper will ever venture to criticise: the activities of the Almighty and the activities of the courts. The belief is that the merest criticism of the courts is equivalent to contempt.

Which is nonsense, and damaging nonsense, for if the courts are to discharge their function competently, they should not be above public scrutiny. Legal journals take issue with judicial decisions and there is no reason why newspapers should not do the same, provided the comments are moderately phrased and free from malice.

Who should be reading this book? Two classes of people. Journalists, to find out what they can do after all. And serious newspaper readers, to find out what they can't know.

For in an age in which the real news is all too often the stuff that doesn't appear in the papers, readers need to develop a special set of reading skills. They must cultivate the ability to read between the lines, to interpret the silences, to grasp the meaning of tangential phrases.

And readers are not really going to understand the news unless they swot up on the hundred laws that hinder their knowing what is going on.

Irwin Manoim

Questions over Cape Times reporter

By EBRAHIM MOOSA
Political Reporter

QUESTIONS have been raised in Parliament regarding the barring of the Cape Times crime reporter, Mr Chris Bateman, from police press conferences on crime.

Mr Dave Dalling, the PFP media spokesman and MP for Sandton, in written questions, has asked the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, for details.

The questions aim at seeking clarity on whether the steps taken against the reporter were in terms of the agreement reached between the South African Police and the Newspaper Press Union.

After reporting eyewitness accounts of the shootout between police and seven alleged ANC guerillas in Langa on March 3, Mr Bateman was subpoenaed to provide the names of his sources to the police. The subpoena was later withdrawn.

Subsequently Mr Bateman was informed by the police that he could no longer attend the routine conferences since he did not have the required special police accreditation.

The minister is scheduled to reply to the questions on April 8.

● The Southern African Society of Journalists yesterday expressed "concern". A statement to Sapa said "We believe that this is a punitive measure against Mr Bateman and the Cape Times and undermines all the assurances given that special police accreditation will not be used to restrict the flow of information to the press."

SA journalists in UN talks

NEW YORK — Visiting SA ^{B.D.A.P.} journalists and United Nations anti-apartheid chiefs have met at UN headquarters to discuss media coverage of SA.

General Joseph Garba, chairman of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, and UN Centre Against Apartheid director Iqbal Akhund, took part in the unpublicised meeting with *Cape Times* editor Tony Heard and other SA participants at last week's Harvard seminar on the media and SA.

Others present included editors Richard Steyn, Obed Kunene and Amin Ak-

halwaya and overseas correspondent Alister Sparks, former editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*.

The apartheid committee announced yesterday that it would hold a seminar in London in May to consider ways of broadening the scope of the arms embargo against SA.

The May 28-30 event is part of the build-up for a World Conference on Sanctions Against SA that the UN is helping to sponsor in Paris in June.

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RICHARD WALKER

Six die in faction fight

sider itself in dispute in the chamber's member mines where recognised if the chamber had not acceded by February 28 to its demand for May Day as a paid holiday.

□ The chamber's recruiting arm, Teba, said some NUM members, who had been discouraging workers from using the bar or canteen at its Johannesburg depot, were facing charges of contravening liquor laws.

This came after the launch of a boycott by 450 miners of bars and canteens at the depot in protest against alleged discrimi-

natory practices, the quality of food and the hampering of union activities.

Teba management denied that the NUM's activities at the depot were being hampered or that union members had been victimised.

It said most workers were happy with the quality of the food and that a total boycott of the canteen was not in force because some st ff members were continuing to use the dining facility.

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From Page 1

Newspaper merger approved

Finance Editor

THE Media Council has given its approval to the merger of The Natal Mercury with the Daily News and other newspapers owned by the Argus group in Durban

The Hon Mr Marius Diemont, a former judge who is now chairman of the council's special committee on events leading to greater concentration of the Press, issued a statement yesterday

A new company, Natal Newspapers (in which the Argus group holds 70 percent and Robinson and Company 30 percent) was formed last year to own, print and publish the Mercury, Daily News, Sunday Tribune, Post Natal and Ilanga

The Mercury cannot be closed unless the whole board of Natal Newspapers agrees. Three members of the six-man board are Robinson and Company nominees

The merger came into effect on November 1 and was initially approved by the Competitions Board, but the Government called for a further investigation by the full board just after Christmas

It was learnt yesterday that the board intended to lay its report before Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, by the end of this month

Mr Diemont said that from the information made available to the Media Council, he was 'persuaded

that The Natal Mercury would have gone under' had it not been for the new arrangement

He said the surest way of guaranteeing the independence of the Natal newspapers was not so much in the agreements 'but that it made sound economic sense and if they want to sell their products they will have to offer a stimulating diversity of news and views satisfying the demands of differing readerships'

The joint operating arrangements for the five Natal newspapers were seen by the council as a 'healthy development likely to expand opportunities for all of them'

'Safeguards'

Mr Diemont said that in today's economic climate, several newspapers had gone under 'and more are likely to disappear unless steps are taken to buttress them against mounting economic pressures'

'The new arrangement will provide reasonable safeguards for The Natal Mercury's editorial independence and against complete control by any one group, thus enabling the present newspapers involved in the arrangement to continue publishing and making their individual contributions to public understanding of the South African situation,' he said

The council would continue to monitor developments which could lead to undesirable concentration of control of media undertakings.

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SAP SASJ in press card row

Staff Reporter

THE dispute between the Commissioner of Police, General P J Coetzee and the Cape Times has highlighted differences between police and many journalists over the two-tier press card system which has been in operation since 1981

Until that time, all press cards were issued by the Commissioner of Police and all that was required was an application from the newspaper editor

These were withdrawn in September 1981 and replaced by a dual system instituted in terms of an agreement between newspaper proprietors and the police. Press cards, bearing the journalist's photograph and signature, are now issued by the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) and signed by the editor. According to the police/press agreement, they are recognized by police for obtaining crime news

In addition, a special system of police accreditation was instituted, similar to the system for accredited military correspondents, which entitles the holder to "confidential or sensitive information". These accredited cards, issued by the Commissioner of Police, must be applied for and are only granted to senior journalists who pass a security clearance check

It is this system of special police accreditation, which has been opposed

by the South African Society of Journalists (SASJ) and very few journalists have applied for it. The principal objection is that the system would allow police, not editors, to select which journalists would report on police matters

According to the agreement the holder of any press card, including the "ordinary" cards signed by editors, may interview senior officers and may contact officers by telephone. The information obtained may be published provided it does not infringe any law, hamper police investigations, obstruct the police or interfere with the administration of justice

The Cape Times crime reporter, Mr Chris Bateman, who reported on the Guguletu shootout between police and seven alleged ANC guerrillas, has been informed he is no longer welcome at daily police crime conferences because he has not applied for special police accreditation. Like other Cape Times staff members, Mr Bateman holds a valid NPU press card signed by the editor, Mr A. H. Heard

In a letter published in the Cape Times yesterday, General Coetzee said that the Cape Times had failed to comply with the accreditation of certain journalists. Accordingly he no longer saw any reason why the police "should allow the Cape Times any access to any information regarding police matters"

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SPAR
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Govt threat to ban Press at funeral

By David Braun

The Government considered invoking powers in terms of two black administration laws to ban the Press from today's Guguletu funeral of seven alleged African National Congress insurgents shot by police.

Instead, Deputy Minister of Information Mr Louis Nel asked the media to limit their numbers at the event.

Mr Nel said last night the Government had carefully considered the question of the presence of camera and TV people at the funeral

"We maintain that the mere presence of such people with their equipment could spark violence at such a funeral. The emergency regulations have fallen away so we cannot control the situation in terms of those regulations as we did before," he said.

"We considered other legal options, including regulations under the Black Administration Act and the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, but decided instead to approach the media and work out a gentleman's agreement."

Mr Nel said despite the lifting of the emergency, the authorities had the power to prevent or control Press access in terms of section 27(e) of the Black Administration Act and section 24 of the Black Consolidation Act, as amended.

Proposals made by Mr Nel and the police for the funeral include a pool arrangement for foreign television and the SABC, with one camera using the American NTS system and another using the PAL system.

Foreign Press representatives have been asked to pool two stills cameramen and the local media were asked not to send in more than one photographer for each major group

Budget
must aid
bless
PFP
David Braun,
Political
correspondent

TOWN — Mon-
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Cape Times 15/3/86

Row grows over Lifegro shares

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Three of 10 financial journalists who accepted a preferential offer of Lifegro shares and sold them at a profit have decided to donate the profits to charity

Disclosures that about 30 financial journalists were offered shares by Lifegro have fuelled allegations that Lifegro did not allocate shares equitably, especially to policyholders. The company has denied that the allocation was inequitable

According to the Star, one of 10 journalists who accepted the offer of 6 000 shares, David Southey, economics editor of Finance Week, was fired by editor Alan Greenblo for accepting the Lifegro offer. Southey, however, had already resigned from Finance Week, and will soon join the Sunday Times

The Star reports that no action has been taken against another Finance Week journalist, Howard Preece, who also took up Lifegro shares but was unaware of the journal's ruling on preferential offers. Preece and Southey have both said they will donate the profits from the shares to charity.

The financial editor of The Daily News, David Canning, has also decided to donate the profits to charity after editor Michael Green pointed out that the share acquisition was against company policy

Other journalists who The Star says received shares include Stephen Mulholland, editor of Financial Mail, Harold Fridjhon, an editorial consultant to Business Day and Paul Dold formerly of the Cape Times

John King, SAAN MD, was quoted as saying that the SAAN board had prior knowledge and had approved staff members taking preferential Lifegro shares

B. DAM 14/3/86 - 243

Argus decision under fire

THE advertising industry's fight for professionalism has been dealt a severe blow by the Argus group's decision to recognise unaccredited agencies, says Association of Advertising Agencies (AAA) president Hennie Klerck.

Years of fighting to upgrade and uphold the industry's standards went out the window when Argus unilaterally opted to pay commission to unaccredited agencies, he says.

Klerck is not certain how the AAA will fight the Argus decision. The issue is expected to come to a head next week when the Newspa-

CHERYLYN IRETON

per Press Union (NPU) and the Joint Accreditation Committee (JAC) meet Agency commission is believed to be high on the agenda.

Many agency heads say the Argus action is irreversible. As a result, they are predicting the downfall of the industry's JAC, made up of members from the AAA, the SABC, the NPU and Cinemark.

Klerck says if the Argus decision is entrenched many of the accredited agencies will be tempted to discard the rules and squeeze the media for greater discounts.

Argus has laid down its own cri-

teria which non-accredited agencies must satisfy to qualify for direct commission payments. However, by dealing with the smaller, unaccredited advertising houses, observers believe the newspaper group could be reducing its own protection and opening itself to greater risk.

"By breaking from NPU rules, Argus is also opening the door for each media to set its own criteria. Not only will this create confusion, but all the hours of discussion that went into working out a formula to indemnify the media against possible losses, will be wiped out," says Klerck.

explanation.

The commercial rand remained around the US50c mark, with rumours of Reserve Bank support and forecasts that there would be a decline as the leads and lags position had unwound

The platinum price eased back to \$399 after hitting a high of \$410,50, but the platinum index improved a marginal 1,4% over the week Rustenburg rose 50c to R30,50 and Impala 25c to R27,25, after touching R31 and R28 respectively

The Diamond index continued to climb, despite the conclusions of the Thirion Commission De Beers' share rose from R18,95 to R19,55, before results due to be announced on Wednesday and expected to be good

There were few features on the industrial board, although a large parcel of Clicks changed hands. Barlow fell from R15,30 to R15,05 but Amic was almost unchanged at R42,50

Sasol continued to climb on good results, up another 40c to R7,90 In the banking sector, Nedbank fell further to 640c, after the announcement of its rights issue, making a total decline since early February of R3 or 32%

In the insurance sector, Liberty Life rose from R108 to R113,5 and Liberty Holdings also improved, by 70c to R27.

The coming week again promises to be quiet, but with rumours about smaller companies abounding (a sure sign of a bull market, says a broker) Lifegro will be listed on Thursday, but the real event will be the Budget next Monday. This can be expected to help investors, both private and institutional, to decide their investment policy for the coming year. *Pat Kenney*

SAAN F/W MAIL 19/3/86

Red ink flows

After the upheaval that SA Associated Newspapers (SAAN) went through last year, it was inevitable that the financial figures for 1985 would be grim. This was anticipated in the market, where the share recently fell to a low of 750c after slipping from a 1985 high of 1 475c

In fact, the loss after extraordinary items almost tripled from the 1984 figure of R6,3m to R17m for the 12 months to end-December The 1985 accounts are a second interim report as the year end has been changed to March This is because the group has become associated with a number of companies with March year ends, a notable one being the new M-Net television channel, in which SAAN has a 23% interest.

The question now is whether the worst is over. An immediate return to profitability can hardly be expected, there are bound to be further losses coming through for the remaining months of the current financial period. However, acting chairman John King says "As a result of the actions taken to contain operating expenses and if, as now



SAAN's King . . . still reducing overheads

seems likely, there is some improvement in the economy in general, the group should return to profitable operation by 31 March 1987"

Apart from the hoped-for improvement in market conditions, this is based on three main points: that there are no more of 1985's non-recurring extraordinary items associated mainly with the closure of the *Rand Daily Mail* and the subsequent rationalisation, that steady improvements are achieved at operating level; and that borrowings and hence the interest burden are reduced.

King says that "virtually all the non-recurring losses are over. We tried to provide for all known eventualities in this statement" This should help the 1987 accounts, although the 1985 extra-ordinary losses, representing some 144c, are not included in the 705c a share loss.

There is, however, an as yet undisclosed investment to be made in M-Net, which will be paid in progressive amounts each month over the next few months Returns will not be seen from this investment for several years, but the standpoint of SAAN's board seems to be that the group cannot turn down an involvement in what is seen to be a profitable long-term venture

The establishment from April 1 of joint printing operations by SAAN and Argus, in a partnership (Argus holds 51% and SAAN 49%), will involve costs of about R1,5m, which have already been provided for Full benefits would be seen in the 1987 year, and King estimates that joint printing will save SAAN about R2m/year at operating level.

Improvement at operating level is critical — there was a real terms decline of 16% in overall newspaper and magazine advertising last year. King, however, notes that

the *Financial Mail* remains profitable, and says that the *Sunday Times* (if the colour magazine is excluded) is also profitable.

"Both publications performed well in market share in a depressed market," he says. A major problem has been the *Sunday Times*'s colour magazine, but this was largely a result of the costs of its paper, which up until January was imported The magazine's advertising revenue grew 38,8% in 1984 and 25,7% last year. But considerable cost saving has been achieved by switching to locally-sourced paper.

Business Day, with start-up costs behind it, is expected to contribute to overheads in the 1987 financial year. However, a forecast of the group's return to profitability is reliant on some improvement in the market, and here King notes, "when I talk to people in the advertising market there isn't that much confidence of a recovery in the short-term."

King stresses that reduction of overhead costs is continuing, as the group adjusts from the closure of the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Sunday Express* and the launch of the smaller-circulation *Business Day* Although the interim figures are not strictly comparable with the 12-month accounts, the operating loss does seem to be in a declining trend.

Net interest payments soared to R5m (R219 000) in 1985 Debt will not be disclosed until the annual report is published at mid-year But borrowings are clearly being used to fund operations, so an improvement at operating level will ease the intense pressure on the balance sheet

But what would really help, and is probably essential, would be a substantial reduction in debt achieved via a sale of assets The group wants to sell printing equipment which is no longer needed owing to the closures and

SAAN PRESSED

12 Months to December 31	1984	1985
Turnover (Rm)	138,1	129,0
Operating loss (Rm)	8,3	7,8
Pre-tax loss (Rm)	7,5	12,5
Attributable loss (Rm)	6,3	14,1
Loss after extraordinary items (Rm)	6,3	17,0
Loss (c)	315	705
Dividend (c)	25	—

the joint printing arrangement Potential buyers are arriving from overseas in the next couple of weeks (there is no market for the equipment locally) Disposal of the nine-storey Johannesburg head office building has also been considered. If these asset sales don't materialise, King says there are "contingency plans," which he declines to explain at present

Continued depressed market conditions may bedevil profit forecasts, as would a rise in interest rates while debt remains high, but a sizeable injection of capital could make a radical difference. It seems the group at least has some potential to show improvement from here on. *Andrew McNulty*

Shares are being listed in the stores sector, where the average earnings yield is about 6% compared with MAS's historic 8,34%, and prospective 9,6%. On dividend the stores yield 4,4%, compared with MAS's historic 4,17% and prospective 4,8%. The stores' price-earnings ratio was 18,18, compared with MAS's past 11,99 and projected 10,42.

Turnover has increased at an average compound rate of 21,03% since 1981, dividend growth has more than doubled in the past five years, and taxed profits have risen 177% to R2m in that time. There are 650 000, largely black customers on the books, spread throughout SA and the front-line states. The claim is that each of SA's 2 500 post offices can probably be regarded as an outlet.

MAS's image, however, is surprisingly low profile, advertising is essentially word-of-mouth. Yet more than 3m catalogues will go out this year and requests for catalogues are claimed to be running at 10 000 a month.

The company — founded by chairman Henry van Embden, in 1954 — and its six

trading subsidiaries, are based in Cape Town. About 80% of the product range comprises men's and ladies' clothing and footwear, but the range includes virtually anything that can be sent through the post.

"It's a young industry," says Embden Jr, "and we think we can move from our dominant position to go further, particularly with regard to the white consumer market which is virtually untapped in this area."

Gordon Kling

DIAGONAL STREET

Waiting for Budget

A quiet market had brokers complaining again this week, with volumes around 4m shares a day, but falling to 3,5m on Monday.

Still, there was movement in share prices. The All Gold index was slightly down over the week to Tuesday from 1 185,6 to 1 182,7, but the industrial index improved from 1 139,8 to 1 149,8. Sectors which went against the trend were food; furniture and

household, paper and packaging, and sugar.

The gold price moved sideways around \$342. This left Vaal Reefs unchanged over the week at R225, but Randfontein rose R2 to R257 and Southvaal declined R2,50 to R111.

Gencor, which improved from R35,25 to R40,50 before easing to R39,25 over the past month, is due to report results for the year to end-December early next week. At the interim its earnings a share were up 14%, and with a higher rand gold price in the second half, results for the year could be further ahead.

Some selling was reported from London, especially of Ofsils (unchanged), Fregolds (which nevertheless closed the week 5c higher) and Anglo (which also improved by 50c to R42,25). Driefontein and Kloof were also offered, closing the week at R51,75 and R21,15 respectively.

Brokers did not feel that the selling was large enough to account for the drop in the financial rand from a high of US37,25c to 35,87c, for which they could find no real

results this year, the blame can probably be laid at the door of the group's salesmen. After all, they have an enormous new target market to work on.

It consists of those big spenders who piled in trying to get shares in the rights issue, which ended up 58 times oversubscribed. Having identified themselves via the applications as well-heeled potential clients, they can now expect a phone call from their local, friendly Lifegro insurance salesman about all that spare cash they have looking to invest.

The pitch, I understand, is going to be along the lines of "maybe you lost out on what we can do for you in short-term share price appreciation, but have a look at what we can do for you over the next ten years through our various products."

Co-incidentally, a number of new products were unveiled last week at Lifegro's extended bash at Sun City. Like they say, there is more than one way to skin a cat.

Brendan Ryan

West Rand gold

Western Areas and Elsburg shares have featured strongly in the market recently, apparently on renewed speculation over imminent developments concerning a Randfontein Estates/Western Areas/Elsburg link-up. However, JCI finance director Vaughan Bray tells me the speculation is unfounded as there are no imminent developments on the cards.

Investor interest centres on the drilling programme being carried out immediately south of Western Areas in the South Deep region, where some analysts believe a new gold mine will eventually be set up. There are many ways of structuring a possible mining

venture and these are no doubt at present taxing the brains of JCI's financial talent.

However, an unusual twist to the latest speculation is that a lot of buying has centred on Elsburg. This seems hard to fathom — Western Areas took over Elsburg lock, stock, barrel and mineral rights in the 1974 merger, leaving it as an investment company; it receives its entire income from its shareholding in Western Areas. One Elsburg share is worth 65% of a Western Areas share. There appears to be nothing that would benefit Elsburg that would not also benefit Western Areas. Elsburg is a cheaper share than Western Areas, but the boys doing the buying are not in the rand-snatcher league.

Other favourable factors for Western Areas are the introduction of the semi-mechanised massive orebody mining system and the official go-ahead for its dewatering programme. The massive orebody mining system involves the use of trackless loading and drilling equipment and a backfilling support system which needs much less labour than conventional gold mine stoping operations. It was first introduced at neighbouring sister-mine Randfontein, where it has performed well. Randfontein and Western Areas can use it because the proximity of a number of gold-bearing reefs in sections of their lease areas allows the reefs to be taken out in a combined mining operation and not separately as in conventional mining.

The dewatering programme will take some pressure off Western Areas' working costs. It's also been suggested by an analyst that it could open up areas outside the present lease area to the north and west, which could be included in a future expansion of mining operations. That, however, still doesn't explain the interest in Elsburg —

Western Areas, JCI or the JCI/FS Development-led syndicate which originally set up Western Areas should hold the mineral rights.

Brendan Ryan

Mike's listing

Not everyone was happy to hear recently that Mike's Kitchen intends going for a DCM listing. The FM has received several irate letters from former shareholders of Impala Investment Trust, a company owned jointly by Mike's Kitchen MD Dave Lewis. The former shareholders were bought out in February 1983.

Impala was floated, it seems, "to acquire suitable trading companies with a view to obtaining a JSE listing." When the shareholders were taken out, they were told by Lewis that "your directors have thought long and hard about whether Mike's Kitchen would fit into the prospectus objectives and have decided it's really much too long term a proposition."

The former Impala shareholders, however, can salve their wounds with this bit of news. When I spoke to Lewis yesterday, he revealed that he had decided that very day to include former Impala shareholders in a preferential placement of Mike's shares, to be offered pro rata to their Impala shareholdings in 1983. "My conscience was killing me," says Lewis, "I just couldn't leave them out in the cold like that."

Mike's shares will be placed privately at 50c, Lewis tells me, and should begin trading on May 15 at around 75c. He hopes the share will avoid the initial volatility of Jucy Lucy, "as this type of thing damages one's image." It should prove a successful listing and provide a happy ending for former Impala investors.

Neville Glaser

MARKET TALK

Watchdog across the globe

By PHILLIP PAGE
New York

EVERY time a South African journalist gets arrested or whipped by the police, President Botha can expect a sharp retort from a small, but high-powered American institution.

"Sometimes our protests make all the difference," says Caroline Drake, associate director of the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ). "Anyone can write a letter of concern on a blank piece of paper, but our letterhead carries a lot of weight."

The CPJ, which describes itself as "a non-partisan organization of American journalists working to protect the rights of colleagues worldwide", includes on its board of directors media legends such as Walter Cronkite and CBS anchorman Dan Rather.

It is funded by various foundations and media organizations in the USA, including NBC, CBS, ABC, the New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times and the Ford Foundation.

The CPJ conducts its business from a small cluster of offices it shares with several other human rights organizations.

Of course, South Africa comes in for a lot of attention.

"Every time you turn around something's happening," says Barbara Drake. "Photographers getting whipped, police masquerading as journalists, expulsion of journalists, bannings . . ."

"We, for instance, sent a telegram expressing our outrage at the whipping of photographer Gideon Mendel to President Botha. But we might write a letter, and would put a "cc" list on the end, showing that we've sent copies to the main newspaper groups, human rights organizations and American government officials — so that the South African government knows it's being watched."

Committee To Protect Journalists

36 West 44th Street, Room 911, New York, N.Y. 10018 • 212/944-7796

August 27, 1983

President P. W. Botha
Government Buildings
Pretoria
Republic of South Africa

Dear President Botha:

The Committee to Protect Journalists, a non-partisan organization of journalists working on behalf of our colleagues worldwide, is writing again to urge you to lift the State of Emergency imposed on July 15 which includes severe restrictions on press coverage in black areas.

In general we are disturbed by the provisions that give wide-ranging powers to security forces while exempting them from any legal action. In particular, we object to articles that prevent journalists from traveling to certain areas and which threaten heavy penalties for disobeying vague but sweeping regulations. Further, we are deeply concerned that the press is forbidden to publish the names of those arrested unless reporters obtain official authorization.

Among the specific acts by security forces we wish to protest are:

1. The 12-day detention of Johannesburg journalists Gavin Evans and Roy Gericke;
2. The repeated confiscation of videotapes and photographs of events in the black areas;
3. The arrest of three foreign television crews and the subsequent threat of 14-day detentions unless they left the area;
4. The wounding in July of photographer Peter Magubane and cameraman Raphael Montsho who were

Yours truly,
Philip Page
President

A CPJ protest letter to P W Botha

The CPJ also sends out press releases "covering a whole slew of things" which might occur over a short period in a specific country. An example at the height of the State of Emergency clampdown was of unusual length. It referred to the detentions of reporters Gavin Evans and Judy Hartman, the arrest of three foreign TV crews and nine journalists, the shooting of photographers Peter Magubane and Raphael Montsho, the arrest of Gideon Mendel, reported attempts to exclude the press from trials and the refusal by police to give specific information on the locations of unrest.

She repeats a quote attributed to an American journalist. "If you get someone's name in the New York Times, you've saved his life."

"This was, in fact, the case in the Philippines. There was a real run on killing journalists. We were the first organization to become aware of it. An article was put in the New York Times looking at the whole issue, quoting the CPJ. Combined with internal pressure, it forced the Philippines government to take the issue seriously."

The CPJ works in the same way as Amnesty International, using publicity as its most powerful form of pressure.

"American foreign policy is heavily influenced by public opinion, and that is what we reach," the worker says.

2 Cape Times, Wednesday, March 12, 1986

Police bar reporter from crime conferences

Staff Reporters

THE Cape Times has been effectively barred from the daily crime conference held at police headquarters in Cape Town.

This follows the publication by this newspaper of witness accounts of last Monday's gunbattle in Gugulethu where police shot and killed seven alleged ANC guerrillas.

The witnesses claim to have seen police shoot and kill one man after he had attempted to give himself up and to have seen police "finish off" another suspect lying on the ground.

Last Thursday, Cape Times crime reporter Mr Chris Bateman was informed by the Western Cape police liaison officer, Captain Jan Calliz, that he was "no longer welcome" at the daily crime con-

ference, since he did not possess a Newspaper Press Union/South African Police accredited press card.

Mr Bateman, who was also served with a Section 205 subpoena to supply the names of the Gugulethu gunbattle witnesses, had been attending the daily crime conference for almost two years.

In the latest development Colonel Jaap Venter, head of the police public relations division in Pretoria, said yesterday that since "confidential and sensitive matters" were often discussed during crime conferences, he would issue instructions for Captain Calliz to exclude in future all journalists not in possession of the NP/USAP accredited press card.

"I cannot comprehend why this should constitute a problem since it

would be a simple matter for the Cape Times to apply for accreditation for a number of its journalists," Colonel Venter said.

All local liaison officers would in future be supplied with a list of accredited journalists, he added.

Colonel Venter said he believed that police liaison officers were entitled to insist that only NP/USAP accredited journalists had access to "certain information" and that this was in keeping with the press agreement.

No Cape Times reporters have applied for the special accreditation since official clearance of journalists is seen as a form of censorship.

The executives of the Cape Times and Argus chapters of the Southern African Society of Journalists said yesterday

they were shocked at the exclusion of Mr Bateman from the SAP's daily crime conference.

"His exclusion confirms our worst fears about the issuing of special police accreditation cards."

"This means that police in the Western Cape now choose the journalists to whom they wish to give information. Not only could this put accredited journalists into the unenviable position of being regarded as confidants of the SAP, it must also cast doubt on any information being disseminated by police liaison officers."

"That Chris Bateman has apparently been denied access to crime conference because he reported serious allegations by witnesses to the Gugulethu shootings

suggests to us that the police are intent on punishing the reporter who publicised those allegations."

"The effective banning also flies in the face of repeated assurances by the police to the Newspaper Press Union and the SASJ that special police accreditation cards would not be used in a punitive fashion, or as a means of selecting journalists to whom they wished to give information."

"Once again it is a case of killing the messenger rather than paying attention to the message."

"The SASJ has consistently voiced its strong opposition to the system of police accreditation and congratulates Chris Bateman for executing his duties as a crime reporter with honesty and integrity."

3 CBS ^{CT.} 12/3/86 staffers ⁽²⁴³⁾ ⁽²⁷¹⁾ to remain ⁽²⁵⁰⁾

Staff Reporter

THREE staffers of the American news network CBS will be allowed to remain in the country following the cancellation of their expulsion order by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

After two days of representations by a CBS delegation to Mr Botha and the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, the expulsion order was withdrawn yesterday afternoon.

Mr Botha had threatened to expel the staffers after alleging that CBS had contravened a police order, subsequently ratified by the Supreme Court, in covering a funeral in Alexandra.

'Defiance'

Mr Botha and Mr David Buksbaum, the senior CBS official who represented staffers Mr Bill Mutschmann, Mr Willem de Vos and Mr Allen Pizzey, issued a joint statement after talks described as "good and amicable" by Mr Nel.

The statement said "CBS News, without admitting that it had wilfully broken any law, concedes that the South African Government could have had grounds to regard this action as a defiance of a South African court order.

"CBS News expressed its regrets for any misunderstanding on its part.

"Mr Buksbaum also gave the assurance that CBS News will in future, as far as possible, ensure that material obtained and used by them from whatever source, is not tainted with illegality."

Assurances

"He furthermore stressed that CBS News policy standards are aimed at ensuring that the presence of CBS News personnel in situations of unrest does not add to the problems encountered by those charged with maintaining order.

"The Minister accepted these assurances and cancelled the orders of removal."

Asked if the agreement amounted to an apology from CBS to the government, Mr Buksbaum said:

"You can read into the statement what you will. The policy of CBS stands and CBS personnel adhere to that policy."

Mr Buksbaum declined to speculate on what the action of CBS would be should the network be faced with a similar situation in the future.

Pleased

Mr Pizzey said he was "pleased" with the result and Mr De Vos said "I feel good. It is my job they were talking about."

● Sapa reports that the Foreign Correspondents Association last night said it was pleased an agreement had been reached enabling the CBS newsmen to remain in South Africa.

"We believe this represents a victory for neither side but for the principle of freedom of information, a principle that the South African Government has often recognized in its official statements."

2 Cape Times, Tue:

CBS talks continue

Staff Reporter

REPRESENTATIVES of the government and the American news network CBS last night failed to reach consensus on the possible expulsion from the country of three CBS staffers

After a two-hour meeting the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, and the CBS team issued a statement, saying "We have had frank discussions and will be back at 8am tomorrow."

Mr Botha announced last Friday that the three staffers had to leave South Africa by tonight because they had contravened an order not to cover a funeral in Alexandra. But they could make representations to him on the issue.

Mr Bill Mutschmann, CBS bureau chief in Johannesburg, correspondent Mr Allen Pizzey and cameraman Mr Wim de Vos were led in their representations by a senior CBS official from New York, Mr David Buksbaum.

Affidavit handed to police

Staff Reporter

Cape Times 11/3/86

AN AFFIDAVIT containing the names and addresses of three witnesses to last Monday's gunbattle in Guguletu where police shot and killed seven suspected urban guerillas was yesterday handed to the Murder and Robbery Unit in Bishop Lavis by the Cape Times.

The affidavit was in terms of a section 205 subpoena served on crime reporter Chris Bateman last week. Police opened a murder docket after the Cape Times published the witnesses' claims that police shot and killed a man after he tried to give himself up and shot another man lying on the ground.

Two witnesses released Mr Bateman from his obligation not to furnish their names soon after making affidavits to the police. A third man on Friday said he was "quite prepared" to testify

By Mike Cohen and
Mike Cadman

Within hours of the discovery of a limpet mine in the Hillbrow police station, Security Police swooped on the home of former Johannesburg journalist Miss Marion Sparg on Saturday.

They are holding Miss Sparg following bomb blasts at the Cambridge police station in East London, John Vorster Square police headquarters and the attempted Hillbrow limpet mine attack.

They are also questioning her about the petrol bombing of PFP offices in Johannesburg's northern suburbs in 1981. She is being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

This was revealed today after inquiries made to the Security Police by *The Star*.

Miss Sparg and two other journalists, Mr Arnold Geyer and Mr Damian de Lange, left South Africa shortly after the PFP offices were bombed on Republic Day 1981.

Miss Sparg completed her B Journ degree, majoring in political studies and journalism, at Rhodes University. She then worked for the *Daily*

EX-reporter held after blasts

Miss Sparg and Mr de Lange were traced to Botswana. When quizzed by reporters they refused to comment on the PFP bombings.

Mr Geyer was allegedly a pivotal figure in the so-called South African Liberation Support Cadre which claimed responsibility for the PFP blasts.

Dispatch as a sub-editor and later joined the *Sunday Times* in Johannesburg as a junior reporter, concentrating on church matters.

Colleagues described her as a fairly quiet person who mixed with few people. They said that Miss Sparg, Mr Geyer and Mr de Lange often had intense political arguments with other re-

At the time, Mr Geyer admitted from Britain that he was a member of the "South African Liberation Support Cadre" and was responsible with others for the petrol bomb attacks on the PFP offices.

Security Police are believed to have been looking for Miss Sparg for some time. Her family has been questioned and her whereabouts queried.

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mr Tony Travers, the mysterious "gunsmith" named in an alleged South African plot to smear the African National Congress, is emerging as a naive and bumbling adventurer

The Observer on Sunday claimed that Mr Travers was acting for Beid here in London, offering to sell arms to the ANC's Mr Solly Smith.

Mr Travers himself has denied the allegation, as has Beid's bureau chief Chris Koole. Even Mr Smith said "We are confident it was set up by the South Africans, but I couldn't go as far as to say Beid or its correspondent here

243 STAR 11/3/86

The eccentric, the ANC and a 'gun smear' plot

were behind it"

Mr Smith told The Star here yesterday "The whole thing began after I threw him out of our offices when he came saying he could sell us arms

"I was immediately suspicious — and became even more so when it emerged that he went straight to Beid's offices"

However, Mr Koole says, "I made no attempt to deny that Tony Travers came to my office, not once, as The Observer says, but several times

"Each time he came, claiming the ANC was buying arms illegally here, like any other

newspaperman, I said, come back when you've got some proof. He came back several times, but never had any proof, and I didn't even bother to tell my office in Johannesburg about his claim

"The whole thing came as a big surprise to them, and they were furious, wanting to know what I was up to. They were angry, and so was I, at the implication that I was some sort of an agent operating in London to smear the ANC. Beid makes no secret that it supports the Government. *Dir is mos die ampelike mondskrik*, but to claim we were setting up

the ANC is ridiculous. It's just as likely that the ANC was setting us up"

Mr Koole said he was satisfied from papers Mr Travers produced that he had been deported from South Africa in 1957

"His story was consistently that he wanted to prove to the South African authorities that he was a friend, so that he could return," Mr Koole added

Asked how Mr Travers struck him, Mr Koole said "I think he is a naive and rather silly person"

Mr Travers's alleged involvement in "arms running" has

come as a surprise to former associates, most of whom consider he lived partly in a world of fantasy

One man — who knew him when he was involved in an organisation rescuing endangered animals — said "Not to put too fine a point on it, he always seemed a bit excessive. He was an eccentric, I suppose you'd say"

"I understand that after he separated from his wife, Jeanette, he became very lonely and wanted nothing more than to go back to South Africa to join his daughter there"

And Dr Terence Stinner, whom Mr Travers invited to join his animal care organisation, remembers him as "a bit of a hot-air merchant"

He said "I haven't seen him for some years, but Tony always was a Walter Mitty character with slight delusions of grandeur, although he also had some quite remarkable qualities"

"He was quite fearless and an excellent shot. It's true he was interested in arms, but in an entirely amateur sort of way — not the kind of interest which I would have thought would make a gun-runner, although perhaps I do him a dis-

service"

Mr Travers, who was living in Sunbury-on-Thames, subsequently moved to Suffolk.

But up until the time he left, he was known locally as "the crazy cat man" and unsympathetic residents claim the various rescued animals he lived with in a house called The Pines nearly ripped his home apart.

One visitor asked how to find the house "Turn left and follow the smell," a local replied

Among his "pets" were two ocelots called Tippy and Pasha, a puma called Papur and a fox called Stinky

He also had a three-legged leopard called Poppet in whose cage he used to sleep whenever she came on heat

"My company keeps her quiet," he explained at the time "Otherwise the neighbours complain about the noise she makes"

Of his latest alleged escape, however, another former associate said "I would think Tony has got caught up in something bigger than he bargained for. As I remember him, he enjoyed a good story — filling it and living it. I can't see him as a big illegal arms dealer. A go-between, perhaps, and hardly even that."

Mr Travers was not available last night for comment

Police get affidavits on Cape shootings

CAPE TOWN — An affidavit containing the names and addresses of three witnesses to the gun battle in Guguletu last Monday when police shot and killed seven suspected urban guerillas was handed to the Murder and Robbery Unit in Bishop Lavis by the *Cape Times* yesterday.

The affidavit was in terms of a section 205 subpoena served on crime reporter Chris Bateman last week.

Police opened a murder docket after the *Cape Times* published claims by the three witnesses that police shot and killed a man after he had attempted to give himself up and shot another man lying on the ground.

Two witnesses released Mr Bateman from his obligation not to furnish their names soon after making affidavits to the police.

A third man said he was prepared to testify.

Mr Bateman had until today to furnish the names to police or face questions before a magistrate.

Refusal to furnish names carries a penalty of up to five years' jail under section 205. — Sapa.

SA Associated Newspapers losses soar to over R17-m

By Peter Farley
Investment Editor

SA Associated Newspapers confirmed investors' worst expectations with the announcement yesterday of losses of more than R17 million in the 12 months to end-December

As forecast in *The Star* two weeks ago, this is more than double the R6,3 million lost in 1984. A soaring interest bill, virtually unchanged operating losses and a net extraordinary loss of nearly R3 million were the main problem areas

And with no immediate end in sight to the operating losses — advertising revenue is again likely to show negative real growth — and little impact expected to be made on indebtedness, further losses could be on the cards next year

The extraordinary loss comprised a R7,4 million bill associated with the publications now closed, reduced to R3 million by the sale of the company's share investments in Argus and Sappi

GEARING OMISSION

In the meantime, however, SAAN is changing its year-end to March 31, which will involve another interim report before the balance sheet is published

Management, curiously, has made no comment in the current statement on gearing. With gearing of such crucial importance to SAAN's current predicament and the growing practice of listed companies to detail this aspect of the balance sheet at the preliminary stage, the omission comes as a surprise

But with finance charges for the 12 months up to a staggering

R5 million from R220 000 — and rising to R3 million in the second six months from R1,9 million in the first half, despite falling interest rates — it is understood that total borrowings are now nudging R40 million

This means a gearing of around 200 percent, with shareholders' funds now virtually halved to R19 million following the latest losses

The main escape route from this predicament would be a sale of assets, but attempts to find a buyer for the three printing presses and the Johannesburg head office have so far been fruitless

Two foreign buyers — one Australian and the other in the US — both took options to buy a press, but both these lapsed

However, it is understood that a sale and leaseback agreement may shortly be concluded on the building, which could yield in excess of R20 million. The outlook for the presses is not so bright

The building sale would give SAAN the breathing space it so desperately needs, but in the meantime management will have to start more seriously addressing the problems which are producing the losses at the operating level

Nevertheless, the leaseback of the building would add further pressure to the operating level, at a time when revenues are going to be even more difficult to come by

The move towards joint printing with the Argus group in Johannesburg, Durban and later in Cape Town, should also provide some relief. But with other

overheads still high, it should be some time before these benefits percolate through to the bottom line

It is understood that the *Financial Mail* contributed an operating profit of more than R5 million in the year under review. This means that the rest of the group — apart from a few minor contributions — lost around R13 million, before interest and other charges

The two major reasons behind this are believed to be a first-time swing into the red of the *Sunday Times* and running losses since the launch of *Business Day*

MANY DOUBTERS

The latter was not expected to make an early contribution, but the reversal at the *Sunday Times* will have come as a severe blow — particularly given the way in which losses on the colour magazine more than wiped out any contribution the newspaper would have made

Other smaller losses were put down to the group's interest in both the *Pretoria News* and *Sunday Star*

Management says a return to profitability by March, 1987 should be possible, though in the wake of the last 24 months' performance there will still be many doubters

The share price fell to a new low of 750c last week, from 1 100c a couple of weeks ago and a 2 650c peak in 1984, but has subsequently perked up a little. Net worth now stands at around 1 100c. However, investor interest will be confined to those seeking a real outside bet

11/3/86 B DAY
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The gag tightens

THE EXTENT to which government's assault on Press freedom has been intensified over the past 30 years can now be measured in an interesting and an accurate way. The gauge or yardstick or foot-rule — call it what you will — is provided by four editions of a remarkable book entitled "The Newspaperman's Guide to the Law". The first edition appeared in 1976. The fourth edition is published this month.

The book, as its name implies, is intended to guide the newspaperman through the maze of legislative restraints and curbs, backed by punitive sanctions, which now govern what would otherwise be his simple, straightforward task of printing the news. But the book has now acquired another quality. Encapsulated in this single volume is the accumulated mass of laws designed to restrain the Press and, by so doing, to subvert the people's right to know.

Let me start the interesting story of this book, as one should, at the beginning. In 1976, Kelsey Stuart, a Johannesburg attorney, published the first edition of his book entitled "The Newspaperman's Guide to the Law" (hereafter referred to as The Guide).

For nearly 30 years before the book appeared, government had passed a multiplicity of laws designed to restrain the Press. Contravention of some of these laws carried severe penalties, and the newspaperman's life became beset with perils not known in SA before.

Restraints

The first edition collected, collated and analysed the laws in a convenient, handy form where it could be studied by the newspaperman and warn him of the pitfalls. The appearance of The Guide did not halt the flow of legislation curbs and restraints. They flowed so fast, in fact, that in order to keep his book up to date Kelsey Stuart brought out a second edition in 1977, and even on to a third edition in 1981. By that time more than 100 laws affecting the Press were collected as a guide — and a warning — to newspapermen.

Kelsey Stuart died within 18 months of the third edition. His three editions of The Guide are a monument to his scholarship, patience, skill and objectivity.

But even three editions of accumulated anti-Press laws did not affect government's zest for thinking up new and better ways of controlling and — it would not be too much to say — gagging the Press.

The process was intensified, to such an extent that newspapermen might well have paraphrased Wordsworth and called out: "Kelsey! thou should'st be living at this hour: the Press hath need of thee."

The hour, they say, produces the man. This time it produced three men and one woman — all of them close colleagues of Kelsey Stuart. They are William Lane, David Hoffe, David Dison and Clare Tatham, and between them they have

Kelsey Stuart's "The Newspaperman's Guide to the Law, Fourth Edition," by William Lane, David Hoffe, David Dison and Clare Tatham (Butterworths)

brought out a fourth edition.

It was desirable that they should do so. Some of the laws had become obsolete — and some of the new laws are more frightening than any contained in the first three editions.

Building on the foundations laid by Kelsey Stuart, and acknowledging their great debt to him, his four colleagues have recast, revised and updated The Guide, thereby ensuring that it places the new — and the old — laws in a better perspective. Whatever else may be said of the latest edition of The Guide, it is intrinsically a devastating indictment of government's methods.

We hear, often enough, that "foreigners do not understand South Africa," or that "the media distort the country's image". The Guide provides a complete answer to that kind of fallacious argument. The book contains, after all, a factual list of government's laws. These government laws tell the government's story, loudly and clearly, of the government's intensified assault on the right of free speech.

Kelsey Stuart did not live to see the operation of the Internal Security Act or the Protection of Information Act, which are dealt with in the fourth edition of The Guide. One finds something mordantly ironic in these horrific laws. They were passed by a government with a pathological loathing of communism, ostensibly to fight communism. Yet the gagging motif implicit in these two Acts would be more easily reconciled with the system in Moscow than with those of London, Paris and Washington.

The Internal Security Act empowers the Minister of Law and Order to close down any paper he chooses, provided he is "satisfied" that it should be closed down. That monstrous power ends the matter. The court cannot enquire whether the Minister ought or ought not to be "satisfied". His decision can be upset only if it can be shown that he acted *mala fide*, or with ulterior motives, or failed to apply his mind to the matter.

The reader may wonder exactly how government is able to make things so difficult for the newspaperman. It may be helpful and instructive to give a real-life



JOEL MERWIS

example, which I take from The Guide. First, then, let us look at Section 13 (1) (a) (v) of the Internal Security Act, which reads: "No person shall ... advocate, advise, defend or encourage the achievements of any of the objects of the unlawful organisation or objects similar to the objects of such organisation, or perform any other act of whatever nature which is calculated to further the achievement of any such object."

This section was analysed in 1984 by Mr Justice Didcott — a Judge held in the highest regard by SA lawyers. "The central problem which arises," said Judge Didcott, "is that which section 13 (1) (a) (v) has posed by taking its cue from Section 2 and, like that, making the objects of the unlawful organisation in question the primary goal it outlaws. Similar objects, to be sure, are also mentioned. But they are secondary.

"Whether objects are similar to the objects of an unlawful organisation cannot be determined unless the objects of the unlawful organisation are themselves first identified and understood. These are thus the key to the sub-section.

"Before the court can get anywhere it must discover what they are or were. Only then can it see what other objects are similar to them. Having fixed all this in its mind, it can proceed at last to the question whether the achievement within either category was advocated, advised or encouraged by what was done or whether that amounted to an act calculated to further the achievement of such"

Desirable

Didcott presumably had the advantage of listening to submissions by counsel, after which he applied his own not inconsiderable talents to the section in question. If the judge, after due deliberations, had problems, what is one to say of a sub-editor who needs to rush a report to catch a deadline?

It would be wrong to leave the reader with the impression that The Guide deals only with those laws that threaten to usurp the freedom of the Press. While we have enough of those laws to cause alarm, there are of course other laws that are necessary and desirable, such as the laws which protect a person against the libels or falsehoods of another.

The Guide's value for newspapermen and also for legal practitioners is unquestioned. A voter who values his right to know could also read the book with profit.

What one needs to hope for now is that we will be spared yet another spate of laws which would compel the four authors to rush a fifth edition hot through the press to keep up with the latest draconian threats.

TV crew stoned in DV

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10/31/86 DISPATCH

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — A BBC television film crew was forced to run a 200m gauntlet of stone-throwing children after they had been trapped at a barricade of drums and boulders near C section in Duncan Village yesterday morning.

The "virtually brand new" rented car in which they were travelling was "just about totally destroyed" in the attack, according to one of the crew. It had only travelled about 1 000km.

Producer Peter Henderson and cameraman Willie Qubaka escaped with minor cuts and bruises.

They had gone into Duncan Village to get video footage of residents' reactions to the East London council decision in favour of opening residential areas to all races. They had been in the township for about an hour when they ran into the barricade just before noon.

"I saw an empty car standing in front of huge boulders and drums and was forced to stop. We had no sooner come to a standstill when about 500 people started lining the road behind us. The majority of them were youngsters, but the stone-throwing was sparked by an older woman who hurled a huge rock through the



BBC cameraman Willie Qubaka and producer Peter Henderson sit inside the rented car from which they escaped with minor cuts and bruises after running the gauntlet of stonethrowing youths in C-section, Duncan Village, yesterday morning.

back window of the car.

"That set off the rest and I knew we had to get out fast," Mr Henderson said.

"The road was not wide enough for me to turn in, so I had to ramp over a gutter to get the car around. The rims dented as we hit the kerb and two tyres went down, one at the back and one in front. By this time rocks were raining down on us and every window had been smashed — there was glass and stones everywhere — and still they kept hurling rocks.

"All the time, however, I knew I had to keep cool to avoid hit-

ting someone with the car and so I had to sit as high as I could — my head was pushed up against the roof — so that I could see to steer past the kids in the road.

"Willie, meanwhile, had been trying to calm the children, but they ignored him — even when he gave the black power salute," Mr Henderson said.

"The car unbelievably kept going and we managed to get away from the area and met up with an army patrol a few minutes later. We abandoned the car and were taken out of the township by the patrol," he added.

Mr Henderson said he

felt he and Mr Qubaka had been "extremely lucky" to have escaped with only minor injuries.

The attack on the television crew's car was the fourth reported in Duncan Village at the weekend.

A furniture removal company's horse and trailer was petrol-bombed near the Braelynn entrance to the township on Saturday morning, on Saturday afternoon a cartage contractor's tip-truck was extensively damaged in a petrol-bomb and stone attack, and on Sunday afternoon a private car was also badly damaged in the township. No injuries were reported.

CARE Tents
10/3/86

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BBC film crew stoned

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON — A BBC television film crew had to run a 200-metre gauntlet of stone-throwing children yesterday after being trapped at a barricade of drums and boulders near C Section of Duncan Village

A member of the film crew said the "virtually brand new" rented car in which they were travelling was almost totally destroyed

But producer Peter Henderson and cameraman Willie Qubaka escaped with minor cuts and bruises

They had gone into Duncan Village to get video footage of residents' reactions to the East London council decision in favour of opening residential

areas to all races

They ran into the barricade shortly before noon, Mr Henderson said. As they stopped about 500 people, mostly youngsters, started lining the road

Mr Henderson had to ramp over a gutter to turn the car around and two tyres were punctured

Meanwhile, "rocks rained down" on them, smashing every window

They managed "unbelievably" to get away from the area. They met up with an army patrol a few minutes later, abandoned the car and were driven out of the township

● People interviewed before the attack had been "very enthusiastic" about the council's plan

**Top CBS
official
in SA**

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A top official of United States news network CBS arrived here from New York last night after the announcement that three of the organization's senior staff were to be expelled from South Africa

CBS local bureau chief Mr Bill Mutschmann last night said CBS vice-president in charge of news coverage and news operations Mr David Buksbaum would be at a meeting scheduled for tonight with the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, to discuss the reasons for expelling the CBS staffers

The expulsion of Mr Mutschmann, correspondent Alan Pizzey and cameraman Wim de Vos was announced by Mr Botha on Friday

Mr Botha said the men were being asked to leave after CBS defied a ban on cameras and audio-visual equipment at the funeral of 17 unrest victims last week.

CARL TRIPS
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CBS staff expelled for funeral footage

Political Staff

THE government yesterday expelled three senior American CBS television network staff for the broadcast of sneak footage of the Alexandra funerals from which TV crews had been banned

The expulsion order was issued yesterday by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, who has given Mr Bill Mutschmann, CBS bureau chief, and TV crewmen Mr Allan Pizzey and Mr Willem de Vos until midnight on Tuesday to get out of the country

Mr Pizzey and Mr De Vos were part of the TV crew which filmed the "Trojan Horse" police operation against stone-throwers in Thornton Road, Athlone

Contrary to usual expulsion procedures, Mr

Botha has offered them an opportunity to make representations to him to appeal against the order Mr Mutschmann confirmed yesterday that all three of them would do so

Prompted

He said yesterday "I was not even in Alexandra"

Asked if he thought there was anything in the footage shown on CBS that could have prompted the government to act against them, he said "I don't know, I haven't even seen it"

In an interview with Sapa, Mr Mutschmann said he and legal representatives for the company would "probably be talking to Mr Botha on Monday"

He said Mr Botha had said he "would welcome our comments"

Despite the proposed meeting, Mr Mutschmann did not think there would be much chance

of overturning the minister's decision

He said CBS would be left with a skeleton staff of 10 to 12 people manning the bureau

When asked to comment on why he thought CBS staff had been singled out for expulsion, Mr Mutschmann said "We have probably been a little more aggressive than other networks on this particular story"

In a statement yesterday Mr Botha said the men were being expelled for "flagrant contempt of a South African court decision"

Violence

"Experience in South Africa, as in other countries, has taught that the mere presence of TV cameras in volatile situations could give rise to further violence in which the property and lives of innocent people can be endangered," said Mr Botha

For this reason TV crews had been banned from the Alexandra fu-

nerals attended by thousands of people on March 5

All other media were entitled to attend

Mr Botha recalled that on March 4 various TV networks, including CBS, had applied for an urgent interdict against the banning, but this was turned down by the Johannesburg Supreme Court

Contempt

"Notwithstanding the Supreme Court decision, CBS obtained TV material of the events at the funeral and screened it on its network

"To my mind, this action amounts to a flagrant contempt of a South African court decision," Mr Botha said

He had also concluded from the published views of a CBS official that the network was "determined to disregard South African laws in order to obtain film material which, according to our experience, often leads to a one-sided and false account of conditions in the country To my mind this amounts to the violation of accepted professional journalistic ethics

"It stands to reason that representatives of CBS will in future only be allowed into South Africa if they abide by the law of the country"

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2163

Nel: Press curbs to fall away

Political Reporter

THE Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, yesterday said it was "preposterous" to imply that proposed tighter legislation to deal with unrest would also place further curbs on the press.

In an interview, Mr Nel said that all restrictions on the press in terms of the emergency regulations would fall away as soon as the proclamation ending the state of emergency had been gazetted. This is likely to take place today.

However, Mr Nel emphasized that "police would certainly be entitled in terms of existing legislation to exercise whatever legal control they are entitled to over the press".

Mr Nel said that no decision had been taken as to whether the present review of the Public Safety Act would also affect the press.

One of the major aims of the emergency regulations was to prevent media coverage of the nation-wide unrest which affected several parts of the country last year. The measures specifically ended television and visual reporting in unrest areas.

Staff and Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN 7/3/86
Reporter
subpoenaed

Staff Reporter

THE crime reporter of the Cape Times, Mr Chris Bateman, was yesterday served with a subpoena to supply police with the names of three witnesses to the shoot-out between police and suspected urban guerillas in Guguletu on Monday

The subpoena states that Mr Bateman has till next Wednesday to supply to the police the names and addresses of the witnesses he interviewed or appear before a Cape Town magistrate on that day

Mr Bateman has since supplied police with the name of one witness after obtaining the man's consent. He faces up to five years imprisonment if he fails to supply the other two names

● Picture, page 2

CAPE TOWN 7/3/86
5 wounded in Retreat shootout

Staff Reporter

A POLICEMAN and four men were wounded when shots were exchanged between police and rival gang members fighting each other in Lavender Hill last night

A police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, last night said two policemen from Steenberg, who were delivering summonses on the corner of Walton and Ebsom streets noticed six men acting suspiciously. They approached the men who ran off after firing shots at the policemen

The policemen followed and returned the fire. One of them was wounded in the chest. One of the fleeing men, aged 21, was wounded in the stomach and arrested

The policemen called for reinforcements and when these arrived they heard more shots fired some distance away

After a search of the area police arrested three men with various bullet wounds

Police took possession of a small calibre handgun. The policeman was admitted to 2 Military Hospital where he was in a satisfactory condition

The 21-year-old suspect with the stomach wound was admitted to Victoria Hospital. His condition was last night described as serious.

The three other wounded men were also taken to Victoria Hospital.

Victims of...

One song was a gentle hymn, sung by a choir. Another



Outside Alex* Police made quite sure that no-one tried to slip a camera into the township
Pictures ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

Journey into the land of black, green and gold

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WEEKLY M.
7/3/86

PATRICK LAURENCE reports from Wednesday's mass funeral at Alexandra

It was the briefest of journeys but it was like crossing into another country

One minute we were being searched by the blue uniformed police of the old order. The next, only a few steps away, we were under the guardianship of the young comrades of the new South Africa.

We were in Alexandra. Within moments we were escorted by the T-shirted young men into a waiting vehicle. The words 'Alexandra Massacre' were emblazoned across their chests.

As the vehicle turned round in the narrow street, the policemen, armed with an assortment of pistols, shotguns and rifles, stormed after us, feet thudding into the tarmac.

One of them had spotted, or thought he had spotted, a camera on one of the journalists. The vehicle was searched again. But the forbidden camera was not found.

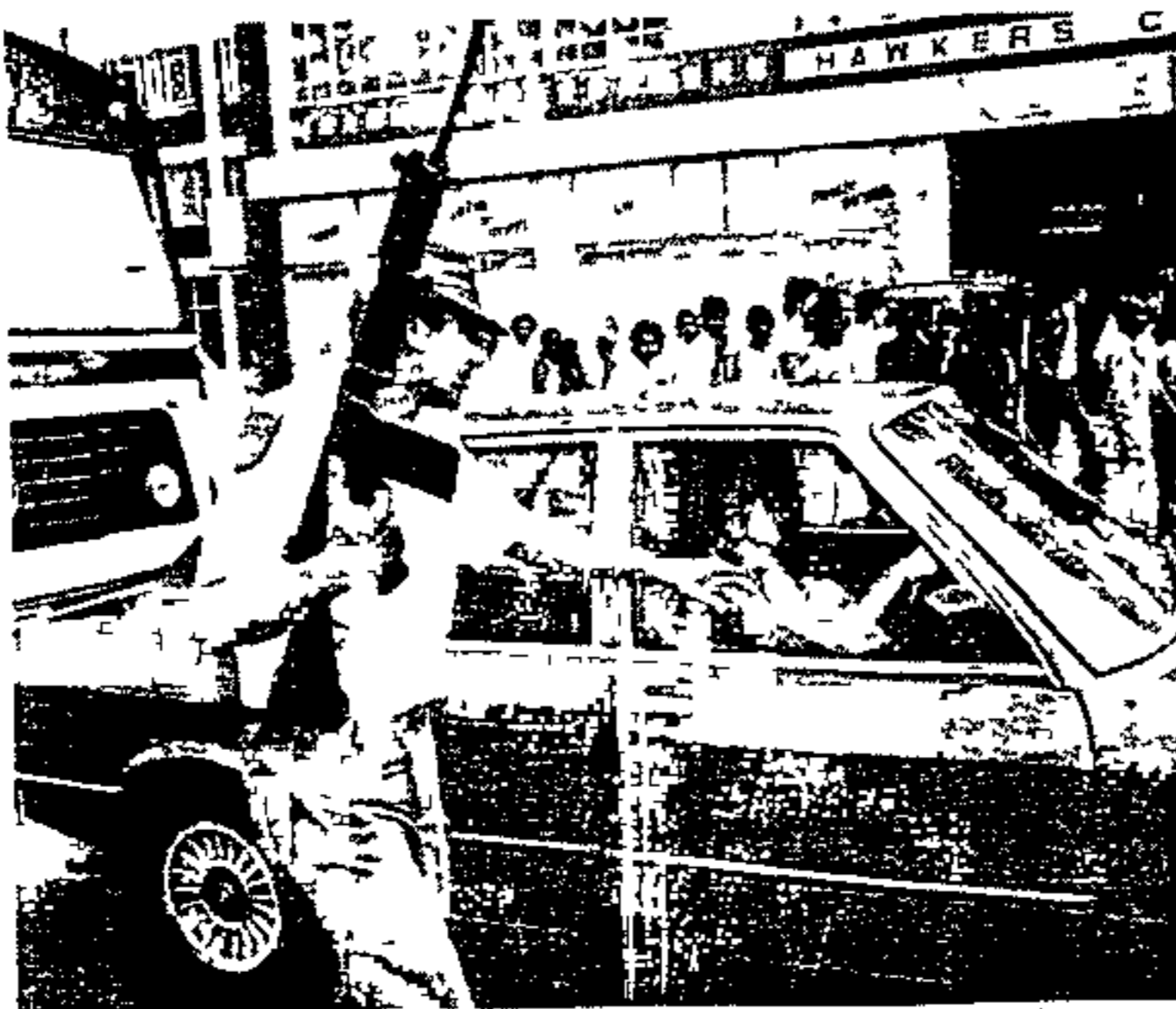
Seventeen victims of the revolt in Alexandra late last month were being buried. Journalists, however, were permitted to record the mass funeral with pen and paper only.

The comrades drove the vehicle down the steep tarred road — one of the few in the township — towards the stadium where thousands of people had already started to gather. They were solicitous of our needs, stopping as we entered the stadium to get programmes for us.

Green, black and gold flags and banners of the outlawed ANC fluttered in the gentlest of breezes. Freedom songs and slogans chorused from thousands of throats.

Diplomatic representatives from most Western countries sat in the blazing sun. So, too, did the veteran MP Helen Suzman, the MP for Sandton, David Dalling, members of the Sandton Town Council and two former mayors.

The council has donated R500 to



A bewildered Sandton motorist gets caught up in the Alexandra roadblocks

Alexandra is adjacent to Sandton.

As the crowd waited for a formal start to the ceremony, it swelled. People filed into the stadium and filled it, overflowing on to the steel scaffolding of an incomplete building and even into trees which surrounded the stadium.

When the hearses arrived with the coffins there was hardly room for them. They had to manoeuvre their way in and out of the stadium. The crowd squeezed in to make room for them and then out again, like a human concertina.

Then the crowd began to sing its tribute to the dead, the youngest of whom was a boy of 12. They were acclaimed members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, underground army of the ANC, the highest honour that could be bestowed on them.

Shortly after there was a stirring in the crowd nearest the makeshift podium. Winnie Mandela, wife of the jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, had arrived. She was dressed in ANC colours. Her escorts carried a huge wreath of black, green and gold

Young men and women danced through the narrow pathway between the coffins and the podium, carrying placards hoisted aloft on poles. One called on Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, to help them get military training in neighbouring countries. Neither Boesak nor Bishop Desmond Tutu were among the speakers, however.

Representatives of only two of the bereaved families spoke. "They are not all going to speak, otherwise we will be here until sunset," a master of ceremonies explained.

One spoke in Tswana. The other in Zulu. They were simple, short moving speeches, appealing for black unity. Afterwards, contrasting songs followed. One praised the MKs, as members of Umkhonto we Sizwe are known, as the crowd acted out the firing of AK 47s. The second was a gentle hymn sung by a choir, the soft voices of women alternating with the deeper tones of men.

Mike Beea, chairman of the Alexandra Civic Association, drew



Keeping cool A policeman at a roadblock stolidly ignores the waved fists and chants from a passing bus

the option of "going cap in hand to a government which is killing our children" and proclaimed instead "We shall defeat the system. We shall govern in the country."

Another Alexandra resident and former Robben Island prisoner, introduced only as Ramagodi, warned, "We face a mighty enemy. We will only win the struggle when you are disciplined."

There were eloquent, encouraging speeches from Beyers Naude of the SA Council of Churches and Bishop Osmond of the Catholic Church. But the loudest cheers were given to Albertina Sisulu, wife of the imprisoned ANC leader Walter Sisulu and a president of the UDF.

In a fiery speech, Sisulu — who like Winnie Mandela is given the honorary title of "our mother" — spoke in vivid imagery.

"The government is pinned against the wall as the struggle intensifies," she told the roaring crowd. South Africa was ruled by a "government of frightened cockroaches" and a "government of greedy vultures who want to eat alone."

She warned white mothers "Today black children are dying. It will happen to white mothers tomorrow."

Speaking in the soaring heat of the noon sun, which had already felled several people, Frank Chikane, a Transvaal vice president of the UDF, said "We in South Africa have a war going on. Those who have not realised it yet are foolish. There is a war between the forces of apartheid and the people."

As the crowd started to walk down the valley and across a river bed to the cemetery, "Mac" Lekota of the Alexandra Civic Association sombrely told them that there were still 13 unidentified bodies in the government mortuary. He appealed to the people to help identify the bodies.

Most of the crowd of 50 000 weaved its way to the graveyard, enveloping it to pay homage to the dead.

At the exits from Alexandra the police waited like border guards to search journalists for contraband cameras and videos.

The custodians of the present would allow you to visit the country of the future, but not to film it.

Cap-Times 6/3/86
Black readership growing

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. —
Black readership of
newspapers and maga-
zines is climbing.

A study by advertising
agency D'Arcy Masius
Benton & Bowles shows
that white readership of
most print media reveals
a downward trend and it
is only black readership
growth that has kept
print audiences buoyant

since 1975. *263*
White readership of
the daily press has de-
clined 27 percent since
1975, and weekend press
17 percent, while maga-
zine readership has risen
two percent.
Among blacks, there
has been a growth of 68
percent in readership of
the daily press, 57 per-
cent in weekend press,
and an enormous 442
percent in magazines.

Summons for Cape Times Staffer

GRK 1/04/11
6/3/86
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Staff Reporter
POLICE yesterday served summons on Cape Times photographer Alan Taylor to appear in Bellville Magistrate's Court later this month in connection with the taking and publication of a picture of a man being apprehended by soldiers at the University of the Western Cape on October 1 last year.

The summons is the latest in a string of police actions against the Cape Times: ● Late yesterday police had still to serve the Cape Times with a subpoena to supply the names of witnesses to the killing of seven suspected urban guerrillas by police in a shoot-out in Guguletu on Monday.

and "fished off" another suspect lying on the ground. ● Possible charges are also pending over a report on the fatal shooting of a crayfish poacher by a patroling policeman in Beta Road, Bakoven, on January 30.

Mr Colin Burns, 23, of Table View, died after being shot in the thigh while fleeing the policeman. A bag containing 17 crayfish, 12 of which were undersize, was recovered. The Cape Times published an interview with a witness to the shooting, Mr Michael Quigley, the next day.

Mr Oliver Tambo, will resume on April 15 in Cape Town Magistrate's Court. ● On January 29, the Attorney-General of the Western Cape declined to prosecute the Cape Times for a possible contravention of the Police Act following a report on the firing of a tear-gas canister into the yard of the late Mr Brian Bishop last October.

charged with contravening the emergency regulations. Mr Moosa appeared in court several times this year in connection with trespassing on the premises of Alexander Slinton School while covering the opening of coloured schools in October. ● On December 20 last year charges in connection with attending an illegal gathering and obstructing police in the execution of their duties were dropped against Cape Times reporter Peter Dennehy.

● The Attorney-General has yet to decide on whether Cape Times political reporter Ebrahim Moosa will be

US correspondents win coveted awards

Apartheid still news in America

3/3/86. STAR

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By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — South Africa's racial strife has a much lower profile on American television this year because of the Government's four-month-old ban on cameras in many unrest areas.

But American television news executives say they are determined to inform their viewers about events in South Africa in spite of the difficulties facing their correspondents and camera crews.

They admit, however, that it is not easy.

At one time last year, scenes of violence in South Africa, usually of clashes between blacks and the police, were regular features of the daily news diet.

News about the struggle against apartheid is still prominent in the US media, but it lacks dramatic impact without the film clips that many analysts here believe were an important factor in turning American public opinion against the South African Government.

"The sad fact is that the South Africans have mostly succeeded in what they wanted to do," said Mr George Watson, vice-president and Washington bureau chief of ABC News.

Mr Watson said his organisation's current practice of presenting news from South Africa with the aid of maps and graphics did not make good television.

Mr Dan Rather, anchorman of the CBS evening news and a senior executive of the organisation, is committed to covering the South African story for American viewers because of its importance.

"We are having great difficulties trying to make it accessible and interesting, but we are determined to continue to report the reality, not the unreality that the government would like us to report," Mr Rather said.

His colleague, CBS foreign editor Mr Sam Ro-

berts, agreed "They think they can sweep all the problems under the rug by shutting off our cameras. But we don't give up that easily."

What worries some news executives is that other governments may follow the South African lead and ban television crews too.

In Congress, the ban has been cited as evidence that the South African Government has become even more restrictive in spite of President P W Botha's reform promises.

Congressional sources say the ban is certain to be raised if events in South Africa lead to tougher sanctions measures this year.

Television industry spokesmen do not accept Pretoria's argument that the presence of television cameras can spark violence in unrest areas.

Mr Timothy Russert, vice-president of NBC news, noted that the violence in South Africa had not stopped since the ban was imposed.

Coveted awards

Mr Watson said the level of violence had remained just as high, if it had not actually increased.

The motive of the Government was not so much to cool down violence as to stop the outside world from seeing it in the most graphic way.

The difficulties of foreign correspondents in South Africa have also featured in the news. At the weekend the *Washington Post* carried a report about the arrest of CBS correspondent Allen Pizzey, saying he was harassed while waiting for release and that a policeman had threatened to kill him.

US newsmen are winning coveted awards for their work in South Africa.

The two top winners of the prestige George Polk award for journalism, announced this weekend, were Mr Ted Koppel of ABC's "Nightline" and Mr Alan Cowell of the *New York Times*, both chosen for their reporting on South Africa.

SAAN boss hopeful

LIZ ROUSE

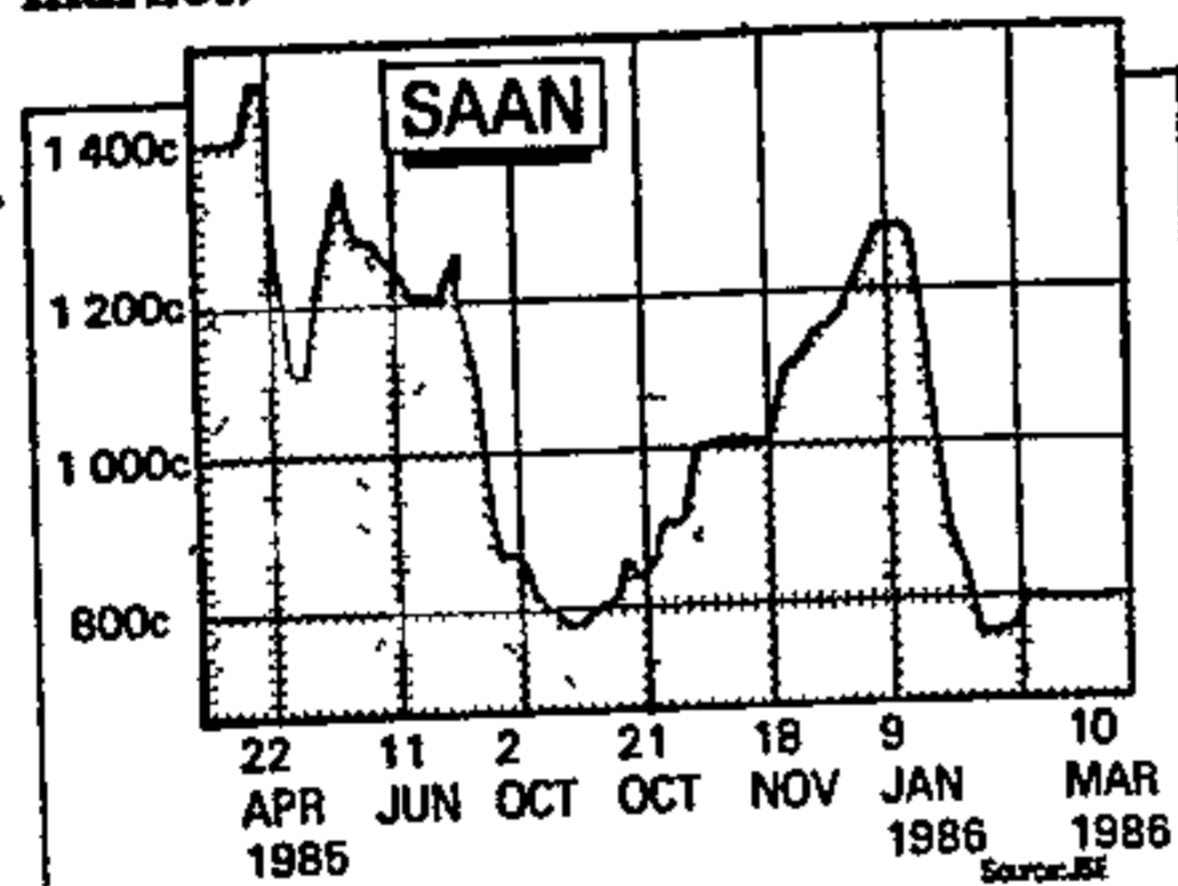
SOUTH AFRICAN Associated Newspapers could be operating profitably in a year's time, according to acting chairman John King.

This is despite an attributable loss of R14,1m and a bottom-line loss of more than R17m in the 12 months to December.

If, as expected, the economy shows improvement in the next 12 months, the group should return to profitable operation by March 31, 1987 as a result of action to contain operating expenses, he said in the second interim report for the 12 months ended December 31.

King said SAAN had been caught in an extended financial position in a severe downturn in the newspaper industry.

A decline of more than R9m in turnover to R128,9m and losses at Pretoria News (once a money-spinner), Robinson & Company and the Sunday Star (a joint venture with Argus) were symptomatic of the depressed state of the market.



Added to that were the closure costs of the Rand Daily Mail and the Sunday Express, re-organisation costs and staff retrenchments.

However, given an upturn in the economy, the sale of three redundant presses (which would reduce the interest bill substantially), plus significant saving on printing costs through joint printing at Argus' Sauer Street works, SAAN should return to profitability by the end of March 1987, King said.

Prospects are poor for the three months to March 1986, as the first quarter of the year is traditionally the worst for the newspaper industry, and the group is expected to incur an operating loss in the three months.

SAAN directors say in the preliminary report for the 12 months (the year-end has been changed to March 1986, making an accounting period of 15 months) that 1985 was an exceptionally difficult year for the newspaper industry as a whole.

The swing from Press to radio and television advertising continued. Newspaper and magazine advertising fell by about 16% in real terms. The group was affected severely by this trend, and the decline in advertising revenues earned accounted for a major portion of the loss sustained.

On the one hand, the operating loss declined to R7,8m from R8,3m in 1984, on the other hand, increased borrowings and high interest rates had a substantial adverse effect on the group. Total inter-

● To Page.2

SAAN hit by poor adspend

est charges rose to R5m from R219 000 in 1984 when SAAN still had cash.

King would not be drawn on SAAN's total borrowings as these might be reduced by the end of the 15-month accounting period.

SAAN's share of losses in associated companies was R1,6m compared with a R504 000 profit in 1984.

A new company has been formed in Natal through the merger of Robinson & Co and the Argus group's Natal operations. Substantial rationalisation benefits should be realised which, in turn, should benefit SAAN through its minority interest in Robinson.

A return to profitability by some of SAAN's associates and a move into profitability by the Sunday Star would

stem the drain, although associates are minor contributors to group earnings.

At least, most rationalisation costs are out of the way. The extraordinary item of a R2,89m loss will not be repeated. Results of the closed publications, costs of re-organisation and retrenchments amounted to R7,4m. These costs were offset by the sale of SAAN's shares in Argus for R4,5m.

SAAN shares were quoted at 800c bid and 900c sell yesterday. They are held tightly but could lose ground on the earnings loss of 705c a share (the 1984 loss was 315c a share and a 25c dividend was paid) and the fact that there is no hope of a dividend until next year.

● From Page 1

C. Tames
13/86

Press-trial verdict in April

2043

PORT ELIZABETH. — Verdict was postponed in the Magistrate's Court here yesterday in the trial of the editor of the Eastern Province Herald, Mr J C Viviers, and a reporter, Miss Juliette Saunders.

They are alleged to have infringed Section 27(b) of Act 7 of 1958 (the Police Act) which makes it an offence to publish untruths about police action without having reasonable grounds for believing the information to be true.

The charges relate to reporting incidents after the funeral of an unrest victim in Tanty township, Grahamstown, on November 9, 1984. A third accused, Miss Jennifer Hyman, said to have co-authored the article, paid an admission-of-guilt fine.

The statements alleged to be untrue were that police were seen to

- Use sjamboks and confiscate Azapo and Azasm banners

- Fire tear smoke, rubber bullets and bird-shot at a crowd

Contradictory

In his argument, Mr H van der Walt, for the State, submitted that evidence by three police witnesses showed that the allegations that a sneeze machine had been used and that after the funeral, the police, without provocation or reason, moved down from the ridge and fired teargas and rubber bullets at funeral-goers, were untrue.

If anything, the contradictory evidence by two defence witnesses (proved to be untruthful under cross-examination) backed the State case.

The relevant section of the Police Act placed onus on the accused to prove they had reasonable grounds to believe the evidence true.

No evidence was led by the defence to discharge this onus.

The editor had also known that his staff were preparing copy concerning the incident.

The State submitted he acted negligently in

designating his responsibility to subordinates.

Mr M Hannon, SC, for the defence, asked the court to bear in mind the difficulties facing a newspaper in bringing information to the public, such as working to deadlines, gathering news and having to rely on eyewitnesses.

The act concerned, he submitted, was "meant to guard against conveying to ordinary readers major untruths masquerading as facts about police behaviour".

The average reader, he submitted, did not analyse and dissect a newspaper report, looking for nuances and subtle implications and the reasonable reader would not regard a newspaper as "a bible".

The sinister connotation sought by the State was not the only inference to be drawn from the report, as its heading referred to a mob — implying justification of police action.

'State's onus'

Reporting and acknowledging eyewitness accounts did not mean that the paper alleged the accounts to be true.

The defence submitted the onus was on the State to prove that the allegations contained in the report were untrue. It led no evidence about the alleged confiscation of banners or use of sjamboks.

Regarding the sneeze machine the State failed to establish that the author of the report did not have reasonable grounds for believing it to have been used.

Further, there were material differences in the evidence of three State witnesses.

Mr Hannon submitted that Mr Viviers was not the author of, or responsible for, the report and he became aware of it only after its publication. Therefore, he could not have partaken in, or prevented, the alleged offence and had delegated responsibility to reliable, experienced subordinates.

Verdict will be passed on April 15. — Sapa

Press trial
begins in
E. Cape

28/2/88 STAR 243
PORT ELIZABETH —
Legal argument started yesterday in the trial in which the editor of the *Eastern Province Herald*, Mr J C Viviers and a reporter, Miss Juliette Saunders, are charged with contravening the Police Act.

The State alleges that on November 10 1984, they published statements about the actions of the police without having reasonable grounds for believing them to be true.

The charges stem from the *Herald's* coverage of the funeral of an unrest victim in Grahamstown on November 9.

The disputed statements include eyewitness allegations that police used sjamboks on teenagers at the scene, used a sneeze machine and fired teargas, rubber bullets and birdshot. — Sapa

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'Ons koerant' carries on

Raids, fire theft fail to stop Grassroots

GRASSROOTS, an unusual newspaper in many ways, is battling for survival

It is run by eight people who earn the same salary — a salary which can hardly be called a living wage. It has no editor, no hierarchy and no member of staff can stay for more than three years

The newspaper is run by an editorial collective who answer to about 70, mainly United Democratic Front, organizations

Grassroots does not go for objective separation of fact and comment, the non-partisan reporting of news and the sober appraisal of political events. Its tone is that of a mass meeting demanding the overthrow of apartheid, releasing jailed leaders, unbanning banned people and organizations and establishing a democratic government

"Grassroots itself is run through a process of democratic, collective decision-making — that is the kind of society we look forward to and which does not exist in this country," staff members said in an interview. They asked not to be quoted by name

Grassroots had a tough year in 1985. Staff were harassed by a security police team led by Lieutenant Frans Mostert, members were detained and a mysterious fire destroyed the paper's offices

Equipment and records were destroyed in the fire and despite a guard at the building, thieves took the office safe and several typewriters, a photocopying machine, relatively undamaged in the fire, was smashed

Two days before the fire, Lieutenant Mostert visited the offices and confiscated R192, collected from sales of the latest edition. He said he was taking the money because the edition had been banned. The receipt given for the R192 was destroyed in the fire

Captain Jan Calitz, a police

By TONY WEAVER

liaison officer for the Western Cape, said the money was an "exhibit in a case still under investigation"

Detentions have further disrupted the newspaper. Mr Saleem Badat was detained on August 23 and held until October 3, then detained again on October 28 and released on December 30. On his release he was restricted until the end of the state of emergency. This, among other things, bans him from helping produce any publication

Mr Mansoor Jaffer was detained on September 6 and released on October 2, then detained again on October 25 and held until November 8

Miss Jenny Goncalves was detained on September 28 and released on October 11, while Mr Ryland Fisher was detained on October 25 and released on November 8

The rest of the staff went into hiding and the security police visited their homes repeatedly

Four of the paper's executive committee members and



Mr Saleem Badat in Grassroots office soon after the mysterious fire.

one of their trustees have been detained under state of emergency regulations, as have a number of other people closely associated with the newspaper

Five editions of the newspaper this year have been banned and the bannings of two editions have been lifted on appeal

Before the printers will accept final copy, Grassroots has to pay cash and provide a written undertaking to cover all legal costs

The paper, which people on the Cape Flats call "ons koerant" (our newspaper), produced 11 editions last year, and the print order has been increased from 15 000 at the beginning of 1985 to 40 000. Taking a conservative figure of 10 readers per copy, this means that about 400 000 people read Grassroots

"The popularity of the newspaper has grown as resistance to apartheid has grown," the staff say

Requests for copies and for help in starting newsletters, with skills-training workshops and in establishing distribution networks are received from all over

With the security forces active throughout the country, Grassroots has had to reassess its channels of distribution

"Our distribution has been severely disrupted as many of our normal people have been detained or are in hiding. We were worried about the harassment of people distributing the newspaper, so we had to adopt much faster and more efficient methods which do not put people at risk." They declined to elaborate

Grassroots is now produced whenever and wherever the staff can manage to get together. So far three editions have appeared since the office was gutted, two of them since the state of emergency was declared

Where will Grassroots go from here?

"Grassroots is rooted in the community, so even if they detain all the staff, there will always be people in the community who will be able to carry on the work

"We are a legal newspaper, although conditions are being created which make it very difficult for us to operate"

feb

SASJ on 'tragic closure' of the Cape Herald

Argus 27/2/86
IF the management had taken note of and acted on journalists' views about the Cape Herald the newspaper's "tragic closure" might not have been necessary, the Argus chapter of the Southern African Society of Journalists said today

It noted with distress the loss of jobs caused by the closure of yet another Argus newspaper, especially in the light of financial sacrifices made by the newspaper's staffers last year in an effort to reduce the running costs of the newspaper

"The committee notes with concern the contention of Herald staff that the newspaper's declining circulation could have been remedied by a shift

in editorial policy and a change of editor"

● The Argus Company has announced that Mr E J (Ted) Doman, editor of the Cape Herald, had asked to be released from his position. The company has with regret acceded to his request

It was announced yesterday that the Cape Herald would cease publication at the end of March — Staff Reporter ant. Sapa

Cape Times 27/2/86

Cape Herald to close

Staff Reporter

ANOTHER South African newspaper, the Cape Herald, is to close next month with the final edition appearing on March 29.

The move follows the closures last year of three leading newspapers, the Rand Daily Mail, the Sunday Express and The Friend.

In a late development yesterday the Argus Company announced that the editor of the Cape Herald, Mr E J (Ted) Doman, had "asked to be released from his position" The company had "with regret" acceded to his request.

The paper's closure was confirmed yesterday by the chairman of the Argus Company, Mr Hal Miller.

Circulation

He said in a statement that a further decline in circulation, coupled with the recession, had worsened the Cape Herald's financial position in spite of efforts last year to reduce costs.

"The losses being experienced are greater than in the past and are no longer acceptable."

Mr Miller said two new community newspapers would be launched to provide advertisers with improved opportunities to reach their markets and readers with community news from their areas.

They would be distributed free.

The manager of the Argus, Mr Fred Collings, said "there was a possibility that staff, including editorial staff members, could be made redundant."

The paper's news editor, Mr Dougie Oakes, who is also chairman of the Staff Association ad hoc committee, said staff were shattered by the news but not surprised.

Staff members would know today who would be employed on the community newspapers and

who would be re-

The editor of Rapport Ekstra, Mr Conrad Sidedgo, said he was "sorry" about the paper's closure.

"I think of the journalistic contributions of the newspaper over the years and also the employment opportunities it created for many of our black journalists when the so-called white papers did not employ half the numbers it now employs."

Dr Richard van der Ross, rector of the University of the Western Cape, who is a past editor of the newspaper, said he thought of the paper with certain nostalgia.

The Cape Herald had been the training ground for a number of "coloured journalists" who had "cut their teeth" on the paper.

"The newspaper had come into existence in response to a certain need. That need was an interesting one, supplying a particular readership — the coloured community — with news that interested them," Dr Van der Ross said.

Cape Herald assistant editor Mr Colin Dedricks said he was "sad to see the paper go down the drain."

"The Cape Herald was the training ground, the nursery school and university for so-called coloured journalists. With the paper gone where will they go today?"

The executive committee of the Argus chapel of the Southern African Society of Journalists said yesterday "We note with distress the loss of jobs caused by the closure of yet another Argus newspaper, the Cape Herald, especially in the light of financial sacrifices made by the newspaper's staffers last year in an effort to reduce the running cost of the newspaper."

The Cape Times executive of the SASJ endorsed the Argus

Anger said to be mounting in townships

Press told of claims of brutality

By Kym Hamilton, Pretoria Bureau

A chilling account of alleged police brutality, torture and harassment in townships throughout the Transvaal was yesterday given at a United Democratic Front Press conference in Pretoria.

The UDF called the conference to highlight events in the townships and rural areas. UDF officials said they feared "that before too long, no force will be able to arrest this mounting anger".

A string of victims of alleged police action in Mabopane, Ga-Rankuwa, Winterveld, Alexandra, Leandra, Ermelo, Moutse and Witbank were called at a two-hour conference to tell their stories.

Most displayed scars and wounds of recent beatings and shootings which they claimed had been carried out by police and defence force troops from the South African and homeland governments.

Mr Tshimi Molondo, of the Mabopane Winterveld Crisis Committee, said 50 people had died in incidents involving the police since January 15 this year. More than 500 people in the Mabopane, Ga-Rankuwa and Winterveld areas had passed through the hands of the police without being charged. All had been released after being assaulted, Mr Molondo said.

In Alexandra, the chairman of the Alexandra Civic Association, Mr Mike Beea, related events which led to the death of at least 30 people last week. He said 17 people allegedly killed by police had been identified. Another 13 had still to be identified.

He said he had been harassed by police and soldiers while trying to rush a three-year-old boy with birdshot wounds to hospital.

Mr and Mrs Daniel Clow said their son, Neil Williams (20), had been shot dead by police without a warning shot being fired.

Others told of how armed vigilante groups, allegedly sponsored by the police and community groups, were harassing and killing opponents in townships.

Colonel Jaap Venter, head of the Police Directorate in Pretoria, said the police were not prepared to enter into a public dialogue in the media on allegations of police abuse.

Anyone with complaints could lay charges.

Townships besieged UDF

Three townships in Witbank were still under siege by police and the South African Defence Force, it was said at a United Democratic Front Press conference in Pretoria yesterday.

Mr Jackson Mthembu, vice-president of the Witbank co-ordinating committee, said the townships had been under siege since a pre-dawn raid on February 13.

Events boiled over on February 16 when police surrounded a local stadium and allegedly prevented residents from attending a meeting to discuss the critical unemployment situation in the area.

A total of 856 people were arrested and later charged with attending an illegal gathering.

The community felt this interference was uncalled for and decided to call a seven-day boycott, said Mr Mthembu.

Many people were allegedly arrested at random and assaulted by police.

The Catholic priest in the area, Father Anton Maier, said he had collected 15 affidavits from people alleging police brutality.

Father Maier said he had received anonymous threatening letters and phone calls, but was determined to remain in the Witbank townships.

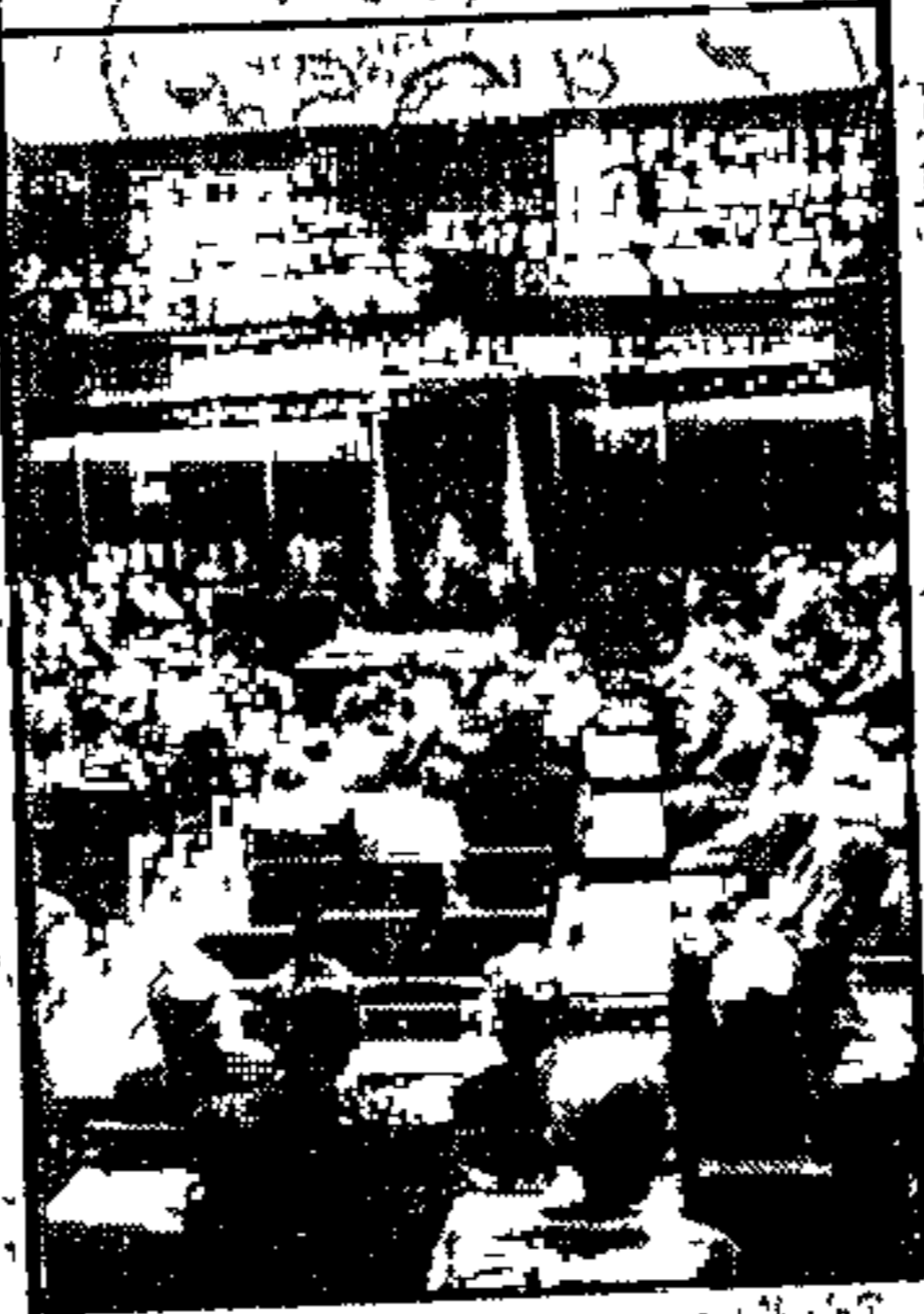
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Pretoria Bureau

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L REPORT

PARLIAMENT '86



7 complaints put to Media Council

PARLIAMENT — Four Government departments laid a total of seven complaints before the Media Council during 1985, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday.

Replying in writing to a question by Mr David Dalling, (PFP, Sandton), he said the Department of Justice had lodged three complaints, the SAP, two and the office of the State President and the SADF one apiece. Two of the Justice Department's complaints were resolved, but the third was dropped after attempts to solve it through negotiation failed.

One of the SAP's complaints was resolved, the other was referred to an investigation which settled the issue in favour of the newspaper concerned.

The complaint from the President's office had been resolved to the satisfaction of the official concerned, but the SADF charge remained unresolved — Sapa.

PARLIAMENT — The report in the *Sunday Star* that defence force troops had guarded "whites only" beaches in Port Elizabeth at the weekend was misleading and a letter had been sent to the newspaper, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan said yesterday.

Replying to a question by Mr Ape Williams (LP, Malmé) in the committee stage of the Additional Appropriation Bill, he said the letter from Defence Force Headquarters had pointed out the troops were assisting in the route management of a marathon being run past the beach front.

Citizen Force members were also spectators at two of the

Malan condemns Press report on beach patrols

beaches where two competitions — the raft competition of the University of Port Elizabeth and a surfing competition — were being held.

General Malan said such misinterpretations in Press reports harmed the image of the SADF.

He emphatically denied that South Africa gave any money to Renamo forces in Mozambique.

Countries on South Africa's borders were responsible for their own destabilisation for allowing superpowers to wage wars in their territories rather

than allowing them to build up their economies.

"Other countries allow terrorists to train in their country who then come and launch their devilish attacks on South Africa."

Referring to the invitation by the State President on January 31 for a monitoring committee of Southern African states to be established for the security situation, General Malan said "That was some time ago and not one of these countries have yet committed themselves."

Earlier Mr Williams asked

the Minister whether the defence force supplied arms to the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB). He was also under the impression the AWB were infiltrating the civil service.

"The AWB is an organisation willing to overthrow the present Government by force. We cannot allow such activities to take root here," General Malan said, adding the defence force did not support their cause.

Reacting to a later question by Mr Desmond Lockey (LP, nominated) that the African National Congress and AWB were in the same category, General Malan said both organisations did not comply with the requirements of democracy — Sapa

- hostesses are members of the permanent staff; if not, why not;
- (3) whether any steps are being taken to employ these persons on a permanent basis, if not, why not, if so, what steps,
- (4) what is the longest period for which a (a) Black, (b) Coloured and (c) Asian air or ground hostess has been employed by the South African Airways?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS

13 February 1986

- (1) (a) (i) and (ii) None
- (b) (i) 8.
- (ii) 13
- (c) (i) 7
- (ii) 2

(2) (a) and (b) No Coloured and Asian air and ground hostesses are classified as regular employees with security of tenure

(3) Yes. A programme has been embarked upon which is designed on parity of service conditions for all Transport Services' employees. As soon as parity has been reached the employees in question will be considered for appointment to permanent staff. The time schedule of the programme is coupled to the availability of sufficient funds.

- (4) (a) Falls away
- (b) and (c) Since 1 November 1977.

HANSVARD Sandton: pollution of rivers/streams
212. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Water Affairs:

Whether his Department took any action
25/2/86 Q. Col 229.

tion in 1985 in regard to the pollution of rivers and streams which flow through Sandton; if so, (a) what action, (b) in respect of which rivers and streams and (c) with what result?

The MINISTER OF WATER AFFAIRS.

Yes (a), (b) and (c) The honourable member is referred to my reply to his question 36 (for written reply) in 1985. The action is being continued and the results have thus far remained unchanged.

Certain assistant manager

226. Mr W V RAW asked the Minister of Transport Affairs.

(1) Whether a certain assistant manager of the South African Transport Services has been acting as regional manager at a major centre, if so, (a) for how long and (b) where,

(2) whether an acting assistant manager has been appointed at this centre; if so, why was a permanent appointment not made?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS.

(1) Yes

- (a) Since 18 February 1985.
- (b) Pretoria

(2) No, as this is only a temporary arrangement.

Political organisations: sympathising with/furthering of aims

227. Mr P A MYBURGH asked the Minister of Defence:

- (1) Whether any members of the South African Defence Force have been (a) arrested for and/or (b) charged with (i) sympathising with or (ii) furthering the aims of any political organisations (aa) which have been banned and/or (bb) whose activities

have been limited by the declaration of the state of emergency; if so, how many in each case;

- (2) whether such members have been tried, if so, what was the (a) charge, (b) verdict and (c) sentence in each case?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE.

(1) No, not as far as could be ascertained. Normally offences of this nature would not be tried before military courts

(2) Falls away

Operational area: persons killed/injured
229 Mr P A MYBURGH asked the Minister of Defence:

Whether he will furnish information on the number of persons killed and injured in the operational area in 1985; if so, (a) how many (i) members of the South African Defence Force and (ii) civilians were killed and injured, respectively, and (b) how many persons were killed and injured, respectively, by members of the South African Defence Force, in the operational area in that year?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE

Yes

- (a) (i) The honourable member is referred to my replies to questions number 936 of 1985 and 167 of 1984

(ii) The SA Defence Force only keeps statistics with regard to deaths and injuries which were the result of Defence Force activities or which had direct bearing on such activities

(b) 680 killed of which 599 were terrorists. The remainder were killed in shooting accidents, motor accidents, crossfire during contact with the enemy, etc.

273 persons were treated for injuries sustained in accidents with SA Defence Force vehicles, shooting accidents, crossfire during contact with the enemy, etc. This included all degrees of injury from slight to serious

Media Council: complaints
272. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Home Affairs

Whether any Government Departments laid complaints before the Media Council in 1985, if so, (a) how many complaints were laid in that year by each Department and (b) with what result in each case?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

Such statistics are not kept by the Department. However, the following information was obtained from the Registrar of the South African Media Council in reply to the hon member's question:

- (a) Four Departments lodged complaints with the South African Media Council.

Department of Justice	Number of Complaints
Department of Justice	3
South African Police	2
Office of the State President	1
South African Defence Force	1

(b) Two of the complaints by the Department of Justice were satisfactory resolved. The third could not be resolved through negotiation and it was agreed that the matter be dropped. One of the complaints by the South African Police was satisfactorily resolved. The other complaint was referred to an investigation which found in favour of the newspaper. The complaint from the Office of the State President was resolved to the satisfaction of the official concerned

By Peter Farley

Further horrendous losses from SA Associated Newspapers are expected to be announced in the next few days when the embattled publishing group releases figures for the 12 months to end-December

But what is likely to cause more speculation is the fact that the announcement will be for an interim period, with the year-end to change to March 31

This will put SAAN in line with the accounting period of its 40 percent shareholder, the Argus Group, and raises expectations that plans for a formal merger could be on the cards

An Argus spokesman denied, however, that this was the case and said that Argus knew of no reason why SAAN would

SAAN deeper in the red?

STAR 20/2/86

be taking this step

The major problems are understood to stem from a drastic worsening of the company's balance sheet, with interest-bearing debt now more than double the R17 million at the end of last year

This suggests that the company's financial position has swung from no debt and cash of R7 million at the end of 1983 to no cash and debt of almost R40 million at the end of 1985

When this is lumped on top of the heavy operat-

ing losses and the closure costs associated with last year's demise of the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Sunday Express*, bottom line losses could easily stretch to more than R15 million for the 12 months — after R7,5 million at the half-way stage

A sale of assets — its Johannesburg head office and three printing presses — has been attempted without success

SAAN management came close to concluding a deal with Afrikaans

rival, *Nasionale Pers*, for the sale of the building, but this fell through late last year. Talks are taking place with a property developer, but if this is achieved it could be a while before SAAN realises the cash

Negotiations to sell one of the presses to one of Mr Rupert Murdoch's Australian papers also fell through, while it is understood that a US newspaper's option to buy a press has also just lapsed

On the trading side this

year, it is understood that the problems have been compounded by the group's "cash cow" the *Sunday Times* running into the red

Much of this has been because the paper was expected to carry the rest of the group on its once broad shoulders, but have also been exacerbated by the colour magazine going into the red

The share price hit a low of 775c last October but has climbed back to 1100c. Few shares are however, traded and more were available it is likely that the price would be at least half its current level

2 charged with taking photos in township

Two photographers who were among about 20 foreign journalists arrested on the outskirts of Alexandra township yesterday, were charged with taking pictures in an emergency area.

This is the first time an official charge has been laid against a member of the foreign press since the media ban.

Miss Wendy Schwegmann from Reuters and Mr Bill Campbell from Time magazine were formally charged but a court date has not yet been set.

Their cameras and films were confiscated and had still not been returned by last night.

They were among several foreign journalists arrested at the Putco bus depot while covering a visit to the township by a delegation of churchmen. The journalists were taken to the Bramley police station but only Miss Schwegmann and Mr Campbell were charged.

The Star was yesterday refused permission by the police to take photographs in the Alexandra area, or to publish any photographs of the Alexandra unrest. A spokesman said any newspapers who contravened this ban would be prosecuted.

The smoke has cleared but Alex still smoulders

By Chris More
There was no smoke coming from burning vehicles or buildings in Alexandra township yesterday, but the fire manifest in the anger of the residents was evident.

More than 35 000 irate residents gathered yesterday in sweltering temperatures on a barren soccer field, the Alexandra Stadium, to air their grievances against the authorities. Two meetings were held in this soccer arena within three hours and the list of grievances and demands was short but to the point.

- Immediate withdrawal of security forces from the township
- Release of all those detained or arrested since Saturday
- Immediate lifting of the state of emergency

At the second meeting, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt Rev Desmond Tutu, put his short list of requests to the massive crowd in a bid to restore calm in the beleaguered township. His requests to residents were that:

- Residents return home in a disciplined manner as soon as the meeting was over

- All workers be allowed to return to work today
- The killing of and attacks on other black people be stopped.

In return the Bishop promised that his delegation, comprising the president of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), Dr Manas Buthelezi, and the secretary of the Methodist Church, Dr Stanley Mogoba, would take the grievances to the highest authorities.

Three men who should have been part of the Bishop's delegation, SACC vice president Dr Alani Boesak, SACC general secretary Dr Beyers Naude and another white official, were refused entry to the township by the police.

A paradox of the Alexandra story is that the one-time hero of the "Save Alexandra Campaign", the Reverend Sam Buti, has suddenly become a villain in the eyes of his former supporters.

After successfully campaigning to save Alexandra, Mr Buti also stood for Mayor. He has now fled the township he saved from the bulldozers and is believed to have taken refuge with a Sandton councillor.

19 deaths: details given in Parliament

Alexandra civic group asks to meet Le Grange

In the early hours of February 15, rioters caused extensive damage to buildings, business premises and vehicles by means of arson and stone-throwing throughout the township. During action to control the situation, shots were fired at the police and their vehicles petrol-bombed. A total of 130 incidents of violence had been reported. Mr Vlok said that of the 37 injured, 27 had sustained gunshot wounds as a result of police action. Another five had been injured by rioters — one had a gunshot wound and four had been stoned. Five policemen had been burned by petrol bombs. Since February 15 increased patrols had been carried out in the township, while yesterday concerted actions by the SA Police and the SA Defence Force were carried out to remove obstacles from roads and search houses in an attempt to arrest suspects.



Minister Louis le Grange

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Alexandra residents have requested an urgent meeting with the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, or his deputy, Mr Adriaan Vlok, in a bid to resolve the tense situation in the township.

A request that a delegation from the civic association in Alexandra be allowed to visit the Minister in Cape Town was made by telephone yesterday.

Progressive Federal Party spokesman on law and order Mrs Helen Suzman said today she hoped Mr le Grange would accede to the request.

The PFP would meanwhile continue to watch the situation closely, she said.

Mr Vlok revealed yesterday in the House of Assembly that by early in the day 19 people had been killed and 37 injured in



Mr Adriaan Vlok

recent unrest in Alexandra. He was answering urgent questions put by Mrs Suzman. Of the 19 dead, 16 died from police gunshot wounds and two from burns caused by rioters.

A policeman died from panga wounds caused by rioters.

Mr Vlok said the unrest had resulted from the death of a black man caused by a night watchman at an Asian shop.

SA violence back on the world's front pages

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South African violence is back on the world's front pages.

The violence in Alexandra over the past four days is major news in the British media today.

Most television news bulletins led with the deaths in the township and it was front-page news in all Fleet Street's serious newspapers.

Much publicity was given to the discrepancy between the official number of 19 deaths and the reports that as many as 80 people may have died.

And it was made very clear that journalists were unable to enter the township to see for themselves what was happening.

Bishop Desmond Tutu was heralded as the peacemaker yesterday — and television reports were swift to remind viewers he was a Nobel Peace Prize winner.

Although none of the British media carried pictures of violence in the township, television and newspapers had visual coverage of the mass meeting in Alexandra, and of uneasy confrontations between rifle-pointing soldiers and unarmed marchers.

A delegation from the South African Council of Churches was banned from entering the township, and journalists were harassed by the police, said ITN's News at Ten.

The Guardian carried four stories on South Africa. One on the trouble at Alexandra, a history of the township, one on unrest at the Lawaalkamp squatter camp near George, and one about the controversy over the taped interview between President P W Botha and Dr van Zyl Slabbert.

Police deny health claims

The South African Police would never interfere with the medical treatment of any patient, a police spokesman in Pretoria has said.

The spokesman was reacting to allegations that security forces disrupted medical services at the Alexandra Health Centre earlier this week by attempting to force staff to hand over confidential patient/doctor information regarding the treatment of unrest victims.

Yesterday, the National Medical and Dental Association (Namda) criticised the alleged "interference of the security forces in the health services".

But the police spokesman confirmed that detectives visited the centre on Monday and questioned personnel "during the normal course of their duties".

Medical authorities complained that, as a result of the visit, unrest victims were too frightened to seek treatment at the centre.

BUS DAY 19/2/76

Reporter appears in court

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BUSINESS DAY Industrial Reporter Alan Peat appeared briefly in the Kempton Park Magistrate's Court yesterday on a charge of trespassing on the property of the Jurgens Group. Peat pleaded not guilty and is free on his own recognisances until his reappearance on March 16.

His appearance arose from a visit Peat made to Jurgens headquarters in Kempton Park on Monday night to interview the managing director. He was arrested there and spent the night in the Kempton Park police cells.

Peat's attorney, Dale Rogers, opposed the prosecutor's suggestion that bail be set at R50, describing the

Business Day Reporter

charge as "ridiculous".

Rogers said: "We have the absurd situation where a respected journalist from a highly respected newspaper is arrested after being asked to come to an appointment with the MD of Jurgens — and is even telephoned by the marketing director to find out whether he knows how to find his way there.

"As a matter of principle, bail should be set at a nominal amount of R1."

Magistrate Hennie le Grange released Peat on his own recognisances.

CNC Times 18/2/86

Press is eyes, ears of common man

Staff Reporter

THE press claimed no greater liberty than that of the ordinary person, the editor of the Cape Times, Mr A H Heard, yesterday told University of Cape Town students starting their orientation week.

"Even the description of it as the Fourth Estate is a bit elevated, for it belongs right among the common people, representing the most humble and ordinary person on earth," Mr Heard said.



Mr Heard addresses students at UCT yesterday.

The strength of the press was that it was the eyes and ears of the common man.

"There should really be no talk of press freedom, for it is not the freedom of the press but the freedom of the individual to open his or her eyes and to speak his or her mind which is at stake.

"If newspaper people are detained, moved off, warned, threatened, fire-bombed, whipped, charged, and so on, it might be quite an ordeal for the individuals concerned, but the essential injury is to the masses of people whose elementary right to know is at stake."

Mr Heard said that down the ages, journalists had risked pressure, fines and imprisonment to convey what was in the minds of other people.

"What has happened to me of late is not in any sense extraordinary, but should be viewed as routine in the annals of independent journalism."

● UCT carried out its ideals of academic freedom by admitting students on the basis of academic merit alone, the acting vice-chancellor, Professor Donald Carr, said yesterday.

Welcoming students in the Jameson Hall at the start of orientation week, Professor Carr said students were admitted regardless of race, creed, sex or any other consideration.

The university was dedicated to scholarship, one result of which was that it was in the forefront of research in the country.

"The degree you will receive here will be bettered by few, if any, universities in the world."

● Parents have been invited to the yellow level of the Students Union at 8pm tonight for short addresses on various aspects of UCT student life.

Pik Botha quashes Mandela rumours

Cape Town 15/2/86

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GENEVA. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday said that long-standing conditions had to be met before the jailed leader of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, could be released or SWA/Namibia could be given independence.

The comments followed several days of newspaper reports in the United States, Europe and South Africa that Mr Mandela's release could be imminent and that Pretoria was about to announce a date for starting a process towards SWA/Namibian independence.

Mr Botha told reporters that Mr. Mandela, 68, must renounce violence as a means of achieving political objectives or two men held in the Soviet Union and Angola must be set free if he were to be released.

He named Soviet dissident Dr Andrei Sakharov, who is in internal exile in the closed city of Gorky, and South African army Captain Wynand du Toit, captured on a sabotage mission in Angola.

During his Rubicon II speech, President P W Botha said he would release Mr Mandela on humanitarian grounds if Dr Sakharov, Captain Du Toit and Soviet dissident Dr Anatoly Shcharansky were set free. Dr Shcharansky was freed in an East-West trade earlier this week.

'Basis for negotiation'

Mr Botha said that if either of the conditions were met "there would be an immediate basis for negotiation" of Mr Mandela's release.

Mr Botha spoke at a press conference after meeting Dutch Foreign Minister Mr Hans van den Broek who is also chairman of the 12-nation European Community's (EC) council of ministers.

Mr Botha also met the president of the International Red Cross, Mr Alexandre Hey, over the question of visits to all South African prisoners and the condition of Captain Du Toit, who was visited on February 5 by an ICRC delegate and a doctor.

He told reporters that South Africa's position was unchanged on implementing United Nations resolution 435.

"The South African Government is ready to implement resolution 435 but we have made clear, and this position is supported by the United States Government, that there must first be an agreement on Cuban withdrawal (from Angola)," he said.

Mr Botha received a cool response from Mr Van den Broek who said that in spite of positive elements in President Botha's reform speech to Parliament on January 31, important subjects had been ignored.

"I referred earlier to the confidence building measures which we consider

to be a prerequisite of furthering the peaceful process in South Africa," Mr Van den Broek said, who cited as examples the release of Mr Mandela and lifting the state of emergency.

Meanwhile in London yesterday the Angolan ambassador to Britain and the United Nations, Mr Eliseo de Figueiredo, said that his government was prepared to enter into negotiations with Pretoria over Captain Du Toit and Angolan and Cuban soldiers held in South Africa.

However, while he emphasized that Angola wished to see Mr Mandela released, there was no question of linking his release to that of Captain Du Toit.

Mr Figueiredo said that the MPLA government in Luanda had not received any approaches from Pretoria concerning a prisoner exchange.

The Release Mandela Committee (RMC) yesterday launched a national campaign against the "harrasment" of Mrs Winnie Mandela.

A hurriedly arranged press conference at the Roman Catholic Church centre in Kagiso near Krugersdorp — after a magistrate's order had banned it from taking place in Alexandra — was attended by leading figures in the UDF and more than 50 local and international journalists.

The conference, organized by the RMC, was attended by Dr Allan Boesak, Dr Beyers Naude, Mrs Helen Joseph, Father Smangeliso Mkatshwa, who are all patrons of the UDF, and representatives of Cosatu, the Black Students Society, the Detainees Parents Support Committee, Jodac, the Port Elizabeth Consumer Boycott Committee, the Soweto Civic Association, the Natal Indian Congress and other organizations.

Repeated denials

Organizers of the press conference said that Mr Mandela did not see him self fitting into any spy swap arrangement and his family did not expect him to be released in the next few days.

In Cape Town in spite of repeated denials by the SA Prisons department that Mr Mandela would be released yesterday, a large contingent of local and foreign journalists, closely monitored through most of the day by a security police vehicle, continued their vigil outside Pollsmoor Prison hoping to get a glimpse of Mr Mandela or to witness his release — Sapa Reuter, Staff Reporter and Own Correspondents

Press cards refused

THREE senior journalists on The SOWETAN have been refused Press identity cards by the South African Police.

The three are Mr Tham Mazwai, News Editor; Mr Joe Thlooe, Features Editor and Mr Sam Mabe, Political Reporter. All three are also executive members of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa.

Without the accredited Police Press Cards, it means that the three may not enter and stay for purposes of their professional work in any area under police control from which the general public is excluded.

Yesterday, The SOWETAN Editor, Mr Joe Latakomo, said he was going to take the matter up with the relevant authorities because he

SOWETAN
Reporter

viewed the police refusal in "the most serious light".

"If I cannot get accreditation for my senior staffers it will obviously impede our ability to keep our readers informed about what goes on in the townships," he said.

Until 1981, there was a uniform Police Press card system for all journalists, which allowed them access to areas under police control and to interview the Commissioner of Police or any senior commissioned officer.

But in August 1981, an agreement was reached between the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) and the police, whereby the NPU was allowed to issue Press cards annually to report-

ers whose integrity could be vouched personally by their editor.

The police would, however, issue accredited Press cards, which would be the only ones that would allow holders access to areas under police control.

Press excluded from SAP probe

14/2/80

2/1/80

(23) (1) (2)

DISPATCH

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The press would not be permitted to sit in on police investigations into complaints against police and community councillors by Fort Beaufort residents

A police spokesman from Pretoria said yesterday the investigation had been on the go since Wednesday, and the end of it depended on the scope of the issues involved

The chairman of the Fort Beaufort Community Council, Mr L Nohashe, yesterday asked the Daily Dispatch to sit in on the inquiry, as he wanted the matter to be public

The spokesman said it was not police procedure to open police investigations to the public, especially if the matters could lead to court action

Three policemen from Pretoria — all of the

rank of captain — are in Fort Beaufort conducting the investigation

They are answerable only to the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police

The Pretoria spokesman said the policemen had met leaders and members of the Fort Beaufort community to discuss certain issues and statements were expected to be taken

New body seen as fraudulent

Cosatu rejects national council

THE 450 000-strong Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) has rejected government's move to establish a national statutory council as a "fraudulent attempt to perpetuate white minority rule".

Speaking at Cosatu's second official Press conference since its November launch, general secretary Jay Naidoo said those who served on the council would be party to the continued domination of most people.

The council is expected to be an advisory body composed of government and homeland representatives, black community leaders and "interest groups".

Naidoo said only the complete and immediate dismantling of apartheid, the release of authentic leaders and the unbanning of affected organisations would create a climate in which a democratic SA could emerge.

He said Gencor's dismissal of 23 000 striking Impala Platinum workers in Bophuthatswana last month showed how the bantustan system had become an agent of government and employers.

Cosatu had asked its 33 affiliates to take steps to ensure these workers were

reinstated and that the National Union of Mineworkers should be allowed to organise in Bophuthatswana, he said.

The matter had been referred to Cosatu regional committees and affiliates would be pursuing an action programme of "intense pressure" on Gencor and mine bosses.

Asked whether Cosatu's threat to call for an anti-pass campaign would materialise, Naidoo said Cosatu was committed to a "campaign to abolish pass laws, influx control and other apartheid laws".

He said these issues were interlinked, and more specific details on the campaign were still being formulated by Cosatu's executive.

Naidoo said President P W Botha's move to replace passes with a uniform identification system was an attempt to avoid the reality that black movement would still be restricted.

Influx control had been institutionalised through the homeland system and the system of labour bureaux for recruiting workers

CLAIRE PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE

● See Page 6

Paper boycott

COSATU yesterday recommended that its 200 000-strong Transvaal membership boycott the *Sowetan* in protest against the newspaper's "biased and essentially anti-Cosatu position".

A Congress of South African Trade Unions statement released after its first national executive meeting last weekend said the central executive committee had resolved that none of its affiliates would have "anything to do with the *Sowetan*".

The steps were taken because Cosatu had received reports from its affiliates and office-bearers alleging the newspaper was biased.

A resolution was passed recommending the strongest possible action, including a boycott.

The committee resolved "to mandate the Transvaal Regional Congress, which represents more than 200 000 paid-up members, to discuss and implement such a recommendation". — Sapa.

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BUS DAY

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9

Newspaper is biased — federation

BOYCOTT SOWETAN UNION C

COSATU yesterday recommended that its Transvaal membership boycott The SOWETAN in protest against the newspaper's "biased and essentially anti-Cosatu position".

A Congress of South African Trade Unionist statement released yesterday after the organisation's first national executive meeting last weekend said the Central Executive Committee (GEC) had resolved none of its affiliates would have "anything to do with The SOWETAN."

The steps were taken because Cosatu received reports from its affiliates and office-bearers alleging The SOWETAN was biased.

A resolution was passed recommending the strongest possible action, including a boycott.

The CEC resolved to mandate the Transvaal regional congress to discuss and implement such

By SOWETAN REPORTER

a recommendation.

In reacting to the statement, Mr Joe Latakomo, Editor of The SOWETAN said:

"We find it impossible to find justification for the threat made on The SOWETAN on the basis of available information.

"As far as we can establish we carried reports — wire copy — on the Harare conference. Subsequently three unions reacted to Mr J Naidoo's statements in Harare, and we reported these factually without any interpretation on our part.

"As we have not had any complaint about that specific report, we can only assume that the report was acceptable to those unions.

"We can only assume that all the information relevant to this will be put to the Transvaal regional conference of Cosatu when the matter is discussed.

"I wish to state that The SOWETAN has always strived to be objective in its reporting, and it would be tragic that we now have to turn against each other over matters that could have been sorted out by a telephone call.

"The SOWETAN is not, repeat not "essentially anti any black organisation. We have stressed the need for a positive, united effort against the forces of apartheid in all forms.

"We will continue to do so, and wish organisations like Cosatu support us in our struggle towards our common goal — freedom for all."

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Media award for chief

MAFIKENG — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelem, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, has been chosen as Newsmaker of the Year by the Pretoria Press Club.

He was chosen for his consistent campaigning against violence and disinvestment, and for his work towards constitutional change, especially in Natal.

The runners-up are Bishop Desmond Tutu and Springbok rugby player Naas Botha. The awards will be presented on March 21. — Sapa.

Sash unveils plan to spread news

DISPATCH
11/2/86
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GRAHAMSTOWN — An aggressive policy to lift the lid off the "news black-out" in South Africa, exacerbated since the state of emergency was declared, was outlined this week at the regional conference of Black Sash here

More than 60 members, including the national president, Mrs Sheena Duncan, were there from Port Elizabeth, East London and Port Alfred, as well as their Grahamstown hosts.

Mrs Louise Vale, of the Grahamstown monitoring committee, said, "We shall have to start becoming journalists"

This followed a plea by Grahamstown's co-

chairman, Mrs Rosemary van Wyk Smith, that Black Sash disseminate more information to other whites to keep them in touch with "what was going on"

The Vale plan starts with compiling community dossiers for all East Cape centres. Large, smaller rural communities and seaside villages

Other points in the plan are

- Dissemination of information through news boards in churches and at other significant points

- Preparing "fact sheets" for dissemination throughout South Africa and overseas.

- Holding a workshop to guide people in col-

lecting information

- Listing all organisations which could be contacted for help for protecting communities or effecting legal action

- Fact sheets for distribution to all embassies, consulates, big business, foreign and local journalists

Mrs Van Wyk Smith said Black Sash (Grahamstown) was now seeking a suitable research officer to collate all the material available

Plans were also revealed by Professor Nancy Charton to set up a crisis centre in Grahamstown similar to that which operates adjacent to Duncan Village, East London.

See also Page 18

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No. R. 183 **31 Januarie 1986****WET OP ARBEIDSVERHOUDINGE, 1956****MEUBELNYWERHEID, NATAL —VERLENGING VAN VOORSORGFONDS-, SIEKTEBYSTANDSGE-NOOTSKAP- EN STERFTBYSTANDSVERENIGING-OOREENKOMS**

Ek, Joel Daniel Fourie, Hoofdirekteur. Mannekrag, be- hoorlik daartoe gemagtig deur die Minister van Mannekrag, verleng hierby, kragtens artikel 48 (4) (a) (i) van die Wet op Arbeidsverhoudinge, 1956, die tydperke vasgestel in Goewermentskennisgewings R. 2619 van 30 November 1984, R. 1443 van 28 Junie 1985 en R. 1675 van 26 Julie 1985, met 'n verdere tydperk wat op 31 Maart 1986 eindig

J. D. FOURIE, Hoofdirekteur. Mannekrag

No. R. 187 **31 Januarie 1986****WET OP ARBEIDSVERHOUDINGE, 1956****MEUBELNYWERHEID, NATAL —VERLENGING VAN HOOFOOREENKOMS**

Ek, Joel Daniel Fourie, Hoofdirekteur. Mannekrag, be- hoorlik daartoe gemagtig deur die Minister van Mannekrag, verleng hierby, kragtens artikel 48 (4) (a) (i) van die Wet op Arbeidsverhoudinge, 1956, die tydperke vasgestel in Goewermentskennisgewings R. 2620 van 30 November 1984 en R. 1444 van 28 Junie 1985, met 'n verdere tydperk wat op 31 Maart 1986 eindig

J. D. FOURIE,
Hoofdirekteur: Mannekrag

No. R. 183 **31 January 1986****LABOUR RELATIONS ACT, 1956****FURNITURE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY, NATAL —EXTENSION OF PROVIDENT FUND, SICK BENEFIT SOCIETY AND MORTALITY BENEFIT ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT**

I, Joel Daniel Fourie, Chief Director Manpower, duly authorised thereto by the Minister of Manpower, hereby, in terms of section 48 (4) (a) (i) of the Labour Relations Act, 1956, extend the periods fixed in Government Notices R. 2619 of 30 November 1984, R. 1443 of 28 June 1985 and R. 1675 of 26 July 1985, by a further period ending 31 March 1986.

J. D. FOURIE, Chief Director Manpower

No. R. 187 **31 January 1986****LABOUR RELATIONS ACT, 1956****FURNITURE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY, NATAL.—EXTENSION OF MAIN AGREEMENT**

I, Joel Daniel Fourie, Chief Director: Manpower, duly authorised thereto by the Minister of Manpower, hereby, in terms of section 48 (4) (a) (i) of the Labour Relations Act, 1956, extend the periods fixed in Government Notices R. 2620 of 30 November 1984 and R. 1444 of 28 June 1985, by a further period ending 31 March 1986.

J. D. FOURIE,
Chief Director: Manpower.

SA to expel CBS newsmen

DISPATCH
243 8/2/83

CAPE TOWN — Three CBS newsmen are to be expelled from South Africa for disregarding a Supreme Court order with "flagrant contempt", the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday.

In a statement in Cape Town, he said the newsmen, including the head of the CBS South African bureau, Mr William Mutschmann, had to leave the country before Tuesday.

Mr Botha said the newsmen had applied for a court order allowing them to film the funeral of unrest victims in Alexandra township on Tuesday this week, but the application was turned down.

"In spite of this, CBS obtained footage of the funeral and televised it on its network. This action, in my judgment, is in flagrant contempt of a South African court decision."

He said his attention had been drawn to the attitude of a senior executive newsmen of CBS towards television coverage, as reported in the Washington Post of March 1.

"From the report I conclude that CBS is determined to disobey the South African laws in order to obtain film material which according to our experience is often one-sided and gives a poor image of conditions in the country."

"In my opinion this is a breaking of accepted

professional ethics."

He said it was obvious therefore that representatives of CBS would in future only be allowed in South Africa if they abided by the rules of the country.

Mr Botha said he regretted that he had to take the decision against the three CBS men but had been obliged to do so in the public interest.

He ordered that Mr Mutschmann's temporary work permit be withdrawn and cameramen Mr Allan Pizzey and Mr Willem de Vos be removed from the country.

All three people have been ordered to leave the Republic before midday on Tuesday.

In an interview with Sapa, Mr Mutschmann said he and legal representatives for the company would "probably be talking to Mr Botha on Monday".

In Johannesburg, the Southern African Foreign Correspondents Association said the announced expulsions were punitive "with few precedents in Africa and the West".

"The government sees fit to expel television journalists who have chosen to obey the demands of their profession and their consciences by resisting censorship and reporting the South African story to the world," a spokesman for the association said in a statement — Sapa.

FIN MAIL 7/2/86 (243)

IN MY
OPINION

Political ads are anathema

Len van Zyl is chief executive of Lindsay Smithers.

The fashion of using the techniques and procedures of product advertising to "market" political statements has apparently arrived in SA. This is a phenomenon which has been in general use in the US for some decades; and has also occurred in the UK in the last few years.

As an enthusiastic protagonist of free enterprise, I dare not deny my competitive colleagues the right to make some money out of this activity. But, for myself, I am deeply saddened by this misplaced encroachment by politics on the advertising profession. One of the players in this ballgame is undoubtedly going to lose — and I am afraid it will be advertising that will come off second best, with its credibility taking a severe beating.

Advertising constitutes a contract between a seller of a product or service and a prospective buyer or customer. The seller gives information in as persuasive a way as possible, then invites the prospective consumer to buy the product. If the seller misleads the prospective buyer, or misrepresents the product in any way, the customer has an all-powerful retaliatory weapon: refusal to repurchase. (A well-known dictum in the advertising business states: "Advertising can sell a product that does not fulfil its promise only once and never again.")

Furthermore, the higher the price of the product advertised, the more definite and serious is the customer's safeguard of retali-

ation if the product does not perform. If the purchase involves an expensive appliance or a motor car, it is usually accompanied by some form of guarantee which will force the seller to make good the performance promises. At worst, the buyer can sue to be refunded the price paid, or to force the seller to deliver the required performance.

In addition, in sophisticated countries there are organisations which ensure that advertisers behave in an exemplary way towards their prospective consumers. Examples here are the Advertising Standards Authority (ASA) in SA and the UK, and the Federal Trade Commission in the US. These bodies have strict rules which, in the case of the ASA in SA, require that all advertising should be honest, truthful, decent and should not bring the advertising business into disrepute. If a member of the public should feel that an advertisement was either misleading, deceitful, untruthful or in bad taste, complaints can be made to the ASA which then requires the advertiser to substantiate the claims made and to rectify any misdemeanours.

Now let us look at political statements, promises or advertisements.

The politician wants to persuade his public towards his point of view and the public must signify its acceptance by voting for the politician or his party. If sufficient numbers vote for a particular party, it receives the power and authority to rule over the voters — for five years!

With the stakes as high as this, the temp-

tation to "play with words" is often too strong for politicians to resist. The voter has absolutely no power of retribution for five years. He cannot insist that the politician delivers what he promised, nor that the politician retract misleading statements; and he certainly cannot take any action to rectify any personal loss that he may suffer through actions taken by the politician in power. And let me emphasise that I do not suggest that one political party is more guilty than another in the ways in which it "influences" the public to capture its votes.

Advertising is a tool of the free enterprise system. It facilitates choice and encourages competition. Politics, on the other hand, effectively removes choice and competition until the next election.

Politics certainly has its place in society. But politicians have other opportunities and facilities for communicating with their public — editorial columns in newspapers, public meetings, radio and television appearances and propaganda commentaries, face-to-face canvassing, pamphlets and so on. These are the legitimate communication channels available to politicians.

Advertising is the domain of the marketing community and, I believe, should remain so. But then, I also happen to believe that ministers of the Church should use their particular communicative skills to preach the gospel and not to transgress onto the terrain of the politicians... so perhaps it is naïve to expect that all cobblers should stick to their lasts.

Ex-deputy mayor on murder charge



FRED Mohajane.

WOMAN WAS SJAMBOKKED

SULEMA
6/10/85
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MR FREDDIE Mohajane, former deputy mayor of Dobsonville, pleaded not guilty to a charge of murder when he appeared before Mr J J Muller in the Orlando Magistrate's Court yesterday.

SOWETAN REPORTER

Mr Mohajane, of Dobsonville, is accused of murdering Mrs Lydia Marite, a former staffer of the banned *Post* newspaper and former member of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa), in June last year.

Miss Margaret Badirwang, who worked as a domestic for Mrs Marite, told the court that Mr Mohajane and Mrs Marite had been staying together before she died.

Mr J B Gresse, who represented Mr Mohajane, told the court that his client would admit assaulting Mrs Marite with a sjambok on June 1 last year, but did not think that could have caused her death several days later.

She said Mrs Marite was assaulted with a sjambok after she had appealed to him not to continue beating up her daughter, Leah.

He also submitted that both Mr Mohajane and Mrs Marite were under the influence of liquor on that day.

"Mr Mohajane beat her several times in the body until she fell down. She asked to be forgiven, but he dragged her into the bedroom. The following morning her legs were swollen. She complained of a headache a few days later," Miss Badirwang said.

An eight-year-old State witness, who cannot be identified because of her age, said she saw Mrs Marite fall down as Mr Mohajane was continuously beating her up with a sjambok.

"She woke up after that and went to the bedroom where Mr Mohajane hit her with the back of a gun. She complained of a headache the following day," she said.

Earlier, Dr Herma Rabie, who conducted the post mortem at Diepkloof mortuary, told the court that Mrs Marite had multiple head and body injuries and that she died as a result of excessive bleeding in her head.

The case has been postponed to March 4 for judgment.

CAIT TIPS 1/2/86

Slovo determined to get R80 750

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON — Joe Slovo, deputy commander of the banned ANC's military wing, is determined to extract a libel award of R80 750 (£25 000) from the Argus Printing and Publishing company of South Africa, his solicitors in London said on Thursday.

A judge awarded the damages to Mr Slovo in the High Court here on Wednesday when the Argus group failed to appear in court to defend the libel action.

Mr Slovo, often described as the most wanted man in South Africa, has now instructed solicitors to pursue all means of obtaining the R80 750.

"Our instructions are that all means of enforcing the judgment must be pursued in South Africa and Britain," said a spokesman for the legal firm representing Mr Slovo.

He said that could involve an investigation of

any Argus assets in Britain.

They had been instructed to secure the damages and place the money in the Ruth First Trust, established by Mr Slovo in memory of his murdered wife, to aid ANC and other South African exiles.

In Wednesday's action Mr Justice Tucker said an allegation in the Star of Johannesburg in July 1984 that Mr Slovo was a wanted terrorist and KGB colonel who may have assassinated his own wife, Ruth First, by letter bomb in 1982, was "an appalling libel".

Determining damages, the judge said he bore in mind the conduct of Argus newspapers in failing to appear in court.

Mr Justice Tucker said he was satisfied on evidence that Mr Slovo played no part in the murder of his wife and should be compensated for the allegation, which the publishers had made no attempt to support.

CAR TINTS

3/1/86

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Star 245

won't pay Slovo

JOHANNESBURG — The editor of The Star newspaper has responded to the finding by a British High Court that The Star was guilty of "appalling libel" against African National Congress executive member Mr Joe Slovo and should pay him damages of £25 000 (about R80 000)

The Star does not intend to pay.

Mr Harvey Tyson said yesterday. "Our legal advice was that we should not submit to the jurisdiction of the English courts, and for that reason we did not oppose the proceedings"

Mr Slovo sued The Star over an article printed in July 1984 which linked Mr Slovo to the murder of his wife, Ms Ruth First, by a letter-bomb in Maputo

The Star article, under the heading "Who killed Ruth First?", repeated allegations that Mr Slovo was a KGB colonel who might have organized the murder

"We recognized a long time ago that we had erred, and failed to meet our own code of standards, but our difficulty in making a retraction was that we did not wish to repeat the libel," Mr Tyson said

'Offer'

"Our retraction stated that we wished to withdraw any allegations against any individual, but that what would remain on the record was the accusation that the KGB murdered Ruth First.

Jan

"The motives given were that she was a Trotskyist ideologist who disagreed with Marxism"

Mr Tyson said The Star had offered to pay Mr Slovo damages and legal costs and to publish "an agreed apology" in newspapers in Britain, Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe. The offer was rejected

"In the event, and as our side of the case was not presented in court, we do not intend to pay

"But we do indeed retract all the allegations published about him and apologize again"

● Mr Slovo is a "listed person" and it is illegal to quote him in South Africa — Sapa

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Paper won't face charges

CAPE TOWN — The Attorney-General of the Western Cape has declined to prosecute the *Cape Times* newspaper for a possible contravention of the Police Act following a report on the firing of a teargas canister into the yard of the late human rights campaigner, Mr Brian Bishop, the Attorney-General's office confirmed yesterday.

The Section 27b investigation began after the *Cape Times* quoted Mr Bishop on October 9 1985 as saying that paint on a teargas canister retrieved from his yard after a cloud of teargas drifted into his home was "the colour of the official police issue" — Sapa

Cape Times not to be prosecuted

Staff Reporter

CAPE TIMES 30/1/86
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THE Attorney-General of the Western Cape has declined to prosecute the Cape Times for a possible contravention of the Police Act following a report on the firing of a teargas canister into the yard of the late human rights campaigner, Mr Brian Bishop, in October last year

This was confirmed by a senior spokesman for the Attorney-General's office yesterday

The Section 27b investigation began after the Cape Times quoted Mr Bishop on October 9 as saying that paint on a teargas canister retrieved from his yard after a cloud of teargas drifted into his home was "the colour of the official police issue"

Under Section 27b of the Police Act, the onus is on a newspaper to take "reasonable steps" to establish the truth of reports concerning the police

The teargas attack came just over a month after a car belonging to Mr Bishop's wife, Mrs Di Bishop, was set alight and its tyres slashed

On Wednesday last week a senior CID officer visited the Editor of the Cape Times, Mr Anthony Heard, and informed him that a possible Section 27b contravention was being investigated. He said tests had proved the canister was not police issue

It was later established that teargas canisters are commercially available to the private sector in South Africa, providing a permit has been issued by the Minister of Law and Order

No arrests have yet been made either in connection with the attacks on the Bishop home or in connection with six other attacks on the homes of community and church leaders opposed to the government during October/November last year

Captain Jan Calitz, a police liaison officer, said investigations were "continuing"



● SLOVO

Slovo wins case

30/1/86

BUD DAY
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Own Correspondent

LONDON — African National Congress activist Joe Slovo won £25 000 libel damages in the High Court in London yesterday over allegations linking him to the killing of his wife, Ruth First.

The 59-year-old former SA Supreme Court barrister, who now lives in North London, might never see a penny of the award because the Johannesburg *Star* refused to recognise the English court action.

In the *Star's* absence, Mr Justice Tucker said the newspaper was guilty of an "appalling libel" and must compensate Slovo for

the damage to his reputation and the hurt caused.

The article in July, 1984, under the heading: Who killed Ruth First?, repeated allegations that Slovo was a wanted terrorist and KGB colonel who might have organised the assassination of his wife by letter-bomb in 1982.

Slovo hotly denied the allegations but was not allowed to answer them in SA because, as a banned person, he may not be quoted.

Journalist barred from Kaokoland

STAR 28/1/86 243
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — South African journalist Mr Tony Weaver and photographer Ms Elizabeth Fish have been refused permission by the South West Africa Police to visit a remote corner of the country.

Mr Weaver — a reporter for the *Cape Times* — was on assignment in Namibia to cover the trial of a senior nature conservationist on poaching charges and to do an in-depth study of the problems of poaching in the Kaokoland area.

Formerly Windhoek bureau chief for South African Associated Newspapers, Mr Weaver was known to have annoyed the authorities here for his probing of alleged Security Force atrocities and brutalities, particularly those supposedly carried out by "Koevoet".

Colonel Hennie Odendaal, the officer in charge of issuing permits for restricted zones such as Kaokoland, confirmed that Mr Weaver and Ms Fish had been refused permits.

He said the police were not obliged to provide reasons for turning down permit applications.

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2 Cape Times, Friday, January 17, 1986

New newspaper launched on Rand

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A new bi-monthly newspaper, the New Nation, hit the streets yesterday.

The paper was published after market research by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

In a story on the birth of the paper it said that it had required five years of work to fulfil the recommendation from members of the church to establish a paper.

"The launch of The New Nation could not have been better timed. Our country is facing a crisis that history has never seen.

'Help us reflect reality'

"Every day South Africans suffer under an evil system, the jails are full and our leaders are silenced. But this reality is not seen or understood in the pages of the commercial press.

"... The making of a new nation exists in the heart of this angry country. We hope to reflect that reality. Help us."

The paper is on sale every second Thursday. Vendors said yesterday that it was selling well.

The first edition carried headlines such as "The Workers are winning", "Prisoner Without a Cell" (about Mrs Winnie Mandela) and "Battle with no Borders".

In a leading article the editor, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, wrote: "In all periods of history, there comes a time when the autocratic has to give way to the democratic, when the unpopular has to give way to the popular, and when the old has to give way to the new."

Police arrest reporter

CAPE TOWN - A Cape Times reporter, Ebrahim Moosa, was arrested outside a school in Athlone yesterday while he was covering the reopening of coloured schools, the paper's news editor said

Jane Arbous said Moosa, who was later released, was arrested when police asked Visnews TV representatives Jimi Matthews and Rashid Lombaard to leave the area.

14/1/86 STP
A Cape Times driver, who was also held outside the school, was released later as well

Moosa will appear in court today

A police spokesman said Moosa would be charged with contravening the provisions of "an order regarding the control of school boycotts". The order had been issued under the emergency regulations.

He also said that Moosa "was not detained". — Sapa

Cape Times reporter arrested, charged

By BARRY STREEK

CAPE TIMES political reporter Ebrahim Moosa was charged and released by the police six hours after his arrest outside a school in Athlone yesterday morning

His release came shortly after the newspaper had instructed lawyers to bring an urgent court interdict to free him

Mr Moosa, 28, was arrested yesterday morning with a Cape Times driver, Mr Chris Fischer, as he left the grounds of the Alexander Sinton High School in Athlone

He had been assigned to report on the first day of school for coloured pupils in the Peninsula and had gone into the parking area at Alexander Sinton, where all was quiet, to find a colleague

Shortly before his release yesterday afternoon Mr Moosa was served with a summons in terms of which he is to be charged with contravening the emergency regulations

He was freed on his own recognizances and will appear in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court this morning

Mr Fischer was re-



Ebrahim Moosa

leased earlier from the Lansdowne police station after being held for three hours

He said he had been given a "stern warning" not to enter school premises again

Both men's fingerprints were taken

Mr Moosa said he was given a medical examination and his home had been thoroughly searched. The police had taken about ten cassettes, including music cassettes, and some literature, mostly publications by extra-parliamentary organizations

He said police told him after the medical examination that he would be sent to Victor Verster Prison near Paarl where he would be

detained under the emergency regulations

Two books which he had been reading — "Islam and Revolution" by Ayatollah Imam Khomeini and "Similarities of Monotheism in Africa" — were confiscated

A police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Captain Jan Calitz, said yesterday Mr Moosa would be charged with contravening the provisions of "an order regarding the control of school boycotts"

The order had been issued under the emergency regulations, he said

The police yesterday morning requested a two-man Visnews television team to accompany them to the Athlone police station when they were found covering the opening of coloured schools

Captain Calitz yesterday confirmed that police in Athlone had asked two men, Mr Rashid Lombard and Mr Jimmy Matthews, to accompany them to the Athlone police station

He said they had done so and had been requested to leave the area after their presence there had been clarified

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Journalist sues Minister after 'vigilante assault'

By Inga Molzen

A journalist from a Johannesburg weekly newspaper, Mr Anton Harber, claimed R5 000 in a Johannesburg civil court yesterday from the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange

The claim stems from alleged assaults on Mr Harber, the news editor of *The Weekly Mail*, after vigilantes at a polling station in Lenasia in August 1984 allegedly attacked him in the presence of policemen.

Mr Harber (27), a political reporter on *The Rand Daily Mail* at the time, said nothing prevented the police from seeing what was happening to him and other journalists covering the election to the House of Delegates

"In fact, the police associated themselves with the assault as far as my colleague, Mr Gary van Staden, a political reporter on *The Star*, was concerned," he said.

Mr Harber is claiming damages for shock, humiliation and pain suffered as a result of the incident. "I feel my professional dignity was harmed."

He told the court he was assaulted again in the parking area after backing away from the scene. Finally, a political candidate came to his assistance.

On the same day, a doctor dressed an open wound on Mr Harber's leg and gave him painkillers for bruises and weals on his back, shoulders, arms and abdomen.

Mr Francois Joubert, appearing for the Minister of Law and Order, submitted that Mr Harber had to prove that Mr Louis le Grange was liable because of certain alleged omissions of policemen on duty that day

The court adjourned for an inspection *in loco* in Lenasia, and the viewing of videos at the Protea Police Station and the TV studios of the American National Broadcasting Company.

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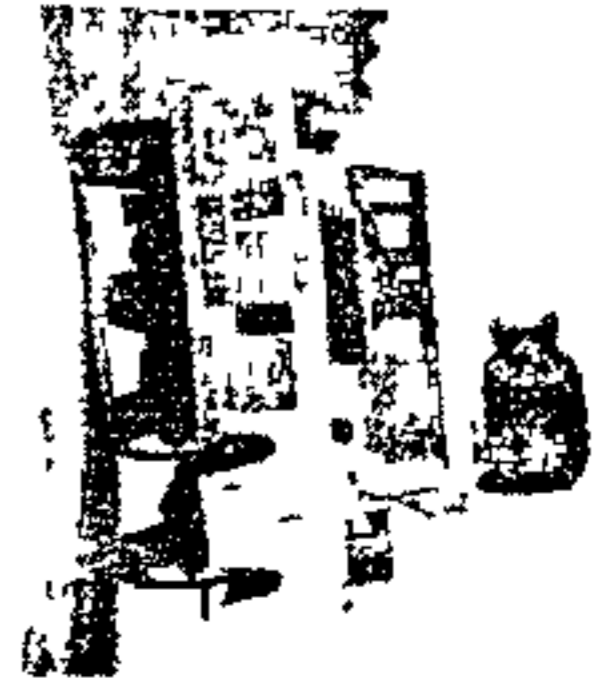
STAR

5/11/86

ZAA

Pretoria's tactics to keep unrest off the front page seems to be working

Media interest in SA wanes



UNITED STATES The consensus among network and print sources questioned in New York is that the restrictions affect TV more than print media, but that the story is still seen as significant and is well covered

All the sources said they were stressing South African coverage as much as before the restrictions were imposed. But they differed on whether the public's interest was waning.

Network sources said they preferred to avoid file footage. CBS foreign news and operations vice president Mr. David Bakbaum said if they could not show the story, they could still tell it. "We just have a correspondent stand up against a tree and tell it," he said, adding that he felt interest was still strong.

At NBC, foreign news general manager Mr. Jerry Lamproch said they tried to prepare more news features and background pieces so that if they could not get footage of daily violence, the presenter could report the latest unrest and "that hard lead is used to get into the background piece."

He also said that despite restrictions, United States TV can do more reporting in South Africa than in many other places in Africa and the Middle East.

At the 24-hour news station, Cable News Network (CNN), executive vice-president Mr. Ted Turner said CNN got much of its film from Washington and tried to flesh out the story with comments from diplomats, expert observers and others. He thought public interest in South Africa had slumped.

He said "The ban has had an effect to the benefit of the South African government. It is clear the ban has worked."

New York Times deputy foreign editor Mr. John Darton said "You see fewer dramatic pictures in the paper but when one is used it is striking."

But he said pictures did not determine how a story was played and he believed the public was still interested.

BRITAIN Journalists said the clampdown had led to the South Africa story moving off front pages.

"The temptation in the Press, is and always has been that if you



South Africa's clampdown on media coverage of the unrest has helped keep daily images of strife off TV screens around the world — but the story is still being told. However, newsmen in Western countries appear divided on exactly how the coverage of the curfew in South Africa has been affected by Pretoria's restrictions, brought in last November. The measures against the media included the banning of TV crews and photographers from covering unrest in areas under emergency rule, except with police permission. Ten weeks after the restrictions were imposed, Reuter correspondents report on how Western media view their impact on the South Africa story.



don't have the pictures, you downgrade the story," the BBC's news editor, Mr. Alan Protheroe, said.

He said restrictions on broadcast news have made it harder to fully cover events in South Africa. "In TV, our job is to take the picture, record the sound. We have to be out there. We have to show the violence. We have to be on the front line," he said.

The *Guardian* said its reporters were more deskbound now and coverage had become more passive, with more reliance on police and official sources.

"The South African government is winning," assistant foreign editor Mr. Nicholas Dalman said. "The quality of coverage has gone down. By clamping down on the Press, it's made it hard to do any kind of good investigatory journalism."

AUSTRALIA, *The Sydney Morning Herald's* foreign news editor, Mr. Girish Kumar, said the restrictions meant its correspondent had an undue dependence on official versions and local newspaper reports of incidents.

"He has to depend on what the official version of it is and what the local papers would be reporting," he said.

ABC acting news programme editor Mr. Neil Ross said the impact of some South African stories made up for the lack of graphic footage.

"It is a hindrance but it's not making us reduce its prominence at the moment," Mr. Ross said.

WEST GERMANY Media in West Germany say they are continuing to give prominent treatment to South Africa. ARD, one of the two main TV channels, said its coverage had decreased since the curbs, but the restrictions had not removed the disturbances from the public eye.

"Our reporting of South Africa has not suffered other than visually," ARD foreign news editor Mr. Peter Sedat said.

ARD and rival channel, ZDF, said absence of film of disturbances from restricted areas meant relying more on written reports and film of events such as protest rallies elsewhere to reflect the climate of unrest.

ZDF TV news director Mr. Karl-Helmut Bolle said "We are trying to report what is happening as fully as we can. We have used every justified means to maintain coverage."

Newspapers say their coverage has not suffered from the curbs and that the availability of photographs to highlight a report is not a factor in determining its priority.

Die Welt said they did not feel affected by the measures as "our reports are more of an analytical and background nature".

FRANCE The French media devoted a great deal of space to

South Africa until the curbs in November. Since then, TV coverage has been considerably reduced.

Antenne-2 foreign editor Mr. Edouard Lor said "We have sharply reduced our coverage since the restrictions. Now we get from local TV what is convenient for the (South African) Government, such as tribal feuds."

Le Monde's deputy editor Mr. Paul-Jean Franceschini said coverage had not been affected by the restrictions on TV networks.

He said "We have neither reduced nor increased our stories on South Africa. But it is fair to admit that the overall cover of South Africa by the French media has been less dramatic and therefore less damaging to the Pretoria authorities."

NETHERLANDS Newsmen said the restrictions had reduced the impact of day-to-day coverage although TV and the Press were still reporting developments as fully as possible.

NRC Handelsblad joint foreign editor Mr. Nicolas Klein said "One picture can often tell more than a whole page of print. But from South Africa, we cannot get everything we want."

Others agreed, but doubted whether the public's interest in South Africa was waning as a result. Historical, cultural and language links have led the Dutch to follow South African events closely.

DENMARK Danish TV current affairs head Mr. Lasse Jensen said "We have not quite felt the consequences yet of the South African decision. We still have a flow of pictures coming in from there."

Information's co-foreign editor Mr. Lars Moeller-Rasmussen said "It has not had any effect at all. I think there has been a slight drop in South Africa coverage during the past month simply because the story goes on and on."

SWEDEN Journalists said the restrictions had made a significant difference to their coverage of South Africa.

"Pictures are our basic working material so of course the ban has affected us," Rapport TV foreign editor Mr. Olle Stenholm said.

While *Dagens Nyheter's* foreign editor Mr. Bengt Albons said "The story had already begun to move down page before the ban as we had become used to daily reports of the violence." — Reuter

Mwasa's move to seek recognition at city Press

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SOWETAN 15/1/86

THE Media Workers' Association of South Africa is to ask other trade unions, community organisations and members of the public to help in its fight to gain recognition at City Press and Drum magazine.

The decision was taken at a national council meeting of Mwasa held in Johannesburg. A resolution was passed concerning the relationship between Nasionale Pers and Mwasa.

Nasionale Pers owns City Press and Drum True Love magazine, another publication, is also affected in this confrontation.

Mr Tobie Boschoff, manager of Drum Publi-

cations, would not comment on the resolutions. He told Sapa that his company's legal advisers said the matter was subjective because a dispute had already been submitted to the Industrial Court.

Mwasa's regional chairman Mr Sam Mabe yesterday said the dispute submitted to the Industrial Court involved dismissed Mwasa members and had nothing to do with the resolution concerning recognition.

In the resolution, Mwasa said City Press professed to be defending the rights of black people, while at the same time it denied its

own black employees the right to belong to trade unions.

Mwasa also accused the company of formally closing all lines of communication with it.

Unfair

Asked if the help that Mwasa would seek from other unions, community organisations and members of the public would include a consumer boycott, Mr Mabe said it would be left up to the individuals and organisations approached to decide what course of action to take.

"We will only give a background of the relationship between this company and

Mwasa, and of our attempts to get management there to come to the conference table to negotiate a recognition agreement.

"We believe the time has come for the general readership of these publications to know that while these publications are the first to scream about unfair treatment of workers elsewhere, they are equally guilty of similar unfair labour practices.

"But the organisations we are going to approach will decide on their own what action to take to persuade management of this company to negotiate with us," Mr Mabe said.

supernatural... They argued with the... and finger-wagging... circles that the recent fatalities caused by ANC landmine blasts... It is widely accepted in diplomatic circles that the recent fatalities caused by ANC landmine blasts... It is widely accepted in diplomatic circles that the recent fatalities caused by ANC landmine blasts... It is widely accepted in diplomatic circles that the recent fatalities caused by ANC landmine blasts...

Mini small-mining boom in SWA

WINDHOEK — The weak rand has caused a mini boom in small mining in SWA

Atlas Copco SWA managing director Peter Edmunds said his company, which specialises in compression air and mining equipment, had received a number of requests in the past six months for small compressors and petrol-driven rock drills

"The inquiries came from the ordinary man who wants to sell his

NOEL BRUYNS

farm, for instance, to begin prospecting," he said.

This was because minerals were fetching lucrative prices overseas because of the rand-dollar exchange rate

Edmunds said there was "a whole array" of minerals and semi-precious stones in the Namib desert and elsewhere in SWA

Next month the company is

holding a two-day symposium on small mining, after receiving numerous inquiries on drilling and rockbreaking techniques

Topics to be covered include claims procedures, prospecting, exploration and evaluation, underground mining methods, drilling and surface mining, SWA mining law, sampling, assaying and concentration, mineral processing techniques, and marketing of minerals

Farm exports could reap R2,5bn

SOUTH AFRICAN agricultural exports could earn a record R2,5bn this year, depending on the weather and the rand-dollar exchange rate, SA Agricultural Union economist Koos du Toit has estimated.

The weather and the rand-dollar exchange rate, he said, would be important contributory factors in pulling the economy out of recession

Export earnings in 1980, 1981,

GERALD REILLY

1982 and 1983 averaged slightly more than R2bn.

In 1984 they fell to R1,8bn and the figure for last year was R2,2bn.

However, if the rand continued to appreciate against the dollar and other currencies, the R2,5bn estimate would have to be revised.

The season for summer grain farmers had started well, and a 10-

million ton-crop was a possibility.

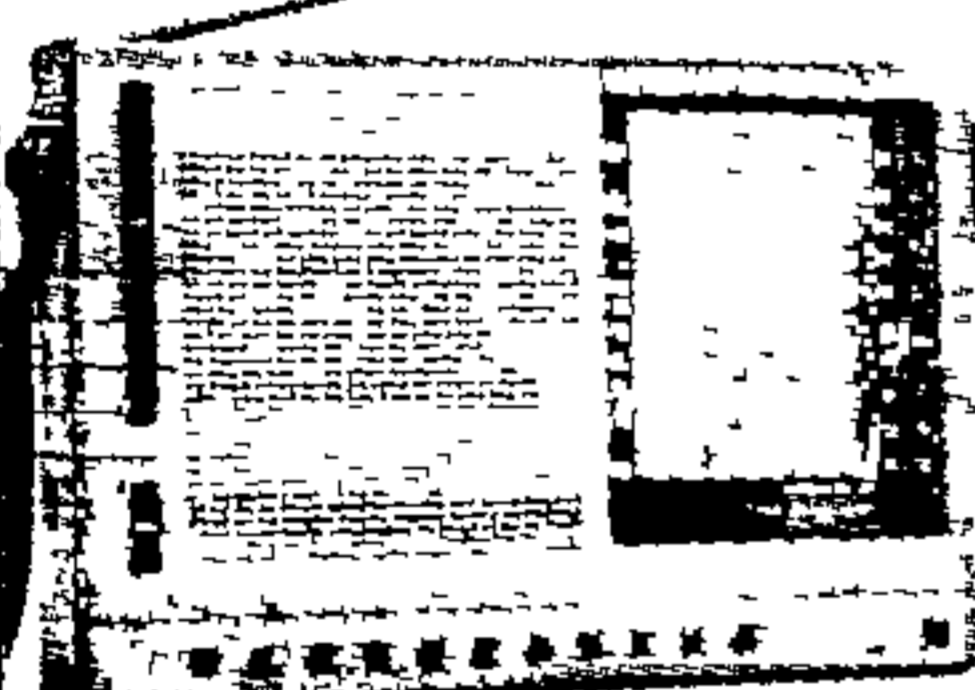
This would leave an exportable surplus of at least 3-million tons, which could earn up to R800m

But even if the rand dropped to 35 US cents, maize would still sell at a loss.

The major reasons for an expected maize export loss, Du Toit said, were escalating production costs, a heavily over-supplied world market and a price slump

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Journalist acquitted

PIPPA GREEN, an Argus journalist charged with contravening the Gatherings and Demonstrations Act, was acquitted in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court yesterday

Green was arrested on November 7 outside The Argus building in St George's Street, while holding a placard saying "Blackout. Journalists protest"

Magistrate M J Tolken said Green went out to protest after 12 of her colleagues had picketed. Evidence was that police were aware of the protest.

As far as she was concerned, her actions could not have been unlawful because the others had not been arrested

Green had consulted legal advisers, who told her the law was not clear as to whether the picket would be legal or not. — Sapa.

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Nigel Bruce Newsbills by Neil Jacobson
Headlines and sub-editing by
John Main

Journalist acquitted

14/11/86

Own Correspondent

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STAR

CAPE TOWN — *Argus* journalist Ms Pippa Green, charged with contravening the Gatherings and Demonstrations Act, was acquitted in the Magistrate's Court here yesterday

She was arrested on November 7 outside the *Argus* building in St George's Street while holding a placard saying "Blackout Journalists protest"

The magistrate, Mr M J Tolken, said that at the stage Ms Green went out

to protest, 12 of her colleagues had already picketed. Evidence was that police were aware of the protest

As others before her had not been arrested, her actions, as far as she was concerned, were not unlawful

Mr Tolken found that Ms Green had intended to demonstrate. She had consulted her legal advisers before the picket. However they advised her the law was unclear whether the picket would be illegal or not, Mr Tolken said

Change of heart needed



2143



The Black Press

by Barry Streak



THE CRISIS in black education would not go away unless the Government had a radical change of heart, the Sowetan said in a leader-page article.

But in an editorial it warned that although the decision in the education crisis at the University of Witwatersrand that children should go back to school would be welcomed by parents, the tone of the conference 'for reasons that are perfectly understandable, was somewhat confrontational'

'We would have thought that all those intelligent people who attended the conference have a knowledge of this government's scintillating response to confrontation

'We would have thought most of us are aware that the ruling people will rather destroy themselves, and us, than be seen to be bowing to justifiable demands from blacks,' the Sowetan said

□ □ □

THE Cape Herald said 'fewer than half of the eligible pupils may have passed in one of the worst coloured Senior Certificate results ever' and that these results had been described by educationists as 'a tragedy' and 'very disappointing'

In an editorial it explained why it had refused to publish the coloured Senior Certificate results, itself a significant decision for a paper with predominantly black readership

'Some, fearing victimisation, suggest that publishing pupils' names could make things worse. But we say this is rubbish. That is the same sort of logic behind banning newsmen from so-called areas of unrest

'Those who have written exams cannot wish it away. It would make little difference if the names were published or not

'But whatever the rights and wrongs of actually taking part in the exams there are certain indisputable facts

'Fact Number 1 Class boycotts made a joke of schooling in 1985

'Fact Number 2 Pupils were writing end-of-year exams without having done the necessary work

'Fact Number 3 Exams were taking place with armed police and troops standing by

'Fact Number 4 Many teachers — and pupils — were and still are in detention

'Exams are ideally supposed to be a test not only of knowledge but of understanding. In a way they prove the candidate's worth

'What exactly did the 1985 Senior Certificate exams prove?' the Cape Herald asked

□ □ □

THE Sowetan felt the demands of the people in regard to schooling were 'totally justifiable'. 'On the other hand the Government, even if it did wish to meet some of these, is caught in a trap of its own making — a tough, almost authoritarian, disregard for the voices of those who are, or seem to be, helpless

'That being the case we believe, because they are ruling the country, it is in the interests of all of us for the Government to take some courageous and bold decisions

'These should not be a reversal (sic) to the stock stiffening of verkramppte backs. There is too much at stake

'We cannot afford to have violence and mayhem increase in the next year because we simply do not have the money to sustain that. We cannot afford to have so many black children out of school. That is the fastest route to trouble and even disaster

'It is in the final analysis the business of government, not the people, to bring back stability. The people will do whatever is in their minds if they feel the Government is not addressing itself to problems that are so clear to them

'Once again, too, black people cannot seem to avoid the temptation of scoring party or ideological mileage out of something that should transcend this

'The crisis committee that we had put our faith in should not be used to split the people

'It is such a petty and silly political ploy for people to get all the way to Wits University — we also wonder why a black crisis should be solved at a white university, but let that pass — to beat political drums that must surely have their place elsewhere

'We would have loved to see this conference as representative, but we are afraid that some sectors of the community are not too happy with it. That is

the way to black division and weakness,' the Sowetan said

□ □ □

NINETEEN-EIGHTY-FIVE had been a year of trial and anguish for the entire South African nation but, Ilanga said, one did not have to be a prophet about 1986 to 'point out that there can be little hope of political stability if the Government fails to do the fundamental things, namely the inclusion of blacks in Parliament and doing away with the obnoxious discriminatory laws which are the root cause of black grievances

'There can also be no hope of an economic upswing if the Government does not do away with apartheid, which has made this country a polecat of the international community

'Very few people will deny that the South African situation is a complex one but in order to build a stable and peaceful nation, the new year will need men of vision who will have to work hard to bring a new order in the country,' Ilanga said

□ □ □

THE Sowetan regretted that 1985 went out with a 'bloody bang' that typified events during the year

After referring to the landmine deaths in the Northern Transvaal, the shopping-centre blast in Amamzitoti, the 'crazy' killings in Lesotho and the 'extraordinary fight between tribal factions in Natal, it said 'The truth is that the modern person, in a rather cowardly fashion, believes it is easier to dispatch those he disagrees with through the barrel of a gun

'We can obviously not throw our hands up in despair. The reason is that there have been Dark Ages throughout history and man has managed to come through them, if not much wiser then perhaps better equipped to deal with the streak of irrationality that makes up our united personality

'In other words, while it would be obviously futile to speak of a better year ahead we can hang on to hope. We can believe that there is light at the end of the tunnel. We can tell ourselves, with a certain resignation, that we will perhaps never live in peace with one another but that the cycle of such fierce violence must be broken at some point

'We hope 1986 will be the point at which the cycle takes a turn to the better,' the Sowetan said

PRESS - 1986

JUNE - AUG. →

Coverage of the news in South Africa has become booby-trapped by a maze of Press laws which add to the problems confronted by the newspaper industry. Daily newspapers also have a new competitor — 'The alternative media'. MICHAEL CHESTER reports.

The perils of print and the Press laws...

MBU's
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ONE of the most concise commentaries on the state of freedom of the Press inside South Africa can be found in a comparison between the first and the current editions of a manual that has to be a constant companion of all editors — *The Newspaperman's Guide to the Law*

The legal gauntlet that has to be run before the presses start rolling looked bad enough when the late Kelsey Stuart, a Johannesburg attorney, compiled the original edition in 1968. It took 109 pages plus a five-page index to list all the laws to be negotiated.

A fourth edition, published a few weeks ago, shows the multitude of new hazards that have been added to the perils of the newspaper trade. The new team of authors have had to increase the thickness of the manual three times over to cover a list of laws that by now has grown to more than 100.

When the International Press Institute carried out a global survey six months ago, it branded South Africa the most restrictive nation in the entire democratic world on the issue of Press freedom.

"Today", bemoans Mr Michael Green, editor of *The*



Newsdesk decisions — part of the perils of print.

Daily News in Durban, "a newspaper editor has to be a reasonably accomplished amateur lawyer if he is to keep himself and his colleagues safe from prosecutions, fines, civil damages and even jail".

THE maze of hazards has become so thick that he or his deputy editor are often called on as many as 20 or even 30 times a day to give judgment on news items that set nerves jangling over possible infringements.

On occasion the law simply looks an ass — as when *The Daily News* a while ago ran a photograph of a jackpot winner looking spellbound at a pile of banknotes. The paper was in turn rapped over the knuckles by the Reserve Bank.

You can show a picture of banknotes on a TV screen. But in print? Oh dear, no.

Far more ominous, however, are the penalties threatened if any newspapers trespasses beyond the barbed wire fences of restrictions laid down by the Internal Security Act, the Protection of Information Act, the Police Act, the Prisons Act...

Why don't the newspapers just play it safe and omit any material that could possibly be legally dangerous?

"Because", says Mr Green, "their duty is to inform the public, not be silent."

"The right of the Press to publish is simply the right of the public to know. That is why every editor worth his salt has to push as hard as he can to publish as much legitimate information as he can, while keeping himself and his newspaper out of the soup."

The problems are often compounded by the veils of secrecy often drawn across

information by official sources. Also, it has been noted by Mr Harvey Tyson, editor of *The Star*: "Sometimes reluctance to face the truth makes officialdom sub-consciously distort the picture".

Mr Tyson remarked "If South Africans are to solve their problems, they have to have accurate information about them. The larger problem concerns ideas, policies, issues, grievances, promises and perceptions. In a phrase public images".

THE selection by individual newspapers of the issues to be given prominence raises more complications. Here is a classical example.

The contrasts in approach on the day that followed the announcement of the 1986 Budget. "SA 'n glimlagland", it was decided by Beeld as it took readers on a guided tour of budget details. "Anger" snarled the Sowetan with picture coverage of long queues of pensioners outside Orlando Communal Hall, trapped in the pouring rain as they waited in turn to collect their grants. Economic coverage "Bread price rise looms".

Does the Press deserve the slamming by Bishop Desmond Tutu when he addressed the International Press Institute in Vienna recently?

Says an angered Mr Stephen Mulholland, managing director of SAAN: "How can anyone forget all the years that the English-language Press has been fighting for reform? It's incredible that anyone could talk such drivel".

However, Mr Michael Hornsby, a foreign correspondent on assignment to South Africa from *The Times* of

London, reckons that not all of the criticism should be shrugged off.

"Newspaper standards inside South Africa can stand comparison with those in many countries of the world and certainly emerge much better than one finds elsewhere around Africa", he says.

"On the whole, many of the larger papers do a good job — under very difficult circumstances. Often the tone of editorials is as critical as one finds anywhere. But the death of the old Rand Daily Mail created a gap that has never really been filled."

The socio-political polarisations in South Africa have been the main reason for the emergence of the "alternative media", which often entails devotion to what its followers see as a crusading kind of journalism.

The titles selected are a good indicator of content and purpose, names such as *Frontline* and *The New Nation* on one side of the political spectrum, *Die Patriot* and *Die Stem* on the other.

The first issue of *The Indicator* a year ago made it plain whom it was setting out to address. Articles came from the Solidarity Party, the United Democratic Front, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation.

"We're aiming at the serious reader, who is interested in challenging and critical journalism and wants to know what is really going on in this country", says Mr Anton Harber, editor of the *Weekly Mail*, launched by casualties of the RDM and *Sunday Express* closures.

"Our feeling is that the larger papers in general don't reflect the real political mood in South Africa. There's a demand for a more outspoken Press."

"We're aligned to no political party. Our aim is simply to fight apartheid and the status quo".

The debate over both the freedom and the quality of the Press in South Africa will no doubt go on without end.



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Saan losses soar to almost R23-m

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By Peter Farley
Investment Editor

A grim picture emerges from the announcement that SA Associated Newspapers (Saan) lost almost R23 million in the 15 months to end-March, with losses in the final quarter of that reporting period running at an annualised rate of some R22 million.

But even more worrying is the fact that the net R9 million profit on the sale of assets — principally the printing presses — was more than absorbed by the costs of closures and rationalisations. This resulted in extraordinary, below the line, losses of more than R2 million.

The debt mountain therefore remains at R43 million, with no immediate sign of coming down, meaning a gearing in excess of 300 percent. The only other meaningful asset that can be sold — apart from titles — is the Johannesburg building.

No final deal has yet been struck in this area, and Saan appears set to remain in the premises at least until next year. But even if something were to be concluded quickly, it is likely that the realisation would be substantially below R10 million. This would leave Saan with still some R35 million of debt to service.

Finance charges, at current rates, are therefore likely to remain in excess of R5 million in a full year — against the R6,8 million paid out in the past 15 months.

There is little doubt that the new

management team — comprising new MD Mr Steven Mulholland and deputy MD Mr John Featherstone — are making great strides to reduce overheads and return the operating side to profits.

In addition, it is widely acknowledged that Caxton MD Mr Terry Moolman is playing an important strategic role in the new direction of Saan's management.

Nevertheless, it seems that the newspapers are going to have to swing from a loss of R12,2 million to a profit of more than R6 million this year for the company to just break even.

Certainly the joint printing agreements with the Argus Group, which are currently being implemented, will have a beneficial impact. But whether it will be sufficient in the current year remains to be seen.

After passing all dividends in the past 15 months, shareholders look set to wait for some time before there is a resumption of payments. Nevertheless, the share price has virtually doubled from the 700c low seen earlier this year to around 1 500c.

Given immediate prospects, however, buyers at these levels must be extremely optimistic.

Adding to the group's problems is the continuing erosion of advertising income and falling circulations on many publications. The consolidation of much of the marketing with the Newspaper Marketing Bureau should put some of this to rights, but the turnaround will not be spectacular.

However, one still gets the impression that Saan has a long way to go before it restores confidence in both its staff and its shareholders. And the hiring of the Touch Down restaurant for the final test match last weekend, when the group is under such financial pressure, will hardly build the kind of support Saan needs at this point in time.

The share price now stands at more than double the net worth of the group, after last year's losses slashed net asset value to under 700c from over 1 800c 15 months ago. It has never been at such a high premium over net worth and looks dangerously overvalued given its immediate prospects.

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Beltel has been developed in three phases of which the public service will be the last. Olivetti SA, in co-operation with the UK-based company Systems Designers, were responsible for the hardware and software development of the new system, which has been installed in major cities, where it is connected to Beltel management centre.

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June 1986

Call for press curbs

A CONSERVATIVE PARTY MP, Frans van Staden, yesterday said that more drastic measures might have to be taken in future against "liberal" and "integrationist" publications. Speaking during the second reading debate on the Publications Amendment Bill, he said the measures might be necessary to check the continuing increase in "liberal tendencies", which could not be stemmed by the "moderate" controls now in force. — Sapa

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Withdraw Heard^{STAR} charges²⁴³ — PFP

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Federal Party yesterday demanded that the Government withdraw charges against *Cape Times* editor Mr Tony Heard on the basis that the authorities were now also quoting the African National Congress.

Mr David Dalling, PFP spokesman on justice, was reacting to the release of a Bureau for Information booklet which quotes from ANC statements.

"I have no objection to the Government quoting the ANC, even if it is done selectively for propaganda.

RIGHT

"But the same right should be given to every newspaper and medium which conveys information to the public.

"The Government should not have the monopoly, free of the law, to quote the ANC where other newspapers and publications are prosecuted for doing this," said Mr Dalling.

He added that the prosecution of the *Cape Times*, for example, for quoting Mr Oliver Tambo, represented the greatest travesty of justice and a corrupt implementation of law. The charges against Mr Heard should be withdrawn immediately, he said.

... meetings
was "oppressive and it
shows just how little
conception this man, Mr

Cape Times 5/6/66

Promises of clamp on media

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Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

— The government definitely intends imposing restrictions on media coverage of unrest in terms of the Public Safety Amendment Bill.

This was confirmed yesterday by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, during the second reading debate of the bill.

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP Houghton, asked the minister if he intended imposing restrictions on the media on unrest coverage as had been done under the state of emergency regulations last year.

"You can be sure there will be restrictions," responded Mr Le Grange.

Mrs Suzman said the proposed security legislation was a "classic" example of a bill warranting total parliamentary rejection.

Later Mr Le Grange quoted from an editorial in the Cape Times which supported the contention of Mr David Dalling, PFP Santon, that the Bill was aimed at sanctioning of police brutality and killings.

"They are the most poisonous of partners, the Member for Sandton and the Cape Times and this is the message they are sending into the world."

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Cape Times 6/1/68
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By EBRAHIM MOOSA
Political Reporter

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — The Labour Party leader and Cabinet Minister without Portfolio, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, yesterday attacked the Cape Times and accused it of "arrogance" for labelling his party as "junior partners" of the Nationalist Government.

Speaking during the debate on the controversial Internal Security Amendment Bill in the House, Mr Hendrickse was apparently referring to an article in yesterday's Cape Times in which the National People's Party and LP were described as the government's "junior partners in the tricameral system"

"I reject with contempt Anthony Johnson's description of us as the 'junior partners' of the National Party. If that is a fact then one wonders what his party has been doing in the White House," Mr Hendrickse said, in an apparent reference to the Progressive Federal Party.

"By the same rule he and his party and paper has been part of that decision making. This is so typical of the Cape Times... its arrogance and its reporters — that only they understand and have the answers. Even the black reporters on the Cape Times reflect the understanding of their masters."

● Earlier, several Labour MPs attacked Mr Dave Dalling (PFP Sandton) for his criticism of the LP leader, Mr Allan Hendrickse.

Mr Dalling said in the House of Assembly: "We shall yet see if the finger-pointing, brow-beating of the State President last week has whipped them into line... if he has succeeded, and either or both of the Houses vote for the bill, they will forever forfeit any credibility they may claim in their own communities."

Mr Peter Mopp, (LP Border) and Mr Peter Hendrickse (LP Addo) launched the attack on Mr Dalling for what he had said in the House of Assembly earlier this week.

Mr Hendrickse said Mr Dalling's attitude was so "typical of the white English attitude".

However, he added that his fight was not with the PFP since the party's caucus was not in agreement with Mr Dalling's sentiments.

"Who is Mr Dalling to judge? As long as we decide as Mr Dalling decides, then we are alright. But if we don't, it is wrong."

"Mr Dalling cannot speak for me or on my behalf," Mr Hendrickse said.

HARALD PAKENDORF

Refugee from the right

Harald Pakendorf's eviction from *Die Vaderland's* editor's chair is widely seen as a baring of teeth by the increasingly confident Transvaal right wing. Like *Rapport's* Wimpie de Klerk, whose tenure seemed insecure last week, Pakendorf is an *oorbeligte* — a moderate to the left of the mainstream government line — and some Perskor board members, after all, have strong links to the Conservative Party (CP).

But Pakendorf (46) seemed anything but demoralised on his last day at *Die Vaderland* after seven years as editor. "Irreconcilable political differences" caused his dismissal, he says. This means he's "too leftist" for his board. "Perskor has a tradition of giving editors free rein, but it's unlike *Nasionale Pers*, where there's close agreement between editors and the board. Anyway," he adds cheerfully, "it's their democratic right to fire me if they disagree with what I write."

Where does he go from here? "I'll be doing some freelance writing on contract, and I hope to put together a deal to act as a political consultant." For whom? Pakendorf won't elaborate, on the grounds that he's in the throes of negotiating the deal. In many ways, Pakendorf is a political optimist. He believes the entire South African political spectrum has moved to the left. "P W Botha has turned the National Party (NP) around 180° away from official apartheid, it's an achievement to have done that and kept the majority in the fold. Even the right now lay claim only to a *Boerestaat*, rather than to the whole country."

In fact, the major political error of recent years, Pakendorf believes, has been government's concern to ease gradually into reform. "Delay rather than decisive implementation of reforms has not increased white support, and blacks, kept hanging on for years in anticipation of, say, repeal of the pass laws, greet eventual abolition as an anticlimax."

The rightwing threat is not as serious as it's depicted, he believes. "The *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's* (AWB) support is mostly confined to the Northern Transvaal and the Reef. And any increase in its constituency robs not the NP but the CP." The present upsurge in rightist activity Pakendorf ascribes to the realisation that the NP is



Pakendorf ... irreconcilable political differences result in dismissal

genuinely committed to change.

So it's time for government to stop mincing its words, as Pakendorf has been saying for some time. In fact, his first intimation of trouble with his board came two months ago, when he wrote that the logical conclusion of present government policy was "a majority of blacks in government, if not black majority rule. But, as we saw with Pik Botha's prediction that there will be a black president, there's a good deal of resistance to hearing it said out loud."

Government should be working to strengthen the moderate centre, by admitting to the ultimate prospect of genuine black political power, he stresses. "Otherwise how can they expect responsible black leaders to participate in negotiation?"

Legalising the African National Congress (ANC) and releasing Nelson Mandela may well be "soft options. The ANC's biggest advantage is its myth, something that could disintegrate under the challenge of practical politics. And we've kept Mandela from making a political mistake for 25 years. If he has the stature he's said to have, government should be talking to him. And if he hasn't, it will be easier to negotiate."

Born at Middelburg in the Eastern Transvaal, Pakendorf was educated in Johannesburg. He attended Wits, but gained his degree in politics and history from Unisa. He then worked for the SABC and Otto Krause's *News/Check* magazine before joining *Die Vaderland* in 1964 as a political reporter.

Four years later he went to the US on a Nieman fellowship, returning just in time to

cover the NP split that produced the *Herstigte Nasionale Party*.

His rise in Perskor was rapid. In 1970 he went to Salisbury to launch the *Rhodesian Financial Gazette* "probably because of my command of English," which is flawless. Two years later he was back in the Transvaal to launch *Oggendblad*, and in 1979 became *Vaderland* editor.

The power of the press in influencing and changing events should not be overestimated, Pakendorf stresses. "It's a long-term process. A consolation is that what I've been urging will probably become party policy in the

next six months. Since 1973, I've found that my outrageous opinions to the left of orthodoxy have been assimilated into it." Now Pakendorf is looking for a medium which will allow him to continue expressing these opinions. ■

LOUIS LUYT

A rabbit from a hat?

"People only smile on winners" is an aphorism Louis Luyt coined while president of the Transvaal Rugby Football Union (TRFU). Evidently it's a principle he's willing to pay for. As CE of Triomf Fertilizer, which he founded in 1965, he is now digging deep into his own pockets for a reported R30m to save the chronically ill group.

Luyt and right-hand-man Philip Clarke returned to Triomf at the beginning of the year on a rescue mission — though it's unlikely that Luyt anticipated having to commit the bulk of his personal fortune. Two years ago, he was reported to have commiserated with Jan Pickard about the losses the two had taken. Luyt was then supposedly down to his last R50m, and Pickard to R15m.

The axe was wielded ruthlessly among the group's top executives, but that wasn't enough. Falling domestic demand for fertiliser sparked by seemingly endless drought, a drop in export earnings, and a savage price war exacerbated by new entrants into the ailing industry left Triomf high and dry.

Now there are fears that the competitive



Luyt ... digging in his own pockets

challenge which Luyt and Clarke present could prompt other producers to embark on another round of price cutting

The R50,5m loss at the end-December interim wiped out Triomf's equity capital, and the JSE enquired about its solvency. These fears have been allayed by Nedbank's plan to convert R85m Triomf debt into redeemable prefs. This will help the financial ratios, though redeemable prefs are technically debt. Apart from equity injected by Luyt, the company has no shareholders' funds and debt of some R250m — after the pref conversion.

Luyt's capital injection caused the share to almost double last week, to 48c. This is still a long way off the 90c 1986 high. The bulk of the funds are believed to have come from the cash pile Luyt reaped when in mid-1985 he sold a major stake in Triomf to the National Maize Producers Organisation (Nampo).

But much more money is needed. Still, the rags-to-riches entrepreneur, a one-time railways clerk, has successfully pulled rabbits out of his hat before. A former Free State rugby lock, he's credited with having saved the TRFU from bankruptcy through hard negotiating that brought Volkskas to the rescue. Probably the embattled TRFU elected him with this in mind, after giving the boot to predecessor Jannie le Roux, who had tied the Ellis Park albatross around the union's neck.

Tortuous deals play a thematic role in Luyt's history. In the early Seventies he tried to challenge SA Breweries' (SAB) market dominance in beer retailing. The Afrikaner's beer, Luyt Lager, achieved a nearly 30% market penetration in the Free State. But Luyt, in line with a long list of other challengers, threw in the towel, and sold to SAB.

In the mid-Seventies, he was front-man for a government attempt to buy into the English press. That foiled, he was enticed by Eschel Rhodie of Information Scandal fame to accept a secret R12m package to start *The Citizen*.

After months of denial, compounded by a circulation scandal, Rhodie and Information Minister Connie Mulder fell — and Luyt was left to face the music. He did this with a certain dignity, confessing that he thought he had acted in the best interests of

SA, and now believed that *The Citizen* should have been privately owned from the start. In time, he paid the R12m back in one lump sum.

It's been a busy year for Luyt as well as returning to Triomf at the desperate urging of Nampo head Henne de Jager, he was involved all the way in organising the rebel New Zealand rugby tour, an act which drew invective from that old lion of South African rugby, Danie Craven — for public consumption at least.

As well as rugby, he also interests himself in Afrikaner culture. He established a Triomf prize for Afrikaners writers, which the late management of the group discontinued when hard times began to bite.

A large, excitable man who believes passionately in his projects and commits himself totally to them with enviable energy, Luyt is doing it again. Whether this time he'll prove to have bitten off more than he can chew remains to be seen. But he is always very good at appearing to take effective action. If the reports are true, he's bet a large sum that he can carry it off. ■

ALAN LIEBSON

Material world

Alan Liebson, Fabric Library (Fablibe) chairman, is in SA for next week's JSE listing of the wholesale distributor of furnishing fabrics. For he's now based in Australia, where he's winding up an unsuccessful attempt at offshore expansion through subsidiary Yokota — the purpose of the listing is to recoup the debts incurred in this venture.

Liebson (54), a temporary non-resident, hopes to return to his Krugersdorp farm by year-end. By this time he hopes to have disposed of Yokota, which makes and distributes venetian blinds, and liquidated its



Liebson ... a false sense of security

stock. "You can't ever wash the soil of this country off," he says. "Emigration is tough and I want to come back." Three years ago, looking for investment opportunities abroad and a platform for exporting fabric, Liebson was invited by Yokota's Japanese principals to start a business in Australia.

"We thought this would be a marvellous opportunity and saw a gap in the market for a top-end product. We didn't realise that the Australian market is very price-conscious. Proximity to Taiwan and Hong Kong means it is flooded with cheap products."

"We went into the deal when the exchange rate was Aus\$1,12 to the rand and raised money through bank guarantees when interest rates were 14%," Liebson says. "Simultaneously, the Australian dollar took a dive against the yen — Japan was our chief source of supply."

"We had very extended terms from our Japanese partners which lulled us into a false sense of security. We didn't have the facilities to cover forward and suddenly our debt burden had more than doubled to R1,2m."

Liebson regards the Australian venture as a "hiccup." In the previous five years, he says, the company sustained strong growth in profit and sales rose by 36% a year, compound. With the sale of Yokota, he believes Fablibe will resume its traditional growth pattern.

Fablibe hasn't seen any deterioration in sales over the past year. But given the state of the economy, future growth is likely to come from exports. Already Liebson has been approached by a number of German and British companies and has taken large orders in Australia.

Though Liebson, a nephew of Sarah Gertrude Millin, completed two years of fine art at Wits, he isn't actively involved in fabric design. He does, however, keep a watchful eye on proceedings.

After university, he went to London, where he was apprenticed to a shop-fitter for three years. When he returned, the building industry was in a slump, there were no shop-fitting jobs, and he became involved in rag-recycling. "You can't get much lower than

sorting rags," he recalls. "I couldn't see myself being a ragman for the rest of my life, and decided to go it alone."

His business connections were in textiles and he cast his eye around for suitable agencies. His first coup was hooking Heals, the pioneer of modern graphic design in curtaining. This was an open sesame and led to other agencies, like Sekers.

Insecure because of his dependence on the local and foreign manufacturers he represented, Liebson started Svenmill in

Cape Times 3/6/86

Drop 243

charges

against

Heard

Political Correspondent

CHARGES against the Editor of the Cape Times for publishing an interview with the ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo should be withdrawn now that the government has published a booklet quoting extensively from banned ANC literature.

This is the view of the PFP spokesman on justice, Mr Dave Dalling, who was responding to the decision by Mr Louis Nel's Bureau of Information to launch a booklet, "Talking with the ANC".

Mr Dalling said yesterday: "I have no objection to Mr Nel quoting from the ANC but I object to his quoting the ANC with impunity if the Editor of the Cape Times is to be prosecuted for publishing an interview with Mr Tambo."

Charges against Mr Anthony Heard should be "dropped forthwith if the government is to emerge from this shabby episode with any credibility".

The case for the 'alternative' press

AST year we imagined that the press was passing through a temporary bad patch. This year we realise that we are not passing through it. We are narrowed in it.

While the rest of the sub-continent is consumed by internecine war, while people are dying in the townships, the press has been caught up in its own economic woes. At the very moment of crisis in South Africa, when a vigorous press is needed more than ever, there is instead a sense of utter demoralisation and demoralisation. The old press order is terminally ill.

The only certainty today is an economic one. If the press is to survive, it will have to shrink. And shrink it certainly has. The once-nightly South African Associated Newspapers (Saan) has sold off much of its machinery and property, disposed of two managing directors, several editors, a clutch of general managers and a chairman, and run up a R40-million overdraft.

The malaise spreads right across the spectrum, through the country press, which in many cases is 50 or more percent down on advertising, through the specialist and trade press where a number of once-successful titles have been closed. Saan has closed four titles. The Argus Company has made substantial profits this year, but this has not prevented it from closing three titles and amalgamating two more.

Rationalisation, a dirty word a few years ago, is the favoured catchphrase of today. Rationalisation brought the administrative wing of the Natal Mercury, one of the last remaining independent newspapers, under the Argus wing. Rationalisation is nibbling away at the Cape Times. Rationalisation has brought about the new merger of English and Afrikaans titlesheets, of the Saan and Argus distribution operations, and of the Saan and Argus printing plants.

The Weekly Mail is six days away from its first birthday, an event which, by all the ancient rules of publishing, it should not have lived to see. Launched on a shoe-string by retrenched journalists from the Rand Daily Mail and Sunday Express, its survival is an indication of just how far the ground rules of the newspaper industry have changed. Below we publish extracts from the Fairbairn Memorial Lecture, the annual press freedom lecture, delivered this year by Weekly Mail co-editor IRWIN MANOIM, who argues the case for an 'alternative press' publishing houses, is dinosaur technology. It is extraordinarily expensive, extraordinarily perishable and the returns on it are paltry. Is there no hope at all for the media? Yes, there is some, out on the fringes the "alternative" press.

There is a case which is often made, that the alternative press is a no-hoper. Small little fringe papers are condemned either to die young or to grow old in obscurity and penniless insignificance far away from the mainstream. They suffer from a shortage of skills and resources and the newspapers they produce are often lousy and amateurish.

There is, of course, a great deal of truth to this. But I believe that today, for the first time, the alternative press actually has some chance.

There are three things on its side first, the vulnerabilities of the monopoly press, second, the nature of the new technology, third, the changing nature of South African society itself.

Let's begin with monopolies. By its very nature, a monopoly press must aim to cultivate the mass tastes of "average readers", and it does so by steering straight down the middle, preferring the bland to the

contentious, the cheerful to the bitter depressing, the sugary to the bitter. But there is no such thing as an average reader. Mr and Mrs Average are marketing concepts. They represent an imaginary strata of people who have, until now, been most attractive to advertisers, namely young, white, middle-income couples living in suburbia close to the major shopping centres. But in a country as diverse as this one, they are not average, indeed, they do not even

represent a very sizable portion of the population. By catering for Mr and Mrs Average, the monopoly press ignores vast numbers of Mr and Mrs not-so-Averages. And that's where the small press can score. Society is full of people who fail to slot into the average category. They are left as well as rightwing, they are gays, bohemians, intellectuals, roughnecks, black people, brown people, the deeply devout, the atheist. There are even

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Police powers grow for future 116

Ban on all meetings



OF LESAVANIA

The Indicator

Released delinquents remain committed

The struggle continues...

NATIONAL UNION OF MINERWORKERS GET LEGAL ADVICE

LABOUR LAW DISPUTE

Urgent application

The alternative press blossoms above, three papers launched in the past year.

almost the only item in this world of rising price tags which is actually getting cheaper, despite the rand's misbehaviour. It is possible, using the latest micro-technology, to link together personal computers into miniature electronic editing systems that can mimic most of the features of the huge mainframe systems used by the commercial press. And since the use of this year's technology, rather than 1979's, they even include a good many functions which the big Argus-Saan systems can't match.

The personal computers can in turn be linked to what is known as a laser printer, a typesetting machine which borrows its technology from the lowly office photocopying machine. Laser printer sets type on ordinary cheap bond paper, using ordinary cheap photostat machine toner. By cutting out all photographic processes, chemicals and papers, laser printers cut production costs dramatically. Better still, since the technology is still in its infancy, prices can be expected to drop even further.

This makes it possible for even shoe-string operations to lease sophisticated machinery. The technology in turn allows relative few people to perform functions that are elsewhere performed by large staffs. And the new technology is much simpler to use than the old, with relatively little training required.

The third factor in favour of the alternative press, and perhaps the most important, is that it may not be alternative much longer. The count is changing fast. The old assumption upon which the mainstream press was built are being eroded.

Our major newspapers are shaped by their target audience, the white suburban elite with its own particular understanding of the world and its own particular tastes, from politics to finance to rugby.

But these people represent a fading dynasty. Their disposable incomes are shrinking, their lifestyles are

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who do not drive cars and who do not like rugby. More important, their very monopoly on power is under threat.

These people can be reached most effectively through a publication that is as different from the norm as they are themselves. And they are particularly loyal readers, for any newspaper aimed at them is more than just reading matter, it is a symbol of themselves.

These people are out there and waiting to be reached. It just requires the imagination to define them both as readers and as potential clients for advertisers.

There was a time when conventional journalistic wisdom gave Denis Beckett, one of the fathers of the alternative press, very little chance of survival. Five years later, when one mentions Frontline, people say, "Yes, but that's not an alternative publication, that's mainstream." The man has arrived. Others can do the same.

While the mainstream press thinks big, the alternative press should think small. And the best example of this is the community press. Newspapers like Grassroots in the Western Cape, Ukuza in Durban and Speak on the Reef have managed to demonstrate that it is possible to produce local papers which bear not the remotest resemblance to the Caxton-style suburban papers.

A community paper need be neither parochial nor trivial. And given a strong enough product, there is no reason why a community paper cannot be sustained by local advertising alone. Community papers are cheap to launch, can be expected to break even reasonably fast, and are easy to distribute. A vigorous and popular enough local paper can win the support of its community and hold out against almost any kind of invasion by bland monopoly-press owned interlopers from the outside.

● The second factor which favours an alternative press is technology. We're on the brink of a printing revolution, and it's called desk-top publishing. At the heart of desk-top publishing is the personal computer.

More important, their very monopoly on power is under threat.

Yet the mainstream press is much too closely wedded to this way of life to be able to backflip and change direction. And this is reflected in the nature of the press today. There is a loss of confidence, the old certainties are dead, there are no great authoritative voices leading the way out of the morass.

The newspapers of today are really no different from the newspapers of yesterday, but the country is very different. Tomorrow's audience shares very few of the values which have shaped today's, which is why the same liberal press which was commended for its courage 10 years ago is accused of vacillating today.

If the mainstream is too big and too wedded to the status quo to be able to shift ground, the alternative press is not. The whole beauty of the alternative press is that it comes with so few strings attached. Within the parsimonious margins allowed by the Minister of Law and Order, one can do as one wishes.

And the next generation of newspaper readers is out there in the wings, just waiting for a press they can call their own, one which reflects their own, very different values. The potential is enormous.

The alternative press of today, poorly funded, understaffed and underskilled, is nonetheless building the foundations for the press of tomorrow. And that is where journalism should be heading.

There is an audience out there which actually wants to know what is happening in this country, unlike the current audience which prefers to know as little as possible. It consists of people who have been treated indifferently by the mainstream press because they have been assumed to represent an uneconomic market for advertisers.

But with a different kind of approach, based on a different kind of technology, these same people can provide the foundations for a viable press.

UDF SAVES 'SPY' FROM NECKLACE

On the march. Mourners make their way through **Chesterville** at this week's funeral

By **SIBUSISO MNGADI**

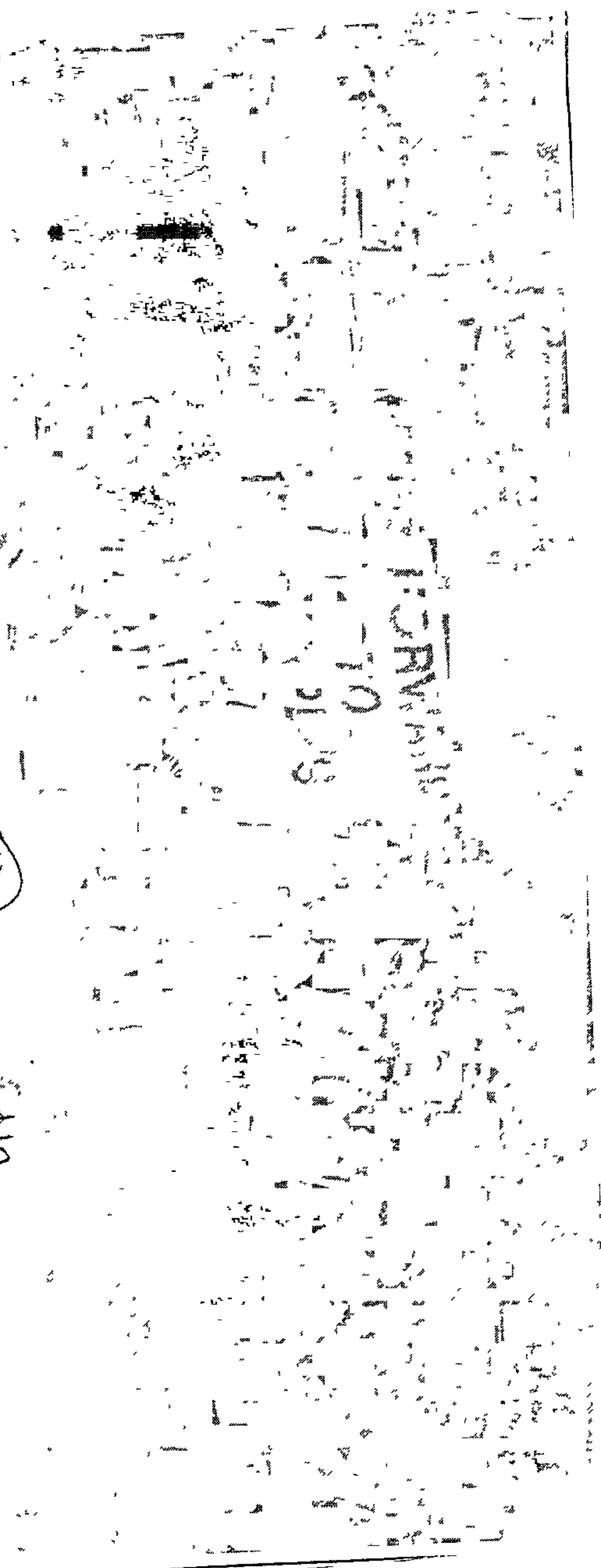
UNITED Democratic Front marshalls rescued a member of the Seychelles mercenary gang from being necklaced at a funeral this week

The marshalls had to step in after mourners objected to the presence of *Sunday Tribune* photographer Peter Duffy. Duffy was among "Mad Mike" Hoare's band of mercenaries who tried to stage a coup in the Seychelles in 1981 - according to reports, with backing from Pretoria. The incident-free funeral of Sipho Mhembu, Mduduzi Gumede and Siquzi

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CITY PR. 8/6/85

Nqubane almost turned sour when youths objected to "the enemy's presence". "Comrades" said Duffy was the equivalent of a government spy, as he and his cronies had co-operated with the SA National Intelligence Service during their abortive coup attempt. They called for the necklace, which drew the attention of vigilant UDF marshalls - who quickly disciplined the "comrades" and alerted chief organiser Mantu Nzama. By then the youths were heckling "soft target, soft target". The organisers approached Duffy, saying "the people" were not happy about his

presence. They asked him to leave, but allowed a *Tribune* reporter to stay on. ● A Chesterville Committee of Concern spokesman later told reporters that, while community organisations were not in a position to dictate to newspapers who they should send on assignments, it was foolish of editors to send "labelled" people. The *Tribune* is reported to be investigating the incident. ● Meanwhile, the A-Team has asked the Progressive Federal Party to convene peace talks between them and the "comrades". The "war" between the two groups has raged for several weeks.



Police teargas Nyanga funeral procession

CAPE TIMES 9/6/86



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By TONY WEAVER and ANDREW DONALDSON
SIXTY policemen lined the Nyanga graveside of local unrest victim Mr Phumzile Dossie on Saturday in a day which saw mourners repeatedly teargassed, four people — including an American student — arrested and at least four men shot and wounded by police.
Mr Dossie, 30, was killed on May 19.

Health workers said yesterday they believed as many as eight people were wounded, but only four came to clinics for help. A fifth man was shot and wounded early on Saturday morning and treated at Groote Schuur Hospital.
Journalists, who were or-

dered out of the Nyanga cemetery earlier, watched as the policemen, led by Major Dolf Odendaal of the riot squad, marched in and stood less than three metres from a group of about 500 mourners.

Carrying shotguns, handguns, teargas-launchers and rifles, the policemen wandered among the graves and traded insults with mourners, who confronted the police contingent with chants and praise songs for the ANC's military wings, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

A Cape Times reporter present saw no ANC or Communist Party flags at the funeral.
Earlier, at 1.25pm, a 22-year-old Guguletu man was

arrested by police for being in possession of a red flag depicting the hammer and sickle, said a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, yesterday.

Lieutenant Laubscher said that when police moved in to confiscate the flag, the man had drawn a knife and tried to stab one of them.
A man will appear in Athlone Magistrate's Court today on charges of furthering the aims of a banned organisation, unlawful possession of ammunition, possession of a dangerous weapon and resisting arrest.

Mourners walking to the funeral service near the Zolani Centre were teargassed in Terminus Road about

1.20pm.
Mr Lars Waldorf, an American student at the University of Cape Town and who has been working at the Shawco mobile relief centre, was arrested on charges of crimes injuria and resisting arrest, said Lieutenant Laubscher.
As about 100 mourners stood over the coffin, 14 Casspirs and three police vans surrounded the mourners.
At 2.39pm, a police officer announced over a loud-hailer that the mourners had two minutes to get moving.
The mourners immediately shouldered the coffin and began walking to the cemetery. But, without any apparent provocation, police fired four rounds of teargas into

the procession.

Mourners scattered in panic, but the bearers kept their grip on Mr Dossie's coffin.

With Casspirs driving metres behind them, the mourners walked to the cemetery where more Casspirs were lined up. At 3.00pm, reporters and television crews were ordered out of the cemetery.

At 3.10pm, Major Odendaal led his 60 men into the cemetery and at 3.25pm they were joined by two Casspirs and a van. They stood there until 3.45pm as the mourners sang freedom songs and hymns.

At 4.00pm, mourners crammed into a bus and taxis for the return journey to Nyanga. About 200 youths began walking back down

NY 108.

Ten minutes later, police opened up with a sustained volley of teargas, launching at least 30 canisters at the crowd.

Casspirs and vans then sped through Nyanga and sections of Guguletu and KTC, firing teargas and chasing youths on the streets.

The Cape Times saw three young men who had been wounded by birdshot and who were treated at a local clinic.

Lieutenant Laubscher confirmed that teargas had been fired on several occasions throughout the day. The presence of foreign television crews had necessitated the police presence at the cemetery, he said.

He said the crowd at the funeral had been dancing with clenched fists 'in front of these cameras and it was very clear that the presence of the cameras were part' of the events there.

Accordingly, police had asked journalists to move out of the area.

Police had later fired birdshot 'in the direction of a person who shot at their vehicle' in Terminus Road, Nyanga, said Lieutenant Laubscher. It was not known if anyone was hurt in this action, he said.

At 4.15pm, in Guguletu, police had used tearsmoke to disperse a group of about 50 people who began stoning their vehicle, he said. Two people were arrested.

for picture. P.T.O

9/6/86. SOWETAN

Honour for Mazwai

THE News Editor of the *Sowetan*, Mr Thami Mazwai, who has been attending the International Federation of Journalists annual congress in Elsinore, Sweden, was elected an executive member of the IFJ's bureau.

The conference was attended by delegates from 34 countries. South Africa was represented by five delegates — four from the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) and one from the South African Society of Journalists (SASJ).

The IFJ unanimously adopted a resolution on South Africa calling for the immediate establishment of full democratic rights for all South Africans.

CAPE Times 10/6/86 245 (2/27)

News teams shot at in KTC

By ANDREW DONALDSON

NEWS teams from the Cape Times and the Argus covering the violence in KTC squatter camp yesterday morning were shot at by men armed with automatic rifles.

Cars from both newspapers were pierced by bullets, their occupants narrowly escaping injury.

A Cape Times photographer, Ms Anne Laing, was photographing "witdoeke" marching towards the relief camp at Zolani Centre in Nyanga when she inadvertently strayed into crossfire between the conservative faction and younger "comrades"

"There was constant intermittent firing of weapons from behind the witdoeke as they approached the centre," she said.

Running

"I had moved some way from the car then The witdoeke were getting too close for comfort and as I was running towards the car I noticed



Cape Times driver Mr Martin Cloete points to the bullet hole near the petrol tank of the car.

this flash of light from car, the news team tracer fire come past me, moved around a nearby corner to safety missing me by about 20cm"

A group of comrades was gathered some distance away, placing the Cape Times car in between the two groups, she said

Once she was in the

The car was later examined and it was found that a bullet had pierced the bodywork at an angle and had struck the petrol tank, denting it but not piercing it A second mark was found on the

driver's door, where a shot had apparently ricocheted away

The driver, Mr Martin Cloete, only realized the car had been hit once he returned to the Cape Times offices in Burg Street

An Argus reporter, Mr Lester Venter, said he

had been on a bridge near KTC with a photographer observing events when they were shot at

A swarm of "witdoeke" accompanied by white men in civilian clothes and armed with rifles and ammunition belts had been moving towards the squatter camp, Mr Venter said

Ducked

"The men with rifles suddenly fell to the ground assuming firing positions and the shots started ringing out," he said

"We ducked inside the car and shouted to our driver, Mr Harry Hainsworth, to put his foot down when bullets started striking the car"

About two or three bullets struck their car in the back.

These shots pierced the back seat of the vehicle, went through a camera bag, the front seat of the car and through Mr Venter's jacket pocket — destroying a container of film, he said

No one was injured

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Chapel concern over journalists under fire

Staff Reporter

THE SAAN Cape Town chapel of the South African Society of Journalists is deeply disturbed by developments regarding journalists in the KTC area of Cape Town in the past two days

In a statement yesterday, the chapel said:

"One of our colleagues is critically injured, another three of our colleagues have been wounded

"Journalists have come under repeated gunfire from both sides involved in the fighting.

"A number of journalists, some of them from the Cape Times, have

also been shot at and harassed by police and a Cape Times and an Argus vehicle have been hit by rifle fire

"Journalists covering a conflict situation claim no special rights or privileges. But when the South African Police appear to be deliberately firing at journalists doing their job, this gives rise to serious concern.

"We call on the Minister of Law and Order to publicly explain his position as regards press freedom and the right of journalists to cover conflict situations without interference by his police force."

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11/6/86
Cape Times

Police burnt by petrol bomb

CAPE TIMES 11/6/86 775

Mob hacks former Mercury reporter

Mercury Reporter

A FORMER Mercury reporter and international journalist, Mr George De'Ath, 32, was critically injured yesterday when he was attacked by a panga-wielding mob while covering the clashes in Crossroads

Mr De'Ath, who is a freelance journalist, was in an area named White City, on the border between the KTC and Crossroads squatter camps, on an assignment for BBC TV-news, when he was attacked

It is believed he entered the area on his own in spite of police warnings that it would be dangerous to do so.

The same morning a Citizen reporter, Mr Bert van Hees, was shot and wounded in the left arm while touring the township under police escort.

Mr De'Ath was found slumped next to a house, with his camera bag and other equipment strewn in the road. He was rushed to Groote Schuur Hospital in a serious condition. His condition late yesterday was described as serious but stable

Mr Andile Fosi, his black assistant, also received serious cut wounds on the head and was taken to the Conradie Hospital for treatment.

Mr De'Ath matriculated from the New Forest High School in Durban and studied



Mr George De'Ath

for his National Certificate of Photography at the Natal Technikon before joining a newspaper

Besides a short spell working for Whysalls, he has spent his career with news organisations throughout Africa

He worked as a journalist on the Zululand Observer and later on the Mercury

In 1975, at the inception of television, he left to further his career in a new direction.

After working for the SABC as a news interviewer, he joined the American NBC network and has since worked for the British ITN and BBC television networks on a freelance basis.

Role of the Press in SA

MOST South African journalists had become active agents in the process of perpetrating disinformation and blatant propaganda for the minority readers in the capitalist Press, the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers (Num) said in Johannesburg on Monday.

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa was speaking at the Market Theatre on the same platform as mining magnate Mr Harry Oppenheimer on the occasion of the first anniversary of the *Weekly Mail*.

It was the first time that the trade unionist and the semi-retired Mr Oppenheimer have met Speaking on the role of the Press in

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

a changing South Africa, Mr Ramaphosa said most journalists had become "active agents under the guise of presenting both sides of the story, deciding themselves that there is such a thing as total objectivity."

In the present South African society, there were only two possible positions to take — that of the status quo or that of opposing the status quo.

Journalists were not exempt from the inherent contradictions of the country, Mr Ramaphosa added.

Mr Ramaphosa said the South African Press could only "save its soul by

portraying the just struggle of an oppressed people."

But he also said he was not suggesting that journalists should become propagandists, but rather that they should "examine and expose."

He said the media was the key to the transformation of South African society, but it was not an "elite group with an elite function."

'Rather fun'

Mr Oppenheimer told the well attended gathering his sharing a platform with the trade unionist was "a rather happy occasion," which was "rather fun".

He said Mr Ramaphosa's address

was "moving" although there were differences between them.

"We are one at regarding a free, lively, brave Press as an essential factor in our country ... but it is very important to get a degree of tolerance .. too many people think fair and strong expression of views is wrong and conducive to violence, and this is by no means confined to the right-wing ..." he said.

Mr Oppenheimer said he believed that he and Mr Ramaphosa were in agreement that a free and worthy Press was an essential factor in the life of a free country. They would, however, see essentials differently.

Num boss and magnate Mr O give their views

CAPL Times 12/6/86 (243) (17)

Foreign press voices concern

JOHANNESBURG. — Foreign journalists in South Africa last night expressed "deep concern" about attacks on journalists in Crossroads on Tuesday and police handling of the matter. The Foreign Correspondents' Association (FCA) called in a statement for police and the government to "thoroughly investigate and promptly report" on the issue.

Witdoeke

The FCA said that, after discussions with colleagues who were in Crossroads on Tuesday, it was "deeply concerned about the attack on cameraman George De'ath and soundman Andile Fosi, of ITN".

A spokesman for the police public relations division in Pretoria said last night the FCA seemed to think police were on the side of the "witdoeke".

He said: "The police have often denied they are on anybody's side. We are mainly there to maintain law and order."

He declined further comment at this stage — Sapa

Newsman's 'crucial mistake'

By CHRIS BATEMAN
TRAPPED in hiding behind "witdoeke" lines as armed warriors swept past him in KTC on Tuesday, foreign TV soundman Mr Andile Fosi made a crucial error — he emerged with ITN colleague Mr George De'Ath to address a group of warriors as "quabane" (comrades)

The group launched a vicious attack on the two with pangas and axes. Mr De'Ath was still fighting for his life in an intensive-care unit at Groote Schuur Hospital late last night.

Mr Fosi escaped with deep cuts to his face, neck, back and hand. Still stunned and nursing a broken arm, the Xhosa-speaking journalist yesterday flew back to Johannesburg with his wife Notwazi.

He said he and Mr De'Ath had followed comrades moving towards police and witdoeke. As confrontation became "inevitable" the two ducked into a shack to avoid being seen by police.

Teargas was fired at the comrades and the Casspir passed them, Mr Fosi said. "We couldn't differentiate between comrades and witdoeke so we came out. Then I made the mistake."

The warriors said "You are the people who aren't supposed to be here. You come with the comrades. You are the



Injured ITN soundman Mr Andile Fosi at D F Malan Airport yesterday

ones who are killing us"

It was then that the newsmen were attacked.

Mr De'Ath collapsed and Mr Fosi said he ran towards a police armoured vehicle parked down the road.

Within three metres of it he was chopped at from behind. Police did not react, he claimed. He ran on towards an advancing Casspir which drove him to the scene.

Mr Fosi was adamant that their attackers were witdoeke — "some had white armbands and others wore hats"

In the SATV programme Network that night, a police liaison officer, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, told interviewer John Simpson that Mr De'Ath was attacked by comrades.

Lieutenant Laubscher said last night he had said this because witdoeke had reported the attack to police and Mr De'Ath had been found in "traditional comrade territory".

He said that about 11 30am on Tuesday, police were told by witdoeke that the lives of a white photographer and

his black assistant could be in danger because of faction fighting in NY5.

Two minutes later in NY41 police had traced Mr De'Ath and Mr Fosi, who ran away.

Police continued to patrol and about 11 40am saw Mr Fosi being chased by about 15 men in NY38. He disappeared among houses.

The spokesman said police "probably saved Mr De'Ath's life" when two railways policemen chanced upon his attackers and chased them away.

Lieutenant Laubscher said Mr Fosi arrived on the scene later.

He denied that any security force members were present during the attack on Mr De'Ath.

While the two railways policemen were giving Mr De'Ath emergency treatment, police arrived on the scene to find Mr De'Ath lying next to a home in J1801.

Police confirmed that Mr Fosi ran towards a "patrol van" while being chased. This van, however, housed the mobile video unit and the two officers did not see him at first as they were filming a faction fight.

Yesterday police "escorted" three members of a CBS newscrew from a home in New Crossroads to the Manenberg police station where they were told to report to Lieutenant Laubscher.

PLEASE NOTE

ALL SUBSCRIPTIONS EXPIRE WITH THIS ISSUE

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No 'Witness' on June 16

MARITZBURG. — The Natal Witness will not be published on Monday, June 16, as a "gesture of reconciliation" on the 10th anniversary of the Soweto riots, the newspaper's managing director said yesterday.

"After deep consideration of the requests made to us by the trade unions with which we deal, we have decided to close on June 16 and to grant our employees a paid holiday to mark the 10th anniversary of those events which erupted in Soweto, so decisively changing our national life," Mr Stuart Craib said in a statement.

The Natal Witness will be published

again on Tuesday, June 17.

Mr Craib said: "We are doing this as a gesture of reconciliation in this tragic period through which our country is passing and as a demonstration of our sympathy with, and understanding of, the feelings of our fellow countrymen.

"The sheer cost of our decision makes it impossible to undertake to repeat this holiday, but we hope the government will act quickly to reschedule South Africa's calendar of public holidays so that consideration is given to the feelings of all our people," he said. — Sapa

Two SA journalists in top posts

SOWETAN REPORTER

TWO national executive members of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa, Mrs Sandra Nagfaal and Mr Thami Mazwai, are on the executive of the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ).

The two were elected onto the IFJ executive by journalist unions from 34 countries in the western world. There were about 200 dele-

gates from all over the world. Mrs Nagfaal is from Cape Town while Mr Mazwai is from Soweto, and is also News Editor of the *Sowetan*. Mrs Nagfaal, acting president of Mwasa, became a member of the executive while Mr Mazwai, Mwasa's national treasurer, was elected a vice-president of the IFJ. Mr Mazwai also be-

comes a member of the Bureau of the IFJ, the highest policy making organ of the IFJ in between congresses. Mrs Nagfaal will be part of the team that will ensure that Bureau decisions are carried out by officials of the organisation. IFJ congresses are held every two years. This year's congress was in Eindhoven, Denmark, and the 1988 congress

will be in Innsbruck, Austria.

At its congress in Denmark the IFJ also took its strongest ever resolution on South Africa and called for sanctions. The Mwasa delegation, which included Mrs Nagfaal, Mr Mazwai, Natal executive member Mr Ouraysh Patel and general secretary Mr Tyrone August, motivated and supported this resolution.

The resolution on South Africa was accepted unanimously by the IFJ congress. Mr August, Mwasa's secretary, was also appointed to a working committee of the IFJ aimed at the protection of journalists. Another South African, Mr John Allen of the Southern Africa Society of Journalists, will also serve on this committee.

● Mr Joe Thloloe, national executive member of Mwasa and Mr August, represented their union when the Swedish Union of Journalists held its congress from Monday this week.

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THE *Sowetan's* Pretoria staff reporter, Monk Nkomo, has been subpoenaed to reveal before a Pretoria magistrate the identities of people who gave him information about the alleged involvement of members of the South African Police in petrol bomb attacks on the homes of Atteridgeville activists.

The subpoena follows a report in the *Sowetan* on April 14, in which youths in Atteridgeville alleged they had recognised a black policeman as being among a group which attacked a home in Atteridgeville.

The report said that a gang of men sped off after the home was attacked. In one car, they said, they recognised a black policeman they

knew and a number of whites and blacks. Two people in the car wore balaclavas, they said.

Mr Stanley Baloyi, whose home was also petrol-bombed, had told the *Sowetan* that their street committee was on patrol when they were alerted about two cars parked near his home.

"A man alighted and went into the yard and threw petrol bombs into

we all rushed out and approached the two cars which we recognised as police vehicles. The occupants then started shooting at us as they drove off at high speed," he said.

Last month Mayor N J C Olivier of the Pretoria police informed the Editor of the *Sowetan*, Mr Joe Latakomo, that they were investigating the allegations and

SOWETAN reporter gets a subpoena

12/6/86

My parents bedroom

wanted to bring the

he should be able to trace him in detention. Should Nkomo refuse to reveal any further information to the police, he could face a six month jail sentence, which is renewable if he still refuses to do so after the expiry of six months.

Reacting to the action against Mr Nkomo, Mr Latakomo said that he condemned "in the

strongest possible terms" efforts by police to turn reporters into police informers.

"This kind of harassment of journalists must stop.

The police have all the resources at their disposal to investigate cases, but the tendency to take the easy way out has become all too prevalent,"

Mr Latakomo said.

"Mr Baloyi was named in the article because it was his home that had been attacked. If it is true that he has been detained, is it any wonder that the other witnesses are afraid to come forward?" he said.

Mr Latakomo said that they referred the matter to the newspaper's legal representatives. "We will fight this matter to the highest level," he said.

243 12/18
S M M

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Witness to close on Soweto Day

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— Sapa.

Journalist must quit Zimbabwe

The Star's Africa
News Service

HARARE — South African-born freelance journalist Mr Peter Wellman (45) has been ordered to quit Zimbabwe after living there for nearly five years

He was given three days' notice to leave

Officials would not give any reason for the order declaring him to be a prohibited immigrant

Mr Wellman, who is on his way back to Johannesburg, worked on Zimbabwe Newspapers publications from 1981 until March this year

Since then he has contributed to the American news agency, Associated Press, and Britain's *Mail on Sunday*.

Mr Wellman, who is married, said he was unable to establish why he had been refused permission to stay in Zimbabwe

No comment was available from the Ministry of Information

CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

THE Weekly Mail has in its short and dynamic history certainly contributed to a creative journalism in our country. Whilst saying this I need to add a word of caution, because occasions like these are not only to pat one another on the back. I believe it is also an occasion to critically examine the conditions in our country and the role of the media. It is a time when we reflect on whether the Weekly Mail, in its attempt to continue the traditions of its predecessor, the Rand Daily Mail, has extended the frontiers of our journalism, or whether it is no different from the rest of the commercial press in the country.

It is well known that the censorship laws in our country curtail the free flow of information. In addition, we also have self-censorship legislated by the newspaper barons and companies which control our media.

They (these two forms of censorship) are both designed to regulate what the public consumes and shape our perspectives. They are there to ensure that the conditions of domination which presently exist in our society are maintained and enforced.

If one puts it simply, repression alone cannot produce the relations of domination and subordination in our society. Legitimacy and consent have to be generated. The media in general play a crucial role in this regard. Many journalists, I regret to say, have become active agents in this process.

Under the guise of objectivity, they have been perpetrators of disinformation and blatant propaganda for the minority apartheid regime and the capitalist class in our country. Under the guise of presenting both sides of the story they delude themselves that there is such a thing as total objectivity.

It is important to remember what a distinguished liberal historian, once said. He said, "How much of the mountain you see depends on where you stand".

There are many people in this troubled country, some of whom are ordinary workers, some intellectuals, who believe the South African press has all along underestimated the brutality of the South African regime and its main allies, big business, and so ought to share the responsibility for what has happened in our country today.

To speak frankly, the system — I mean the regime and big business — cannot continue their crusade of brutality and exploitation without the help and support of the compromised press. The regime and big business need the press to explain and legitimise their brutality against the oppressed and exploited.

These two allies achieve this through a high degree of collaboration. The one passes ridiculous laws to restrict the press, and when that does not succeed, the other shuts down effective newspapers and replaces them with faceless tabloids.

Face to Face



Harry Oppenheimer and Cyril Ramaphosa

Two of the country's most influential men met for the first time on a Weekly Mail platform this week. Former Anglo American chairman Harry Oppenheimer and National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa spoke at the Market Theatre on how they viewed the South African press

Bullets, Casspirs and purple rain aside, there are two ways to perpetuate a *status quo*. The first is to refuse people information; the second is to give people information. The oppressor knows that he who controls the image and the source of information, controls the mind. And he who controls the mind has little to fear from the class he oppresses and exploits.

What I am concerned to emphasise here is that in our situation of violence, misinformation is a simple necessity of the system. And whether the system affords information to people or refuses them information, the aim and effects are the same — mystification and misinformation.

Bearing these things in mind, we can readily see that the press in a situation of oppression necessarily reflects the interests and values of the oppressive society. Press people who do not stand up to that fact by operating within a perspective which radically negates the system, find themselves serving the established order. And there are many of those today that we know.

A number of South Africans are today indebted to those journalists who serve on papers such as the Weekly Mail, the Namibian, the Indicator and the New Nation, for recognising that fact and for reporting within a new perspective.

Our country is descending deeper and deeper into a hell of its own making and the press has helped a

great deal to pave the way towards that hell by sins of omission and commission.

It is true that the regime is up in arms against the media, through the various ridiculous laws that have been passed to restrict the freedom and effectiveness of the press. It is also true that big business has muzzled the press and virtually destroyed the freedom of the press. One can go further and say the regime and capital are making attempts to reduce the South African media to pacifiers, mediators and interpreters of its policies.

The South African press is able to admit responsibility for noble acts, such as highlighting the plight of a stranded and abandoned cat belonging to Mrs Jones in the Johannesburg northern suburbs and starting a massive fundraising campaign to enable Mrs Jones to be operated on at a hospital near Groote Schuur.

However, the South African press must at the same time accept responsibility for the gross omission of not highlighting the plight of the downtrodden workers of this country. The press has done very little to question the captains of big industry about the low wages they pay workers when they speak about how they are helping to abolish apartheid.

The mining industry is left unchallenged by the press. The mining industry is least able to convince people of its support for social

change. It is the industry — provided the furnace in which discrimination was baked — the press knows this. Today it is absolutely on the exploitative — labour system and on oppression to operate. It pays workers the lowest wages of any major mining country in the world with the exception of India. The press has never highlighted this and has never really analysed it.

The mining industry employs relations people, advertising agents to try and whitewash the real situation. They make a big noise about the amounts they spend from Chairman's Fund on education money they give to the Ur Foundation, in the hope that we will look closely at the wages they pay their black workers, which they keep secret of course.

Businessmen and, least of all, the mining industry, do not want economic reform. The mine owners have had the money, the resources and the opportunity to fight discrimination and to raise the wages of black workers substantially, but they have not done so.

All you ever hear the mining industry barons say is that they are hamstrung by the law. Big business has been breaking innumerable laws to make big profits, but they have avoided breaking unjust laws which would help destroy the migrant labour system and allow workers to live

their families.

Newspapers always write about the billions that Anglo American has made in profits. But they write it up in the business section, which workers do not read. The press does not analyse those profits and interpret them for the workers who produce the wealth.

If they did, we would all know that the mining industry's profits in 1985 were R7,7-billion, which represented a whopping 78 percent increase in profit. In 1985 each worker contributed about R15 400 to gold mine profits and earned in return an average of R4 800, less than a third of the profits he produced. The press does not highlight these facts.

Our union has demanded a 45 percent wage increase, but the press which speaks for capital has rejected that demand as ridiculous, without analysing the facts.

Businessmen and economists are crying out for the government to reduce taxes to stimulate the economy and to jerk South Africa out of recession. What better way is there than for the mines to act unilaterally and to slash their tax payments by increasing workers' wages. But they prefer not to do so, they prefer to pay higher taxes than higher wages.

Against this backdrop, the Chamber of Mines is today offering black miners a 14,5 percent wage increase when their profits have increased since 1975 by 70 percent and their profits for 1985 increased by 38 percent.

Will anyone be shocked if there is a strike? Yes, there will be a total outcry from the press, which will accuse the NUM of being irresponsible and leading the country to bankruptcy. The forces of repression — the mine police, the SAP and the army — will crush the strike with impunity and the press will not even bother to find out what really happened other than to give a report that the forces of evil were successfully crushed.

Efforts such as Project Free Enterprise, announced today, may have noble objectives, but the experience of the working class dictates that it is too late to save the free enterprise system in this country. The alliance between big business and the apartheid regime has gone on too long and is soaked with the blood of workers who have reaped nothing from the free enterprise system but poverty, low wages, massive unemployment, lack of housing, inferior education, malnutrition and inadequate medical care.

The working class wants a programme that will restructure the economy and society as a whole in such a way that the wealth of the mines, factories, farms and all the means of production, are democratically shared and controlled by all its people.

Because of its skills and resources, the media is the key to the transformation of South African society. This does not imply that the media is an elite group with an elite function. A new level of commitment

HARRY OPPENHEIMER

MAY I thank you all at the Weekly Mail for having invited me to come and speak this evening. It is a great pleasure, and it is rather typical of you, I think, because you are a lively organisation. You have chosen to have your party in a lively place. You have chosen to bring Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and me together and that is rather fun and that again is original.

I differ a little bit from Mr Cyril Ramaphosa in thinking that this ought to be fun. I think it should be rather a cheerful occasion.

I know it is very difficult for anniversaries in South Africa nowadays to be looked upon as cheerful occasions, because we are unfortunately living in a time when anniversaries of things which have been really important and good to the country, like the 100th anniversary of Johannesburg's formation, have to be cast aside and condemned simply because times are bad. And yet that (Johannesburg's centenary) was something very important just as much for the people Mr Ramaphosa represents as for the people I am supposed to represent, though I am not really sure that I do represent them.

I think that the first anniversary of the Weekly Mail is something rather different. This is a rather happy occasion. Of course, it did grow out of a very unfortunate event indeed — the death of that great paper, the Rand Daily Mail. That was a very sad event, something which I think affected all of us.

But at least because of the initiative that was taken by the founders of the Weekly Mail, we can look back to that time, not simply as the death of the Rand Daily Mail, but we can look to it as the formation of a new organisation which gives us a new sort of hope.

Because, at that time, the founders of this newspaper showed determination and they showed courage. And whereas others just looked at the figures and lamented because they were so very bad, these were people who looked at the situation in South Africa and they acted. And they deserve congratulations for what they have done.

Now, I was very pleased to be invited to speak here this evening, obviously not because the Weekly Mail continuously and regularly reflects my views. Although it may reflect them a little more often than some of you may be inclined to suppose.

Anyhow, the very fact that Mr Cyril Ramaphosa is here to talk as he did talk tonight — a most touching and moving speech, made all the more touching by the neglect of some of the facts — the fact that we were both here to talk together is something which gives me very great pleasure.

Of course, there are differences between me and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and I don't intend to go into them except in one respect. I think he is wrong not to understand that in some

'It is unfortunate against racism with that again'



Seen at the Market: Ramaphosa

he has powerful potential allies in his battle against racial discrimination.

And it is to my mind unfortunate to link that battle against discrimination with another battle against the free enterprise system, because I don't believe these two things are tied together as irrevocably or as firmly as some of us may be inclined to suppose.

But whatever differences my friend and I may have, I think we are certainly as one in regarding a free and lively and brave press as an absolutely essential factor in the life of a free country.

Now, of course, you can easily say that this is just something platitudinous. It is platitudinous in almost every country in the world except in South Africa. But in South Africa it is not platitudinous to say that a free, a lively and a brave press is essential because we are ruled by a

government that any views of disapproval are unpatriotic.

Of course, that is not least not now, not me. But

of course, you can get such a picture to succeed.

There is a think that with will must be and probably And let

which race the relies migrant ice black of any world, et the fact public facts. small the and ban one pay accept the want and liai wages but are laws have that

WEEKLY MAIL'S PLATFORM ON THE PRESS

It is unfortunate to link the battle against racial discrimination with that against free enterprise'



Seen at the Market: Ramaphosa and Oppenheimer flank Weekly Mail's Anton Harber

Picture: GISELE WULFSOHN

powerful potential allies in his battle against racial discrimination. It is to my mind unfortunate to link the battle against discrimination with that against the free enterprise system, because I don't think these two things are tied as irrevocably or as firmly as many may be inclined to suppose. Differences my friend may have, I think we are as one in regarding a free and brave press as an essential factor in the life of a country. Of course, you can easily say that is just something platitudinous in every country in the world. It is platitudinous in South Africa. But in South Africa it is not platitudinous to say that a lively and a brave press is essential because we are ruled by a

government that is inclined to think that any press which expresses any views strongly with which it disapproves must be a press that is unpatriotic and probably immoral.

Of course, we are a divided country. That is not the fault of any of us, or at least not the fault of any of us living now, not even of someone as old as me. But we are a divided country and of course if you have a divided country it is particularly important if you can get it to have tolerance.

But of course, in such a country, to get such tolerance is a thing which is particularly and regretfully difficult to succeed in.

There are far too many people who think that firm expression of views with which they happen not to agree must be wrong, conducive to ill-will and probably conducive to violence.

And let me say that this dislike of

having views firmly expressed which are views which you don't think happen to be right is an attitude of mind which is by no means confined to rightwing people. It is just as clear in the behaviour of leftwing people who prefer to shout down anybody who expresses views which they happen to think are wrong.

But my view, and I would suspect Mr Ramaphosa's — I don't want to put words into his mouth, but I would suspect that our views are the exact opposite. I think both of us would feel that the strong expression of differing views is something immensely important and something which, in the long run, makes for consensus about essentials.

I say particularly about essentials because you've got to fight about all sorts of things in any lively and free country. But you cannot, on the other

hand, with safety fight about the extreme essentials in the life of a country. Democracy really is a system which calls for consensus about what is absolutely fundamental and extremely angry fighting about things which are not quite so essential.

Of course, to start a new paper like this is a very brave and a very difficult thing to do. And in starting a paper, goodwill, however good the will may be, is not enough. It calls for great skills and it calls for judgment and these things were all present in the formation of this paper.

It calls for an understanding of the practical possibilities and in making the plans for this paper these were taken into account and that is why — not the only reason, but a very important reason — why after one year, the paper is flourishing instead of having died after a fortnight, as so many of the critics were inclined to think it would.

There has to be idealism, of course. Without idealism the paper would not succeed and if it did succeed, it just wouldn't be worthwhile.

But idealism has to be on a realistic basis. Perhaps I can take up my friend when he talked, I think rather scornfully, of a commercial press. I think a press, if it is going to be powerful for good, as well as for evil, has got to know what it is doing from a commercial point of view.

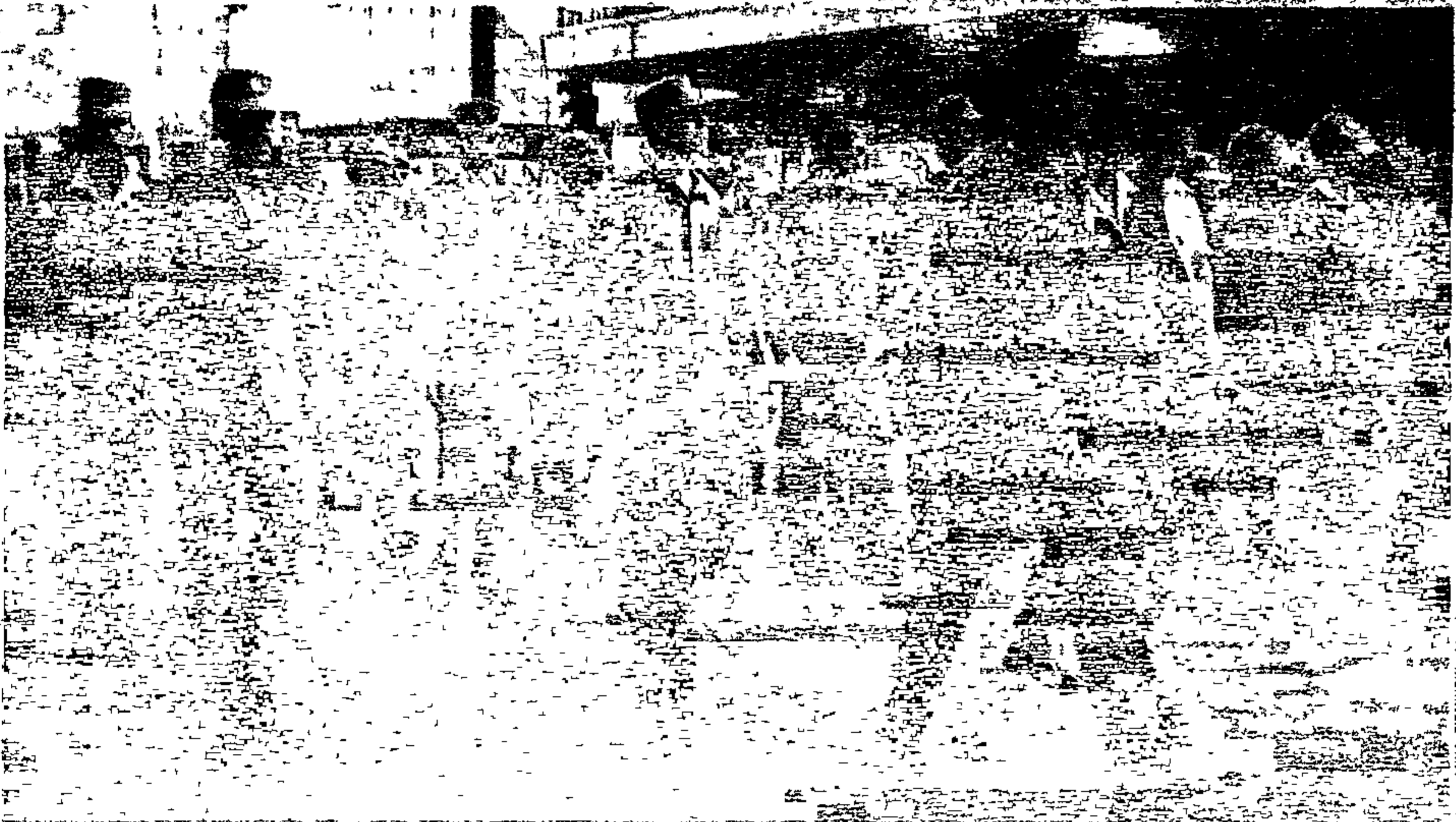
And this paper has known that and that is one of the reasons — perhaps not the most important reason, but an essential reason — why it has been a success.

The Weekly Mail is bringing a point of view which, as I have said already, I don't always agree with. But I certainly agree with this paper far more often than I disagree with it.

I think this is a paper of real importance to South Africa as a paper which is going to help bring a new, democratic and more just society into being. I want to congratulate the founders of this paper very much indeed. I want to express to them my good wishes for many anniversaries.

I hope they will go from strength to strength. I think they deserve support from all sections of South Africa, from those who represent the workers, particularly the black workers of South Africa, and I think it deserves strong support from the business community also.

Rule of the big stick



From today, the country is in their hands. Police march on Khotso House. A day later, they were back, this time under Emergency powers

SOUTH AFRICA faces tougher international sanctions, massive internal repression, an unprecedented blackout on information and the most tense June 16 since 1976 following the declaration yesterday of a national State of Emergency.

The crackdown — heavier even than last year's — has also raised the possibility of Monday's general stayaway being extended through the week.

Trade unions were among the hardest hit of the many organisations affected by raids, detentions and Emergency restrictions. Unlike last year a number of office-bearers of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa) and their affiliates were detained.

Anger expressed yesterday at the crackdown could spur hundreds of thousands of workers into a bigger demonstration than was initially planned.

According to rough estimates yesterday, up to 1 000 people were detained throughout the country. Hundreds of other activists went into hiding in anticipation of the crackdown.

This new wave of repression came as the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group urged tougher sanctions as the last chance to avert what could be "the worst bloodbath since World War Two".

One member of the Commonwealth, Canada, yesterday announced further limited sanctions against South Africa and said stiffer measures would be taken in concert with fellow Commonwealth members.

White House spokesman Larry Speakes said a delegation would be despatched from the US embassy in South Africa today to discuss the Emergency with the government, whose response "could help determine the nature of any further US moves".

In the United States, yesterday's action is almost certain to smooth the passage through Congress of the sanctions-strengthening Anti-Apartheid Bill of 1986, due to come

Sanctions, repression and a news blackout as the government steers SA down a road to nowhere

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTERS

before the House of Representatives early next week.

The provisions of the Bill include a ban on South African Airways landing rights, a ban on the import of South African coal, uranium and steel, tax penalties for companies operating in South Africa and a ban on fresh loans to the private sector.

In Paris the United Nations is preparing to host a conference starting on Monday to coordinate far-reaching international sanctions against South Africa.

In New York the UN Security Council will be meeting today to mark June 16.

In Britain Margaret Thatcher's government — which has been the one member of the Commonwealth opposed to sanctions — has been placed under extreme pressure to take economic action against South Africa.

A British Foreign Office spokesman yesterday said that "consideration will have to be given (to) whether any additional sanctions measures will have to be taken against South Africa".

Senior foreign affairs officials from all the EEC countries were meeting in The Hague late last night to discuss the situation.

The first concrete signs of the impending crackdown came as police raided the homes

of political activists in the early hours of Thursday morning.

Buildings housing anti-apartheid organisations and trade unions in all the main centres were sealed off by armed police and soldiers yesterday morning in the most extensive mass arrest of opponents of the government ever.

The Emergency regulations published yesterday are considerably tougher than those gazetted under last year's partial emergency.

They apply to the whole country, whereas last year's restrictions were valid in only 36 magisterial districts.

There are also tighter controls on publications, including a prohibition on "subversive statements" and publications of a "subversive nature".

These are defined as statements which promote unlawful strikes, boycott action or civil disobedience, attack military conscription, promote disinvestment or sanctions, aggravate feelings of racial hostility and weaken or undermining the confidence of the public.

Press gags which were in place in the last Emergency are back in force, with extra provisions giving the Security Forces the power to regulate and prohibit "any comment

or any news" in connection with their own conduct.

Although this does not give the Minister of Law and Order the explicit power to close down publications, it enables the authorities to seize and confiscate "subversive" publications.

Penalties remain the same, a maximum of R20 000 or 10 years. Once again the Security Forces have indemnity for all acts committed "in good faith".

The regulations once again include a clause removing the power to set aside any order given in terms of the Emergency.

The Weekly Mail and all other publications have been prohibited from publishing the hundreds of names of detainees in their possession. Only the names of detainees given by police will be publishable.

And, as tension rises in many townships, the government has slapped a ban on all non-residents entering Soweto. This will severely curtail coverage of June 16 events.

CARMEL RICKARD reports from Durban that Natal, which escaped the last Emergency, was particularly shocked by yesterday's clampdown.

All the organisations and groupings calling for a June 16 stayaway and planning defiant commemoration meetings — except Inkatha — were decimated.

Unlike previous widespread detentions in Natal, police seem to have included grassroots leadership, including members of relatively small and unknown community groups.

FRANZ KRÜGER reports from East London that the security swoop is believed to have netted at least 94 activists in the Border area, reaching down to the level of street committee leadership.

Ciskei police have not so far participated in the crackdown, so activists living in townships like Mdantsane have not been affected.

●To PAGE 2

PHOTO BY ANNA ZIEBINSKI/AFRAPH

Toughest security measures yet

● From PAGE 11

President PW Botha told the country on television last night that South Africans would "not allow themselves to be humiliated in order to avoid sanctions".

He said "I want to make it perfectly clear that neither the international community at large, nor any particular state, will dictate to us what the contents of our political programme should be... If we are forced to go it alone, then so be it."

South Africans, he said, were faced with a situation comparable to choosing between "war or a dishonourable, fearful peace".

Speaking in Parliament earlier in

the afternoon, Botha said the ANC, the UDF and other "radicals and anarchists" were planning large-scale unrest supported by acts of terror and sabotage between June 16 and 18.

He said that when he lifted the last State of Emergency in March he had said that existing legislation would be "revised" to grant greater powers to the authorities.

"Everything points to the fact that now and in the foreseeable future there will be a requirement for such legislation. Unfortunately it's not available at this stage," he said.

● The rand closed yesterday at \$0,3645, slightly down from the opening price of \$0,3715.

***WORD*
PROCESSING**

**THE
WEEKLY MAIL**

in Surveys
population order,

Reporters could face jail under emergency

PETER WALLINGTON

REPORTERS face 10 years in prison or a massive fine if they photograph, sketch or make sound recordings of any public disturbance without permission from a commissioned police officer.

In terms of yesterday's declaration of a general State of Emergency, strikes, riots and boycotts are included in the ban on photographs, sketches and recordings.

It is also forbidden under the new restrictions to photograph, sketch or record the "conduct" of any member of the security forces "with regard to the maintenance of the safety of the public or the public order or for the termination of the state of emergency".

Any person involved in the taking of photographs and film or recording of material, or in the distribution thereof within or outside SA, will be guilty of an offence.

People convicted of contravening any of the regulations, with the exception of one sub-regulation, face a R20 000 fine or 10 years' imprisonment, or imprisonment without the option of a fine.

The Police Directorate of Public Relations said yesterday it would no longer issue twice daily unrest reports. The Bureau of Information would assume this function.

Harsh new restrictions bind media

By Kym Hamilton and
Sue Leeman

The new state of emergency imposes harsh new restrictions on the Press

The Minister of Law and Order now has the power to ban outright any newspaper he feels is publishing subversive material. A court may not challenge this or any of the other new regulations.

In terms of the regulations, which are made under the Public Safety Act, members of the media may be barred by the Commissioner of Police — or

someone authorised by him — from certain areas.

Any news reports commenting on the conduct of the security forces in the "maintenance of public safety" are banned.

There is also a blanket ban on the dissemination of "subversive statements".

These are widely defined as:

● Speculation which may undermine the confidence of the public in the state of emergency or encouraging the public to commit any act or omission which endangers the safety of the public or the termination of the state of emergency.

● Promoting any banned organisation

● Inciting people to take part in an unlawful strikes, boycott actions, unlawful demonstrations, gatherings or protest processions, any acts of civil disobedience or actions which discredit or undermine military service.

● Promoting disinvestment or the application of sanctions or foreign action against South Africa

● Inciting any member of the public to resist or oppose the Government, Ministers or officials, or any member of the security forces, in any way in con-

SMK
13/6/86
connection with the state of emergency.

● Aggravating feelings of hostility between race groups

No filming — with still or movie cameras — will be allowed of "any public disturbance, disorder, riot, public violence, strike or boycott, or any damaging of property or any assault on or killing of any person"

The actions of the security forces when they are "maintaining public safety" may also not be filmed or photographed.

Contravening the regulations means a maximum fine of R20 000 or 10 years' jail

Clamps on the Press

These are the emergency clamps on the Press:

- No pictures or drawings of unrest, strikes or boycotts;
- No pictures or drawings of the conduct of security forces in the maintenance of public order, 13/6/86
- Detention without a warrant for 14 days is legal. This period can be renewed by the Minister of Law and Order; 243
- Detainees may be held incommunicado;
- Detainees may be subjected to dietary or corporal punishment by prison officers or a magistrate;
- No publication of the names of detainees without official permission;
- The Minister of Law and Order may ban newspapers.
- Fines of R20 000 or 10 years in jail for infringements of the clamps.
- The courts may not challenge any of the clamps.
- Journalists may be banned from any area
- News reports on the conduct of the security forces may be banned.
- Dissemination or publication of a wide range of activities defined as "subversive" are banned.

Police act on 2 Johannesburg papers

Staff Reporters

Two Johannesburg newspapers have fallen foul of the authorities within 24 hours of President P.W. Botha's announcement of the state of emergency.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, ordered the seizure of all unsold copies of the independent *Weekly Mail* and the Argus-group daily, *Sowetan*, yesterday afternoon.

Mr Dave Steward, chief director of the Bureau for Information, announced in Pretoria yesterday that the seizure was ordered in terms of emergency provisions. He alleged that the papers had contravened the emergency regulations.

Mr Steward added that he was not aware of any prosecution pending at this stage. Asked whether the papers would be banned he replied "No".

Mr Anton Harber, co-editor of the *Weekly Mail*, confirmed that unsold copies of yesterday's edition were being seized at outlets around Johannesburg.

The order came as a sequel to a Thursday night raid on Springs printing press which prints the *Weekly Mail*, he said.

The intention then had been to confiscate the entire print order, Mr Harber said. The move had been prevented by the paper's attorney who argued that the confiscation of the entire edition would require a written order from the Minister.

The international news agency, Reuters, yesterday filed censored copy from South Africa on the advice of the agency's legal representatives.

A Reuters spokesman said last night the agency had been advised that the state of emergency restrictions on Press coverage coming from South Africa applied extra-territorially.

An article quoting Bishop Desmond Tutu which Reuters filed yesterday afternoon, stated that "other comments cannot legally be quoted because of emergency censorship rules".

The Reuters spokesman said that the wire story was not intended only for domestic consumption and that according to the agency's legal advice international copy was subject to the same restrictions.

By Phil Minkulu,
Assistant News Editor

The day black reporters came of age

star 14/6/82

June 16, 1976 is the day on which black reporters came of age.

For long regarded as poor cousins of their white counterparts, black journalists rose to the occasion on this day and told the world what was happening in Soweto.

Before June 16 black journalists were experts in trivia and sensation. The divorce court with its scandals was the favourite hunting ground of many. Only a few reporters on *The World* and its sister newspaper,

Weekend World knew about the march, though they were aware of the ongoing protest by pupils at schools around Orlando West against certain subjects being taught in Afrikaans. Apart from those who knew about the march, most reporters had left for their usual beats.

But when violence erupted in Soweto late in the morning, almost all the black reporters from various newspapers raced

to Soweto where they were confronted by a situation which they had not experienced before.

The last such occurrence was 16 years ago during the Sharpeville shootings. Those who had covered Sharpeville were no longer in the Press.

Inexperienced and without any training they had to cope with the situation as best they could.

Getting the stories was no problem. It was happening all over this sprawling township. Smoke billowed from as far as the eye could see, covering the sky and threatening to transform day into night.

Most of the action was concentrated around Orlando West during mudday but moved further into Soweto where bottle stores and administration board offices were broken into,

looted and set alight. The journalists followed the action throughout the afternoon and evening and the next day told the world what was going on in Soweto.

Black journalists were suddenly "discovered" and became overnight celebrities. They made their first acquaintance with the overseas media Sunday BBC, CBS and other overseas media were telephoning,

wanting information about what was happening in the townships.

Under the most difficult conditions, photographers did a sterling job getting pictures which illustrated the severity of the violence. But it did not remain easy and the journalists soon had to pay a high price for this new found fame.

They were beaten by police, bitten by dogs, and teargassed. About eight reporters were detained under the Internal Security Act and spent five months kicking their heels at Modder Bee Prison while the country was burning.

JOHANNESBURG PAPERS



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The state of emergency would last as long as necessary to restore law and order to South Africa, says the Chief Director of the Bureau for Information, Mr Dave Steward. With the emergency only two days old, the hardest hit so far have been news media. Swift action has been taken by police against the Sowetan, Weekly Mail, CBS News and ABC News.

The two newspapers were taken off the streets, but international camera crews arrested, at least one international news agency forced to censor its reports, and a cameraman with deportation order.

Speaking at a Press conference in Pretoria, Mr Steward said action taken so far showed the Government "is upholding its media curbs this time". He said the last emergency — which applied only in 30 magisterial districts — had been successful in curbing violence in the areas where it was in force. The new emergency could be more successful.

The Government's plan to stand and fight and to negotiate until this had been achieved, negotiations towards a peaceful solution for South Africa, could not go ahead. The cabinet's role with black South Africans if they are terrified to enter the negotiation process because they may be burnt to death.

Mr Steward made it clear that there would be dire consequences for any news medium which contravened the broadly-phrased security regulations now applicable under the emergency. But he declined to spell out exactly what was taboo for the media. To cover the onus was one them to establish what was admissible. Foreign correspondents were threatened with deportation if they did not "play the game".

Steps have already been taken against the Sowetan and the Weekly Mail both of which have had their offices raided and their editions of yesterday seized by the police. Though neither newspaper has been banned, they may be prosecuted for the contents of the confiscated editions.

TV crews from ABC and CBS, arrested in Johannesburg yesterday while interviewing passers-by, could also face prosecution for contravening security regulations.

Mr Steward said the presence of the media in trouble spots could incite violence. "The foreign media in particular have become part of a syndrome in this situation". Mr Steward also criticised the media for using such terms as "white minority regime".

Expulsion Order on newsman

A cameraman from the American CBS News bureau in Johannesburg was yesterday ordered to leave South Africa by mid-night on Tuesday.

The Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha, gave no reason for ordering the deportation of Mr Wim de Vos, a Dutch national who has lived in South Africa for 11 years. Mr Botha said Mr de Vos could appeal by Monday.

Mr de Vos was arrested on Wednesday in Cape Town and charged with resisting arrest hindering a police officer and attending an illegal gathering. It was the second time Mr de Vos was ordered deported since March. He was one of three CBS staffs told to leave after the network broadcast footage of a mass funeral.

Meanwhile, the Bureau for Information in Pretoria said television crews for CBS and ABC News, another American network, were arrested in Johannesburg, and police were considering possible charges.

Media crackdown



Bishop Desmond Tutu and President Botha, the two leaders at the heart of the bid to restore peace and calm in the country, met in Cape Town yesterday for consultations lasting 90 minutes.

We should talk more, President tells Tutu

The door was always open and we should talk more, the State President, Mr P.W. Botha, told Bishop Desmond Tutu after "cordial" talks in Cape Town yesterday.

According to the bishop Mr Botha had said he was "always prepared to talk". The Anglican Archbishop elect met Mr Botha for 90 minutes and said afterwards they agreed that both were South Africans and disliked communism.

"We agreed we were Christians, anti-communists and anti-Marxists. And we had disagreements," said Bishop Tutu at a news conference shortly afterwards. "We disagreed on the state of emergency and the banning of June 16. I asked him whether he did not think the ban was self-defeating because people were going to observe June 16 — after all troops were going to be deployed," Bishop Tutu said.

How can anyone want to treat the emissary of the Archbishop in that way? "They clearly don't want him here over this weekend. If they have nothing to hide, why can't they have him here?" On the impounding of the Weekly Mail and Sowetan he said "we have entered the Dark Ages, where black people's views can no longer be heard. It is night-marish."

Fools but is he

If thoroughbred horse racing and its participants were as predictable as other South African sports, and their players' Government would be plucked in ages ago and labelled as to the Caprivian get on with it on our own.

Here are a couple of gaffes happenings in the so-called excellent and clean world of sport. Transvaal beat Western Province at Newlands, 10 years ago. Zola Budd spent Sunday afternoon on the bonneted her dad car watching for burglar and Caribound traffic but now slips ten onades in English pub; and Ra Mordt has made the sort of corrections we expected from Christine Keeler but never got. I think critics owe racing an apology for all those nasty things they had to say when

To Page 2, Col 6



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No place to hide for the Press

EVEN at the worst of times Crossroads used to be a safe place for members of the Press.

But the situation changed this week when the "Witdoek" vigilantes - bent on destroying the KTC camp - seriously injured ITN cameraman George De'Ath and his soundman Andile Fozzi.

De'Ath - hacked by poison gas - is in a very critical condition in Groote Schuur Hospital.

Fozzi - discharged from the hospital on Monday night - said they went to Crossroads early on Tuesday to beat police.

"The 'comrades' warned

us that if we did not leave the Press around in that area would be dangerous because of from them."

"The vigilantes had the vigilantes on the retreat and the ITN team followed closely. But the vigilantes rallied and forced the comrades back.

"We were out on our own - right in the middle. A group of vigilantes came up to us and asked what we were doing in the area."

"One of them said 'We don't want the Press here. There's no good. I explained that we were doing a job but they attacked us'."

"George collapsed. I

dropped the equipment and ran for help. A Casspir arrived and I ran towards them. I told the cops what had happened. They pointed a gun at the man and he ran away. We went to look for George and found him.

"The police allowed their video unit to shoot a film of George before we were taking to hospital."

● CBS cameraman Wim de Vos appeared in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court yesterday for allegedly contravening the Police Act. De Vos, CBS soundman Anton van der Merwe and Associated Press photographer Greg English were arrested on Wednesday.

CITY PRESS

243

S. Times

Media curbs in full sway

15/6/86

243

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By EVELYN HOLTZHAUSEN
London

FOREIGN journalists who fear imprisonment, heavy fines and deportation under South Africa's new state of emergency regulations have restricted their reports

It has also been reported here that journalists working for foreign media have been "advised" to hire legal experts to interpret the new emergency regulations

"We are not kidding," said Mr David Steward, Director of the Bureau for Information, at a Press conference

He said the Ministry of Law and Order was already investigating possible violations of the curbs

In Britain most newspaper space relating to South Africa has been given to the sanctions debate and to restrained reports of the meeting between Bishop Desmond Tutu and the State President, Mr P W Botha

Confiscations

Most newspapers carried a paragraph explaining that emergency censorship rules forbid the publication of "subversive statements" that "could incite the public to oppose provisions of the emergency".

Police raids on South African newspapers, the Weekly Mail and the Sowetan, have also received wide publicity

Meanwhile 16 people were arrested outside the South African embassy in London on Friday night.

They were taking part in the 56th day of a picket against apartheid. The picket is planned to continue until the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela

A Scotland Yard police spokesman said the 16 had been arrested and charged with a "public order" offence

5.11.10 (25)
13.11.10
**Police check
on paper 243**

POLICE visited the offices of the Johannesburg newspaper, City Press, yesterday afternoon. They asked to see a copy of the weekend edition, but the newspaper had not yet been printed, said a member of the editorial staff.

Page proofs were not ready either when they asked to examine them for "subversive" material. They returned later and left with a copy of the paper

A Bureau for Information spokesman said he would not comment on "individual security force action".

Media clamp tightens

THELMA TUCH

THE clampdown on the media intensified at the weekend with further police visits to two newspaper offices in attempts to pre-empt publication of material on June 16.

Police arrived at the City Press offices in Johannesburg on Saturday and demanded copies of the newspaper's June 15 edition.

On Saturday night, police entered the premises of the Sunday Tribune in Durban and demanded to see proofs of the pages before they were

printed. A police captain left the offices with a copy of the newspaper.

The offices of Grassroots and the New Nation were visited by police on Thursday and the next day copies of Weekly Mail and Sowetan were seized by police at various outlets.

On Friday, CBS Network cameraman Wim de Vos was ordered to leave SA by tomorrow

Police visit Natal paper at weekend

N/14 16/6/86 (243)

Mercury Reporter

THE Sunday Tribune in Durban was visited by police at the weekend. It is the sixth newspaper to be visited by police since the state of emergency was declared on Thursday.

The editor, Mr Ian Wyllie, said last night a police captain had arrived about 7 p.m. on Saturday to check the newspaper and had asked if any changes would be made to it during the course of the night.

'I told him we had no idea at all,' said Mr Wyllie, who described the visit as 'cordial'.

Three hours later, the Tribune's press was stopped to include the news of Durban's beachfront bomb blast.

Sapa reports that police also visited the offices of the Johannesburg newspa-

per City Press on Saturday.

According to City Press, police wanted copies of the newspaper's Sunday edition which they believed were being distributed with a 'June 16' banner on the front page.

City Press's associate editor Louis Oosthuysen, and legal adviser Mr Keith Lister, explained that the Sunday edition had not even been printed and that it did not contain the front-page banner.

The police, who said they were acting under instructions from Brig Gert Erasmus, then left.

'The police had been under the impression they had the power to impound all copies of City Press. As we understand the state-of-emergency regulations this is not correct. Such an action would require a ministerial order,' said Mr

Oosthuysen.

Earlier, Brig Erasmus had telephoned the City Press offices to ask about the paper's coverage of June 16 commemoration meetings. When staff declined to give him information, the brigadier said he was 'sending his men'.

On Thursday, the offices of the community newspaper Grassroots in Cape Town and the New Nation in Johannesburg were visited by police.

On Friday, copies of the Weekly Mail and the Sowetan were seized at various outlets on the Witwatersrand.

Mr David Steward of the Bureau of Information said in Pretoria that charges of breaching Press curbs contained in the emergency regulations were being investigated.

SOX
Appeal on
expulsion of
cameraman
203

By Toni Young husband

American television network, CBS News, has filed an appeal against the expulsion from South Africa of one of its cameramen, Mr Wim de Vos, who has been given until midnight tomorrow to leave the country

Mr Bill Mutschmann, of CBS, said today representation had been made to Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha, who had given no reason for ordering the deportation

An ABC television crew was arrested while conducting man-in-the-street interviews on the state of emergency and released after two hours

"We protested but the Bureau of Information said that in terms of the Emergency regulations, the action was justified," said Mr Dave Allen, bureau chief for ABC

A freelance journalist and photographer for the *Sunday Tribune*, Miss Joanne Shepherd-Smith and Mr Ranjith Kally, were held briefly at the scene of the Durban bomb blast on Saturday

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Britain's newspapers and television stations continue to focus unremitting attention on South Africa.

The mass black stayaway, the sanctions debate and the Press ban are the issues Fleet Street spotlights in prominent front and inside page reports today.

South Africa was the main item on all television news broadcasts — despite the observation of one correspondent in Johannesburg: "I don't know what is happening in Soweto today, but even if I did, I wouldn't be allowed to tell you."

The *Daily Mail's* main front-page headline, describing the Soweto anniversary, is: "Silent as the grave".

Four editorials today offer advice to Mrs Thatcher on whether or not Britain should impose sanctions and the *Daily Express* criticises Pretoria for its "new Press gag", saying it will create more hostility.

Warning that Britain's failure to act threatens the future of the Commonwealth, the *Today* newspaper says. "No other international institution — certainly not the United Nations — fulfils the same functions. It does not deserve to disintegrate in acrimony."

The Times says: "The pressures in favour of (South Africa) erecting a garrison state and defying world opinion would be actually encouraged and promoted by sanctions."

"The Government was right to take its stand in Brussels yesterday on the principle that sanctions are bad morality and bad politics. It should not weaken in today's debate".

Cautioning against driving President P W Botha, to "extremes" — where he "may throw up

his hands, pull up the drawbridge and declare he has no option but to go it alone", the *Daily Telegraph* suggests measures which will "distance ourselves from the present way of conducting government in South Africa and which will offer the pressure needed to change it quickly enough"

Recognising that sanctions may not prevent "a bloodbath", *The Guardian* says: "They are the best that the West in particular can do to influence events at this despairingly late stage."

"Nobody now should doubt either the lateness of the hour, or the need — however vainly, however reluctantly — to stand up and be counted."



Ban imposed on emergency news

ORDERS putting a virtual blanket restriction on reporting the emergency without official permission were issued yesterday by Commissioner of Police General Johann Coetzee.

The media are prohibited from announcing, disseminating, distributing, taking or sending within or from SA any comment or news about the "conduct" of the security forces regarding the maintenance of the safety of the public, public order or the termination of the state of emergency without his consent or that of someone authorised by him.

A second order has prohibited the presence of journalists, for the purpose of reporting, in any black residential area or any area where unrest was occurring, except with prior permission.

The orders were made in terms of Regulation 7 (1) (C) and (D) of the Emergency Regulations, the Bureau for Information announced yesterday.

The bureau declined to explain what was meant by "conduct" of the security forces.

The orders apply to the written word almost the same restrictions as are already applied to photographic, television and radio reporting.

In a separate statement, deputy Minis-

Business Day Reporters

ter of Information Louis Nel yesterday stated the tone of unrest reporting by various foreign news agencies.

Nel's statement was read to foreign and local journalists by Bureau of Information spokesman Leon Mellet at a press briefing in Pretoria.

The deputy Minister said reporting of the latest unrest figures in SA created the impression black deaths were the result of "anti-apartheid protests or an uprising against government".

He said foreign journalists did not have the right to lambast government with selective reporting using emotional terminology.

Nel singled out a Reuter's report from Sunday - "This brings to 19 the death toll since Pretoria clamped a draconian state of emergency on the riot-torn country on Thursday," wrote Reuter's David Rogers.

Nel said, "It might be Rogers' opinion we have a draconian state of emergency. It is, however, the opinion of government and millions of blacks and whites that a

● To Page 2 →

Emergency reports restricted

state of emergency is necessary to prevent what I personally regard as a draconian commitment to violence and revolution by radicals.

"His reference to a riot-torn country is also objectionable. Surely we have riots and we have unrest. That is why we have a state of emergency.

"But the statement clearly ignores the great deal of normality that most South African experience daily," Nel said.

Reuter's chief representative in SA Julian Kerr said any comment on the agency's coverage would be unwise under the present circumstances.

Nel urged journalists not to portray unrest figures in a way that suggested government was responsible for every death in the black community.

← From Page 1

CAP-11mfs 17/6/86

243

Nel objects to reports 'editorializing' on SA

PRETORIA. — The Deputy Information Minister, Mr Louis Nel, yesterday objected to foreign correspondents lambasting the government and warned that the Bureau for Information would carefully monitor reports on unrest.

Mr Nel said in a statement released here that he objected to "editorializing by correspondents when it is expected that they report objectively on what is happening"

He said "Having read various agency reports I have come to the conclusion that the death toll in South Africa is presented in such a manner as to create the impression that all blacks who died, died in so-called anti-apartheid protests

or in an uprising against the government. Nothing could be further from the truth."

In fact the deaths should be attributed to the "alarming escalation of black-on-black violence since the lifting of the previous limited state of emergency in March", he said.

The essence of the conflict was clear. "Some blacks, supported by whites, are committed to the violent overthrow of the SA Government, a revolution and the establishment of a non-democratic, Marxist state."

Most blacks did not support this, therefore these radicals could hope to succeed only through the use of violent intimidation to gain

control of the black people.

Mr Nel told correspondents to draw a distinction and to portray deaths resulting from black-on-black violence as such.

He objected to a Reuter report dated June 15 by David Rogers which read "This brings to 19 the death toll since Pretoria clamped a draconian state of emergency on the riot-torn country on Thursday"

Mr Nel said. "It might be Mr Rogers' opinion that we have a draconian state of emergency. It is, however, the opinion of the government and millions of blacks and whites that a state of emergency is necessary to prevent what I personally regard as a draconian commitment to violence and revolution by radicals

"I am of the opinion that it is highly unprofessional of Mr Rogers to present his personal opinion as fact"

Mr Nel also objected to the reference of "a riot-torn country"

"Surely we have riots and we have unrest. That is why we have a state of emergency. But the statement clearly ignores the great deal of normality that most South Africans experience daily."

"A completely false perception is created by this kind of reporting"

— Sapa

Nel swings a blow at foreign journalists

Deputy Minister of Information Mr Louis Nel yesterday objected to foreign correspondents lambasting the Government. He objected to "editorialising by correspondents, when it is expected they report objectively"

"Having read various agency reports, I have come to the conclusion that the death toll in South Africa is presented in such a manner as to create the impression that all blacks who died had died in so-called anti-apartheid protests, or in an uprising against the Government. Nothing could be further from the truth."

The deaths should be attributed to the "alarming escalation of black-on-black violence since the lifting of the previous limited state of emergency"

"Some blacks, supported by whites, are committed to the violent overthrow of the Government, a revolution, and the establishment of a Marxist state." Most blacks did not support this, so these radicals could hope to gain control only through violent intimidation, — Sapa.

SOWETAN impounded

THE *Sowetan* and *Weekly Mail* were at the weekend the first victims of the Government's emergency regulations when unsold copies of these publications were impounded.

However, the two publications have not been banned. They will still be published.

But, the Editor, Mr Joe Latakomo, and the owners and publishers of the *Sowetan*, The Argus Printing and Publishing Company, may appear in court to face charges of contravening the provisions of the emergency regulations.

Mr Dave Steward, director-general of the Bureau of Information, confirmed at the weekend that charges against the *Sowetan* and *Weekly Mail* were being investigated. According to weekend reports no final decision had so far been taken.

On Friday afternoon copies of the two newspapers were taken away from vendors at street corners and news stalls.

Late on Friday it was reported that Friday's edition of the *Sowetan* had been banned and could not be distributed.

The action against the *Sowetan* and *Weekly Mail* was one of several as the Government moved in to control the Press and what is published.

On Saturday the offices of the *City Press* and *Sunday Tribune*, were visited by Government officials to check on page proofs.

Last Wednesday offices of the fortnightly independent newspaper, the *New Nation*, were also visited. This was after hundreds of leaders had been detained and the state of emergency announced.

Live satellite news out of SA banned

All live satellite transmissions out of South Africa by foreign television networks have been banned

This was confirmed by the senior director of news at the SABC, Mr Sakkie Burger

Mr Burger said it was not an SABC decision but a directive from the Bureau for Information

'We were informed by the bureau last night,' Mr Burger said. The ban would last for the duration of the state of emergency

'The reason is to determine responsibility for what is broadcast outside South Africa. If material is recorded prior to the satellite we may provide our facilities'

The Foreign Correspondents' Association co-vice chairman, Mr Michael Hornsby, said 'The move is just another screw in the censorship of news media'

'We don't know if we will protest as these statements of regret tend to lose their meaning sometimes'

'I suppose what one must assume is that it's easy to stop pre-recorded material going out, but live material is more difficult to control'

● See Pages 3, 5 and 13.

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Press ban imposed on Winnie — lawyer

~~STAR~~ STAR 243
By Jo-Anne Collinge
17/6/86

New restrictions have been imposed on Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

They effectively place her under night-time house arrest until Friday this week and prohibit her from giving interviews to the Press for the same period, according to her attorney Mr Ismail Ayob.

He said, on the basis of a telephone conversation he had yesterday evening with Mrs Mandela, it appeared the restriction on Press interviews applied only to interviews with media representatives in the Transvaal

RESTRICTIONS

Mrs Mandela has been restricted — by house arrest, by bans which have kept her from attending meetings and living where she chooses, and by "listening" which has prevented her being quoted — for about two decades.

Less than three months ago her last ban became inoperative after a precedent case in which the Supreme Court set aside a ban on Port Elizabeth Consumer Boycott Committee leader Mr Mkhuseh Jack.

Cape Times 17/6/86 (243)
Newsman has till midnight

PRETORIA — Dutch cameraman Mr Wim de Vos of the American television network CBS has been ordered to leave the country by midnight tonight, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said last night.

Although he was not obliged to, Mr Botha said, he gave Mr De Vos the opportunity to supply him with reasons as to why he should not be

expelled from South Africa

He gave Mr De Vos's reasons thorough consideration but decided, in the public interest, to adhere to his former decision.

In terms of Article 45 of the Act relating to the admission of people to the Republic (Act 59 of 1972), the minister can expel a person from the Republic if it is in the public interest — Sapa

SOWETAN

Black papers hard hit

JOURNALISTS may effectively not cover any event in areas declared as "unrest areas" — and that includes reporting on soccer, entertainment and social events.

This emerged yesterday following inquiries by the *Sowetan* to the Bureau of Information, the only body that can issue information on unrest or the application of the state of emergency regulations.

The *Sowetan* was told that permission had to be sought from the police for any reporter to enter such townships for purposes of coverage of events.

Such requests would have to be for specific events, and each time reporters have to go into townships, new applications for permission had to be made.

While this provision affects all newspapers, the *Sowetan* and other black newspapers will be hard hit, as most of their news

coverage is in the townships.

On average, seven teams of journalists have to go into Soweto each day for various purposes — ranging from coverage of sport, women's interest articles, showbiz and social occasions.

This means that for Soweto only, at least seven applications a day have to be made for reporters to enter the townships.

Sowetan
18/6/86
Unrest 243

The provision is over and above the general ban on reporting of information relating to unrest. Only information from the Bureau of Information on the unrest can be published.

The *Sowetan* — or any other newspaper — is not allowed to comment on this, as is the case on any other unrest situation.

Local and foreign newsmen

were taken on a tour of Soweto yesterday by the Bureau for information, Sapa reports.

No unrest was observed from behind the two mesh-protected police buses in which the journalists were driven around.

Residents walking around the streets looked at the passing buses impassively. No black power salutes were given or slogans shouted.

The group of 20 newsmen had been flown to Protea police station in two Puma helicopters from Swartkop Air Base near Pretoria.

The tour included Rockville, Diepkloof, Orlando, Orlando West, Dube, Mofolo Village — an area of shacks — and White City.

TV crews shot the stark difference in appearance between the brownish Soweto and the lush northern suburbs of Johannesburg as the helicopters flew over these areas.

The daily battle for facts in Pretoria

By Sue Leeman
and Kym Hamilton,
Pretoria Bureau

A cold war is developing between the media and the Bureau for Information

The bureau's daily media briefings have become a tussle of wills between the two parties — on the Press's side to assemble information from official reports and on the bureau's to prevent what are considered to be distorted reports

The bureau has come down heavily on certain of the overseas news agencies, one being criticised for calling the emergency measures "draconian" and for saying South Africa was "riot-torn"

Others of the foreign media have been criticised for calling the South African Government a "minority white regime"

A Johannesburg newspaper was attacked for saying the bureau was wilfully withholding information

The bureau meets many media questions with the stock response "Consult your legal advisors"

LAUGHTER

Other questions are answered with a reference to Section 7 (1) (c) of the emergency regulations, which the Commissioner of Police has invoked to place a blanket ban on the reporting of unrest — unless the information is released by the bureau

The bureau has even gone so far as to deny one foreign correspondent the permission to report her own question at one of the briefings

It has also rebuked the media for using the briefing sessions as a forum for even the smallest query.

The bureau says it cannot comment on every incident of unrest or political development and will go no further than its official brief every day

The media have obviously had mixed feelings about this treatment.

There was sarcastic laughter when the foreign correspondent was refused permission to report her question

And there was a stunned reaction when the media was told the only reason telephone links in major black townships all "malfunctioned" on June 16 was a "technical problem".

18/6/86 BUS DAY

CBS cameraman: court drama

did not act in the public interest
The judge asked security policemen, whom he believed had entered the court to arrest De Vos, to leave if they were going to disturb the proceedings. He later allowed them to remain, but added that an arrest could not be made while the court was in session.

In further government moves against the media yesterday

□ The State President has, by a notice in the *Government Gazette*, widened the news black-out on the actions of the security forces to include those of the "self-governing territories"

The notice, retroactive to June 12, extends the meaning of the term "Force" to include the police forces of the "self-governing territories" and the SA Police operating in these territories.

□ Home Affairs officials have started compiling lists of foreign journalists working in newspaper offices around the country, a spokesman for Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha confirmed in Cape Town last night.

He could not say why the lists were being compiled but similar lists had also been demanded from 374 other companies in SA.

□ Bureau for Information head David Steward said yesterday charges against

the *Weekly Mail* and the *Sowetan* were being investigated

A spokesman for the *Sowetan* said its Editor, Joe Latakomo, and owners and publishers the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, might appear in court to face charges for contravening provisions of the emergency regulations

□ Co-editor of the *Weekly Mail*, Anton Harber, said he expected security police to return on Thursday before the newspaper went to press

□ All live satellite transmissions from SA by foreign television companies have been banned for the duration of the emergency. Director of news at the SABC, Sakkie Burger, said this was not an SABC decision, but a directive from the Bureau for Information.

□ A spokesman for the bureau, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said an investigation was under way to establish if reports that Winnie Mandela had been put under house arrest were violations of the emergency regulations

(*Business Day* is satisfied that its publication of the news was within the terms of the regulations — Editor.)

From Page 1 243

CBS man in court drama

A TRANSVAAL Supreme Court judge yesterday threatened to order security policemen from his courtroom for disturbing the proceedings

He believed they intended to arrest CBS cameraman Wim de Vos

De Vos was due last night to leave SA after his last-minute application failed in ordering that his deportation warrant, issued on Friday, be set aside until fur-

ther legal proceedings could take place. After four hours of legal argument, Mr Justice A J Van Niekerk said he could not find that the Minister of Home Affairs, who signed the deportation order,

243 BUS DAY
DIANNA GAMES, SOPHIE
TEMA and Sapa

18/6/86 • To Page 2 →



● BOTHA

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS
and Own Correspondent

Massive clamp follows State of Emergency

Prepare for a steep economy, P W warns

BUS DAY 18/6/86

STATE President P W Botha went on television last night to warn the nation to prepare for a siege economy.

Botha's speech came after a massive clampdown under the general State of Emergency imposed yesterday.

As many as 1 200 people are reported to have been arrested. They include numerous church officials, senior trade unionists and leading black politicians — some of them top officials of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo).

Initial international reaction to the clampdown was muted, but organised commerce, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups condemned it.

The British government expressed its disappointment, the US called for restraint and black opposition groups and West Germany voiced concern. It is also believed US President Ronald Reagan sent a personal message to Botha.

10 YEARS IN PRISON FOR UNAUTHORISED PICTURES

THERE has been a severe clampdown on the media as a result of the imposition of a State of Emergency. In terms of the emergency regulations published yesterday:

- Journalists face ten years in prison or a R20 000 fine if they photograph, sketch or make sound recordings of any public disturbance, strike, riot or boycott without permission from a commissioned police officer.

- It is also forbidden under the new restrictions to photograph, sketch or record the "conduct" of any member of the security forces "with regard to the maintenance of the safety of the public or the public order or for the termination of the state of emergency".
- Detainees may not be identified without official permission.

● See Page 3

In New York, UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar summoned SA ambassador Kurt von Schrinding, and the Security Council was due to consult on a request by Zaire for an urgent meeting.

Botha's declaration drew strong condemnation from organised commerce and industry. An Associated Press article for the emergency to be lifted as soon as possible, so that moderate opinion could be given another

opportunity to assert itself.

The Federated Chamber of Industries (FCD) dissociated itself from government strategy of political repression. Wide powers have been given to the security forces in terms of the regulations, which allow for detention up to 14 days — or until the end of the emergency, should law and Order Minister Louis Le Grange so decide.

Cabinet and security force members have been indemnified against civil or

criminal proceedings arising out of the enforcement of the regulations.

Botha said he did not underestimate the sacrifices and problems that sanctions would entail. However, SA would not draw before anyone to prevent sanctions if they came.

"Committed as we are to peace and normal international relations, the world must take note and never forget that we

● To Page 2



SEE PAGE 3

● WIDE powers have been given to the security forces in terms of the new Public Safety Act regulations.

● THE US and Britain have reacted cautiously to the Emergency.

● OPPOSITION parties — except the right wing — have stayed in.

● REPORTERS face 10 years' jail if they photograph unrest without permission.

P.70

Cape Times

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 18, 1986

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Cart Times 18/86

Stuttafords
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 20 piece cutlery sets, available in red, white, yellow and pink. ONLY R95,00.
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Deportations: SA under fire

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA yesterday found itself in the midst of growing diplomatic difficulties as a result of deportations ordered during the emergency.

In two diplomatic moves yesterday, the Australian Government expelled an official in the Canberra embassy (see page 3) and the West German Government handed a protest demarche to the South African Ambassador in Bonn on the deportation of four German nationals.

A Dutch TV cameraman, Mr Wim de Vos, was also deported last night after a legal battle yesterday which is likely to strain further diplomatic relations with The Hague.

Mr De Vos was taken to Jan Smuts Airport by police last night after a Transvaal Supreme Court judge could not find that the Minister for Home

Affairs had not acted in the national interest in ordering the cameraman's expulsion.

During the proceedings Mr Justice A J van Niekerk threatened to order security policemen from his court for disturbing the proceedings.

Replying to Bonn's protest against the deportation of the four West Germans, two of them churchmen from Maritzburg, Mr Theobald Kneifel and Mr Heinz Ernst, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday issued a statement in strong diplomatic terms defending their expulsion.

Mr Botha said the South African Government objected to the tone of the demarche.

"The West German nationals were engaged in activities which warranted their detention in terms of the applicable South African legal provisions," said Mr Botha.

"The (Government) furthermore, takes the strongest exception to the reference in the demarche to any alleged violation of the fundamental right to religious freedom."

South Africa also came under fire from Sweden, Canada and France, who decided to curb trade links with South Africa.

In South Africa the American Ambassador, Mr Herman Nickel, became involved in a dispute with the SABC about why he was not prepared to participate in a programme on racial discrimination in America (see page 7).

In further government moves against the media yesterday:

● A notice in the Government Gazette has widened the news blackout on the actions of security forces to the "self-governing territories".

The notice, retroactive to

June 12, extends the meaning of the term "force" to include the police of the "self-governing territories" and the SA Police operating in these territories.

● All live satellite transmissions from South Africa by foreign television companies have been banned for the duration of the emergency.

● Home Affairs officials have started compiling lists of foreign journalists working in newspaper offices in South Africa, a spokesman for the Minister of Home Affairs confirmed in Cape Town last night.

● The head of the Bureau for Information, Mr David Steward, said yesterday that charges against the Weekly Mail and the Sowetan were being investigated.

● Australia tells brogmsnick attaché to gp, page 3.



CBS cameraman Wim de Vos

NEWSPAPER

Cape Times 18/6/86 (243) (37)

Editor's case postponed

Court Reporter

THE trial of the Editor of the Cape Times, Mr A H Heard, was postponed in his absence in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court yesterday.

The postponement date, July 18, had previously been arranged between Mr Heard's representative, Mr Tim McIntosh, and Mr J Ree-

bein, for the State. Mr Heard was not required to appear in court.

Mr Heard has not been formally charged nor has he been asked to plead

The case arises from the publication of an interview with the president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, in November last year and falls under Section 56(1)(P) of the Internal Security Act, which relates to quoting a banned person.

The magistrate was Mr M J C Tolken.

SPAK
18/6/85 (243)
Soweto ban
hits Sowetan
journalists

The *Sowetan* newspaper's reporters may not enter Soweto in terms of the emergency regulations — not even to cover a soccer game

A large white square dominates the front page of today's *Sowetan* — explained by the caption "it became clear we could not get into Soweto ..

Inside readers also found a blank where they might expect an editorial column.

"All that we and other media have to contribute at this time .. has been effectively banned," an explanation at the bottom of the "editorial blank space" said

Star photographer Herbert Mabuza discovered on Monday that he cannot even take his equipment home with him. He had to return to the office to deposit it first

Star staffers could not get into Soweto yesterday to photograph Bishop Desmond Tutu and Mr Terry Waite, the Archbishop of Canterbury's envoy



Journalists peer from the inside of a police bus during a mystery tour of Soweto yesterday. They were invited during the Bureau for Information's Press conference yesterday morning — without being told what their destination would be.

Press given mystery tour of Soweto

By Mike Cadman

The Bureau for Information took about 20 local and foreign Pressmen on a "mystery tour" of Soweto yesterday.

The Pressmen, most of them Johannesburg-based, were flown by helicopter from Swartkops Airbase in Pretoria to Soweto. They were not told their destination before they got to Swartkops

After flying over Johannesburg and Soweto, the helicopters landed at Protea Police Station where the reporters and photographers, along with heavily armed policemen, were loaded into two police buses.

A 50-minute tour round the outwardly peaceful streets of Soweto followed — but reporters were not allowed to alight

Some cameramen peered out of the doors, but others had to squint through the heavily meshed windows. Some expressed their

dissatisfaction with the arrangements.

"First time I've attended a Press conference in a cage," said one reporter.

In the back of the buses lay plastic crates bearing the information: "Cart riot irrit, 37 mm" (referring to 37 mm teargas shells)

When the buses returned to Protea, journalists climbed back into the helicopters, flew over Johannesburg, and were taken to Swartkops so that they could return to Johannesburg by car.

The "tour" was announced at the 11 am Bureau for Information Press conference yesterday, but reporters were not told of its destination or format of the tour

It was the first time the media had been officially allowed into township for the purpose of reporting since the Commissioner of Police slapped a ban on all unrest reporting

18/6/86
STAR
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Reporter in court

THE Pretoria-based staff reporter of the *Sowetan*, Mr Monk Nkomo, appeared briefly in the local magistrate's court yesterday, following a subpoena that he gave information relating to houses allegedly attacked by the police in the township.

The magistrate, Mr M Boon, postponed the case to next Friday, June 27 after the local senior state prosecutor, Mr A F du Toit told the court that Mr Nkomo's attorney in Johannesburg, Mr Paul Jenkins had informed him on Tuesday that he would not be available yesterday. No evidence was led.

Mr Nkomo was served with a subpoena in accordance with section 205 of Act 51 of 1977 on June 5. The subpoena followed a story in the *Sowetan*. Mr Nkomo is required to disclose the sources of his information.

According to the subpoena, Mr Nkomo has been ordered by the State to "testify and state everything that he knows regarding the presumed offence of arson suspected to have been committed by members of the SA Police".

Mr Nkomo would be liable to a six months' jail sentence should he refuse to give evidence.

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SOWETAN 19/6/88

CME TINKS 19/6/86 243

500 attend cameraman's funeral

JOHANNESBURG. — More than 500 people — family, friends and colleagues of cameraman Mr George De'Ath — attended a memorial service yesterday morning for the first journalist to die while covering unrest in South Africa.

Mr De'Ath, 34, died on Saturday after he was injured by panga- and axe-wielding men early last week during clashes in the squatter camps of Crossroads, Nyanga and KTC.

The service in Johannesburg's St. Columbus Church in Parkview was led by the Rev Alan Maker of the Presbyterian church. It was attended by the Archbishop-elect of Cape Town, Bishop Desmond Tutu, and the special envoy of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr Terry Waite.

Mr David Nicholas, the London editor of ITN, for which Mr De'Ath was working when he was critically injured, attended the service and addressed the mourners. Also present was local ITN correspondent Mr Peter Sharp.

Extra chairs had to be brought into the church and many people clustered at the door. Among the mourners were foreign correspondents, film crews, local newspaper, radio and television journalists, representatives for the Foreign Correspondents' Association, the president of the Southern African Society of Journalists, Miss Pat Sidley, and veteran photographer Peter Magubane.

Representing Inkatha was Ms Suzanne Griffin, while a past president of the Black Sash, Mrs Joyce Harris, and the wife of expelled CBS cameraman Mr Wim de Vos, Sigrid, were also present.

Mr De'Ath's body was cremated in Cape Town earlier yesterday. The Bureau for Information in Pretoria postponed yesterday's daily press conference on the emergency situation, scheduled for 11am, to 3pm to allow media representatives to attend the service.

Press photographers kept a low profile and ITN unobtrusively filmed the service.

Speaking on behalf of ITN, Mr Nicholas conveyed his sympathy to Mr De'Ath's family and close friends. He said it was the first time in the 31 years of ITN's existence that a journalist had died a violent death on an assignment.

He said messages from television networks such as ABC in New York and the BBC had poured into the ITN offices after Mr De'Ath's death.

Mr De'Ath had covered events in Lebanon, the Falklands, Mozambique, Zaire and other trouble spots.

He recently told a colleague that he planned to stop news coverage and concentrate on features and documentaries.

Mr Nicholas said democracies served by newsmen, "increasingly depend on us for a great deal of information."

He paid tribute to camera teams facing risks and honoured their sense of duty in the face of danger, saying "George De'Ath was one of them."

Mr Maker said the press was trying to inform ordinary people about what was happening in the hope that there would be an end to violence, of pain and the coming of peace and justice.

He said Mr De'Ath was a "symbol for the freedom of the press". "If the press is not free in any country, it can only be due to fear of wrongdoing," he said. He prayed for the "press corps to be faithful in their calling". — Sapa



● DE'ATH

Press gathers at De'Ath service

BUSINESS DAY 19/6/86

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Business Day Reporter

A MEMORIAL service for murdered TV cameraman George De'Ath was held yesterday morning at St Columba's Presbyterian Church, Parkview, Johannesburg.

A large gathering of foreign and local journalists joined mourners in the packed church. Archbishop-elect of Cape Town Desmond Tutu was present.

The Bureau of Information changed the time of its daily news briefing from 11am to 3pm so the Press could attend the service.

De'Ath died in Grootte Schuur Hospital on Saturday from panga and axe wounds after being attacked in Cape Town's KTC squat-

ter camp last week. He was on an assignment for Britain's Independent Television News (ITN).

ITN editor David Nicholas flew from London to attend the service. He said many viewers had sent messages of sympathy to the station after the news of De'Ath's death was broadcast in the UK.

Adapting the words of an 18th century judge, Nicholas said "Be he ever so high, the news is always above you."

De'Ath was the first ITN reporter to be killed in action in the station's 30-year history.

Reporter ordered to reveal details of bomb attacks

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STAR 19/6/86

Pretoria Bureau

A reporter from the *Sowetan* newspaper, Mr Monk Nkomo, appeared briefly in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court yesterday after being subpoenaed to reveal information relating to a spate of petrol bombings allegedly committed by the police

JAIL

Mr Nkomo appeared before Mr M Boon and no evidence was led as his attorney, Mr Paul Jenkins, was not in court

The senior public prosecutor, Mr A F Du-Toit, asked Mr Boon to postpone the case because Mr Jenkins had informed him that he would not be available. The case was postponed to June 27.

Mr Nkomo, who was subpoenaed in accordance with section 205 of Act 51 of 1977, is required to divulge names and addresses of persons whose houses were allegedly attacked and damaged by the police

The subpoena follows a story written by Mr Nkomo about the alleged attacks on Atteridgeville houses by members of the SAP. The story appeared on April 1 this year.

According to the section under which he was subpoenaed, he is expected to testify and state everything that he knows regarding the alleged offence of arson, failing which he is likely to serve six months' imprisonment and a further jail sentence at the end of the first sentence.

Church denies pamphlet link

DD 11/6/86

(243)

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The Anglican Church and a Johannesburg-based printing company have denied any connection with pamphlets distributed here this week that are believed to contravene the emergency regulations

A spokesman for Ravan Press, in Johannesburg said they "had no knowledge whatsoever" of one pamphlet, which identified "Raven" Press as the printers

The Archdeacon of the Anglican Church here the Reverend Eric Pike, said that another pamphlet, which implicated the church was an "effort by somebody or some organisation to discredit the Anglican Church"

"No such thing emanated from the church There will be no food stocks daily between 12 noon and 1 pm at any Anglican Church that I know of," he said

The Dean of Grahamstown, the Very Reverend Roy Barker, said the pamphlet did not contain a shred of truth

He said that while attempts to smear the church

were not new, this particular one was scandalous

The rector of St Michaels and All Angels Anglican Church, in Queenstown, the Reverend Michael Hall, also condemned the pamphlet

"Whoever is distributing this pamphlet is deliberately trying to discredit the Anglican Church"

The Bureau for Information, when asked if the government was aware of the pamphlet, and if so what action had been taken, said it had noted the query

"With regards to information in possession of the SA Police or actions by them, we wish to refer you to the order issued by the Commissioner of the S A Police under regulation 7(1)(c) of the emergency regulations," the bureau said

The order issued by the Commissioner of Police prohibits the announcing, disseminating, distributing, taking or sending within or from the Republic any comment or news about the "conduct" (op-trede) of the security forces regarding the maintenance of the safety of the public or the public order or of the state of emergency without permission

US media seek ways to get around SA clamp

RICHARD WALKER

COLD-WAR-STYLE resorting to "travellers from South Africa" and diplomatic and business contacts as prime news sources is expected to be a consequence of the SA media clampdown.

Almost all US news organisations represented in the Republic said they hoped to maintain their teams there and would try to find ways through the regulations, without violating them.

"If we can possibly do it, we want to stay there," said *New York Times* foreign editor Warren Hoge. "If at some point, it becomes intolerable, then we will think of something else."

CBS news president Van Gordon Sauter said: "Our journalists will honour to the best of our ability the laws of the country where they are working."

Many news chiefs indicated that they might forego coverage of less significant events so as not to jeopardise their chances of reporting major happenings, where the chance of violating the guidelines might be worth the risk.

The NBC television network dodged the ban on direct interviews by using a videotape of Dr Allan Boesak speaking into a telephone while Tom Brokaw, announcer in Washington, inserted questions that had been put hours before.

"Everybody here is feeling a little tense," said Brokaw, who noted it was an NBC cameraman who was hacked to death in SA last week.

All network newscasts reflected the restrictions. Each showed footage of earlier violence, but nothing current that could be interpreted as embarrassing the SA government.

Felt-tip pen 'censors' black out papers

Mercury Reporter

WORKERS are using felt-tipped pens to censor stories in British newspapers imported to South Africa which might contravene the emergency regulations.

This was disclosed last night by Mr Wal Dean of Intermag distribution agency, who also confirmed that the latest edition of Newsweek will not be on sale in South Africa.

Mr Dean said six British newspaper titles — amounting to 'a few hundred copies' — were being censored locally by Intermag staff using felt-tipped pens

The decision not to bring the 6 000 copies of Newsweek due for shipment to

South Africa from Zurich had been taken under strict instructions from the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel. Mr Dean said that on the advice of counsel for Newsweek, he had taken a facsimile of the articles concerning South Africa to the Bureau of Information's Mr Leon Mellet for vetting.

Mr Dean had then decided not to bring in any copies

'It's costing us a lot of turnover which we can ill afford at this time,' he said

He told the Mercury last night that direct-mailed subscriptions were 'handled from Zurich' and he was not aware of what course of action despatchers would take

19/6/86
2/1/87

243





The Star



THE NEWS TODAY
Govt Restrictions

The news in this issue is... information...
The news in this issue is... information...
The news in this issue is... information...

2017 4 001

Established 1887
Johannesburg WEDNESDAY AND 18 1968

Mabuza speaks on emergency detentions

Staff Reporter
The Chief Minister of Natal, Mr. Mabuza, yesterday commented on detentions in terms of the state of emergency.

Mr Mabuza also spoke of the detentions of innocent persons to him, he said.

Mr Mabuza was critical of leading businessmen who did not come out earlier in favour of fundamental change. He said they were waiting for a "beyond belief" period, we are now left with a rapidly disintegrating economy in which there can be no profits for business.

detained in terms of emergency

The detentions, which have been decided upon by the state of emergency.

They may be held without charge for 14 days. This period may be extended by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Louw.

Some of the regulations provide for dietary and corporal punishment for detainees in the local prison regulations. They may not sing or whistle, may not study and are allowed only books to read.

Something happens at residence

Something happened at the University of the Witwatersrand residence in Avonca in the early hours of Sunday morning.

A spokesman for the Wap administration said these students who were unable to write their exams because they were in detention would be able to do so in a later date.

Blank on Sash mag

The Black Sash magazine said...

Sit-downs buckle big stores

Staff Reporters

Black workers in supermarkets in many parts of South Africa have gone on sit-down strikes. It is understood they are protesting because they believe their leaders are in detention.

In Johannesburg, deliveries by a major supermarket in the northern suburbs have been halted since the workers went on strike.

At the P&F's store at Sandton, a spontaneous sit-down strike was held by a spontaneous strike. The store is a department store which is affected by strike action last week - within hours of the emergency being declared and the declaration of state of emergency.

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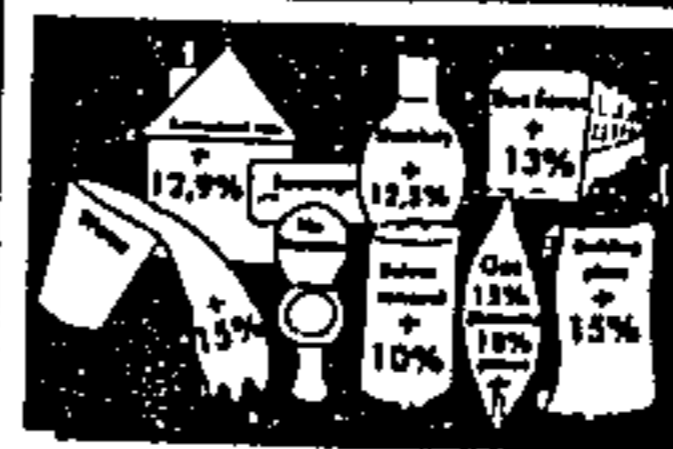
At the P&F's store at Sandton, a spontaneous sit-down strike was held by a spontaneous strike. The store is a department store which is affected by strike action last week - within hours of the emergency being declared and the declaration of state of emergency.

Top athlete's in shooting mystifies run

The runner is mystified at the tragic death last night of 37-year-old athlete Kenny Jacobs.

It is believed he was running off after a slow jogging session near his home in Johannesburg.

It's a record Jo'burg budget



Johannesburg's record breaking budget provided in the City Council today will add R21.5 million to the average taxpayer's monthly bill.

By Shirley Wouda Municipal Reporter
Johannesburg's record breaking budget provided in the City Council today will add R21.5 million to the average taxpayer's monthly bill.

Gale damage

The crew of South African's cargo in the transatlantic route are having to clear by after the main covering broke in a gale.

Nazi ghost

A gritty exhibition has brought back the Nazi ghost to the nation.

Threatened

A PFF spokesman says the Organisation for Freedom is being threatened with emergency legislation.

Broderbond

The head of the Broderbond has decided to leave the ANC.

Birthday

The birthday of the ANC...

UK Press features those blank spaces

19/6/80

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The Star Bureau
LONDON — *The Star's* and the *Sowetan's* use of blank spaces to reflect the extent of Press censorship in South Africa under the emergency law is prominently reported in Britain
Under *The Star's* masthead, *The Times* publishes, as an inset to its front-page lead report on South Africa, this "blank" report from yesterday's *Star*: "Something happened at the University of the Witwatersrand residence in Soweto in the early hours of Sunday morning."
The Times says: "The nearest that the people of South Africa come officially to knowing of the events all around them is that Johannesburg's largest metropolitan newspaper, *The Star*, appeared yesterday with four white spaces, each bearing the rubric that the state of emergency made certain statements illegal."
The Times quotes *The Star's* news editor, Mr Peter Mann: "I am not allowed to tell you what should have been in the spaces."
The Guardian devotes a separate report to the South African newspapers' attack on censorship, describing *The Star's* use of blank spaces as "particularly striking"
Similar use of blank spaces by the *Sowetan* is also well documented in *The Times* and *The Guardian*.

Violence: Views cannot be given

Staff Reporter

BECAUSE of the emergency regulations, the Cape Times cannot publish how Old Crossroads community and religious leaders view the causes of the violence and destruction which swept through their areas recently.

A Cape Times news team and other media representatives were escorted by security force units into Old Crossroads on Tuesday on the invitation of the Bureau for Information and heard Bishop Sydney Mzilikazi, chairman of the Crossroads Council of Churches, and community leader Mr Prince Gobingca give their version of the violence that left almost 60 000 Crossroads and KTC squatters homeless.

Bishop Mzilikazi and Mr Gobingca addressed a group of clergymen from predominantly Afrikaans-language churches who had come to hear the "witdoek" version of the conflict.

Subversive

A police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Captain Jan Calitz, advised that the Cape Times report on the meeting be sent to the Bureau for Information for clearance, which was done.

The bureau replied

that it "cannot supply you with legal advice". Later the bureau said it could not "clear" stories.

Comments made at the meeting were derogatory and condemnatory of certain groups and organizations in the community.

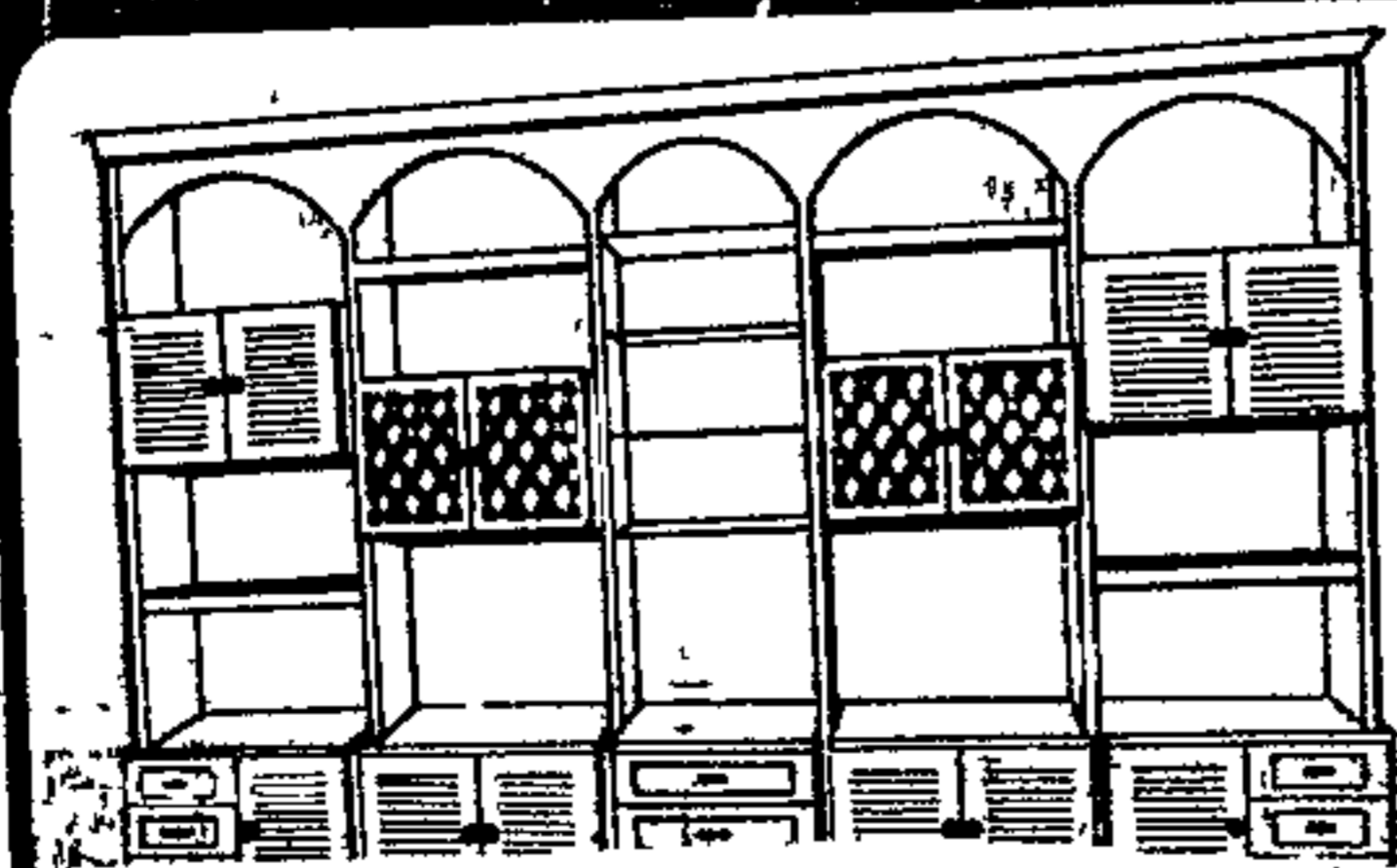
Section 1 (d) of the emergency regulations specifies that it is an offence to publish any statement which is "calculated to have the effect or likely to have the effect of engendering or aggravating feelings of hostility in the public or any section of the public or any person or category of persons towards any section of the public or person or category of persons".

● The Rev Charles Bond, leader of the visiting delegation of clergy, said that among those visiting Old Crossroads were representatives of the NGK, the NGK Sendingkerk, the Apostolic Church, the Hervormde Kerk and the Anglican Church.

"We thought it was a good idea to have different churches send representatives to see the truth of the situation here for themselves."

"We will report back to our congregations and we will try to help people on both sides in this conflict," he said.

KEITHCRAFT
BUILT-IN WALL UNITS
MADE TO ORDER



WEEKLY M.
243 330 280

OTHER PEOPLE

Moving targets: TV's frontline cameramen

20/6/86

Television photographer Wim De Vos has been taking risks ever since he arrived in Southern Africa ten years ago. But it was in a courtroom this week that he lost his last gamble — an attempt to beat a government expulsion order **BARBARA LUDMAN reports**

WIM DE VOS, the CBS cameraman expelled this week, has filmed a good deal of Southern African violence during the decade he has spent here: the Rhodesian war, fighting in Angola and Namibia. Alexandra in June, 1976, Crossroads in June, 1977.

He has carried his camera to bomb blasts, funerals, demonstrations — and disliked quite a lot of it.

"I don't like to cover blood and guts all the time, or funerals, for that matter," he says. "Every now and then, I get really carried away. When it is the funeral of land mine victims in the northern Transvaal and I see two small coffins lying on the ground, I'm not ashamed of that. It happens."

But I also cry if I see small coffins in the township being buried with the big ones. At that moment in time it doesn't matter who killed them. They're dead. It's a useless death."

George De Ath, the ITN cameraman who died on Sunday after being attacked filming in KTC, was a friend and former SABC colleague. The risk he ran is encountered by most news cameramen working in dangerous situations.

"It's a high-profile job," says De Vos. "You tend to be seen, with a camera on your shoulder, and you're white. So you're a target."

"But it's our job. We decide to do this work. It is really like any other job. You can have a waiter in a hotel or a policeman or a car mechanic or a hairdresser. They choose a job to do. This is ours."

Having chosen the job, one tries to do it properly. Our job is to report about a given event, whatever it is. It can be happy or sad, warm, it can be anything.

"We're not in the business of choosing sides. Personally I don't have any kind of political opinion at all. There's no party in this world that I could vote for."

He has tried telling that to the various sides involved in the violence he photographs. Known as a cool and gentle fellow in the field, he engages in discussion when people ask him if he is committed, if he is going to 'print the truth'.

"It can be the police, the army, the AWB, the National Party, private individuals, black political parties or black individuals, the comrades, the vigilantes. If they say I should report the truth, I say 'That's what I'm doing.'"

He would rather film documentaries and drama than news, in any case. When he was driven to the airport on Tuesday after his appeal failed and put aboard a flight to London, doing documentaries fulltime became a distinct possibility. His network has offered to continue to employ him, the choice of assignment is his.

Still, when he boarded the plane, he left behind more than friends and memories. He left (temporarily) his South African wife and their three



Looking like the man in the Camel advert (he's actually the man in a fruit wine commercial) cameraman Wim de Vos, expelled this week, plays his last SA gig. Picture: Issy Lagardien

South African children, and he abandoned (probably permanently) two houses, a production company and the band he plays with.

Born in Holland 39 years ago, he became a rock 'n' roll musician while still in his teens, playing bass guitar and singing. He played with a number of bands and also worked as a session musician.

He was doing very well. But "you reach a certain age when you decide either you carry on or you split and go for something else. I could have made it if I had carried on, but I'm not a John Mayel, or an Eric Clapton, or a Bee Gee, or a Frank Zappa. I looked for alternatives and found photography as an interesting thing to do."

Henk Brusse, the man who photographed his band's record album covers, agreed to teach him the job. So during the day De Vos worked for Brusse, and at night he played gigs. After 18 months, he was accepted at the Bayerische Staatslehranstalt für Fotografie (photographic academy) in Munich. He continued to play night clubs and put together a backing group to work his way through a course there and, later, courses at the Hochschule für Film und Fernsehen (film and TV academy) and the Journalistenschule (journalism academy).

In 1975 he heard South Africa was starting a television service. His wife, Sissy, was South African — they had met and married while she was still a student in Munich — and it seemed a good idea to begin his professional life with the emerging SABC.

"It was a good organisation in 1976," he says. "It was a terrific place." The pay was terrible but there seemed plenty of opportunity.

At first he only took still shots of buildings, and prominent people for the archives; then came mid-June. On the 17th an SABC cameraman was stopped and his car burnt out — and says De Vos, "We all moved in."

He moved in on Alexandra, the work he did there earned him nominations for a Same and an SFW enterprising journalism award. "It was hard work and dangerous," he says. "Everybody was working on the police side then, the other side was too dangerous. I was nearly killed a few times."

"To the credit of the SABC then, it broadcast just about everything," he says. "There was good journalism in those days."

He had excellent assignments — Transkei independence, a trip to Paris — but in 1977 the German channel ARD made him a better offer, and he stayed with them until 1983. It was for the ARD that he covered wars — but it was also for ARD that he began to make documentaries. He free-lanced for a while, then began working almost exclusively for CBS.

In March he received an expulsion order. The assumption was that the order was connected with a CBS crew filming a funeral in Alexandra. He says he wasn't there, and fought the order. It was withdrawn.

The expulsion order last week was, he assumes, connected with his filming of a small demonstration in Cape Town. He fought this one too, this time he lost.

"I like South Africa," he says. "It's a lovely country. There are also a few nice people living here."

He's lucky. "I've got work. But emotionally I will have to start from scratch."

^{Weekly Mail 20/1/72}
Journalists [redacted]
THREE journalists and photographers who regularly contribute to the Weekly Mail are among those [redacted] under Emergency regulations. (327) (243)
They are [redacted] a Port Elizabeth reporter, [redacted] and [redacted] both Afrapix photographers from Johannesburg.
Also [redacted] are two people who have been responsible for Weekly Mail distribution. They are [redacted] of East London and [redacted] of Oudtshoorn.

FINMAIL 20/6/86 (243)
THE EMERGENCY — 1

Publish and be . .

The emergency regulations published last week, and added to on Monday, are, with little doubt, the most comprehensive restrictions on civil liberties since the Nationalists came to power in 1948

In particular, the straitjacket imposed on the media goes much further than the regulations used to enforce the State of Emergency declared last July and lifted earlier this year

The regulations also outlaw inciting illegal strikes, boycotts, unlawful demonstrations, gatherings or protests, civil disobedience and opposition to compulsory military service. They give the security forces wide powers of arrest and the right to search and seize premises and property. The forces are indemnified against legal action provided they acted in good faith

The restrictions on the media have made it virtually impossible to gather and disseminate news about the unrest and emergency

Most news on the unrest, including names of detainees, may not be published unless released by the Bureau for Information. The publication of widely-defined "subversive" and "inciting" statements could lead to action against newspapers

The regulations effectively ban all television and photographic coverage of unrest and of the recording, for radio use, of unrest. This week, the bureau reportedly informed the SABC that all live satellite transmission out of SA by foreign networks has been banned in order to determine responsibility for what is broadcast abroad. Pre-recorded material still stands a chance of getting out

In terms of additional regulations issued this week, journalists have been banned from

townships and unrest areas, and a ban has been placed on the publication of security force activities

Government, through Deputy Information Minister Louis Nel, has been unable to give clear guidelines as to how the regulations will be defined. At the first of the bureau's press conferences since the emergency last Friday, bureau director David Steward repeatedly found himself referring journalists' queries to their lawyers for clarity. At one point he said he had not read the published emergency regulations

Lawyers believe the vagueness of some regulations could be adequate defence for not complying with them

The authorities have the right, however, to seize or close down publications which, in their opinion, have contravened regulations. Last Friday, unsold copies of the *Sowetan* and the *Weekly Mail* were confiscated. On Saturday, policemen visited the offices of *City Press* and the *Sunday Tribune* to check the reports due to appear in their Sunday issues.

The extent to which government can be criticised in comment by newspapers or in statements by its opponents is unclear. Nel says it is not the intention to silence critics, but has warned that some criticism could be regarded as incitement

Parliamentary and court privilege are not affected.

If the regulations were to be interpreted in their strictest sense, it would be virtually impossible to report on unrest or any actions related to the emergency or security force conduct unless the information is released by Nel's bureau

It seems government has deliberately framed the regulations vaguely to allow action to be taken on a selective basis, and also to put pressure on editors and journalists to censor themselves. As Steward warned "We are not kidding." The penalties are 10 years' imprisonment or R20 000

At a briefing in Pretoria this week, Nel warned foreign journalists that the bureau was monitoring their reports. He objected to "editorialising by correspondents when it is expected that they report objectively on what is happening." Specifically, he objected to a Reuters report on June 15 in which the emergency was described as "draconian" and the country was referred to as "riot-torn." Nel said in his opinion it was "highly unprofessional" of the Reuters correspondent to "present his personal opinion as fact."

On Tuesday, *Business Day* was rebuked by bureau spokesman Leon Mellet for "incorrect reporting" by conveying the impression that the bureau wilfully withheld information. Mellet also stated that the information supplied at the daily press conference reflected the "factual situation in the country", any suggestion to the contrary was "false"

Under a barrage of inquiries about individual incidents journalists wanted confirmed or denied, Mellet said he would not

allow the daily press conference to become a "legal platform" for gathering information for publication. He reminded the media of the existing regulations

Reporting on alleged security force actions against journalists is not allowed, even if these have been raised at the conference. Without official confirmation, such reports would be regarded as one-sided, said Mellet

Journalists' views on emergency stifled

The national council of the Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ) yesterday discussed the implications of the state of emergency for journalists.

After a meeting in Johannesburg, the council said it wished to issue a strongly worded statement, but regretted that because of emergency legislation it was unable, lawfully, to do so.

Issues the statement would have covered included the following issues:

- Detention of at least 10 journalists and photographers
- Seizure of newspapers
- Raids on media offices.
- Arrests of TV crews
- Expulsion of a foreign correspondent
- Ban on live satellite transmission to foreign TV networks
- Ban on collection and dissemination of, and comment on, news about "unrest" and security force activities
- Ban on pictorial coverage and sound coverage.
- Ban on interviews with Mrs Winnie Mandela.

PETER MAGUBANE

In the firing line

243
 F. L. N. M. V. 20/3/86

In January, *Time* magazine photographer, Peter Magubane, was in Leandra covering the funeral of Chief Ampie Mayise who had been brutally and publicly murdered by vigilantes. Pent-up tensions exploded at the funeral when a 16-year-old suspect was identified. The suspect fled, but was caught outside his house and hacked to death. The youth's terrified family were barricaded inside and as the mob turned its anger on them, Magubane stopped taking pictures.

"I stood at the door and just kept pushing people away," he says. "One person was already dead. What was the point of another two?" It's a decision every news photographer faces at some time in his career: is the role of the photographer that of the neutral observer, merely recording history, or is he morally bound to intervene to prevent some atrocity?

In his book "Pictures on a Page," Harold Evans, former editor of *The Sunday Times*, London, explored the issue with this example: "At the conclusion of the Bangladesh war, photographers in Dacca were invited to a 'photo opportunity' in a polo field. It turned out to be the bayonetting of Biharis who were alleged to have collaborated with the Pakistan army. People were to be murdered for the camera, and some photographers and a television camera crew departed without taking a picture in the hope that in the absence of cameramen the acts might not be committed. Others felt that the mob was beyond the appeal to mercy. They stayed and won Pulit-



Magubane ... to shoot, or not to shoot?

zer prizes. Were they right?"

The ethics involved are not simple. The accusation that the camera fuels violence is easily countered by the argument that the camera also inhibits excesses.

However, the decision to stop photographing is one that Magubane (54) — originally from Sophiatown — has frequently had to make during his long, highly successful career. At a funeral in Duduza last year, a suspected spy about to be attacked by a mob

threw himself at the feet of Bishop Tutu in an attempt to be spared. Magubane took one shot, then stopped.

"Perhaps if I'd been younger, I'd have been thinking of an award-winning picture," he says. "Now I'm older, I thought that perhaps by not taking photos he'd be left alone. In this instance, the victim escaped death and other photographers captured the shot of the man hanging onto Tutu."

A question Magubane has recently been asking is "Would we keep the camera rolling if a colleague or crew is attacked?" With the killing in KTC last week of TV cameraman George De'Ath by the "witdoeke", the question is no longer abstract.

As the "witdoeke" accused De'Ath and his soundman, Andile Fosi, of portraying them as the villains responsible for the plight of the 60 000-odd homeless Crossroads residents, a press card could no longer be regarded as the passport of a neutral observer.

It has always been dangerous to cover unrest. "But recently," says Magubane "it has become scary. People in the townships are now suspicious of the camera." The revenge killing at Mayise's funeral was captured on film and shown worldwide and the killers were easily identifiable. But a stunning news photograph of a riot, rampaging crowd or violence can also be used as police evidence.

"While the kids accept that you're only doing your job, they also now feel photogra-

Robert Tshabalala

phers are counter-productive," says Magubane. Over the last few months, he has intervened and come to the assistance of colleagues when the feelings of the crowd turned against them.

"You can no longer concern yourself only with your work," adds Magubane "Apart from the dynamics of the crowd, you also have to watch out for the so-called stray bullet" After a funeral in Katlehong last July, the now New York-based Magubane had to be hospitalised with birdshot wounds in his legs and feet.

Magubane has faced danger frequently throughout his career, as well as attempts to silence him, and he has well earned the reputation of being fearless His coverage of the Soweto unrest won him the Stellenbosch Farmers' Winery Award for enterprising journalism in 1976 This year, he has won two international awards — the Robert Capa Award for his township coverage last year and the Elrich Salomon Award

Between June 1969 and March 1975, Magubane was detained on three separate occasions under the Terrorism Act, charged and acquitted under both the Suppression of Communism Act and the Terrorism Act, banned for five years and imprisoned for six months for breaking his banning order He was held for 23 months, 17 of them in solitary confinement and at the time is said to have held the record for solitary confinement.

In 1977, while employed by the *Rand Daily Mail*, the former *Drum* photographer who started off as a driver, landed a US Exchange Grant which enabled him to travel around the US for two months In 1980, he enrolled for an intensive course in documentary film at New York's New School and has never looked back

Now married to an American woman, Lenora Taitt, who was active in the civil rights movement in the Sixties, the couple live on New York's Upper West Side near Lincoln Centre

About his immediate future, he says the current news blackout is "not the end We'll just change our emphasis to features and documentaries meanwhile." X ■

CAPE TIMES 20/6/86 (283)

World journal honours Heard

Chief Reporter

THE Editor of the Cape Times, Mr A H Heard, receives a special mention in the current issue of the internationally-distributed World Press Review, published in New York yesterday, in connection with the journal's Editor of the Year award

The award this year has been made to Mr Raul Locsin of Business Day in Manila in the Philippines

In a transatlantic telephone call yesterday, the editorial director of World Press Review, Mr Alfred Balk, said his journal was "proud to honour a newspaper with the stature of the Cape Times, and its Editor Anthony Heard, for their unflagging efforts to keep the public informed and to project the truth in the very difficult time your country is going through

"A son of George Heard, who had a distinguished career as a journalist in South Africa, Anthony Heard has carried on the family tradition with distinction, under increasingly oppressive conditions"

Mr Balk said the current issue of his journal also carried a four-page interview he had with Mr Heard at the recent International Press Institute conference in Vienna

Two former editors of the Rand Daily Mail, Mr Allister Sparks and Mr Rex Gibson, were co-winners of the Editor of the Year award in 1979



Mr A H Heard, Editor of the Cape Times (right), is congratulated by the President of Portugal, Dr Mario Soares, when he received the Golden Pen of Freedom in Lisbon recently

What the State didn't want you to read about

THE government has given the first specific indication of what it doesn't want South African newspapers to publish

The indication came in the form of a police notice explaining why members of the security forces confiscated copies of last week's issue of *The Weekly Mail* from newstands

Some copies of the *Sowetan* were seized the same day, and copies of *City Press* were confiscated on Saturday and Sunday

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22/6/76
This week's police notice – sent to the *Mail's* editorial committee – said several articles and photographs were “deemed to be subversive in terms of the emergency regulations”

The police notice simply gave the pages on which articles appeared, and the headlines of the stories, but no further reasons

The reports and pictures in question are

● “The whole of page 1, read together with the cartoon on page 10”

The page 1 article was headlined ‘Rule of the big stick’ and dealt with the imposition of the emergency. The cartoon was of President PW Botha captioned ‘Janus the reformer’

● “Pages 12 and 13, headlined ‘Looking back on the fateful day in June’ which contained interviews with Dan Montisi, executive member of the Soweto Students’ Representative Council in 1976, and with Brigadier TJ ‘Rooi Rus’ Swanepoel

● “Pages 14 and 15, an article headlined ‘The student web that spans SA’, which contained interviews with student and youth leaders from various parts of SA and also a review of Peter Magubane’s book *June 16 The Fruits of Fear*”

● “Page 16, headlined ‘In the House’, which dealt with parliamentary and media responses to the Crossroads and KTC violence

● “Also on page 16, an article headlined ‘The Day I returned to the classroom with the comrades’ and the accompanying drawing, captioned ‘flowers for Hector Peterson’

Further details of the article may not be given here in terms of restrictions placed on the media by the emergency regulations

Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harber said in response “We are publishing this week and we will be on the streets as usual”

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24/6/88

Govt expels Newsweek's bureau chief

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The South African bureau chief for Newsweek magazine, Mr Richard Manning, has been ordered to leave the country by midnight on Thursday

Mr Manning, 35, who has been stationed in Johannesburg for nine months, said he received a telex from the Home Affairs Minister, Mr Stoffel Botha, informing him of the order and saying he had until 10am on Thursday to make any appeals

Mr Botha said in the order that he considered Mr Manning's removal to be in the public interest of the country

Legal advice

Last week's issue of Newsweek was not shipped to South Africa from Europe after the government told the local distributor to seek legal advice on whether its cover story about the country violated state-of-emergency/media restrictions

Mr Manning, an American, is the second foreign journalist to receive expulsion orders since the emergency was declared on June 12. Dutch TV cameraman Mr Wim de Vos was deported last Tuesday.

2 landmines

● At a Bureau of Information press briefing yesterday, it was announced that two Russian-made landmines were found 10km apart on farms near Vryheid in northern Natal on Sunday. Neither exploded and there was no damage

Rewards are to be given to people who report finds of weapons and armaments to secur-

ity forces, the bureau disclosed yesterday, but would not specify how they would be allocated or under what circumstances a person could expect to be rewarded

Mr Casper Venter, the Bureau for Information's director for Foreign Media Liaison, said a R2 000 reward would be given to the man who discovered one of the landmines

Did not explode

He said a black man drove over the first mine, found on Smaldeel Farm, in a truck but it did not explode.

Mr Venter said more than 100 people had been released from detention nation-wide and as police investigations proceeded, more releases could be expected

2 murders

He reported the murder of two blacks, one in Thembisa and another in Vlaktefontein, KwaNdebele, where a crowd attempted to set the body alight. Three blacks have been arrested, he said.

Mr Venter said the "timely intervention" of security forces in Hazyview, Eastern Transvaal, and Khutsong, Western Transvaal, prevented two attempted murders of blacks. Nine people were arrested after the two incidents and will appear in court on criminal charges

An inquiry would be held into the accidental shooting in Soweto of a four-year-old girl by security forces on June 17 when they fired a warning shot at a fleeing suspect, but Mr Venter declined to say when or where it would be held

24/6/86
BUDDAY 243
Newsweek chief
kicked out of SA

THE South African bureau chief for *Newsweek*, Richard Manning, is being expelled

He said yesterday government had ordered him to leave the country by midnight on Thursday.

Manning, 35, stationed in Johannesburg for nine months, said he received a telex from Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha. It added that he had until 10am on Thursday to appeal.

Botha said he considered Manning's removal to be in the public interest.

Last week's issue of *Newsweek* was not shipped to SA from Europe after government told the local distributor to seek legal advice on whether its cover story about SA violated state-of-emergency media restrictions.

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Rewards are to be given to people who report finds of weapons to security forces, the Bureau revealed yesterday.

At the security briefing yesterday Caspar Venter, the Bureau for Information's director for Foreign Media Liaison, said a R2 000 reward would be given to the man who discovered a landmine in northern Natal on Sunday.

A black man drove over one mine, found on Small's farm, in a truck. It did not explode.

Venter said rewards could in future be given to private individuals finding weapons but he would not specify how they

DIANNA GAMES and Sapa

would be allocated or under what circumstances a person could expect to be rewarded

Venter said more than 100 people had been released from detention and, as police investigations proceeded, more releases could be expected.

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Venter said the "timely intervention" of security forces in Hazyview, Eastern Transvaal, and Khutsong, Western Transvaal, prevented two attempted murders of blacks.

Venter said an inquiry would be held into the accidental shooting in Soweto of a young girl by security forces on June 17 when they fired a warning shot at a fleeing suspect. He declined to say when or where it would be held.

Sapa reports that Professor Robert Charlton, acting vice-chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, yesterday said several staff members and students had been detained without trial under emergency regulations.

THIS newspaper has been produced under emergency restrictions amounting to censorship. The restrictions have the effect of suppressing information of public interest and of distorting the news in ways that may be seriously misleading.

esday June 25 1986

SMAN

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Magazine to contest expulsion order

243
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — *Newsweek* magazine is contesting the expulsion order of its bureau chief in South Africa, calling its coverage of the situation "fair and balanced".

A *Newsweek* spokesman said from New York the magazine's editors deplored the South African Government action and sought to redress it.

"We feel our coverage has been fair and balanced and hope that the South African Government will rescind the order," he said.

No reason had been given for the order, the spokesman said, and the status of the *Newsweek* bureau had not been specified. It is understood *Newsweek* has responded by letter, accepting a Government offer to appeal the ruling.

REPLACEMENT

Mr Richard Manning, the correspondent under expulsion orders, will apparently see Government officials tomorrow, hours before his ejection deadline falls due at midnight. Mr Manning may be accompanied to the meeting by legal counsel.

A *Newsweek* spokesman said the magazine would try to replace Mr Manning if he was ejected. "But that would seem to be up to the Government whether they allow us to. It will always be our intent to report from South Africa."

Mr Manning (35), a United States citizen, arrived in South Africa last September after the expulsion of another *Newsweek* correspondent, Mr Ray Wilkinson, now based in Nairobi.

TV film of bomb blasts confiscated

By Susan Fleming

At least two foreign television networks at the scene of yesterday's bomb blasts in Johannesburg had their video film confiscated by police and were told footage would be available from the SABC only

Camera crews from the BBC and the American NBC network had their film confiscated.

The senior director of news at the SABC, Mr Sakkie Burger, confirmed that the SABC camera team had been allowed to record yesterday's bomb blasts. He said two foreign networks had approached the SABC for blast footage after it had been cleared with the Commissioner of Police.

The co-vice chairman of the Foreign Correspondents' Association, Mr Michael Hornsby, condemned the fact that only the SABC had been allowed to cover the bomb blasts.

Although some might view getting SABC footage as a concession, Mr Hornsby said it was unacceptable. "It will probably be edited to suit the Government and if this is the case any self-respecting agency would be reluctant to accept it," he said.

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Newsman will not query expulsion

25/6/86 STRR (23) (159)

Israeli journalist, Dan Sagir, who was yesterday ordered by the South African Government to leave the country, has asked for a two-day extension, but will not appeal against the order

Mr Sagir (30), a feature writer for the Israeli newspaper *Ha'Aretz* and a reporter for Israeli radio, was refused renewal of his visa and work permit by Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha

He was told to be out of the country by midnight on Thursday. No reasons were given

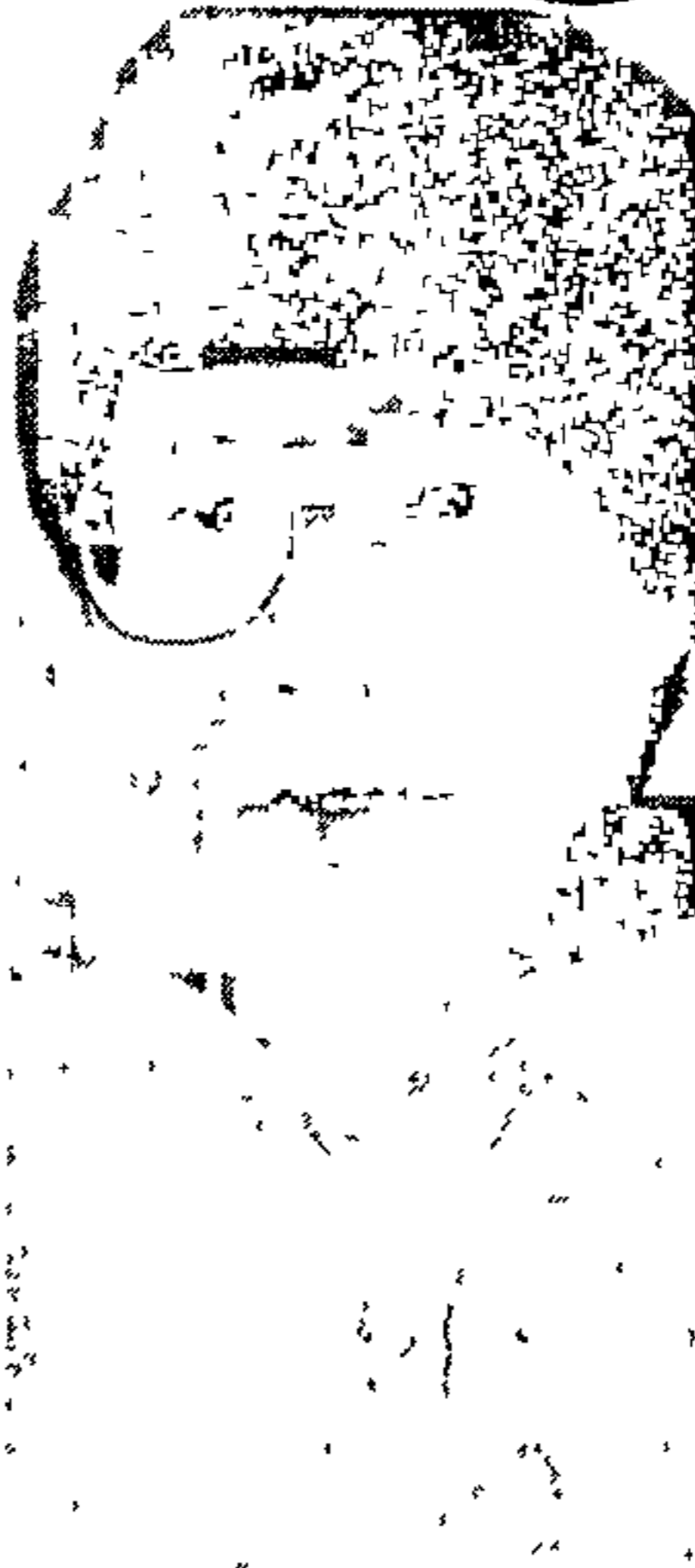
"I have asked the Government to grant me two more days in this country because there is no El Al flight to Israel until Saturday and I don't want to have to fly home via Europe"

Mr Sagir said he was "not surprised" that the Government had ordered his expulsion

"Any journalist who tries to do his job properly in this country is taking a risk

"I tried not to break the emergency regulations but they are so wide there is basically no way you can avoid breaking them"

He said a recent article which he had written had been similar in tone to an article in last week's issue of *Newsweek*



Mr Sagir ... not surprised by Government action.

This issue was not distributed in South Africa after the Government told the distributor to seek legal advice whether its cover story contravened the emergency regulations on media reporting

as the Editor of the Cape Times, Mr Anthony Heard (left). Picture Richard Bell

Cape Times 25/6/86 (243)

Govt refuses to renew journalist's permit

PRETORIA. — The Department of Home Affairs yesterday denied it had served Israeli journalist Mr Dan Sagir with a deportation order.

A spokesman for the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said Mr Sagir's work permit had recently expired.

His application for the renewal of the permit was refused and he was given until midnight on Thursday to leave South Africa.

"It was not a deportation," the spokesman emphasized.

Work permits are usually granted for three- or six-month periods.

Mr Sagir said officials of the Department of Home Affairs visited him yesterday morning

and told him of the order signed by Mr Botha.

A spokesman for the Israeli Embassy in Pretoria yesterday confirmed that Mr Sagir has been ordered to leave the country. He added it was the first time an Israeli journalist had been expelled from South Africa and possibly from any other Western country.

Mr Sagir works for Ha'Areptz, a morning newspaper in Israel, and Israeli radio. He has been based in Johannesburg for two years.

He said no reason for his deportation order had been given by the officials.

"I also drew their attention to the fact that the next direct flight home is on Saturday

They said that if I wanted to take that flight I would have to consult the minister," Mr Sagir said. Mr Sagir is unmarried.

In Tel Aviv, an Israeli Foreign Ministry spokesman said they would await an explanation from South Africa before deciding whether to comment on the "expulsion" of Mr Sagir.

Mr Sagir is the third foreign newsman to be ordered to leave South Africa in the past nine days.

On Monday Newsweek magazine bureau chief Mr Richard Manning was ordered to leave and last week CBS cameraman Mr Wim de Vos was deported — Sapa, Sapa- Reuter

OFFICIAL REPORT

De Vos:
charges
dropped

CAPE TOWN — Charges of obstructing the police and resisting arrest, against CBS cameraman Mr Wim de Vos, were withdrawn in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court on Tuesday because Mr de Vos has been deported

Mr de Vos (38), a Dutch citizen, was deported on Tuesday last week at short notice

He lived in Johannesburg with his wife — a South African citizen — and three children.

After the Attorney-General's decision, charges of obstructing a Constable Dunn on June 11 — during an incident in which the policeman wanted to arrest a suspect — and resisting arrest by constables Eskelsou and Dunn in Parliament Street on the same day, were dropped

Mr de Vos had paid R200 bail — Sapa

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243 25/6/66
Newsweek slates expulsion

NEW YORK — *Newsweek* last night deplored the expulsion order slapped on its South African-bureau chief Richard Manning, but magazine executives made it clear that every effort would be made to persuade government to relent.

"We want to be there," a *Newsweek* spokesman said. While submitting that "we have ways of covering the story" without a local bureau, he stressed *Newsweek* did not believe in "remote-control" journalism.

Manning has until tomorrow midnight to leave SA. The spokesman said no clear reason for the order had been given and that *Newsweek* was still trying to get details

RICHARD WALKER

A meeting with the Home Affairs Minister is being sought.

The magazine's SA distributor withheld last week's edition under "strong" government advice, according to *Newsweek* officials in New York.

The magazine sells about 5 000 copies of its international edition in SA each week.

International-edition editor Richard Steele said last week he was not surprised the edition had been withheld.

He also indicated that *Newsweek* felt obligated to obey SA law.

Speculation over two newspapers

OWN Correspondent

THERE was intense speculation around Parliament yesterday that two newspapers, *Weekly Mail* and *New Nation*, were to be suspended in terms of the emergency regulations

The speculation coincided with a meeting between newspaper management and editors and deputy Minister of Information Louis Nel at which he made it clear government was planning to crackdown on any newspaper that stepped out of line with the emergency regulations

No official confirmation could be obtained on the rumoured suspensions of any newspaper, and a Bureau for Information spokesman said yesterday the department had no knowledge of a special *Government Gazette*

Dianna Games reports the Bureau for Information's daily news briefings — introduced nearly two weeks ago — were yesterday temporarily suspended but were reinstated after the meeting between Nel and editors

The Bureau said the decline in unrest

● To Page 2 →

Intense speculation over two newspapers

incidents had led to "very little worthwhile information emanating from unrest-related incidents"

Bureau spokesman Leon Mellet yesterday said the meetings were reinstated after editors' requests as it was the only source of information journalists had on the security situation and the only forum where questions could be asked and issues clarified

At previous Bureau briefings many

serious allegations were put to the person in the chair for confirmation or clarification but last Friday the Press was informed questions must be telexed to the Bureau four hours before the briefing

It also announced no questions unrelated to the issued report would be answered during the briefings

243 ← From Page 26/6/86 BUSDAY

Seizure or suspension for 'subversive' statements

Government tightens its gags on the Press

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BUSDAY
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GOVERNMENT has taken a firm policy decision to seize or suspend publication of newspapers that publish statements which, in the opinion of the Minister of Law and Order or his delegate, are "subversive"

Newspaper editors and managers representing the mainstream Press were summoned to Pretoria yesterday to receive a warning to this effect from Deputy Minister of Information Louis Nel

"Government expects the newspapers in this difficult situation to toe the line, to obey the emergency regulations," he said

Newspaper editors have complained that the definition of a "subversive statement" in the emergency regulations is so

Business Day Reporter

wide and so vague as to sow confusion and uncertainty about what may, and what may not, be published Nel, however, refused to give any guidelines

He said that in terms of Section 10, publication of a "subversive statement" was punishable by imprisonment of up to

- See Comment Page 6
 - Role of Bureau for Information: Page 11
- 10 years, or by a fine of up to R20 000, or both
- The greater threat, however, lies in Section 11, which permits the Minister or

a person nominated by him — in practice a police lieutenant-colonel or someone of higher rank — to seize all copies of a newspaper which, in his opinion, contains a "subversive statement" or any other information which may be detrimental to the safety of the public, to the maintenance of public order or to the termination of the state of emergency.

Section 12 empowers the Minister to ban for an indefinite period any newspaper that publishes information which, in his opinion, is "of a subversive nature".

The threat to apply the penalties strictly puts newspapers in danger of

● To Page 2 →

Govt tightens Press gags

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actual extinction The danger is compounded by the risk that legal opinions taken by newspapers may differ from the opinion of the Minister, and that a newspaper which is summarily seized or suspended from publication has no recourse to the courts

Two sections of the emergency regulations have been spotlighted as particularly likely to cause trouble

The first is Section 1 (ix) (c) which defines as "subversive" any statement that is likely to have the effect of inciting the public to "resist or oppose the government or any minister or official" or any member of the security forces in connection with any measure adopted in terms of the emergency regulations, or any measure relating to the safety of the public, or the maintenance of public order, or in connection with the administration of justice

← ● From Page 1

The second is Section 1 (ix) (e) which defines as "subversive" any statement likely to have the effect of "weakening or undermining the confidence of the public in the termination of the state of emergency".

This section of the regulations has been interpreted as meaning it is "subversive" to suggest that the emergency may not end But Nel's warning has raised concerns that, in the opinion of the Minister, it may also be applied to any suggestion that government or officials or security forces are not wholly competent to bring the emergency to an end

The proper interpretation remains in doubt, however, and Nel has refused to give newspapers any further help in determining the intention of the regulations

Speculation over two newspapers

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25/6/76
OWN Correspondent
BUSSAY

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BUSSAY
← from Page 1

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It also announced no questions unrelated to the issued report would be answered during the briefings.

Toe the line, editors told

Warning to press

CME Tim 26/6/86 245

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government has taken a firm policy decision to seize or suspend the publication of newspapers that publish statements which, in the opinion of the Minister of Law and order or his delegate, are "subversive".

Newspaper editors and managers representing the mainstream press were summoned to Pretoria yesterday to receive a warning to this effect from the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel

"Government expects the newspapers in this difficult situation to toe the line, to obey the emergency regulations," he said.

Newspaper editors have complained that the definition of a "subversive statement" in the emergency regulations is so wide and so vague as to sow confusion and uncertainty about what may, and

what may not, be published

Mr Nel, however, refused to give any guidelines

He pointed out that in terms of the emergency regulations publication of a "subversive statement" is punishable by imprisonment of up to ten years, or by a fine of up to R20 000, or both

The greater threat, however, lies in a provision which permits the Minister of Law and Order or a person nominated by him — in practice a police lieutenant-colonel or higher rank — to seize all copies of a newspaper which in his opinion contains a "sub-

versive statement" or any other information which may be detrimental to the safety of the public, the maintenance of the public order or the termination of the state of emergency

'Subversive'

A further section empowers the minister to ban for an indefinite period any newspaper that publishes information which, in his opinion, is "of a subversive nature"

The threat to apply the penalties strictly puts newspapers in danger of actual extinction. The danger is compounded by the risk that legal

opinions taken by newspapers may differ from the opinion of the minister. A newspaper which is summarily seized or suspended from publication has no recourse to the courts

● UPI reports that at a separate meeting, Mr Nel warned foreign correspondents that they could face prosecution or expulsion from the country if they ignored the press restrictions

"We do not have censorship," he said "What we do have is a limita-

To page 2



The limitations are designed mainly to prevent incitement and to place a prohibition on reports of security force actions as well as anything that could undermine confidence in the government's ability to bring these regulations to an end," Mr Nel said

Compliance

"I make a serious appeal to all foreign correspondents to please comply with the restrictions. We do not want a confrontation with the foreign media. But because the government takes the situation seriously, I have to inform you that we will not hesitate to take the necessary steps to ensure that there is compliance with the regulations

He said the Bureau for Information, the only authorized source of news on the emergency, tried to inform reporters fully and honestly

The bureau would not, however, offer reporters any guidelines on how to interpret the emergency restrictions

Mr Nel said that in the first two weeks of the emergency some newspapers and reporters had made an "honest effort" to abide by the rules. Others, he said, had not.

"We will not allow anyone in the future to contravene the state of emergency regulations"

● Ormande Pollak reports there was intense speculation around Parliament yesterday that two anti-government newspapers, Weekly Mail and New Nation, were to be suspended in terms of the emergency regulations.

The speculation coincided with the meeting between Mr Nel and newspaper editors and management.

No official confirmation could be obtained about the suspension of any newspaper and a spokesman in the Bureau for Information said yesterday the department had no knowledge of a special Government Gazette being published yesterday

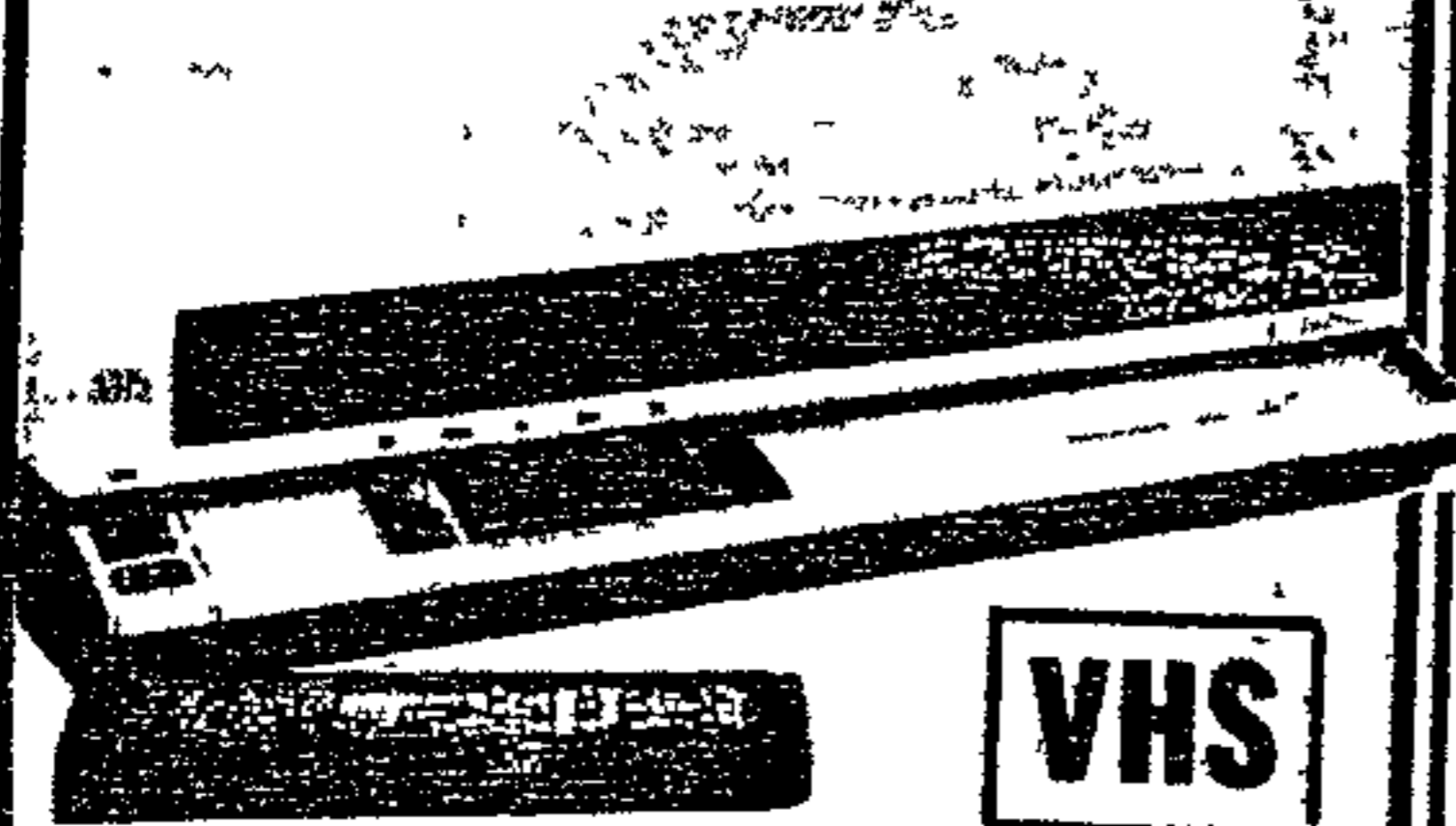
A reporter on Weekly Mail said the newspaper had received several telephone calls through the day from people who said there had been rumours in Johannesburg as well about its suspension

However, the newspaper had heard nothing officially

Speculation was that publication of the two newspapers was to be suspended for the duration of the state of emergency

MELOTRONICS WEEKEND SPECIALS

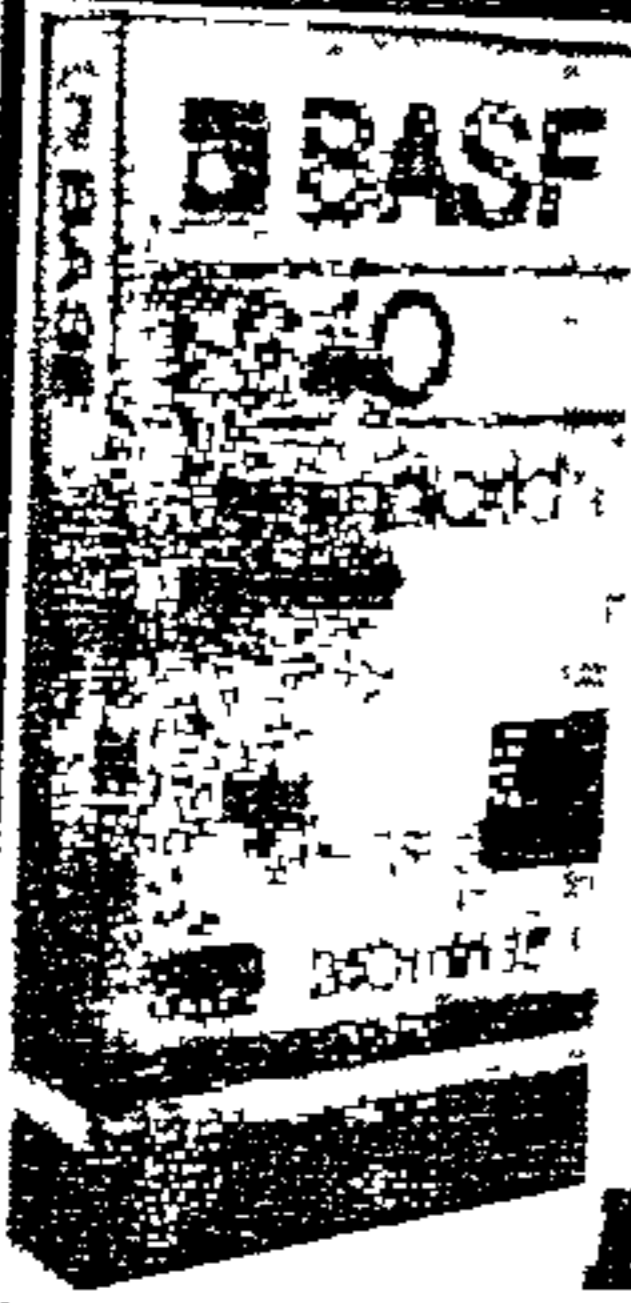
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R 1489



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**4 HOUR
E-240**

VIDEO TAPES

R 22⁹⁵

Opt Times 27/6/86
Newsweek

reporter
flies out

JOHANNESBURG — Newsweek magazine correspondent Richard Manning rushed to Jan Smuts Airport yesterday after his appeal against expulsion from South Africa was rejected.

He said the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, had informed him that Newsweek's written challenge of the deportation was not accepted and that he had to leave.

Mr Botha issued the expulsion order on Monday and allowed Mr Manning, an American, until 10am yesterday to file a written appeal.

Mr Manning said his lawyer reached an agreement with the government that he could go to the airport unaccompanied by police, if he was there by 6pm for a flight to London. His wife and son planned to stay behind for a week to pack up.

Newsweek carried a harshly critical cover story last week headlined, "South Africa's Civil War".

This week's edition had several paragraphs blacked to avoid violating emergency restrictions.

Mr Manning, who has covered South Africa for nine months, is the third foreign journalist ordered to leave South Africa in two weeks — Sapa

screens round the world almost nightly, leaking the little news the State wants the world to know Daily he wages a war of wits with sceptical media representatives who suspect he is holding back far too much

It was only two months ago that Steward, newly appointed head of the recently formed Bureau for Information (BFI), expressed determination to forge a new and clean image for the State information service

He told the *FM* he was up against it Few people had forgotten Info Scandals 1978 However, Steward was convinced that frankness and sincerity would win the day Both he and his political boss, Deputy Minister of Information Louis Nel, were "committed to a clean administration," he said

The idea at the time was for the BFI to handle domestic information and to leave foreign information to the Department of

and order to create the climate necessary for negotiation

One of the main "battlegrounds" of those struggling against government, Steward maintains, is the "battleground of perceptions," in which the media play a key role "Many conflicts these days are not won by normal military means, they are won in the propaganda wars. We'd be very foolish to be blind to this reality."

Steward seems ill at ease in his present post. He certainly appeared more at home in the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), where he spent 19 years before being transferred to the BFI He went through tough times with the South African mission at the UN for four years from 1978 to 1982, including a spell as chief permanent representative

Back in SA, he was regarded as govern-



Steward... sifting the news that's fit to print

lenge now lies in internal communication in SA," he said "I feel it's going to be very difficult to communicate successfully with people outside the country until we can communicate successfully internally"

So much for good intentions This week on SABC, a changed, but not chastened Steward explained his bureau's task to John Bishop "I don't think we owe the foreign media very much We don't think in SA that they have given us a fair deal over the last 10-20 years

"We're quite prepared to ensure an accurate flow of information to the international media, but there are limits The limits for the foreign media are exactly the same as the limits for the local media They are spelt out in the emergency regulations"

Steward said it was "natural" that no journalist liked being restricted, and likewise, his bureau did not enjoy the role it was having to play SA, however, is in "difficult times" and had to chose between containing violence and polarisation and restoring law

ment's top man on Namibia and was closely involved in negotiations on an acceptable settlement in the territory

(Co-incidentally, Steward succeeded current SABC director general, Riaan Eksteen, as permanent UN representative and then again as chief of the Africa desk in the DFA No prizes for guessing where he's likely to go next, particularly considering his current performance)

Steward was literally born into the civil service in Kenya in 1945, where his father, Pot (Current Affairs) Steward, was serving as an official of the South African State information service From Nairobi, the family was posted to Canada and then London, so Steward received all his schooling overseas

He returned to SA in 1962 to read for a BA at Stellenbosch University, after which he worked for a year as a journalist on Otto Krause's *News/Check* magazine Steward joined the DFA in 1966 and served in Australia and Canada before being posted to the

FUN MARK
DAVE STEWARD 27/6/86

Official lean

The transformation from the "Mr Clean" of State propaganda into SA's chief censor took David ("We're not kidding") Steward only two short months

From the suave diplomat-turned-info-man charged with coaxing the South African public into supporting "reform," he has become a stonewalling bureaucrat who sifts the news that's fit to print

Now Steward (41) appears on television Foreign Affairs "I believe the main chal-

UN He was recalled in 1982 to head the DFA's Africa desk

Apart from following his father into the civil service, Steward also has an uncle in the diplomatic corps Jim Steward is SA's Ambassador in Rome

Steward sees no difficulty in distinguishing between State information on the one hand, and propaganda of the ruling party on the other He believes the BFI has no role in promoting either side in political debate, but when the policy or intentions of government affected the daily lives of citizens, then they had a right to be informed

"I see a clear distinction between party political platforms and the policy of the government, as endorsed according to constitutional processes of the country," Steward says ■

SPAR
Editor
Sisulu
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Snatched by white gunmen

By Jon Qwelane

The editor of the New Nation, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu has disappeared. There are fears he has been kidnapped.

Four armed white men, two of them wearing bal-clavas, arrived at his Dube home in Soweto early yesterday and took him away, telling his wife "You will see your husband next year".

The Bureau for Information has said that when people are detained, their family will be notified immediately. By late yesterday the Sisulu family had not heard anything.

Mrs Zodwa Sisulu said she and her husband were startled out of their sleep by the sound of their front gate being broken down as the intruders barged in. They also flattened a garden wall.

"All of them were white men," she said "When we opened the door we saw four guns pointing at us. They told my husband for a holiday in Mauritius. They were rude, arrogant and abusive and one of them followed me when I went to the toilet."

"They confiscated a video cassette without giving a receipt. As they drove Zwelakhe away they shouted that I would see him again next year."

Mrs Sisulu has reported her husband's disappearance to her lawyers. Mr Sisulu, whose father Walter is serving a life term with Nelson Mandela at Pollsmoor Prison, was the 1984 recipient of the Niemann Fellowship and spent a year at Harvard University.

In 1980 he was president of the Media Workers' Association and lead a protest strike by black journalists. Mr Sisulu and four colleagues on the executive were banned and house-arrested.

Two years later he was detained without trial, and spent over nine months in prison.

^{CAT 117K}
Sisulu ^{28/6/86}

goes ⁽²⁴³⁾

missing ⁽²⁴³⁾

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG —
The editor of the New
Nation newspaper, Mr.
Zwelakhe Sisulu, has
disappeared from his
home in Dobsonville,
Soweto, and cannot be
traced.

A family member said
he was last seen in the
early hours of Friday
morning.

The New Nation is a
weekly newspaper pub-
lished by the Roman
Catholic Church.

On Thursday night an
attempt was made to
burn down the Lenasia
home of Dr Abu-Baker
Asvat, who employs Mrs
Albertina Sisulu, Mr Si-
sulu's mother. Nobody
was injured and Mr As-
vat's house was not da-
maged.

CITY PR
29/6/86
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State warns media

SA NEWSPAPER editors and Newspaper Press Union members were warned this week that the government would not hesitate to act in terms of emergency regulations – even to the extent of suspending publication of an offending newspaper if it did not adhere strictly to the regulations

Deputy Information Minister Louis Nel issued the warning when he met editors in Pretoria this week

Immediately after the government's warning, intense rumours started spreading around Parliament that two publications – *Weekly Mail* and *The New Nation* – were to be suspended in terms the regulations

But no official confirmation could be obtained

During the meeting – held at Nel's invitation – newspaper bosses were told the government had decided to act administratively in terms of regulations 11 and 12, rather than wait for court decisions because of the urgency of the situation

"The government expects newspapers to adhere to emergency regulations. This is the law of the country," he said – Sapa

Le Grange confirms editor's detention

29/6/86. S. M. S. 243
THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, today confirmed the detention on Friday of New Nation editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu.

A statement issued from the Minister's office in Pretoria last night said the PFP MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, had questioned Mr le Grange on the detention

and was "informed that the Sisulu family was well aware Mr Sisulu had been arrested and detained by police on Friday".

Mr le Grange said police officials denied that some of the officers involved wore balaclavas, as had been alleged by members of the Sisulu family. — Sapa.

Opp. Times 30/6/36

Le Grange confirms ⁽²⁴³⁾ detention ~~(243)~~

PRETORIA — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, has confirmed the detention on Friday of the Editor of the New Nation, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu

This was the first detention to be confirmed by the minister since the start of the emergency

The American Society of Newspaper Editors said in a cable to the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, that it "deplored" the action

A statement issued from Mr Le Grange's office in Pretoria on Saturday night said Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton) had questioned him on the detention on Friday and was "informed the Sisulu family was well aware Mr Sisulu had been arrested and detained by police on Friday"

"Police deny allegations by members of the family who said Mr Sisulu was abducted by men wearing balaclavas" — Sapa

What newspapers can now publish

AD 20/10/80
SAP

The Bureau of Information released a statement in Pretoria last week giving details on how it sees its role relating to newspapers during the state of emergency. The full text of the statement is published here.

ROLE OF THE BUREAU FOR INFORMATION DURING THE STATE OF EMERGENCY

1 INTRODUCTION

Comment in some of the South African Media reveals a basic misunderstanding of the role of the Bureau for Information during the unrest State of Emergency. The Bureau would accordingly like to put the record straight

2 ROLE OF THE BUREAU

- 2.1 The Bureau sees its role during the State of Emergency as
 - channeling information to the media within the constraints of the State of Emergency Regulations,
 - responding to queries in connection with the State of Emergency within the constraints of the regulations,
 - in terms of its delegated authority, endeavours to provide video — and photo material of incidents and details of police — or Security Force actions to the media
- 2.2 The Bureau must provide information within the constraints of the State of Emergency regulations. This means that it cannot provide information on inter alia
 - the total number of detainees
 - the identity of detainees
 - the number or identity of detainees released
 - the total number of incidents
 - the deployment of the Security Forces
- 2.3 The Bureau does not prescribe what South African newspapers may or may not write, nor is it in a position to give advice concerning the interpretation of the State of Emergency regulations. It is for newspapers and their legal advisers to decide, in the light of the State of Emergency regulations, what they will and will not print
- 2.4 The South African media should, however, take cognisance of the following:
 - the serious nature of the crisis which gave rise to the declaration of the State of Emergency. This crisis not only involved an increasing spread of violence and death but also a direct threat by radical elements to "make South Africa ungovernable", to challenge the authority of the State by establishing alternative administrative institutions, and to launch a so-called "people's revolution",
 - the determination of the Government that the elements behind these plans, should not be allowed to succeed in stopping the process of peaceful political evolution in the Republic,
 - the undoubted role that sensationalist and/or subversive news coverages can and does play in conflicts of this nature by willfully or unwillingly breaking down confidence, by instigating violence, by sowing inter-group enmity and suspicion, and by undermining national will and unity,
 - the heavy penalties applicable to breakers of the State of Emergency regulations
- 2.5 The restrictions placed by the State of Emergency Regulations on normal reporting on matters affecting the State of Emergency place a special responsibility on the Bureau to ensure that as much accurate information as possible is channelled to the media on a regular basis. This is particularly the case because of the danger of rumours and because of the importance of ensuring that South Africans are in possession of as much key information as possible on the situation as it develops.
- 2.6 The Bureau endeavours to carry out this function by the following means
 - news briefings,
 - telephone and telex replies,
 - arranging visits by the media to unrest areas,
 - provision of photo and video material
- 2.7 Information on the State of Emergency is compiled by a Media Committee which meets every morning at 09h00. The SAP, the SADF, the Department of Foreign Affairs, the SA Prisons Service and the Bureau are represented on the Committee. In addition, information on the State of Emergency is fed into the Bureau, or solicited from the Security Forces, on a continuous basis
- 2.8 The information obtained in this fashion provides the basis for the Bureau's daily news briefings and for its telephone and telex replies. Although the Bureau endeavours to establish the accuracy of this information, instances may occur where journalists may possess data which may contradict the Bureau's reports. In these circumstances the journalists in question are invited to discuss the matter with the Bureau which will then double-check its data
- 2.9 The State of Emergency regulations undoubtedly place serious restrictions on the ability of the media to report on matters affecting the State of Emergency. However, the media in South Africa continue to report and comment freely on a wide range of national affairs which are not directly associated with the State of Emergency. The State of Emergency also creates new tasks for the Bureau which it will endeavour to carry out to the best of its ability. The Bureau will always be open to responsible suggestions from the media as to how this function may best be performed, given the constraints imposed by the State of Emergency

YES YES ALL YES YES ALL

Despite ban, Press is ^{STILL} 'vigorous' — Worrall

By Michael Morris,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Press in South Africa is engaged in a "vigorous and critical" debate on the country's political future — despite the curbs on reporting of the state of emergency, South African Ambassador Dr Denis Worrall has told British parliamentarians.

He was questioned closely yesterday by the all-party Foreign Affairs Select Committee at Westminster on the capacity of the Press to reflect events under the state of emergency.

He said Press restrictions "relate only to the emergency and the handling of the emergency. For the rest, the media is able to report freely on developments in the country, and there is a vigorous political debate going on now."

X CONCERN OVER TV

The restrictions on reporting details of the emergency were aimed at preventing the Government's opponents from using the media. It's a serious situation the Government faces, and it's taking the kind of action any democracy would take if it were faced with similar circumstances".

He described the Press, particularly English-language newspapers — and offered three copies of *The Star* to the committee as evidence of "a vigorous and critical Press".

The Press ban on the ANC — which was "committed to violence" — was to prevent its ideas "gaining credence".

He said his embassy was not unhappy with the general reporting in British papers, but added: "We are concerned about TV coverage, because it tends to present a complex situation in a superficial and limited way. People tend to think because they have seen it happening they understand it."

It was indisputable that "TV is a catalyst to violence".

CML Times 1/7/86

Sisulu arrest: IPI demands explanation

289 243

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The International Press Institute (IPI) has demanded an urgent explanation from the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, concerning the circumstances of the arrest of New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu.

The IPI — an organization representing 2 000 editors and publishers worldwide — has asked

Mr Le Grange to confirm that he will do his "utmost to find out what has happened to Mr Sisulu".

Mr Sisulu, a former president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa), is the son of the jailed ANC leader, Mr Walter Sisulu. He is also a senior official of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC).

The IPI's London-

based director Mr Peter Galliner called on Mr Le Grange to launch an immediate investigation into the circumstances of Mr Sisulu's arrest.

"If Mr Sisulu is in police custody, will you please see that he is immediately freed so that he can continue as editor of his paper which, as you know, was founded by the South African Catholic Bishops Conference earlier this year and is recognized as a highly responsible publication," Mr Galliner said.

Like Mr Thabo Mbeki, the son of jailed ANC veteran Mr Govan Mbeki, Mr Sisulu is seen as one of a handful of African nationalists in a "buffer" generation between the Tambo and Mandelas on the one hand and the comrades of the townships on the other hand.

The SACBC has said it is to take legal action against the police if Mr Sisulu is not released after 14 days of his detention.

Allegations

The chairman of the Board of Publishers, Bishop Reginald Ormond, also made it clear that the paper will continue being published.

● Sapa reports that a spokesman for Mr le Grange yesterday would not comment when asked whether Mr Sisulu would be charged with any offence.

The ministry earlier confirmed that Mr Sisulu was detained on Friday, breaking its policy of not publicly confirming detentions to reject allegations that he had been abducted from his home by men wearing balaclavas.

The spokesman yesterday said that no decision had been taken on whether publication of New Nation would be stopped.

Papers break law regularly — lawyer

It is not a question of "if", but "when" newspapers contravene the emergency regulations, Mr Peter Reynolds, a media lawyer, said yesterday

"Hundreds of contraventions must have been committed by newspapers since the emergency regulations were promulgated on June 12," he said (editions of two newspapers were taken off the streets for obvious contraventions committed almost before the ink on the regulations had dried)

"Yet, no newspaper has been informed of any prosecution against it.

"I think the answer is simple — the Government does not wish to prosecute for fear of the courts being called upon to interpret extremely wide and vague wording of the emergency regulations

"Once a court has given an interpretation, the guidelines are set and that is exactly what the Bureau For Information has been trying to avoid since the start of the emergency

"At present the newspapers are in a serious dilemma as to what they can and cannot publish, many of them have been advised that, when in doubt, do not publish, and at all times to adopt a serious and conservative approach to the restrictions imposed upon them.

"But once the regulations have been judicially interpreted, the newspapers will, within reason, know how far they can go, and with a greater degree of clarity, will also know what they can and cannot publish in the common interest"

AM- Tennis
2/7/86

(243)

(100)

Journals get heavy black pen treatment

By **ROGER WILLIAMS**
Chief Reporter

FIRST there were whiteouts, now there are blackouts in news journals that have been arriving in South Africa from overseas since the proclamation of the state of emergency two weeks ago

The black felt-tipped pen has taken the place of the technique of leaving white spaces in the costly and time-consuming process of self-censorship now being practised by publishers and distributors faced with heavy penalties for contravention of the emergency laws.

The South African edition of Time magazine, printed in Johannesburg, which had three blank pages last week, this week has a short quote by Mr Oliver Tambo, the ANC president, penned out

And Newsweek, which last week was held back by the publishers in Zurich because of a 16-page cover-feature titled "South Africa at War", has gone on sale this week with signs of heavy self-censorship with the felt-tipped pen.

Large portions of a

four-page article headed "South Africa's '1984'" have been penned out by the distributors in Johannesburg

Mr Richard Manning, Newsweek's South Africa bureau chief, was ordered out of the country this week by the government

Probably the most-striking victim of the black pen this week has been the latest issue of one of the most-respected financial journals in the world, the Economist, published in London. Its entire cover picture has been black-penned, and pages 11 and 45 have been torn out. The index indicates that there was an article titled "South African third-world toughs" on page 11, and another article, "A funny way of making friends" on page 45.

A spokesman for a firm of distributors said from Johannesburg yesterday that all the black-penning had to be done by hand and that in the case of Newsweek, which had a South African circulation of about 6 500, this was "a pretty laborious and time-consuming process"

OTHER PEOPLE

JOHANN COETZEE

POLICE Commissioner General Johann Coetzee believes that journalists have an important role to play in exposing abuses in society

That, at any rate, was the view that he expressed in an interview with the Rand Daily Mail in February 1984 in what now seems to be a bygone era of relative press freedom

Since then, of course, Coetzee has used the immense powers bestowed on him under the State of Emergency to impose perhaps the most vigorous restrictions on press freedom in South African history

In the 1984 interview with the now defunct Rand Daily Mail, Coetzee noted with apparent pride that the relations between the police and the press had improved since he took over as Commissioner of Police in mid-1983

"Although I believe that many journalists have skeletons in the cupboard, the fact remains that they are an important catalyst for bringing abuses to the attention of society," he said then

But this week, on the eve of the tenth anniversary of the 1976 Soweto revolt, he forbade journalists to report or comment on the conduct of any member of the Security Forces engaged in the maintenance of public order

At the same time he barred journalists from entering black townships — or any other area in which unrest is occurring — for purpose of reporting what is happening

In the 1984 interview Coetzee told the Rand Daily Mail that South Africa's greatest success in containing the insurgency threat was its ability to do so without declaring an Emergency

Since then, of course, the government has twice declared a State of Emergency, the most recent on June 12

The imposition of stringent controls on the press and the declaration of a general State of Emergency do not mean that Coetzee has abandoned his belief in a relatively free press (it was hardly free in '84) or in the value of containing guerrillas of the outlawed African National Congress within the ambit of statutory law

What they do indicate is the speed at which events have moved since then, making views held in 1984 obsolete, or, at best, temporarily irrelevant today

Coetzee is a policeman who came up through the ranks, joining the Mounted Police at the age of 16 and the Security Police in 1954, largely because of his exceptional ability at shorthand (he is said to be able to record notes at between 200 and 240 words a minute)

Before his appointment as Police Commissioner, he was best known as a security policeman, serving both as deputy chief and then chief of the Security Police.

Coetzee, however, has an intellectual persona.

He obtained a BA as a correspondence student at the University of South Africa. Later he completed an MA thesis on the now outlawed Congress of Democrats and is working on a doctorate on the influence of Trotskyism on leftwing politics in South Africa.

Coetzee's intellectual interests — he is deeply interested in the Greek philosophers — combine with another side of his personality: physical courage

He walked unarmed into the Silvertown bank in 1980 when it was taken over by three ANC guerrillas, dropping an electronic bug, thus enabling police to monitor the situation and successfully storm the bank and kill the insurgents

A dapper man — he looks like the actor Errol Flynn — Coetzee is a tough, determined policeman, who is said to have won begrudging admiration as a formidable foe by his political enemies

Last year, after the first emergency was declared in July, Coetzee saw his



Louis Nel and Louis Le Grange... the velvet gloves come off the iron fists

The Big Four

"responsible" black moderates "prepared to work within the system" Guarding the political centre against "extremists" presumably remains his aim.

DAVID STEWARD

IT is no accident that David Steward is the head of the Bureau of Information, which — like it or not — is virtually the sole source of publishable news on South Africa's civil strife

Verbal defence of the government is, as it were, in his blood

Steward, 41, is the son of Alexander Steward, who was one of the first English speakers publicly and energetically to espouse the cause of apartheid in the first heady years of National Party rule

In the mid 1950s Father — now Bishop — Trevor Huddleston wrote a book called "Naught for Your Comfort" It was in the view of many readers, a devastating indictment of apartheid

It was largely inspired by his opposition to the forced removal of black people from Sophiatown and the consequent demise of the once-thriving township and erection in its place of a white suburb named, with the brutal frankness of those times, Triomf

Alexander Steward, who was the founder of the radio programme Current Affairs and whose voice invaded many an Opposition home, infuriating its owners, wrote a reply to Huddleston's book. It was entitled "You are wrong, Father Huddleston"

David Steward, however, points out that his father wrote subsequent books. One was "Pretoria, the World and the West" Another was "The Challenge of Change" His father resigned from the then State Department of Information to write the second book, Steward recalls, implying that there was more to his father than his reputation as an assiduous government propagandist.

When Steward was appointed head of the Bureau for Information last year he told The Star that no "communicator" could succeed unless he had credibility. That was the lesson he had learnt as a diplomat in Australia, Canada and the United Nations, he said

As SA Ambassador to the UN, he defended South Africa's 1982 raid on Maseru, in which 42 people were killed by South African commandos, 12 of them Lesotho nationals

Today, of course, Steward's new task is vital to the public's right to

The State of Emergency grants the power to four men to control what you may or may not do and what you may or may not know. PATRICK LAURENCE provides pen portraits of each

to the bureau under the State of Emergency

He insists that credibility is still the key to successful fulfilment of his task and repudiates insinuations that his bureau is a South African equivalent of George Orwell's Ministry of Truth, which proclaimed "Ignorance is strength"

He charges that the media has not given his bureau a "fair run" He claims it latched gleefully onto his admission last week that the bureau had made a mistake

Confronted with reports that Security Force pamphlets had been dropped in Pretoria's townships ordering the residents to stay indoors on June 16, Steward dismissed them as "devoid of all truth" Later, however, a copy of a pamphlet was produced. It read in part "Please remain indoors for your own safety"

Goaded by aggressive questioning from journalists, Steward said "Yes we admit sometimes we make mistakes"

Discussing the incident with the Weekly Mail, Steward insists that the bureau is not intent on wilfully misleading journalists "Nothing could be further from the truth"

If journalists have information which contradicts the official version of events released at the bureau's daily briefing, they are welcome to draw the bureau's attention to it and the bureau will investigate further, Steward says

A barrier of suspicion remains, however. Some members of the journalist corps suspect that Steward "relishes his role as censor"

While acknowledging that he was a helpful senior official of the Department of Foreign Affairs, they note that when he warned journalists of the consequences of contravening the Emergency regulations, he said "We are not kidding" Use of the word "we" defines Steward, in their view, as a loyal government servant with a

But even if Steward's bona fides as a "communicator" are accepted, he, too, is restrained by the Emergency regulations from giving the full facts

LOUIS NEL

INFORMATION supreme Louis Nel argues that South Africa's polecat image is not necessarily bad

"As everybody knows," he wrote in 1984 after he was appointed Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, "the polecat or skunk with its distinctive black and white colouring can be a lovable and engaging creature"

The polecat's repugnant smell, he added in an article in the Sunday Times, was largely a defensive measure "The more cornered he feels, the more objectionable he seems to be and the less he seems to care."

Nel was assigned by President PW Botha last year to head the newly formed Bureau of Information, now virtually the sole source of publishable information on the State of Emergency

Nel, 48, is on record as wanting sound relations with the press "We want to be more co-operative with the media to provide more information and to open the government by holding regular briefings and conferences," he said after his appointment as Deputy Minister of Information

A lawyer by training, Nel, who was first elected to parliament in 1970, is a *verligte* in Afrikaner politics. He is an ally of Foreign Minister Pik Botha as a trenchant opponent of the Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht

Nel is a man of physical courage. He journeyed several times to the MNR insurgent base at Gorongosa in Mozambique at the height of the war there in the interest, he says, of bringing the war to an end

Nel's *verlig* reputation and his quarrel in 1979 with Treurnicht, who was then the Transvaal leader of the NP, may account for his twice being the target of Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging zealots once at Brits, where they broke up a National Party meeting, and once at Uitenhage, where Nel had to shout above the din of his ultra-rightist foes

Nel's quarrel with Treurnicht perhaps throws light on his character

Treurnicht told a joke involving Bols brandy, punning on the word "Bols" Nel wrote to Treurnicht saying that he found the joke 'unsavoury', later making the letter

for doing so

Later, due to the intervention of PW Botha, he was reinstated and rose to become a deputy minister. Today, he is in a pivotal position as the man responsible for keeping the public informed via a censored press about events in the townships

Even before the Bureau of Information became so central to life in South Africa Nel said "The bureau's credibility is crucial to me"

One of his objectives then was to invite cameramen to cover the positive side of township life to photograph police playing soccer with township children. The million dollar question is how to get police to use sjamboks less and soccer more,' he said then

Now, until further notice, photographers may not enter the townships, even to photograph police pitting their skills against township youth on the soccer field, except with the consent of the police

LOUIS LE GRANGE

LAW and Order Minister Louis Le Grange is, as the Afrikaners say, 'n man wat sy man kan staan — a man who can stand up for himself

A physically big man, Le Grange, 58, has spent a lot of his public time defending the police against charges of brutality and negligence. Whatever criticisms may be levelled against Le Grange, failure to stand by the police is not one of them

Le Grange has been scornfully dismissed by Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche as a dandy or fop. He is certainly a neat dresser with a well-groomed appearance. But the insinuation that he is effete is without substance. Le Grange is a robust man

For years the press has been killing him off, physically and politically, writing confidently that he is seriously ill and/or that he is about to be axed. Le Grange is still around, seemingly larger than ever

He is widely seen as a hawk, a *verkrampie* counter weight to the *verligtes* in the cabinet who are said to lean toward release of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and even to conditional talks with the ANC

That being so, the State of Emergency and the crackdown on radical dissent on township agitators and revolutionaries, is the finest hour for Le Grange

Le Grange, a lawyer by training and an admirer of the original "Lion of the North", former Prime Minister JG Strijdom, was deputy chairman of the controversial Schlebusch Commission of Inquiry in the 1970s into four anti-government organisations

The Schlebusch Commission — which was seen in opposition circles as South African style McCarthyism — found that the National Union of SA Students was dedicated to the production of "student radicals imbued with left wing views"

Its report led to the banning of eight Nusas leaders (eight black student leaders, among them the charismatic Steve Biko, were banned at the same time). Nusas was declared an "affected organisation" and thereby cut off from receiving foreign funds

Nusas, Le Grange declared at the time, would go bankrupt. Nusas survived and so did Le Grange, who later took over from Schlebusch as chairman of the commission before being promoted to the cabinet, first as a deputy minister and then as a full minister

One purpose of the commission was to excise radicalism and "anti South Africanism" from the South African body politic. Le Grange as Law and Order Minister is today still battling to eradicate leftists and revolutionaries

His portfolio and consequent membership of the State Security Council put him in the frontline of what has been termed the struggle for South Africa. Whether his iron-fisted approach will be more successful than the inquisitorial methods of the Schlebusch Commission remains to be

J.H.D. - 11
Tuesday This week
life under
apartheid

changed when, at the stroke of midnight, 34 of the myriad laws that define a black South African's second-class status disappeared from the statute books. On Tuesday, for the first time in his life, a black man will be able to leave his "pass" at home and go out to buy a house . . . in a different town, if he wishes. But apartheid will not be dead.

Except in liberal Cape Town, he will have to travel in a black bus or taxi.

The house will have to be in a black township. He will have to fill in his race on the deed of sale.

He may not share the house with the white wife or girlfriend that he has been allowed to have since last year.

Educated

If he gets sick, he will be taken to a black hospital in a black ambulance.

If his children are to be educated by the state, they will have to go to a segregated black school.

And if he does not like the restrictions he can neither cast a vote in the hope of ousting the government he opposes nor aspire to the presidency of his country.

The passing of those laws went almost unnoticed in a country preoccupied with its second state of emergency this year.

Many of the blacks who might have passed comment are among the estimated 4 000 people being detained without charge under emergency regulations.

Others have gone into hiding to avoid the detention net.

The changes mean little to the ghetto children who daily stone and burn buses, buildings and, occasionally people.

Their radicalism has gone beyond the reform of apartheid and their demand is for its unconditional abolition.

The laws repealed at midnight made up the complex system, known as "influx control", that has existed in one form or another throughout this century.

Official

They required every black adult to carry a passport-like document known as a "pass" at all times and resulted in an average of about 250 000 ar-

How the news of changes in SA gets out

CF 3/7 86

(243)

The government has been critical of the way foreign correspondents are reporting on South Africa. The public here, however, does not often see foreign reports. This is one example, and is how the international news agency UPI told the world about the formal abolition of the pass laws this week.

rests a year.

Any official could demand to see a black person's pass at any time.

Blacks have been arrested within feet of their homes for having left the pass inside and in one highly publicized incident a marathon runner was picked up for not having the book on him.

Stamps in that black booklet regulated where the owner could live or work, forbidding him to be outside the administrative area of his home for more than 72 hours without police permission.

In terms of the influx control measures, a black man had to work for one employer for 10 years or for various employers without a break for 15 years before he could bring his wife and children to live with him in the city.

Now he can live anywhere that he can find a home and a job and he no longer has to carry his pass at all times.

President Pieter Botha announced his intention to abolish influx control in a speech to Parliament on January 31.

He said the move would be part of a strategy to remove discriminatory measures from the statute books, but insisted the structure of South African society would continue to rest of racial segregation. "We have outgrown the outdated colonial sys-

tem of paternalism," he said, "as well as the outdated concept of apartheid."

"But our nation is a nation of minorities. Given the multi-cultural nature of South Africa society, this of necessity implies participation by all communities, without one group dominating another," said Mr Botha.

Own property

He suspended pass arrests in April, when he set July 1 as the deadline for their replacement by what he called "a system of orderly urbanization".

He also announced that, from July 1, blacks would for the first time be allowed to own property in the 87 per cent of South Africa that is designated "white", albeit only in a segregated black township.

Mr Botha has promised to negotiate with blacks about their representation "at the highest level of government".

But, so far, no recognized black leader has agreed to meet with him to discuss anything but the total abolition of racial discrimination and segregation.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Peace Prize winner and Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, summed up black attitudes to Mr Botha's reform plans, saying "apartheid cannot be reformed, it must be abolished." — UPI

'Nation'
Cape Times 3/7/86
comes out today
243

JOHANNESBURG. —
The New Nation, the fortnightly national newspaper owned by the Catholic Bishops' Conference, will be published today, the acting editor, Mr Gabu Tugwana, said yesterday.

Mr Tugwana said the usual edition of 24 pages was being printed and would be on the streets today.

He said legal advice had been taken "as usual" and he was satisfied the contents would not contravene the emergency regulations.

The editor of the newspaper, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, was detained on June 27. — Sapa

German TV man's appeal turned down

CAPE Times 3/7/66 (20) 243

JOHANNESBURG. — A German television correspondent, Dr Heinrich Beuttgen, who was ordered out of the country on Monday, has had his appeal to stay refused by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, a colleague of his said yesterday.

The colleague, who works for the West German radio network ARD, said the Department of Home Affairs had telephoned ARD to say Dr Beuttgen's appeal had been unsuccessful and that he has to leave South Africa by midnight tonight.

Yesterday the Foreign Correspondents' Association of Southern Africa strongly condemned the deportation. A letter to the head of the Bureau of Information, Mr Louis Nel, said. "The Foreign Correspondents' Association abhors the decision by the South African authorities to expel yet another journalist.

"None of the four foreign newsmen so far ordered out has been informed of the reason why he is being ex-

pelled. The FCA regards these expulsions as sinister in the extreme

"These moves appear to negate assurances from the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, that the government is not seeking a confrontation with the foreign media"

Mr Nel said last night that he had taken note of the press statement by the FCA and appreciated that the FCA sent him a copy.

The statement from the Bureau for Information said "The South African Government does not seek confrontation with any foreign journalist, and will have no objection to journalists reporting the realities of South Africa — warts and all

"This is why the government has allowed foreign journalists to report from South Africa over many years. Unfortunately most foreign journalists have consistently misrepresented South Africa abroad by turning a blind eye to constructive developments in the Republic of South Africa" — Sapa

CAPE TIMES
Friday, July 4, 1986

041-0306 043

Only SABC allowed to film blast scene

By CHRIS STEYN

AN SABC film crew acted as "official" cameramen for the Bureau for Information at the scene of the bomb blast at Mowbray police station yesterday morning.

A police liaison officer for the Western Cape

Captain Jan Calitz, would supply other news agencies and newspapers with pictures. Captain Calitz said the SABC would be able to use the film footage only if the bureau gave them permission.

"When I say no way, it is no way," he said.

Journalists stood by and watched as the SABC crew were allowed into the barricaded area to take close-up shots of the exact spot where the limpet mine had exploded.

When confronted by the local press about "discrimination" against local newspapers and foreign crews, Captain Calitz said that the SABC crew was filming the scene for the Bureau for Information.

He said the SABC would give the footage to the bureau for "clearance". The bureau

Yesterday afternoon, however, Captain Calitz informed the Cape Times that photographs of the blast would not be made available to the newspapers.

'Key point'

"A police station is a national key point and may not be photographed. Pictures taken at the scene of the blast are therefore not for publication," he said.

The bureau said in a telexed reply yesterday that it had given permission that photographs of victims were allowed if the victims consented.

"However photographs of the damage to the police station are not allowed for obvious reasons," the bureau said.

Wifredo
Figueroa
Sew.
Travel
access 7.1

Paper out despite detention of editor

4/7/80 By Jo-Anne Collinge

STAR

The independent newspaper, *The New Nation*, was on the streets yesterday despite the detention of its editor, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu — and it warned that legal action would be launched should police fail to release Mr Sisulu by July 11.

The editorial column was replaced by an article on the rights of detainees and the assistance available to them and their families.

The New Nation was launched by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference. The paper said this body and local Nieman Fellows were planning legal action to secure Mr Sisulu's release.

Mr Sisulu won the prestige Nieman Fellowship in 1984 and spent a year at Harvard University. Protests from Harvard academics and the Nieman Foundation were to be sent to Pretoria, *The New Nation* said.

The International Press Institute has already called for Mr Sisulu's release.

Photographer disappears

CAPE TOWN — A freelance photographer who works for a major foreign picture agency as well as South African publications disappeared from his home in Observatory yesterday morning.

Friends said they knew where he was, but did not know when they would see him again.

The photographer's pictures of unrest in the Western Cape have won widespread acclaim from fellow photographers and journalists — Sapa

CNT TANK 5/7/86

Mowbray blast: SABC explains

Staff Reporter

THE SABC yesterday reacted to charges that the corporation's Cape Town film crew had acted as "official" photographers for the Bureau for Information at the scene of the Mowbray police station blast on Thursday.

The Editor of SABC television news for TV1, TV2, and TV3, Mr Rob Stevenson, told the Cape Times that the SABC film crew was initially refused permission to film the scene.

"However, after obtaining the necessary permission from the Divisional Commissioner of Police, we shot some film footage

"This material will be made available to the Bureau for Information should they request it.

"And film clips prepared by us for broad-

casting will also be made available to foreign news agencies if they ask for it," he said.

The senior media liaison officer for the Western Cape, Captain Jan Calitz, barred foreign television crews and local photographers from taking pictures of the police station or surrounding buildings damaged by the blast

Journalists stood by and watched as the SABC crew were allowed into the barricaded area to take close-up shots of the spot where the limpet mine had exploded

When confronted by the local press about "discrimination" against local newspapers and foreign crews, Captain Calitz said that the SABC crew was filming the scene for the Bureau for Information

243

Decision today on bid for TV man's release

CARE Tink 7/7/86 (243)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Judgment will be given today on an urgent application to the Rand Supreme Court for the release from detention of a Worldwide Television News soundman.

Ms Khosi Radebe filed the application to have Mr Theophilus Mashiani's arrest on June 15 declared unlawful and his immediate release ordered.

Mr Justice J Goldstone reserved judgment on the application on Friday against the Law and Order Minister, Mr Louis le Grange, and the Justice Minister, Mr Kobie Coetzee, until this morning.

Ms Radebe claimed in her supporting affidavit that Mr Mashiani was arrested in her room at Wits University's Glynthomas Residence near Baragwanath Hospital during an early-morning police raid.

She said that although the police had initially paid Mr Mashiani no heed, they nevertheless arrested him after finding out that he worked for WTN.

Mr Denis Kuny, SC, who appears for the applicant, submitted that the arresting officer must have acted capriciously and arbitrarily when deciding to arrest a man whom, the policeman admits, he did not

know or expect to find in the room.

Mr Kuny said Lieutenant F C Zeelie merely gave the grounds for the arrest (that it is in the public interest) but not the reasons.

Mr Kuny submitted that any arrest without a warrant must be justified by the person who makes it.

Mr R Kruger, counsel for the Minister of Law and Order, argued that in terms of the emergency regulations it is assumed that the police are acting in good faith and it is up to the applicant to prove that they were not. He added that there was no proof of this.

4/7/86
Police quiz

EVE POST
EL editor

(509) (243)
EAST LONDON — The editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr George Farr, was questioned by police yesterday about a report published in the Daily Dispatch on March 22

Lt F Vos told Mr Farr that as a result of certain statements quoted in the report, a possible prosecution in terms of the Police Act was being investigated

The editor and two Daily Dispatch reporters are required to make statements confirming the accuracy of the reported comments.

Mr Farr assured Lt Vos that the required statements would be made to his attorney for presentation to the CID. — Sapa

CARE TIME
4/7/86

Police ²⁴³ question editor

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON — The editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr George Farr, was questioned by the police yesterday about a report published in the newspaper, on March 22, 1986

Lieutenant F Vos of the CID called on Mr Farr at his office to tell him that as a result of certain statements quoted in the report, a possible prosecution in terms of Section 27b of the Police Act was being investigated.

The report was about police action in Breidbach, near King William's Town, against a group of people waiting for the outcome of a court application challenging the banning of a service that was to have been conducted by a patron of the United Democratic Front and the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak.

2003
Cape Times, Thursday, July 21, 1990

Staff Reporter

FOR the first time in almost six weeks, a Cape Times reporter yesterday entered Cape Town's black townships.

Back into the townships

This follows the ruling by a full Bench of the Rand Supreme Court that individual orders issued by Divisional Commissioners of Police under the emergency regulations were invalid.

The court found that only the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, or the Commis-

sioner of Police, General Johann Coetzee, have the power to issue declarations and this power may not be delegated.

Repeated attempts by the Cape Times to enter the Greater Guguletu area since the state of emergency was declared, have failed, save for two occasions soon after the declaration — despite there having been no

specific ban on entry to the area.

Although the only specific ban in force throughout was on entry to the KTC/Crossroads/Nyanga Bush area, officers at roadblocks at the entrances to the townships have said entry was banned on orders from the Divisional Commissioner for the Western Cape, Brigadier Christof

fel Swart

Yesterday, the Cape Times was initially refused entry at the main entrance, but after it was explained that no permission was necessary, we were waved through.

Later, the Cape Times was again asked to produce a "permit", but after an explanation, we were allowed to proceed.

It was clear from conversations with residents that there has been little unrest in recent days.

Buses were operating normally and council workers — operating with security force guards — were repairing damaged electrical installations. Residents said a large

number of overhead electrical lines had been damaged after poles were sabotaged — either by being sawn down or by being burnt.

In the KTC area, a large number of new shacks have been built in the area devastated in attacks by vigilantes in June. However, more than half the original KTC area has now been

levelled and cleared.

The Shawco mobile truck was yesterday dispensing supplies to refugees in the Nyanga area.

Relief workers said they were unsure of the fate of many of the refugees, who appear to have been taken in by township residents in private homes.

Some 200 refugees are living in the burnt-out shell of the Zolani Centre in Nyanga East, and another 90 people are sheltering at the Holy Cross Church in Nyanga.

4/7/86 (243)

Report: police question Editor

EAST LONDON — The Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr George Farr, was questioned by the police yesterday about a report published in the Daily Dispatch on March 22, 1986

Lieutenant F Vos, of the Criminal Investigation Department, called on Mr Farr at his office. He told Mr Farr that as a result of certain statements quoted in the report, a possible prosecution in terms of Section 27B of the Police Act was being investigated

The report was about police action in Breidbach, near King William's Town, against a group of people waiting for the outcome of a court application challenging the banning of a service that was to have been conducted by a patron of the United Democratic Front and the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak

The report quoted comments about the conduct of the police by a spokesman for the

King William's Town Civic Association, Mr J Smith

The Editor and two Daily Dispatch reporters are required to make statements confirming the accuracy of the reported comments

The Editor assured Lieut Vos that the required statements would be made to his attorney for presentation to the CID

● Section 27B of the Police Act provides that "any person who publishes any untrue matter in relation to any action by the Force or any part of the Force, or any member of the Force in relation to the performance of his functions as such a member, without having reasonable grounds (the onus of proof of which shall rest on such a person) for believing that that statement is true, shall be guilty of an offence and on conviction liable to a fine not exceeding R10 000 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding five years or to both such fine and such imprisonment"

Handwritten text at the top of the page, possibly a date or reference number.

Le Grange to pay journalist R2 000

By Janine Simon

The Minister of Law and Order will pay Mr Anton Harber — former political reporter for the *Rand Daily Mail* and currently news editor of the *Weekly Mail* — R2 000 for injuries suffered in an assault during elections for the Indian House of Delegates in August 1984.

Mr Harber brought the action against the Minister after police officers allegedly took no steps to stop vigilantes assaulting him with sjamboks at the polling station outside the Lenasia Civic Centre on August 28 1984.

Mr Harber, who worked for the *The Rand Daily Mail* at the time, had to be treated for extensive bruising and cuts suffered in the attack.

Legal teams yesterday made an out-of-court settlement of the R5 000 damages suit. They also decided that the Minister, Mr Louis le Grange, would pay the legal costs of the matter.

He sued the Minister on the grounds that police failed, for no good reason, to intervene and protect him.

Le Grange has surgery

CAPE TOWN — Law and Order Minister Mr Louis le Grange was in hospital briefly for routine surgery last week, a spokesman has confirmed. The Minister was discharged after two days and has made a full recovery, he said. Mr le Grange inspected the bomb damage at Silvertown on Friday. He was back in his office yesterday. — Political Staff

FINAL SETTLEMENT

At the first hearing in January, Mr Harber told the magistrate police had in fact acted in accordance with the assault in that they assaulted his colleague, Mr Gary van Staden from *The Star*.

Yesterday's payment is in full and final settlement of the matter.

No finding has been made on whether or not police should have prevented the assaults.

TV man celebrates freedom

By Mphahlela Mphahlela

Champagne flowed at the offices of Worldwide Television News yesterday after soundman, Mr Theophilus Spokes Mashiyane (26), was released from detention.

After the welcome, colleagues treated Mr Mashiyane and his fiancée, Miss Khosi Radebe, to lunch.

The lunch was attended by Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress (ANC), and Mr Mashiyane's legal representatives and friends.

Mr Mashiyane's release from Diepkloof Prison was ordered by Rand Supreme Court Judge Mr Justice R J Goldstone yesterday.

Mr Mashiyane said "I am very happy to be released. It was unexpected. It's a real pleasure to be outside with people again."



A beaming Mr Theophilus Spokes Mashiyani, WTN sound man, is congratulated by Mr Denis Kuny SC. Mr Godofredo Guedes, WTN's bureau chief, looks on.

Court orders detainee released from prison

By Jaume Simon

The arrest and detention under emergency regulations of Worldwide Television News soundman, Mr Theophilus Mashiyani, was — in what is seen as a significant ruling — declared unlawful yesterday by a Rand Supreme Court judge, who ordered Mr Mashiyani be released from Diepkloof Prison.

Legal sources believe this to be the first time an application of an unlawful arrest has succeeded under present emergency regulations and say the application reiterates the right of the court to consider whether an order or action is lawful.

Mr Mashiyani was arrested in the early hours of June 15 at the University of the Witwatersrand's Glyn Thomas residence.

On June 22 the Minister of Law and Order authorised his detention to be extended to the end of the emergency.

BONA FIDE OPINION

Mr Justice R G Goldstone ruled that the arrest, made under Section 3 (1), was unlawful as the arresting officer, Warrant Officer F C Zeelie, had not formed a bona fide opinion that it was necessary.

The extension of the detention, ordered in terms of the arrest, was also found to be unlawful.

Under section 3(1) a person may be arrested if, in the opinion of the officer, he is a threat to the maintenance of public order, to public safety, to the end of the emergency regulations or as a mea-

sure to protect the individual.

Mr Justice Goldstone said the probability was that Warrant Officer Zeelie did not properly apply his mind to the section and that the section, wide as it was, still placed limits on the discretion of the arresting officer.

It is wholesome and desirable that he should be made aware of the limitations and that he may be summoned before the ordinary courts of the land to explain his action," he said.

The events of June 15 were described in an affidavit by social work student Miss Khosi Radebe who brought the application for Mr Mashiyani's release against the Minister of Law and Order and the Minister of Justice.

Neither respondent replied to the facts set out in her affidavit.

Mr Justice Goldstone said W O Zeelie could not have thought the arrest necessary as he had told the court he never knew Mr Mashiyani before he went to the residence and that police were not looking for Mr Mashiyani.

"How could the presence of this one cassette tape with recordings of singing at a funeral, found at a university residence at 3 am, be constituted a threat as set out in the regulation?" Mr Justice Goldstone said.

Appearances Mr D Kuny SC appeared for Miss Radebe Mr R Kruger SC appeared for the Minister of Law and Order and Mr J P Coetzee appeared for the Minister of Justice.

Detention was unlawful — judge

NEWSMAN RELEASED



Mr THEOPHILUS Spokes Mashiani and fiancée Miss Khosi Radebe embrace after he had been released from detention yesterday after a ruling in the Rand Supreme Court

THE arrest and detention of World Wide Television News soundman, Mr Theophilus Mashiani has been declared unlawful by a Rand Supreme Court judge, Mr Justice R J Goldstone, who yesterday ordered that Mr Mashiani be released from Diepkloof Prison.

Police arrested Mr Mashiani in the early hours of June 15 while he was spending the night with his girlfriend at the University of the

Watersrand's Lynn Thomas residence. On June 22 the Minister of Law and Order authorised Mr Mashiani's detention to be extended to the end of emergency regulations.

Passing judgment Mr Justice Goldstone said the arrest, made under Section 31 of the regulations, was unlawful.

The arresting officer, Warrant Officer FC Zeelic, could not have formed a *bona fide* opinion that Mr Mashiani was a threat to the maintenance of public order, the safety of the public, the end of the state of emergency or should be arrested for his own safety.

"Zeelic did not properly apply his mind to the regulations which, wide as they are, still place limits on the arresting person," Judge Goldstone said.

If the arrest was unlawful then the order extending the detention, in terms of the arrest, was also unlawful, he said.

The events of June 15 were described in an affidavit by Mr Mashiani's girlfriend, Miss Khosi Radebe, and were not disputed by counsel of either respondents — the Minister of Law and Order and the Minister of Justice.

3 am Raid

Social work student Miss Radebe said four members of the SAP entered her room at the residence at 3 am.

They searched her locker and took out personal items including cassette tapes, a calendar issued by the Release Mandela Campaign, and a placard with the picture of Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Mr Mashiani was arrested after police spotted a note pad with the logo of the American Broadcasting Company — of which WTN is an associate — and asked to whom it belonged, Miss Radebe said.

Mr Mashiani said it was his and a fifth man in a balaclava came into

Unrest stories

THIS issue of the *Sowetan* has been produced under conditions that amount to censorship ALL stories that relate to unrest, the state of emergency and the activities of the security forces were supplied by the Bureau for Information established by the Government.

Additional facts or information which we may have had relating to unrest had to be approved by the bureau or cannot be published.

the room and said Mr Mashiani was a foreign correspondent. He was then told to leave with the police.

Mr Justice Goldstone said that under the regulations the court was entitled and obliged to enquire whether an arrest was lawful in terms of the regulations.

"It is wholesome and desirable that an officer should be made aware of the limits and that he may be summoned before an ordinary court to explain his actions," he said. — Sapa

Meetings banned

ALL students representative councils and 33 major black organisations were yesterday banned from holding any indoor "gathering" in the magisterial districts of Johannesburg and Roodepoort, in terms of the emergency regulations.

Soweto Divisional Police Commissioner Gideon Laubsher promulgated orders in yesterday's Government Gazette that the affected organisations may not hold gatherings in buildings, and that no one may disseminate a notice about such a meeting.

Organisations are therefore, by implication, prevented from calling Press conferences and will have to brief journalists individually.

Moreover, in terms of previous orders, statements from some of these organisations may only be published in certain parts of the country.

The organisations

affected are: The students representatives councils of any school, college or university, Azanian National Youth Unity, Azanian Peoples Organisation, Azanian Students Movement, Azanian Students Organisation, Black Students Society, Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa, Congress of South African Trade Unions, Council of Unions of South Africa, Detainees Parents Support Committee, Education Charter Campaign Committee, Federation of Residents Association, Federation of South African Women, Federation of Transvaal Women Association General and Allied Workers Union Health Workers Association, Lenasia Students Congress,

Lenasia Youth League, Lenz Solidarity Group, Media Workers Association of South Africa, Metal and Allied Workers Union National Education Crisis Committee, National Education Union of South Africa, National Union of Mine Workers, Release Mandela Campaign, Soweto Civic Association, Soweto Parents Crisis Committee, Soweto Students Congress, Soweto Youth Congress, The Call of Islam, Transvaal Indian Congress, United Democratic Front, Young Christian Students and Young Christian Workers.

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Black spaces in moderate union's journal

By Sheryl Raine

Large black spaces mar the latest issue of the *Crucible* — official journal of the SA Boilermakers' Society — thanks to stringent emergency clamps on the Press

The union, well-known for its non-militant approach, found that it could not report on four resolutions passed at a recent International Metalworkers Federation (IMF) congress in Johannesburg

Lawyers acting for the printers of the glossy *Crucible*, also advised that Mrs Winnie Mandela could not be quoted and her words had to be blacked out. Mrs Mandela was quoted in three paragraphs on the May Day stayaway this year.

CHEAPER

Society spokesman, Mr Barrie Kroucamp said leaving black spaces was cheaper than having certain pages reprinted

The colourful cover of the *Crucible* promised readers a run-down on the second IMF congress held in South Africa

But, inside two IMF resolutions — one dealing with disinvestment and the other with proposals made by the Metal and Allied Workers Union — had to be blacked out totally. Two more resolutions which had to be partially censored referred to working-class democracy and township unrest

BUDDY (243)
131/115
**Foreign Press jibs at
submitting reports**

THE Foreign Correspondents' Association sees "no need" to submit reports about SA to the Bureau for Information, says its chairman Andrew Torchia.

Quoting from a telex message sent yesterday to Deputy Information Minister Louis Nel, Torchia said: "The bureau monitors closely the reports of foreign correspondents in SA. Thus you must be aware of the many objective reports on legislated reform and social change. We see no need to submit reports, routinely available to the public and to the bureau in the normal way." — Sapa.

Case 70-15. 15/7/86
243

Nel claims victory over correspondents

PRETORIA. — The Information Minister, Mr Louis Nel, yesterday claimed a technical knock-out victory over foreign correspondents who had failed "to prove their balance and objectivity".

Mr Nel said in a telex to news agencies that he challenged the Foreign Correspondents' Association earlier this month to submit examples of their "positive" reports on South African race-law reforms. "To date, I have received no such reports."

He referred specifically to July 1, the date on which the long-planned abolition of 34 laws comprising the "pass system" went into effect.

The laws, obliging blacks to carry an identity document known as a "pass" and restricting their freedom of movement, had not been enforced since their repeal was announced in April.

"Since this challenge has not been taken up, I have to conclude that either no such reporting was done or that the FCA preferred to ignore the challenge — which amounts to defeat by default," he said.

The FCA said in a response to Mr Nel that the Bureau for Information had made it clear that it was monitoring reporting by foreign correspondents.

"Thus you must already be aware of the many objective reports on legislated reform and social change that we have made. We see no need to submit these reports, which are routinely available to the public and to the (government) in the normal way," the FCA said — UPI

Hostile editors give one side — Wiley

NEW YORK — Editors hostile towards South Africa were giving Americans a one-sided view of the country, which was not going up in flames, the South African Minister of Environment Affairs and Tourism, Mr John Wiley, said yesterday

Mr Wiley spoke of "misconceptions fostered by a sensation-seeking press" and threatened more expulsions of foreign journalists "if their actions contribute to the extension of unrest"

He criticised hostile editors prepared to give newspaper space and air time to "a totally one-sided projection of the South African scene"

"Ours is not a country which is going up in flames and it will not be going up in flames," Mr Wiley said, asserting

that the authorities were stemming "communist terrorism in the world's mineral treasurehouse"

He attributed media "sensationalism" to what he termed well-meaning liberals and hard-line leftists posing as liberals.

The presence of an "abnormal" number of foreign journalists in South Africa raised tensions and increased the country's problems, he said, adding that the government would continue to expel those who contributed to the extension of unrest

In combative remarks and answers to questions at a lunch to promote tourism in South Africa, Mr Wiley also attacked campaigns to withdraw US investments in the country — Sapa-RNS

Weekly Mail journalists questioned by police

STAR
16/7/86 (243)

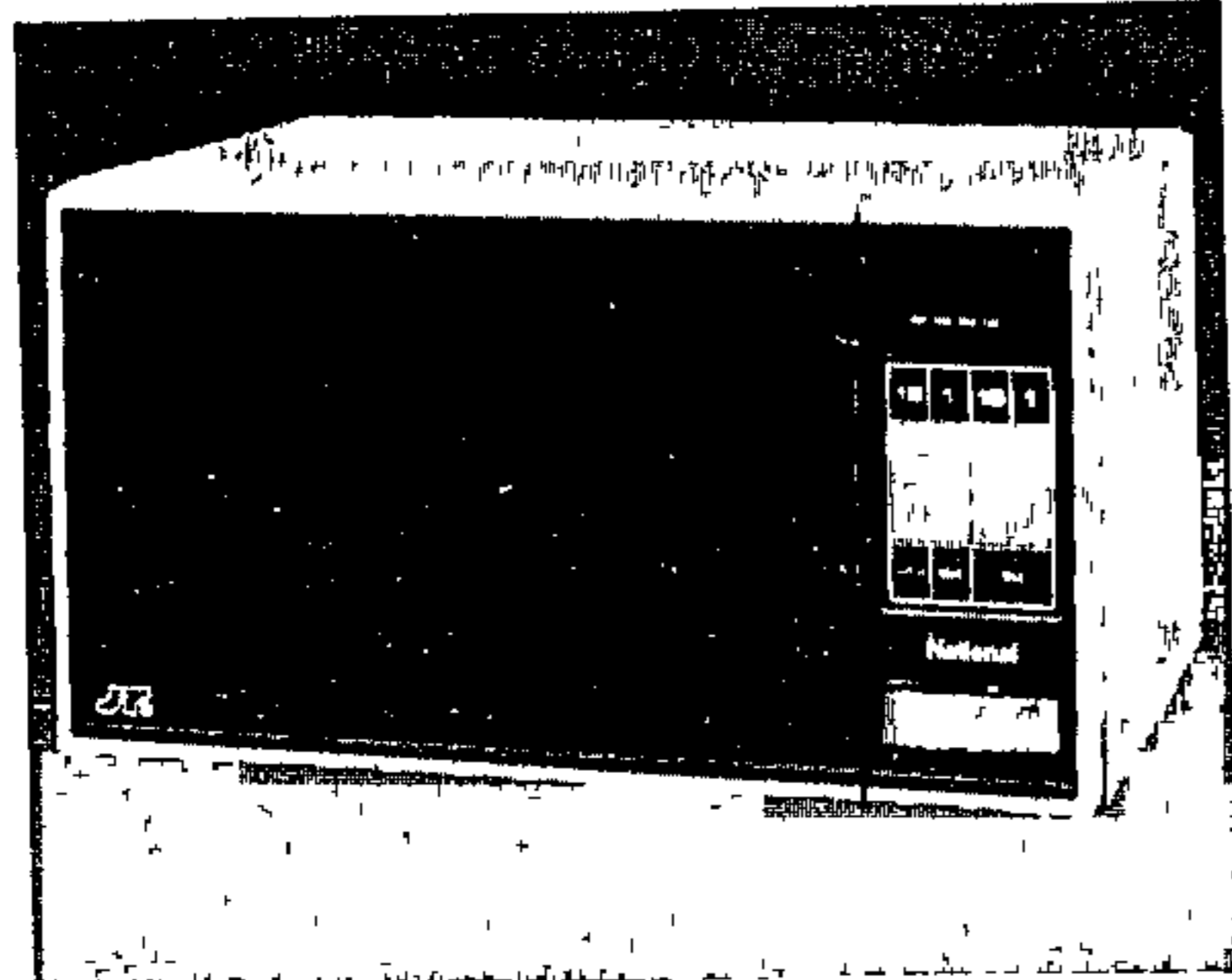
Three journalists with the *Weekly Mail* were questioned by police this week

Charlotte Bauer, the paper's arts editor, Barbara Ludman, a columnist, and co-editor Anton Harber were all questioned on Monday. Ludman at the newspaper offices in the city

The *Weekly Mail*, which recently celebrated its first birthday, was one of the first newspapers to be seized after the state of emergency Press curbs were introduced in mid-June.

J

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Tyger Valley.



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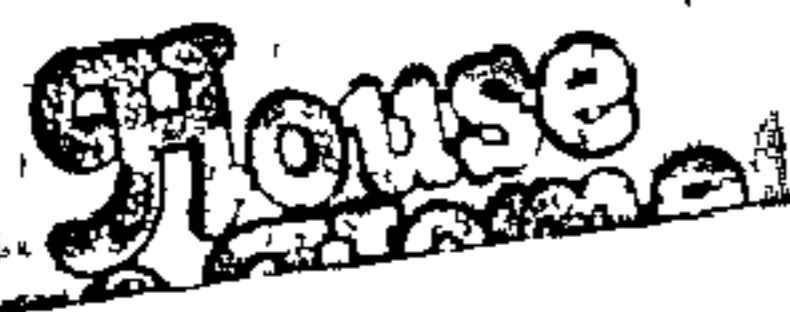
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Oct 7, 1985 17/186
Tambo
215 (231)
SAAN to
be charged

Staff Reporter

THE charge under the Internal Security Act against the Editor of the Cape Times, Mr A H Heard, for having quoted Mr Oliver Tambo in the newspaper, is to be withdrawn and the owner-company, South African Associated Newspapers, is to be prosecuted instead

The Deputy Attorney-General, Mr F W Kahn, SC, yesterday informed Mr Heard's legal advisers that "Saan, being the owner and publisher of the Cape Times newspaper, will be prosecuted in terms of Section 56 (1) (p) (ii) of Act 74 of 1982 arising out of the publication of an interview with Mr Oliver Tambo in that newspaper on November 4, 1985, and that the charge against Mr A H Heard, in his personal capacity, has accordingly been withdrawn"

Mr Heard was to have appeared again in court tomorrow.

BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close) \$347,25
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BD 100 1326,92



SALE

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APPLY TO:

Canon
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Case Times 17/7/86
243

Buthelezi wins case

DURBAN — The owners of Pace magazine were ordered in the Supreme Court yesterday to pay Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi R50 000 in damages for publishing a defamatory article claiming the KwaZulu Chief Minister was using Inkatha as his personal "Mafia"

The article, "Inkatha on the Warpath", was printed in the Johannesburg-based magazine in February 1984

Advocate Mr M Friedman said in an affidavit on behalf of Chief Buthelezi that the plaintiff's "reputation, dignity and esteem" had been impaired as a result of the article

Mr Friedman said the article gave the impression that Chief Buthelezi supported violence and used violence to attack political opponents.

Mr Justice Galgut ordered the owners of Pace, Combined Publishers (Pty) Limited, and five others including the then Pace editor, Mr Vusi Khumalo, to pay R50 000 in damages as well as costs. — Sapa

x New. 10/17/07/86 x

Govt warns media after court verdict

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The Government is not expected to tighten up the definition of a subversive statement after yesterday's ruling in the Supreme Court, Durban, on the state of emergency regulations

Although the Court had left only one of six 'definitions' of a subversive statement unchanged, the Bureau for Information warned the media yesterday to 'carefully' study the judgment before reporting.

Mr Colin Eglin, Leader of the Opposition, said the ruling did not appear to change the substance of the emergency regulations for the man in the street, but he added that it pointed to 'administrative bungling' by a 'power-hungry Government'

He welcomed the Court's opinion on the right of legal access to detainees

Commenting on the case, Mr Eglin said 'This draws attention to the awesome power the Government has and the limited jurisdiction of the courts over regulations framed in terms of security legislation

'It does not appear to have changed the substance of the regulations much as far as they affect the ordinary South African

'Nevertheless, the judg-

ment in relation to legal access for detainees is an important relief to people who have lost their freedom'

A measure of the Government's relief after the judgment was reflected in a statement issued by the office of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange

It said 'The minister is grateful the Court decided so overwhelmingly in favour of the State That is all we have to say as we do not usually comment on court judgments'

Mr Geoff Schreiner, general secretary of Mawu, told the Mercury last night 'Our concern was for our people in detention

'The judgment does not bring any relief in that regard, but at least it opens up the possibilities that legal advisers may have more regular visits to detainees This is encouraging'

Mr Simon Davey, the British Consul in Durban, who was at the hearing, said 'It has certainly been an important experience in challenging the state of emergency'

The PFP's Natal leader, Mr Ray Swart, who was also there, said 'It is an interesting judgment which certainly gave a critical review of the regulations issued in terms of the state of emergency'

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Prof: Natal press now most free

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18/7/86
DD

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Dispatch Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — According to Professor Dennis Davis, associate professor of law at the University Cape Town, the Durban judgment declaring void sections of the emergency regulations only apply in Natal.

In other provinces the judgment, which also gave detainees the right to see lawyers, would have "persuasive authority" but not the force of law, he said.

Because most definitions of "subversive statement" had been declared invalid in Natal, this meant that newspapers and organisations were freer there to make and publish statements than elsewhere in the country.

While Prof Davis had no doubt that the defi-

nitions of "subversive statement" were too vague to be valid in law, the Cape Supreme Court was not bound by the Natal judgment and if it found otherwise, a person could still be convicted there for making a subversive statement.

He said that, had the court declared the emergency declaration invalid, the government would probably have declared another state of emergency.

It was now up to the Appeal Court or the government to give clarity on the matter throughout the country.

"I think the government is now obliged to do one of two things. It should preferably withdraw the 'subversive statement' provisions in the regulations, with the

exception of the one upheld by the court, and make clear that detainees in all provinces should have access to legal advisers as is done in most civilised countries in times of emergency rule.

"Alternatively, the government should re-draft the regulations so as to make them clear because the judge has said they cannot be understood. If the government wants to curtail the press, it must make very clear what it is the press cannot publish."

Prof Davis said the clearer the regulations, the less the possibility of control.

"The control that exists at the moment in regard to subversive statements really rests on self-censorship as a re-

sult of uncertainty. If the press knew clearly what they could not publish, they would also know what they can publish and at the moment they do not."

The judgment showed that the courts could not be expected to give wholesale relief during a state of emergency, Prof Davis said. What they could do, as in Natal, was to tell the government that it had to regulate its actions in terms of clearly understandable rules.

● The Daily Dispatch Durban correspondent reports that civil rights lawyers in Durban wasted no time yesterday in making urgent applications to prison authorities in various parts of Natal to visit detainees in the wake of the Supreme Court judgment which rejected certain clauses in the emergency regulations.

Mr Chris Albertyn, a lawyer for the Congress of South African Trade Unions, said he had made an application to the prison authorities in Eshowe to visit eight Cosatu detainees yesterday.

Mr Richard Lyster, of the Legal Resources Centre in Durban, said the centre had made applications to visit two detainees yesterday and the permission had been granted within hours.

"It appears, according to the judgment, that permission to visit to detainees by their legal representatives is not necessary. However, the visit must fit in with the programme of the investigating officer," Mr Lyster said.

In Johannesburg, Mrs Priscilla Jana, a civil rights lawyer, said she would also make application to visit 300 of the detainees.

Freed editor tells of arrest

By Phil Mtimkulu

Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, editor of *New Nation* newspaper, was released from detention yesterday.

"As far as I was concerned I was being abducted by bandits," he told newsmen.

Mrs Zodwa Sisulu had told *The Saturday Star* of how her husband was picked up from their Dube home by four white men — two of whom were wearing balaclavas — on June 26.

"At the time, the Minister of Law and Order confirmed the detention but denied that Mr Sisulu had been taken by men wearing balaclavas.

Mr Sisulu said his family was awoken by knocks on the door by people shouting that he should open.

"When I opened, four men, two wearing balaclavas, entered the house. They asked me to identify myself but when I asked them who they were they did not identify themselves.

"When I identified myself they said I was the person they were looking for and said I must get my clothes, which I did.

"They then shoved me to their car. I was taken to Protea and later to John Vorster Square. As far as I was concerned I was being abducted by armed bandits," he said.

Mr Sisulu said he was not worried for himself but for his family.

He said while in detention he was interrogated twice, each time for about 30 minutes. His interrogators asked him about the policy of the ANC, the *New Nation* and the National Education Crisis Conference. He was held in solitary confinement.

Mr Sisulu's release came after his attorney, Mrs Priscilla Jana, had served papers on the State Attorney demanding access.



Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, editor of the *New Nation* newspaper, embraces his attorney, Mrs Priscilla Jana, yesterday after his release from detention.

Argus planning court action on emergency

DD 19/7/86 (243)

JOHANNESBURG — The Argus Printing and Publishing Company says it "always intended" to challenge aspects of the state of emergency affecting newspapers and anticipated bringing an application before the courts in August.

The company was reacting to attacks by the Argus chapel of the Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ) and the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu) that newspaper managements appeared to have abdicated the defence of press freedom.

It was left to a trade union to challenge the definitions of subversive statements in the emergency regulations, the unions claimed

The managing director of Argus's newspaper division, Mr Peter McLean, said in a state-

ment yesterday. "We wish to make it clear that it has always been our intention to challenge those aspects of the emergency regulations which affect newspapers.

"We and our lawyers have been examining our position and determining the approach we will follow. We have consulted senior counsel, both in Johannesburg and in London.

"We have not brought an application to the court thus far, having noted Mawu's application. We believed it would be imprudent and improper to act before the judgment in this matter was known.

"Now that it is known, and now that further light has been shed on the view the court takes of the regulations, we anticipate bringing our application before the court during August" — Sapa

Argus to challenge emergency laws

JOHANNESBURG—The Argus Printing and Publishing Company had 'always intended' to challenge aspects of the emergency regulations affecting newspapers and the company expected to bring its application before the courts next month.

This was said in a statement yesterday by Mr Peter McLean, managing director of Argus's newspaper division.

He was reacting to charges, made by the Argus editorial chapel of the Southern African Society of Journalists and the Metal and Allied Workers' Union, that newspaper managements appeared to have abdicated defence of the freedom of the Press because it was left to a trade union to challenge the definitions of subversive statements in the emergency regulations.

The statement said:

'We wish to make it clear that it has always been our intention to challenge those aspects of the emergency regulations which affect newspapers.

'We and our lawyers have been examining our position and determining the approach we will follow. We have consulted senior counsel, both in Johannesburg and in London.

'We have not brought an application to the court thus far, having noted Mawu's application. We believed it would be imprudent and improper to act before the judgment in this matter was known.

'Now that it is known, and now that further light has been shed on the view the Court takes of the regulations, we anticipate bringing our application before the court during August.' — (Sapa)

WORSHIP IN THE CHURCH OF YOUR CHOICE

Argus intends to fight laws

Argus 19/7/86

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THE Argus Printing and Publishing company said yesterday it had "always intended" challenging sections of the emergency laws related to the press and the company would probably bring an application before court in August

The company was responding to attacks on newspaper managements by the Argus editorial chapel of the Southern African Society of Journalists, and a later statement by the Metal and Allied Workers' Union

In the two statements, newspaper managements were accused of having abdicated the defence of press freedom to a trade union, Mawu, who challenged in the Natal Supreme Court the definition of "subversive statements" as contained in the emergency regulations.

The Argus statement responding to the attacks was issued by Mr Peter McLean, managing director of Argus newspaper division, and said:

"We wish to make it clear that it has always been our intention to challenge those aspects of the emergency regulations which affect newspapers.

"We and our lawyers have been examining our position and determining the approach we will follow. We have consulted senior counsel, both in Johannesburg and in London

"We have not brought an application to the court thus far, having noted Mawu's application. We believed it would be imprudent and improper to act before the judgment in this matter was known.

"Now that it is known, and now that further light has been shed on the view the court takes of the regulations, we anticipate bringing our application before the court during August."

Press to challenge Govt curbs

243 TIMES (SUN) 20/7/86

ASPECTS of the emergency regulations affecting the freedom of the Press are to be challenged in a joint South African Associated Newspapers-Argus action in the Supreme Court next month. "We intend to challenge those regulations in so far as they affect newspapers," Mr Stephen Mulholland, managing director of SAAN, said

Sunday Times Reporter

yesterday SAAN publishes the Sunday Times, Business Day, the Cape Times, Eastern Province Herald, Weekend Post, Evening Post and the Financial Mail. Planning began in June, Mr Mulholland said, to contest the state of emergency

definition of subversive statements

The SAAN-Argus action is now being sought by counsel for hearing on August 11 in the Natal Supreme Court

Counsel will be the eminent advocate, Mr Sydney Kentridge SC, and Mr Wim Trengove

The timing of the court case was decided on to coincide with the availability of Mr Kentridge, who practises in England and South Africa

Mr Mulholland was reacting to attacks by the Argus editorial chapel of the SA Society of Journalists and the Metal and Allied Workers' Union that newspaper managements appeared to have abdicated defence of Press freedom, leaving it to a trade union to challenge in court definitions of subversive statements.

"These allegations are ill-founded because we have been working on this for some time," Mr Mulholland said.

"Our willingness to incur considerable expense in this action surely indicates our determination to defend the values of a free Press"

Mr Peter McLean, managing director of the Argus company's newspaper division, had earlier said: "It has always been our intention to challenge those aspects of the emergency regulations which affect newspapers"

management

Mercury: 22 of 86

SAAN returns to profits

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1224
3974
350

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) is making profits after interest charges said chairman, Mr Pat Retief, at the annual meeting yesterday.

He added that the group had made a 'rapid and pleasing turn-around' Prospects have improved since the release of the annual report for the 15 months to March 1986 when a trading loss of R22,8m was reported.

In the annual report the chairman said SAAN would make a small operating profit this year and would achieve meaningful profits in the 1987/8 year

Yesterday he declined to

elaborate further

He does not expect advertising revenue to grow this year Newsprint, which represents 20% to 25% of the total cost of running the group is expected to increase.

Service

SAAN was being turned into a service company and the proceeds from the sale of assets already amount to more than R30m

The disposal of other assets will not involve the sale of the titles of publications, he said

The assets of SAAN are people and in the future the staff will become an even more important resource

'It is the intention of management to invest in the training, education and development of its staff in all sections of the company,' he added

Directors emoluments increased from R193 000 in 1984 to R1,2m for the 15 months to March 1986

The reasons for the increase were the appointment of three additional executive directors

The remuneration had

been previously shown as salaries

Payment for accumulated leave of R275 000 was made to two former managing directors and they were compensated R405 000 for loss of office

Mr Retief said borrowings would decline to between R12m and R15m at the end of this financial year compared to R43m to March 1986

A R1,4m interest free loan that Technical Publications had from SAAN was being re-negotiated.

The sale of book publishers, Jonathan Ball involved a small but not material loss

Declined

Overheads had declined and the costs associated with rationalisation were non-recurring

The total cost of retrenchment to SAAN was R8m and had been provided for to March 1986

SAAN employs about 450 journalists and no further retrenchments were anticipated and in fact there was a shortage of qualified journalists in the areas in which the group excels

TIMES (SUN)
20/11/88

Elation over Sisulu release

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Sunday Times Reporters
THE release of detained newspaper editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu this weekend was greeted with widespread elation.

PFPP spokeswoman on Law and Order, Mrs Helen Suzman, said she was delighted at the news when it was broken to her in Plettenberg Bay, where she is holidaying.

"At the same time, I wonder why the Government found it necessary to arrest him under these peculiar circumstances

"I hope all other detainees will be released and the state of emergency lifted as soon as possible," she said.

The national president of the Black Sash, Mrs Mary Burton, said from her Cape Town home "I do not know how to express my delight

"His release coincided with that of one of our mem-

bers, Mrs Gill de Vlieg
"I hope this will lead to the release of other detainees"

Mr Sisulu's delighted mother, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, said she was happy that her son was released.

"As a mother, I am very happy, but I wish other detainees could also be released"

Mr Sisulu, who was detained for 22 days, was not available for comment.

● Meanwhile, the Bureau for Information has confirmed that four more people were killed — all by security force action — in the 24 hours ending 6am yesterday.

The incidents all involved alleged stoning of security force patrols and took place in Zwide and Walmer, in Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown and Dyssseldorp, in the Eastern Cape.

management

Mercury: 22 07 86

SAAN returns to profits

213

1264
3974
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Service

SAAN was being turned into a service company and the proceeds from the sale of assets already amount to more than R30m.

The disposal of other assets will not involve the sale of the titles of publications, he said.

'The assets of SAAN are people and in the future the staff will become an even more important resource.

'It is the intention of management to invest in the training, education and development of its staff in all sections of the company,' he added.

Directors' emoluments increased from R193 000 in 1984 to R1,2m for the 15 months to March 1986.

The reasons for the increase were the appointment of three additional executive directors.

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The total cost of retrenchment to SAAN was R8m and had been provided for to March 1986.

SAAN employs about 450 journalists and no further retrenchments were anticipated and in fact there was a shortage of qualified journalists in the areas in which the group excels.

AR 23/7/86 (243)

Nel rejects council's 'bias'

PRETORIA — The Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, has rejected what he termed the "bias" of the Media Council and said he regarded the council's statement calling for the relaxation of the state of emergency media curbs as "ill-considered".

He maintained that reporting and criticism of the full spectrum of South African political life continued

The public was "well-informed" on unrest-related incidents

In the Media Council statement issued yesterday the council's chairman, former Appeal Court Judge Mr L de V van Winsen, said the council appreciated the Government's predicament in coping with a dangerous internal situation but "we believe that the steps taken against the media under the emergency regulations are counter-productive".

"By excluding journalists from scenes of unrest except with offi-

cial permission, by prohibiting all but official accounts of security force actions, by refusing to disclose names or numbers of people detained, by providing a wide-ranging definition of a "subversive statement", by empowering the Minister of Law and Order to confiscate and suspend publication of newspapers, the Government is denying access to information the public has a right to know

"South Africans now know less about some happenings in their own country than people elsewhere. Not only are they cut off from immediate news of certain events affecting their lives but they are denied exposure to the views of other South Africans on issues of public importance" — Sapa

Nel denies public is being kept in the dark



MR NEL

PRETORIA — The Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, tonight rejected what he termed the "bias" of the Media Council and said he regarded the council's statement calling for a relaxation of the state of emergency media curbs as "ill-considered"

He termed as "unfounded" the council's criticism of the government and maintained that reporting and criticism of the full spectrum of South African political life continued

The South African public, he said, was "well-informed" on unrest-related incidents

Mr Nel said in a Bureau for Information release here last night that current limitations on the media on the reporting of security matters "are necessary in the public interest and will be maintained for as long as the situation warrants it"

"The South African Government respects the public's right to be informed and the role of the media in the national political debate

"Throughout the world national security considerations restrict the media's right to publish and broadcast. It is an internationally accepted norm that the greater the security implications, the greater the limitations on the media's rights

"The Media Council's statement acknowledges that there exists in South Africa what is described as a dangerous internal situation. Nevertheless, it continues with a call for media rights that would apply in a normal situation

"Nowhere in the council's criticism is any recognition given to the fact that there is a state of emergency in South Africa. Current limitations on the media on the reporting of security matters are necessary in the public interest and will be maintained for as long as the situation warrants it

"It is incorrect to state that, as a result of the emergency regulations, South Africans are denied exposure to the views of other South Africans on issues of public interest, including security matters.

"Perusal of any South African newspaper shows that reporting and criticism of the full spectrum of South African political life continues" — Sapa

Earlier report P9

N/M 23/7/86

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SA media body slams 'crippling restraints' on Press

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The emergency regulations, which place 'crippling restraints' on the Press are against the public interest and should be repealed or relaxed, the South African Media Council said in a statement yesterday

Issued by the chairman of the council, former Appeal Court Judge L de V van Winsen, the statement was the majority view of the council's executive and the 14-member 'free flow of information' committees

The statement said Prof S A Strauss and Mr Gert Hugo had reservations about the formulation of the statement

The council said it appreciated the 'predicament' of the Government in coping with a 'dangerous internal situation' but nevertheless 'we believe the steps taken against the media under the emergency regulations are counter-productive'

'The emergency regulations, proclaimed on June 12, and orders issued under them, place crippling restraints on reporting and comment about unrest and related events such as strikes, boycotts and public debate on international sanctions'

'By excluding journalists from scenes of unrest except with official permission, by prohibiting all but official accounts of security force actions, by refusing to disclose names or numbers of people detained, by providing a wide-ranging definition of a "subversive statement", by empowering the Minister of Law and Order to confiscate and suspend publication of newspapers, the Government is denying access to information the public has a right to know'

Vulnerable

The statement said South Africans now knew less about events in their own country than people elsewhere

'Not only are they cut off from immediate news of certain events affecting their lives but they are also denied exposure to the views of other South Africans on issues of public importance

'This can only have harmful consequences. An uninformed public is vulnerable to rumour and false information. The public will lose confidence in the Government and the media. The longer the present situation persists, the worse the consequences will be'

Press freedom, the council said, was a 'hard-won and well-established tradition which South Africans of all groups have cherished since the days of the Cape Colony and the Voortrekker republics'

'South Africans have a right and an obligation to form their own judgements based upon the greatest possible diversity of news and views reflecting all shades of opinion

'They should neither be deprived of that right nor stripped of that responsibility

'And we who serve the Media Council are charged by our constitution with the duty of speaking out whenever the flow of information and ideas essential to the exercise of that right and responsibility is diminished,' the statement concluded

CAP6
Times
23/7/86
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'Relax or repeal' press curbs

THE EMERGENCY regulations which place "crippling restraints" on the press are "against the public interest" and should be repealed or relaxed, the South African Media Council said in a statement yesterday

Issued by the chairman of the council, former Appeal Court judge Mr Justice L de V van Winsen, the statement was the "majority view" of the council's executive and the 14-member "free flow of information" committees.

The council said it appreciated the "predicament" of the government in coping with a "dangerous internal situation" but nevertheless "we believe the steps taken against the media under the emergency regulations are counter-productive."

"The emergency regulations, proclaimed on June 12, and orders issued under them, place crippling restraints on reporting and comment about unrest and related events such as strikes, boycotts and public debate on international sanctions

'Denying access to information

"By excluding journalists from scenes of unrest except with official permission, by prohibiting all but official accounts of security force actions, by refusing to disclose names or numbers of people detained, by providing a wide-ranging definition of a 'subversive statement', by empowering the Minister of Law and Order to confiscate and suspend publication of newspapers, the government is denying access to information the public has a right to know"

The statement said South Africans now know less about events in their own country than people elsewhere "Not only are they cut off from immediate news of certain events affecting their lives but they are also denied exposure to the views of other South Africans on issues of public importance

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STAFF

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Cape Times
Warning 23/7/86
on drain of 243
journalists 243

JOURNALISTS will join South Africa's "brain drain" if the state of emergency is not brought to an end quickly, the Editor of the Cape Times, Mr Anthony Heard, warned.

Addressing the South African Institute of International Affairs in Cape Town yesterday, he said self-respecting journalists would not continue to work in a country where "consensus journalism" triumphed over press freedom.

Journalists were "convulsed by an onslaught" on their right to do their primary job of seeking out new answers to national problems, caring for the afflicted and underprivileged and checking those who wanted to spend public money on militaristic or ideological excesses.

Instead of playing this role, "we must listen to the strictures of party politicians on how to perform our profession ...," he said.

Journalists were deprived "and we as citizens are allowing our destiny to be forged without the help of a vigorous, free press which can assist mightily in the process of negotiation".

If newspapers here should be faced with a South American situation where they were forced to publish poetry to avoid openly defying the censorship laws "there will be no self-respecting journalists around to preside at the final interment of a great tradition of freedom — they will have joined the brain drain".

"Whether they still have a role to play now depends, to a great degree, on whether the emergency is brought to an end quickly ..."

RELAX CURBS, COUNCIL PLEA

23/7/86



THE South African Media Council yesterday called for the repeal of the emergency regulations as they affect the media.

Seneca

In a statement issued by its chairman, former Appeal Court judge, Mr L de V van Winsen, the council said the regulations were "against the public interest and should be repealed or relaxed"

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The council specifically criticised the following Government measures: excluding journalists from unrest areas, prohibiting all but official accounts of security force actions; refusing to disclose names of detainees, providing a



MINISTER of Law and Order Louis le Grange wide-ranging definition of "subversive statement", and empowering the Minister of Law and Order to confiscate and suspend publication of newspapers.

Through these measures the government was "denying access to information the public had a right to know"

"South Africans now know less about some happenings in their own country than people elsewhere. Not only are they cut off from immediate news of certain events affecting their lives, but they are also denied exposure to the views of other South Africans on issues of public importance.

"This can only have harmful consequences. An uninformed public is vulnerable to rumour and false information. The public will lose confidence in the Government and the media.

"The longer the present situation persists, the worse the consequences will be.

"Press freedom is a hard-won and well-established tradition which South Africans of all groups have cherished since the days of the Cape Colony and the Voortrekker republics.

"South Africans have a right and an obligation to form their own judgments based upon the greatest possible diversity of news and views reflecting all shades of opinion.

"They should neither be deprived of that right nor stripped of that responsibility.

"And we who serve the Media Council are charged by our constitution with the duty of speaking out whenever the flow of information and ideas essential to the exercise of that right and responsibility is diminished."

The statement reflected the majority view of the Media Council's executive and "free flow of information" committees.

Two members, Professor SA Strauss and Mr Gert Hugo "had reservations" about the Press release.

Press to
challenge
restrictions

Mercury Reporter

THE Argus Group and South African Associated Newspapers will challenge aspects of the emergency regulations affecting the freedom of the Press in a hearing in the Natal division of the Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg on August 11

This was confirmed yesterday by an attorney acting for SAAN in Johannesburg. He said papers would be filed by the end of the month.

Counsel will be Mr Sydney Kentridge SC and Mr Wim Trengrove

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Millard ... in racing's record books

else, including his favourite pastime, polo. Born in Cape Town and sent to Marist Brothers in Rondebosch by his Welsh parents, Millard learnt the ropes on a Namibian stud farm before deciding to try his luck in England. Hopes of finding a good position as an assistant trainer never materialised. To keep the wolf from the door, Millard was employed as a horse stuntman and worked on the set of the film "Knights of the Round Table" starring Ava Gardner and Robert Taylor.

First winner

He returned to SA, was granted a trainer's licence in 1954 and saddled his first winner, Laddie, in the Queen's Plate at Kenilworth. Since then, many first class racehorses have passed through his hands, including the 1983 July Handicap winner, Tecla Bluff, the 1984 July winner Devon Air, the J & B Metropolitan winner Arctic Cove and Gold Cup winner, Hawkins.

This season, Millard has achieved phenomenal success with imported horses. Potomac and Bimbina were bred in Argentina, Fools Holme in America and Sunera in the UK. The money for these expensive acquisitions comes mainly from top South African businessmen such as coal magnate Graham Beck, former Edgars chief Sydney Press and industrialist Laurie Jaffee.

These men have put their faith in Millard's expertise and have found their equine investments immensely profitable. But Millard pays tribute to his stable jockeys Felix

Coetzee and Mark Sutherland, and his equine charges stabled at his 12,5 ha training headquarters at Bloubergstrand in the Cape.

If there is a criticism of Millard, it's that he isn't very forthcoming with the press and doesn't project strongly in TV interviews. Consequently, the public sees him as a mystery man — but a very effective one. ■

25/7/86
OBED KUNENE
Is the pen mightier?

Editor of *Ilanga* in Natal, Obed Kunene, wears the harassed expression of most newspaper editors today. But he won't be wielding his red pencil and agonising over what State of Emergency news is fit to print for much longer.

Soon he'll be taking up a new appointment as executive director of the Urban Foundation (UF) in Natal.

For Kunene, a newspaperman of 30 years' standing, the move represents a total career switch but one which his instincts tell him he's more than ready for. "I've passed the mid-point of my career," he says. "I've taken the last bend and now I'm on the home stretch. That's why this appointment is so important to me right now."

Sad though he is to be leaving newspapers — he describes the move as "wrenching" — he feels he's achieved all he can sitting behind an editor's desk. It's time to move on, he says, and accept the challenges that work at the UF offers on a "broader level." Involvement in black housing, education, small business and community development touches the lives of many and he believes that the success of these efforts will vitally affect all South Africans in the long term.

In his new post as executive and policy director, Kunene will head the UF policy and programmes division in Natal. "It's a senior appointment," he explains, "with responsibilities that go with the title. In addition, I'll be part of the foundation's top executive team and its policy-forming group. So it seems I'll be making frequent trips to head office in Johannesburg."

Suave, articulate, and a seasoned communicator, Kunene sees himself slipping easily into his new role. His task will involve a fair amount of writing, communicat-

ing and dealing with the media.

Kunene started in newspapers at a young age. After freelancing for a while, his first job was boxing writer on *Ilanga* in 1957. He turned his hand to every writing job the newspaper offered until in 1965, at the age of 29, he was appointed editor.

At the time he recalls being celebrated as the youngest black editor in the country. But it wasn't long before he quit. "Both of us, the company and I, weren't ready for the appointment," he admits.

Later, he returned to *Ilanga* as a specialist writer and became involved in the launching of the Natal edition of *Weekend World*. In 1974, having had a few years to "mature," he was re-appointed editor.

It was about then that he was chosen as a Nieman Fellow and spent a year at Harvard University.

On his return, he boosted circulation of his paper to nearly 100 000 — good by any standards for an ethnic bi-weekly.

Politically, Kunene says he never shirked his, or his newspaper's, responsibility to demonstrate opposition to the more injurious aspects of government policy. That was done clearly and unequivocally. But privately Kunene says he tried studiously to remain apolitical and never "wore my political colours on my shirt sleeve."

Kunene has always been involved in community affairs. This is where he encountered the UF for the first time. He already serves in a voluntary capacity as a member of the board of directors and board of governors in Natal and is an executive member of a number of welfare organisations. For Kunene the connection is fortuitous. "At least I won't feel like a fish out of water when I take up my new post." ■



Kunene ... accepting the Urban Foundation's challenge

Nel's claims on reporting in SA 'untrue'

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C.M. - T.M.H. 26/7/86

Staff Reporter

CLAIMS by the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, that political debate and news reporting of the full spectrum of South African politics are continuing, are untrue, according to Professor HJ Grosskopf of the Department of Journalism at the University of Stellenbosch

In a letter published in the Burger yesterday, Professor Grosskopf criticizes Mr Nel's response to charges by the South African Media Council that the emergency regulations' restrictions on the media leave foreigners better informed than South Africans about important events in the country

Detainees' names

"What the Media Council is saying is unfortunately true," Professor Grosskopf said. "The outside world knows more about what is going on in our country than we are allowed to know, for instance the names of detainees.

"Other things as well, but if I get specific, I will expose myself and the editor of Die Burger to a R20 000 fine or 10 years' imprisonment, with the added possibility that Die Burger building and presses could be confiscated"

Professor Grosskopf also said that Mr Nel's "categorical" claims that reporting about and criticism of the full spectrum of the South African political life were

continuing, were not correct.

The full spectrum would also include the standpoints of the ANC, he said.

'Our future'

"South African political life and our whole future are being strongly influenced and determined by the actions of the police. Regarding these actions, newspapers are only allowed to publish and people are only allowed to communicate facts which the State chooses to divulge," Professor Grosskopf said

"No independent investigations and reports are possible. And newspapers need official permission for criticism thereof. A newspaper even needs official permission before it can publish a letter in which the actions of the security forces in the unrest are praised," he said

"How can one still, like Mr Nel, indicate that the political debate 'over the full spectrum' is continuing without interference? It just doesn't happen

"And it also can't happen now, because one party withholds information and then heavily restricts comment on the bits of information that it does give," he said

'Paralysing'

Professor Grosskopf said that the Media Council was correct in stating that the emergency regulations placed paralysing restrictions on the flow of information.

"The public should be entitled to that information.

"If Mr Nel wants to defend the regulations, he has to seek other and more convincing grounds. It does not help him to deny visible realities," Professor Grosskopf said

New post for black editor

NOT
H.C. 27/6/86

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Mercury Reporter

THE position of black journalists in South Africa had become untenable since the outbreak of violence in the townships, Mr Obed Kunene, editor of the Zulu newspaper Ilanga, said yesterday following his resignation after 29 years of service.

Mr Kunene, who joined the newspaper as a cub reporter in 1957 and graduated through the ranks to take over as editor 10 years later, has been appointed an executive director of the Urban Foundation from October 1.

In an interview, he said black reporters had to run the gauntlet of rioters, stone-throwers, vigilantes and all kinds of criminal elements who had introduced mob rule in the townships.

'Burdens'

"This has inevitably filled many journalists with fear and trepidation as they go about their work," he said.

Mr Kunene added that the plethora of political organisations that daily vied for the hearts and minds of the public had not left the black journalists unaffected. Reporters had to review their own political convictions and affiliations in the light of the ongoing struggle for political supremacy on the part of the various groupings.

"The state of emergency has not lessened the burdens carried by journalists. On the contrary, it has added immensely to the pressures and demands imposed on them."

Mr Kunene said although he regretted leaving Ilanga, his heart would always be with journalism. His new responsibilities include media and communications, he added.

Responding to claims that Ilanga was a firm supporter of Inkatha, he said at no stage had the newspaper made such a declaration.

Mr Kunene, a father of four, has travelled overseas many times on scholarships.

He said that although he would be based in Durban in his new venture, he would spend much of his time at the foundation's headquarters in Johannesburg.

Warning of increasing pressure

Media Council says Press is in a state of siege

THE SA Media Council has warned that the country would more than ever be exposed to intensified attacks from outside if the voice of the Press in SA became muffled.

In its report for 1984/5 the council said it had become clear that the Republic's newspaper industry was in "a state of siege". It called for effective and urgent measures if SA was to continue being served by healthy, independent newspapers

One of SA's strongest defences against international pressure, it said, was the existence of a free and outspoken Press.

"Such an independent Press is also a prerequisite for the formation of informed judgment upon which broad-based consensus can be built

"Further evidence that an independent Press is a shield against punitive action by the international community was afforded by the American President's public statement that the existence of an independent and outspoken Press in SA was one of the factors which enabled him to resist demands for more drastic action in the campaign to pressure SA into reform," the report said.

The council, an independent body under the chairmanship of former Judge Louis van Winsen, seeks mainly the upholding and maintaining of the freedom of the media

Own Correspondent

The report said one of SA's most effective bastions against outside threats and pressures was the ability of its own citizens to press for improved social and political conditions by exercising sound and balanced judgments based on accurate information and well-informed opinions

"An independent Press provides both the means and the evidence of this ability"

The council said its "monopolistic trends" committee had singled out as the most serious threats to the newspaper industry the SABC monopoly of electronic media, the Sappi/Mondi monopoly on newsprint and the double imposition of general sales tax on the newspaper industry

"All these factors have had crippling effects on the industry and the Media Council, through this standing committee, is energetically investigating ways of trying to offset the impact of these factors"

The report said "Ours is a daunting responsibility which, in all humility, we shall continue to make every effort to fulfil.

"To do so we depend heavily upon the goodwill and co-operation of government, the public and the Press"

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29/7/85

Whites 'sitting ducks' for misinformation

Mercury 29/7/86

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CITY PRESS said in an editorial that it had published a 'severely distorted' story on South Africa's schools. 'Something is happening in some of those schools, but under the stringent emergency regulations we are not allowed to tell you what it is — although a government department has confirmed our facts.

'The refusal of a second government department to confirm or deny our facts has rendered us powerless to tell our readers what is really happening

'The whole thing is ridiculous. If there was any logic at all to the process of controlling the flow of information then at least one could begin to untangle the jigsaw puzzle of government thinking

'But there is no logic — all black communities already know what is happening in schools, because they are affected. Their children and teachers give

The Black Press

by Barry Streek



daily accounts of these happenings. Our reporters encounter these events almost daily

'So if our people know what is happening what is the point of clamping down on that information?

'It is to enable the bulk of the white community to float through life with an Alice-in-Wonderland self-delusion that everything is under control — leaving them sitting ducks for the misinformation handed out daily by the SABC

'And the international community is being told of the success the new security clamp-downs have achieved

'We do not believe this contributes in any way to a solution to the crisis facing this land. Honest and intelligent evaluation of our problems is essential if we are to formulate intelligent responses

'We cannot even begin to do that when we do not have information — the correct information — available to us

'Does it surprise anybody that so many white people, especially employers, are privately welcoming the state of emergency? They do this because there is no information reaching them. This circle of ignorance poses the greatest problem for this country's future

'Any pretence that newspapers are free to publish what is happening in the country bears no credibility in the light of our experiences. The less the Government and its Bureau for Information trumpet their claims that the Press is free, the better for all concerned

'We are not free,' City Press editor, Percy Qoboza, said in the signed editorial

THE Natal Supreme Court judgment that certain sections of the emergency regulations were void was 'a major victory for the rule of

THE Natal Post said the proposal by the Kwa-Zulu/Natal Indaba for a Bill of Rights, which balanced individual liberty against wider political interests, had 'shown a commitment by the participants to contribute to a non-racial democracy for South Africa

'Unlike the three-tier constitution which was foisted on to the majority, the Indaba is an attempt to formulate an acceptable arrangement based on the will of the people. Herein lies part of our solution

'The involvement of the majority in shaping South Africa's future is pivotal to the move towards the society sought by apartheid's opponents. A Bill of Rights helps to plot the contours of the new order

'The Indaba is a seminal initiative in this direction,' Post said

IN ITS reaction to the Indaba, Ilanga said 'The government of Mr P W Botha has squandered so many opportunities for peaceful change that we have actually lost count

'South Africans of courage and good will and representing various shades of political opinion have come up with a host of options, ideas and initiatives, all designed to get the country out of the quagmire of unjust policies

'They have been slapped down and dismissed in cavalier fashion as meddling trouble-makers'

With the Bill of Rights, the Indaba had come up with an idea that 'appears to all intents and purposes to be flawless'

'Will the Government give its stamp of approval for this option which is born out of a commonly felt desire by a cross-section of the people of Natal/Kwa-Zulu for peaceful change leading to a new and just society?

The fact that the state of emergency itself stays is not a victory for the Government. Indeed, this judgment must be viewed as a serious indictment of the Government itself

'One wonders how lawmakers in this country could possibly have put together such a regulation, variously described as 'nonsense' and 'unintelligible' by Mr Justice Didcott. He said one section was 'hopelessly uncertain, and that no ascertainable meaning can be derived from it'

'We would have told the Government just that right at the onset. But we were prohibited by these same regulations from saying it. Does this perhaps explain why there has been a prohibition on criticising the state of emergency?

'Clearly, what we have in these regulations is an attempt by an overzealous group of bureaucrats desperately trying to implement the every whim of politicians whose legal knowledge is at best dangerous

'The lesson the Government hopefully will have learnt from this is that repression has never solved problems,' the Sowetan said.

ILANGA said readers wondering how newspapers were coping with the regulations would, hopefully, have gained insight from the judgment

The decision of the three judges was historic, it said

'The landmark ruling virtually drilled holes into the 40-day-old state of emergency. It must have given the decision-makers some anxious moments, although one of them, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, tried to put a brave face to it.

'His interpretation was that the court finding had left the regulations virtually intact. Hmm ... we wonder about that.

'There is still an awful lot that we do not understand about these regulations. It makes the business of editing this newspaper more delicate and more dicey than it has ever been. It also means, as far as we can tell, that certain liberties which traditionally have been regarded as sacrosanct can no longer be taken for granted. One of these liberties is Press freedom,' Ilanga said

Or will the Government, in typical fashion, balk at the courage and far-sightedness of all who are involved with the Indaba. These people are saying 'Hamba Apartheid', 'Woza Non-Racial Society'. Will the Government join in the happy chorus?

'Unhappily, we see very little evidence of the Government's willingness to change unless it is expressly in its own sweet time

'We support this Bill of Rights. We see it not only as reasonable but most essential as part of the foundation upon which to build a new South Africa. If the Government, which must ultimately take the final decision, should reject it, it will stand accused by future generations of having refused to give peace a chance,' Ilanga said

CITY PRESS said that although Zwelakhe Sisulu, the editor of New Nation, had been released from detention there were 'some very disturbing aspects about the way he was arrested'

'At the time of his arrest this newspaper, and indeed the entire Press, described how four men — two of them allegedly clad in balaclavas — burst into his house'

After his release Mr Sisulu had repeated the allegation: 'The stories of balaclavas are a disturbing feature which have been with us for months now. We believe Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange owes the country an explanation. Why must members of the police force use balaclavas

'Respect for the forces concerned with the maintenance of law and order can only come about if those forces conduct themselves, at all times, with respect and dignity.

'Wearing balaclavas, as the Sisulus allege, is hardly the type of thing that will encourage that respect.

'Balaclavas are the sole trademark of bank-robbers, bandits and people involved in anti-social behaviour

'Certainly not respectable members of a police force — and this is why we are waiting for an explanation,' City Press said

DD 29/07/86

Muffled press will expose SA warns press council

(243)

Newspaper industry in state of siege — report

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Media Council has warned that if the voice of the press in South Africa became muffled the country would, more than ever, be exposed to intensified attacks from outside.

In its first periodic report, for 1984/85, the council said it had become clear South Africa's newspaper industry was in "a state of siege" and called for effective and urgent measures if the country was to continue being served by healthy, independent newspapers

One of South Africa's strongest defences against international pressure, it said, was the existence of a free and outspoken press

"Such an independent press is also a prerequisite for the formation of informed judgment upon which broad-based consensus can be built

"Further evidence that an independent press is a shield against punitive action by the international community was afforded by the American President's public statement that the existence of an independent and outspoken press in South Africa was one of the factors which enabled him to resist demands for more drastic action in the campaign to pressurise South Africa into reform "

The Media Council, an indepen-

dent body under the chairmanship of a former judge, Mr Louis van Winsen, has as its principal objective the upholding and maintaining of the freedom of the media in South Africa

It said one of South Africa's most effective bastions against outside threats and pressures was the ability of its own citizens to press for improved social and political conditions by exercising sound and balanced judgments based on accurate information and well-informed opinions

"An independent press provides both the means and the evidence of this ability "

The council said its "monopolistic trends" committee has singled out as the most serious threats to the newspaper industry the SA Broadcasting Corporation's monopoly of the electronic media, the Sappi-Mondi monopoly on newsprint and the double imposition of general sales tax as it affects the newspaper industry

"All these factors have had crippling effects on the industry and the Media Council, through this standing committee, is energetically investigating ways of trying to offset the impact of these factors

"Ours is a daunting responsibility which, in all humility, we shall continue to make every effort to fulfil

"To do so we depend heavily upon the goodwill and co-operation of the government, the public and the press," the report concluded

QMB Times 29/7/86

'Muffled SA press' warning

By ROGER WILLIAMS
Chief Reporter

THE SA MEDIA COUNCIL has warned that if the voice of the press in South Africa becomes muffled, the country will more than ever be exposed to intensified attacks from outside

In its first periodic report, for 1984/5, the council says it has become clear that the newspaper industry is in "a state of siege", and calls for effective and urgent measures if South Africa is to continue being served by healthy, independent newspapers.

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Effective bastion

The SAMC, an independent body under the chairmanship of Mr ex-Justice Louis van Winsen, has as its principal objective the upholding and maintaining of the freedom of the South African media

It says in its first report that one of South Africa's most effective bastions against outside threats and pressures is the ability of its own citizens to press for improved social and political conditions by exercising sound and balanced judgments based on accurate information and well-informed opinions

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It concludes its report: "Ours is a daunting responsibility which, in all humility, we shall continue to make every effort to fulfill. To do so we depend heavily upon the goodwill and co-operation of the government, the public and the press."

English Press will bring application to court

Papers unite to fight emergency

By Claire Robertson

The English newspaper groups in South Africa have joined forces to challenge emergency regulations affecting newspapers

An application is to be brought before a Full Bench of the Natal Supreme Court in Maritzburg on August 11, by the Argus Printing and Publishing Company Ltd, South African Associated Newspapers Ltd, Natal Newspapers (Pty) Ltd and Natal Witness (Pty) Ltd

The State President, the South African Government, the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police have been named as respondents

Six regulations — numbers seven to 12 — are to be attacked, and police orders issued in terms of regulation 7 — will also be challenged

The state of emergency was declared in terms of the Public Safety Act of 1953. In many instances the emergency regulations affecting newspapers are so "unreasonable, unjust and unduly op-

pressive", counsel will argue, that they could not have been the intention of the legislature when the Act was passed in 1953

Counsel for the applicants will further argue that, in many cases, the regulations are *ultra vires*, or exceed the power or authority conferred upon the State President by that Act

Regulation 7(1) — empowering the Commissioner of Police or any person authorised by him to issue orders in line with the emergency regulations — will be attacked on this basis, and it will be argued that if it is *ultra vires*, so also are the orders issued by police in terms of that regulation

Subversive statements

Regulation 10, which concerns "subversive statements", will be attacked on the basis that it exceeds the State President's powers in terms of the Act, that it is unreasonable, and "manifestly unjust in its scope, and unduly oppressive" by prohibiting activities which would otherwise be

perfectly lawful

This last argument will also be used to challenge the regulation which prohibits publishing photographs

Regulation 9 "attempts to detail a range of activities which would otherwise be perfectly lawful", counsel will argue

Regulations 11 and 12 deal with the seizure or banning of publications

It is claimed that regulation 11 unlawfully vests a "subjective discretion" in the person making the seizure

Regulation 12 effectively makes it possible for a newspaper to be banned

The State President does not have the power to confer this subjective discretion on the Minister, counsel for the newspapers will argue

Cosatu challenges order

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) today challenged in the Supreme Court an order made on June 21 by Brigadier C A Swart, Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Western Cape, gagging 119 organisations.

Cosatu is seeking a court order declaring the order invalid on the grounds that President P W Botha did not have the authority to allow the commissioner to delegate to Brigadier Swart power to make orders in terms of emergency regulations

The respondents are President Botha, Law and Order Minister Mr Louis le Grange, Commissioner of Police General Johan Coetzee and Brigadier Swart,

In papers, Cosatu regional secretary Mr Nicholas Paul Henwood said that in terms of the Public Safety Act, President Botha could make regulations relating to a state of emergency but could not make regulations in conflict with the Labour Relations Act.

The 119 organisations include Cosatu, the United Democratic Front, the End Conscription Campaign, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, the Azanian People's Organisation, student organisations, ratepayers associations and community groups

rather than in prisons

Industrial Review has grown and changed

DD

30/07/86

243

EAST LONDON — The prestigious Industrial Review, which appears as a supplement to the Daily Dispatch today, was first published in 1970

Like industry in the region, the review — it was introduced when the Border area was on the threshold of considerable industrialisation — has over the years grown and changed for the better. What used to be an annual highlighting of individual industries in the region has gradually become an analysis of the regional economy.

In the early 1970s the region was battling to attract industry and East London was fighting the image of a one-horse town. This is reflected clearly in the first review which has a picture of a bustling Oxford Street on Saturday morning.

The picture is surrounded by headlines announcing unprecedented growth during the year under review. The caption recalls how a national magazine had published a picture of the city the previous year with a caption saying "Don't hoot, city sleeping".

The first review consisted of 40

pages and had a glossy cover which carried a message by the then Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr J F W Haak. In it he expressed confidence in the region and predicted that the special dispensation of concessions for border industries would be a catalyst for impressive growth.

Many of the stalwarts of industry highlighted in the first review, like King Tanning and Mercedes Benz, are still here and have grown considerably. The first review, for example, gives an employment figure of 1 000 for Mercedes Benz. Today it stands at 4 000.

The review is in many ways a valuable socio-industrial document, by no means annually definitive in a fluid situation that is also dominated by deadlines, and as such it has circulation far beyond our geographical area. It certainly has national circulation in the corridors of power and some copies go to countries all over the world.

● Anyone who requires extra copies should contact Miss Ella Scheepers in the Daily Dispatch circulation department — DDR



The Daily Dispatch's press room foreman, Mr Ronnie Dawson, checks the first copies of the Industrial Review to come off the press.

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Newspapers in 'state of siege'

THE South Africa Media Council has warned that if the voice of the Press in South Africa becomes muffled, the country will move from being exposed to intensified attacks from outside.

In its first periodic report for 1984/5, the council says it has become clear that the

country's newspaper industry is in "a state of siege", calling for effective and urgent measures if South Africa is to continue being served by healthy, independent newspapers.

One of South Africa's strongest defences against international pressure, it says, is the

existence of a free and outspoken Press

"Such an independent Press is also a prerequisite for the formation of informed judgment upon which broad-based consensus can be built

"Further evidence that an independent Press is a shield against punitive action by the

international community was afforded by the American President's public statement that the existence of an independent and outspoken Press in South Africa was one of the factors which enabled him to resist demands for more drastic action in the campaign to press-

sure South Africa into reform."

The SA Media Council, an independent body under the chairmanship of former judge Mr Louis van Wansen, has as its principal objective the upholding and maintaining of the freedom of the media in South Africa. — Sapa.



PRESIDENT Reagan... Press freedom.

CP says there's no real point but

Most laud detainee list

Staff Reporters

There has been mixed reaction to *The Star's* decision to publish the names of detainees

While most groups supported publication, the Conservative Party said there "was no real point" in publishing the names

Some prominent figures missing or detained include Ms Claire Wright, Wits SRC President, Mr Patrick Lephunya, the United Democratic Front's Transvaal secretary, Mr Chris Ngcobo, a leading member of the University of the Witwatersrand's Black Student Society and a member of the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso), Sister Bernard Ncube, president of the Federation of Transvaal Women, Mr Aubrey Mo-

koena, secretary of the Release Mandela Committee and Mr Edgar Ngoyi, Eastern Cape president of the UDF

Progressive Federal Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman warmly welcomed publication, saying it was "absolutely essential that South Africa is made aware of the names of people who have been detained and those that are missing"

"It is in the public interest that we are kept informed," she said

DPSC commends

"I never understood why the Minister would not answer my questions on detainees that I made in Parliament," she added

A spokesman for the Detainees' Parents Support Committee said "We commend *The Star* for performing this service"

"There are thousands of families in South Africa who are suffering considerable anguish as a result of not knowing the whereabouts of their missing relatives," he said

A spokesman for the United Democratic Front which has, according to monitoring groups, been hardest hit by detentions commented "We would hope that more newspapers and the mass media in general will now take a more courageous stand and will publish with greater consistency not only detentions but the kinds of incidents that are occurring in townships around the country"

Govt supported

Dr F A van Staden, secretary of the Conservative Party in the Transvaal, said the CP had supported the Government's decision to take action against "people committed to overthrowing the Government by violence"

"There is very little point to publishing the names," he said

For the first time the names of some prominent people who have gone missing have been published

Bias questioned

These include Azapo's Southern Transvaal vice chairman Charles Mabitsele, former Azaso vice-president Mr Thami Mcerwa, Mmahwe lereng community leader Dr Tshehla Hlahla and the president of the the Azanian National Youth Unity (AZANYU), Mr Carter Seleke

The Azanian People's Organisation general secretary, Mr George Wauchope, said the list was inadequate in that Black Consciousness organisations were not consulted for names of detainees before the list was published

"Although we understand the conditions of getting names of detainees with the state of emergency in effect, we question the ideological bias because very few names of BC people are included. We could have been consulted because we have also been monitoring the detentions of our members"

Long queues wait for news about detained relatives

By Jo-Anne Collinge

There is a well-worn office in central Johannesburg where queues of anxious relatives of detainees often stretch out into the corridor

Inside, the telephone rings incessantly (reports of more detentions from remote spots on the platteland), and the endless round of taking details, writing letters to the authorities, contacting lawyers, goes on. This is the daily work of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee

Here hundreds of desperate questions are fielded daily. Questions like "Will the lawyer get him out?" or "What do I do — there was blood on the dirty clothes I received back from my child?"

This week three of the sad and worried figures in line were Mrs Johanna Skosana, Mrs Joyce Nkosi and Mr Thomas Khumalo

Mrs Nkosi and Mrs Skosana are neighbours in the East Rand township of Daveyton. They both have teenage daughters — and the girls have now been in detention for a week under the emergency provisions

MOTHER WAS WORKING NIGHT SHIFT

Prescilla Nkosi is "just 14 years", her mother says. The child was taken from her home more than a week ago in the early hours

"I wasn't home because I work night shift. When I got there my son told me we should go to the police station"

Mrs Skosana's major worry is the health of her 16-year-old daughter, Nurse. "She suffers from asthma and she gets attacks, especially when she is in a cold or damp place"

Nurse was taken away in the same yellow van as Prescilla

Both mothers have since received written confirmation from the police that their daughters have been taken under regulation 3 of the emergency provisions. Prescilla is in the Benoni police cells and Nurse in Heidelberg Prison

Sunday will be a day filled with tension for the Skosana and Nkosi families. On Sunday the 14-day initial period of detention expires. If the girls are not freed then, it means an order for their continued detention has been issued — and then their detention becomes endless — with no guaranteed family visits, no home-cooked food, no automatic right to study

MONEY DEPOSITED FOR DETAINED SON

The two mothers left the office carrying letters applying for the privilege of a single visit to their children. But they were cautious they had overheard Mr Khumalo telling his tale of repeated visits to Diepkloof Prison near Johannesburg in an effort to see his 18-year old son, Phinda Abraham

Abraham is a matric pupil in Soweto and was taken within hours of the declaration of the state of emergency. The fact that he was taken in the initial swoop — which netted key activists — suggests that he was directly involved in organisational work. But Mr Khumalo has no knowledge of this

In a family where the parents have struggled to give their children advanced education (Abraham's elder brother is at university), it has been a heavy blow to see a son disappear into the cells months before the completion of his schooling

Mr Khumalo, who was recently retrenched, spends many days making the weary journey to Diepkloof Prison. He has managed to deposit some money there in Abraham's name. One of the few rights emergency detainees have is to receive money

But he says his dearest wish — just a few hours with his teenage son — has been refused three times

DAIRY INDUSTRY,

Parties

Employ

Trade

Area A:

Area B:

Area C:

Footnotes

1. Overtime pay -

31/07/86
Newspapers to go to court over emergency

JOHANNESBURG — English newspaper groups in South Africa have joined forces to challenge emergency regulations affecting newspapers

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The state of emergency was declared in terms of the Public Safety Act of 1953 In many instances the emergency regulations affecting newspapers are so "unreasonable, unjust and unduly oppressive," counsel will argue, that they could not have been the intention of the legislature when the act was passed in 1953

Counsel for the applicants will further argue that, in many cases the regulations are ultra vires, or exceed the power or authority conferred upon the State President by that act

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Afrikaans Press criticises Nel for defending curbs

Deputy Minister Mr Louis Nel has been criticised in two Afrikaans newspapers this week for his defence of the media restrictions under the state of emergency regulations.

In a letter in *Die Burger*, Professor H J Grosskopf of the Department of Journalism at Stellenbosch University said "How can he pretend that the political debate in South Africa is continuing undisturbed over the whole spectrum? It is simply not happening"

Columnist Hennie Kotze wrote in *Die Vaderland* "The restrictions have a paralysing effect on the media and could influence the public in general to start thinking that the state of emergency offers a permanent solution for the unrest in the country"

Replying to a Media Council call that curbs on the media should be scrapped, Mr Nel said the public was "well informed" about unrest-related incidents

Criticism and news reporting was continuing despite the emergency regulations

Praise for publishing names of detainees

Major human rights and political organisations have hailed the decision of *The Star* to publish the names of thousands of people who are believed to be in detention

But the Conservative Party has described the move as irrelevant, and there has been criticism that the list is incomplete

The United Democratic Front, which has the greatest number of members detained, has expressed the hope that the move signals a more courageous stance by the media in the face of emergency restrictions. The Front's recognition was echoed by the Progressive Federal Party and the Detainees' Parents Support Committee

Black Sash national president Mrs Mary Burton commented today "The state of emergency has had the effect of cushioning people from the truth. I hope the publication of these names makes people aware of the magnitude of detentions. Most people will realise that locking people up is no long-term solution"

The national head of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Jules Browde, said "It is important for people to know what is going on"

Southern African Society of Journalists president Ms Pat Sidley said "We welcome the decision. Publication helps both the detainees and the public. But it's a pity it took so long"

● See Page 11.

CMT Times 1/17/86 (243) (232)

Cape Times leaves Burg St

By ROGER WILLIAMS
Chief Reporter

PICTURES, back-numbers of the newspaper, memorable "howlers" and long-forgotten relics that go deep into the 110-year history of the Cape Times have been unearthed this week as staff members have packed and prepared to vacate "The Old Lady of Burg Street" tomorrow.

Today is the last day on which the Cape Times will be put together at 77 Burg Street, the home of this newspaper

for more than 50 years, and memories of people and events have come flooding back in the massive task of preparing for the move.

From Sunday, a new chapter in the story of South Africa's oldest daily newspaper will begin from within Newspaper House, St George's Street, the new name given to the former Argus Building. The Cape Times editorial department will resume operations on the fifth and sixth floors of the building

The move from 77 Burg Street after half a century — previous Cape Times addresses were Keerom Street and St George's Street — follows the agreement reached recently between SA Associated Newspapers (SAAN) and the Argus Printing and Publishing Company to rationalize the activities of their newspapers in Cape Town.

In terms of this agreement, all Cape Times departments other than editorial have been merged with those of Argus,

but the continued editorial independence of the Cape Times, under SAAN, has been guaranteed.

The big editorial move has to be completed tomorrow, to enable Cape Times staff to bring out Monday's edition of the newspaper, as usual, from the new offices

● The telephone number of the Cape Times — 24-2233 — will remain unchanged after the move. The entrance to the relocated editorial offices will be on the sixth floor of Newspaper House.



Willem Steenkamp, Cape Times columnist and defence correspondent, packs piles of personal documents from his unique "filing system" into cardboard boxes, in preparation for the move to Newspaper House



Head Librarian Barbara Crook (centre), flanked by assistants Jane Dederick and Lewis September, pack away historic volumes in preparation for the move of the Cape Times editorial department tomorrow.

Traffic officers accused of barring press photographer

9/21/85
11/8/85
243
JOHANNESBURG — Johannesburg traffic officers are said to have barred a newspaper photographer from taking pictures of their ticketing and towing away vehicles parked outside a Lenasia scrapyard at the weekend.

The editor of the Indicator, Mr Ameen Akhalwaya, said the officers

refused to give a photographer from his newspaper reasons why he could not take pictures

They told the photographer he would have to obtain permission from the traffic Department's publicity chief, Mr Errol Peace

A witness, Mr Peru Ajoodha, confirmed the photographer's version

However, a Traffic Department official said she had discussed the matter with the supervisor in charge of the towing section, and he denied refusing the photographer permission to take photographs.

She said, however,

that if a traffic officer acted incorrectly, he could be subject to disciplinary measures. She said it was the policy of the department to give Mr Peace's name if anyone asked for details of officers' actions

Mr Akhalwaya commented "This looks like a case of the State of Emergency regulations going to the head of traffic officers. This incident had nothing to do with unrest."

The owner of the scrapyard, Mr Gill Ajoodha, said he was taking legal advice as the traffic department's actions in ticketing and towing away vehicles from outside his prem-

ises had affected his business

"Our workshop is on a quiet, side street. The traffic officers towed away vehicles from my premises and across the road," he said

According to Mr Ajoodha, he was told that the walls of his premises demarcated his property, and where his land merged with the road was "public property"

The traffic department official said officers had found a car being spray-painted outside — which was illegal. "The vehicles which were causing an obstruction were towed away," she said — Sapa

for market share. The price freeze affects house brand groceries, toiletries and confectionery (GTC)

A shrinking retail market, beset by high inflation, unemployment and consumer boycotts, is putting the screws on supermarkets and suppliers alike

Major GTC retailers are chary of disclosing market shares, but estimates average out at Pick 'n Pay, 40%, Checkers 30%, OK Bazaars 20% and Spar 10%. These major retailers have almost 70% of the total GTC market

OK lost share in the last year, while Checkers and Spar made gains, but overall sales increases over the past year ran at 14% — below inflation

At first glance, this looks good for the consumer — competition being so fierce that none of the “big three” supermarket chains dare break its promise to freeze prices on house and no-name brands until January

And OK Bazaars' announcement this week that it would commit a further R2m to price cuts on branded goods will no doubt touch off a further price war

But Spar executive director Sidney Matus dismisses high profile promises to the consumer as “just more promotions” He says they have no real meaning for the consumer — all major retailers budget to cut profits and even take losses on advertised “specials.”

However, adds Matus, these campaigns can bring about rapid consumer loyalty shifts and thus market gains or losses

FIN MAIL 1/8/86
SUPERMARKETS 244
The knives are out

Massive price freeze and cost cutting campaigns announced this week by major supermarket chains are evidence of a bloody fight

Nevertheless, as the chains scramble for every leverage, there will no doubt be further campaigns, as well as more pressure on suppliers — including those of branded goods. To up their popularity ratings — and therefore market share — supermarkets like to be seen to be aggressive in their dealings with suppliers, whom they portray as bogymen.

Says Pick 'n Pay chairman Raymond Ackerman: “Without pressure from the supermarkets, many suppliers raise their prices, capitalising on the fact that the public is used to inflation”

And here lies the rub — do retailers really have the power to lessen inflation's impact? Or are price freezes and “big daddy” advertising campaigns just ways to increase market share?

Ackerman says there is no need for the consumer to be cynical: the price freeze is a genuine attempt to help the public

Hood says the freeze is costing the OK about R100 000 a month in addition to the R2m off the bottom line — which he hopes to recoup with an increase in turnover

Assistant marketing director of Checkers Brian Sacks says the price-frozen brands are not loss leaders. He believes that his company has struck a good deal with suppliers, so the freeze will cost it nothing

Matus says the price freeze should increase the trend towards house brands, which already account for 14% of the market.

But new Housewives League President Lyn Morris is afraid suppliers may stop manufacturing rather than doing so at a loss, which could lead to house brands disappearing from the shelves, to the ultimate detriment of consumers.

So what is the position of these supposedly



Consumers ... time to smile?

rapacious suppliers? Despite the retailers' claims, they will also have problems keeping prices down

Chet Chemicals sales director Mervyn Kessler, responsible for most no-name chemicals, says Chet cannot guarantee supplying at constant prices

“Many of our strategic chemicals are provided by one supplier, often Shell or AECI. It is very difficult to challenge them when they hold a monopoly position — it would be different if there were free competition”

Fedfood's GM marketing Neville Isemonger says many products are controlled by agricultural boards so his company can-

not guarantee fixed prices to supermarkets. It will also be difficult to control the price of imported products, in particular additives which often changed prices daily, he says

What about branded products? A Colgate-Palmolive spokesman says although suppliers may be hit by raw material price increases and the poor exchange rate, “60% of our business comes from the big three supermarket chains. Any one of them could kill a new brand if they disliked the price and refused to buy the product.”

U.K. Times 2/11/56
Cape Times reporter arrested

Staff Reporter

CAPE TIMES reporter Peter Dennehy was arrested at the newspaper offices yesterday, taken to his Observatory home which was searched, then released on his own recognizances

He was told to report at 8am on Monday to the security police offices at 112 Loop Street

Two casually-dressed policemen walked into the Cape Times newsroom soon after 2pm, and in full view of almost the entire Cape Times reporting staff, ordered Mr Dennehy to accompany them to his home saying there was "trouble" there.

Lieutenant Frans Mostert of the security police told senior staff at the Cape Times that Mr Dennehy was being held under Section 50 of the Criminal Procedures Act.

The Cape Times sent an attorney, Mr John Kirkpatrick, to his home in Oxford Street, Observatory. Mr Kirkpatrick was present when the house was searched and a book confiscated.

The search, which extended to the entire house, lasted about two hours.

Mail civil claim

WEEKLY MAIL 1916 203
THE Weekly Mail is planning to sue the Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange, for wrongfully confiscating an edition of the newspaper.

Thousands of copies of the Weekly Mail were confiscated on the first day of the Emergency, June 13.

Following a Grahamstown Supreme Court decision this week, which found that the Minister had improperly delegated the power to confiscate, Weekly Mail lawyers have begun preparing papers for a civil action for damages.

'Media in SA must decide'

JOHANNESBURG — South African media had to decide now where they were going to throw their weight, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said at a function here to mark the 50th anniversary of the SABC

"Are they going to throw it on the side of a developing South Africa where peace, freedom and progress must be brought about, or will they — as some of those to the north of us have done — throw their weight on the side of those who have eventually brought about the destruction of civilization as well the media?" he asked.

Mr Botha said everyone in South Africa was the target these days of what was often a demonic insanity which was being directed at the country with increasing viciousness

There was no indication that this campaign of venom would soon come to an end

"Our head, like that of John the Baptist is being demanded to be carried in on a tray at a festival of fanatical despots," Mr

Botha said. There were unpleasant times in the history of nations when the choice between unpopular alternatives was forced upon them

"We are now standing at such a point in our history ... if we are going to be forced to choose, then we have only one choice: South Africa first"

Mr Botha said. "In these stormy times where South Africa faces the intense cross-fire of international criticism and venom the SABC has an even greater responsibility."

The SABC was founded half-a-century ago on the initiative of General J B M Hertzog, and 50 years later the SABC could do no better than to give full expression to his call then of "South Africa first".

'Voice'

Mr Botha said the SABC was a voice for South Africa "In everything that you do you must reflect and strengthen the voice and the spirit of South Africa ... You cannot let us submit to other voices from America or Europe.

"Together with every other section of our society — the government, the security forces, the private sector, the ordinary citizen — you must pull together to carry the load up the hill before us."

"The SABC and every other member of the South African media must make a decision in these days and show where they stand," Mr Botha said. Sapa

Top newsmen debate role of English Press

Mercury Reporter

THE alleged failure of the English-language Press to challenge repressive emergency regulations was hotly debated during a panel discussion of South African editors and senior journalists in Durban yesterday

'Press freedom died back in the 1950s and since then only an illusion has survived, which the Press itself has done its best to cultivate,' said Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harber

He accused newspapers of 'hiding behind the emergency'

Mr Alec Erwin, national education officer for Cosatu, read out several editorials from an English language morning paper and said writers of editorials suffered from 'partisan-

ship, ignorance, rank advocacy journalism and lack of analysis'

Mr David Wightman, assistant editor of the Daily News, said the South African Press was injured, but not dead. He said that while it was vilified from the Left for not being progressive enough, the Government regarded it as being to the Left of the Communist Party

Mr William Saunderson-Meyer, news editor of the Sunday Tribune, said decades of neglect of staff training and low journalists' salaries meant that only 'politically committed' people remained in the profession

Reporters had become 'a pool of ideologically rigid, illiterate youngsters', he said

CML-Tracks 4/8/86 (243)

Press must 'exploit gaps' in regulations

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The alleged failure of the English-language press to challenge repressive emergency regulations was hotly debated during Durban's first panel discussion between South African editors and senior journalists yesterday.

"Press freedom died back in the 1950s and since then only an illusion has survived, which the press itself has done its best to cultivate," said Weekly Mail co-editor Mr Anton Harber

He accused newspapers of "hiding behind the emergency" to claim they were being prevented from publishing information they would not have published anyway

Partisan

Referring to the emergency press curbs, he said: "We can survive this onslaught by printing rugby, braaivleis and royal weddings or we can find the gaps and exploit them"

The Argus company — which now controlled all major English-language newspapers — had recently announced a profit of more than R40-million, he said.

"It wouldn't take a great deal of that profit

(which might be risked in paying fines) to allow a more aggressive attitude towards the law?"

The national education officer for the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Mr Alec Erwin, read out several editorials from an English language morning paper and said writers of editorials suffered from "partisanship, ignorance, rank advocacy journalism and lack of analysis"

He predicted that the press would be condemned by South Africa's future leaders for its cowardice

The assistant editor of the Daily News, Mr David Wightman, said the South African press was injured, but not dead

He commented wryly that while it was vilified from the left for not being progressive enough, the government regarded it as being to the left of the Communist Party.

The news editor of the Sunday Tribune, Mr William Saunderson-Meyer, said decades of neglect of staff training and low journalists' salaries meant that only "politically committed" people remained in the profession

Reporters had become "a pool of ideologically rigid, illiterate youngsters"

Weekly Mail
Namibian arson

By JEAN SUTHERLAND 243

THE offices of the weekly newspaper The Namibian were torched during the early hours of Tuesday morning.

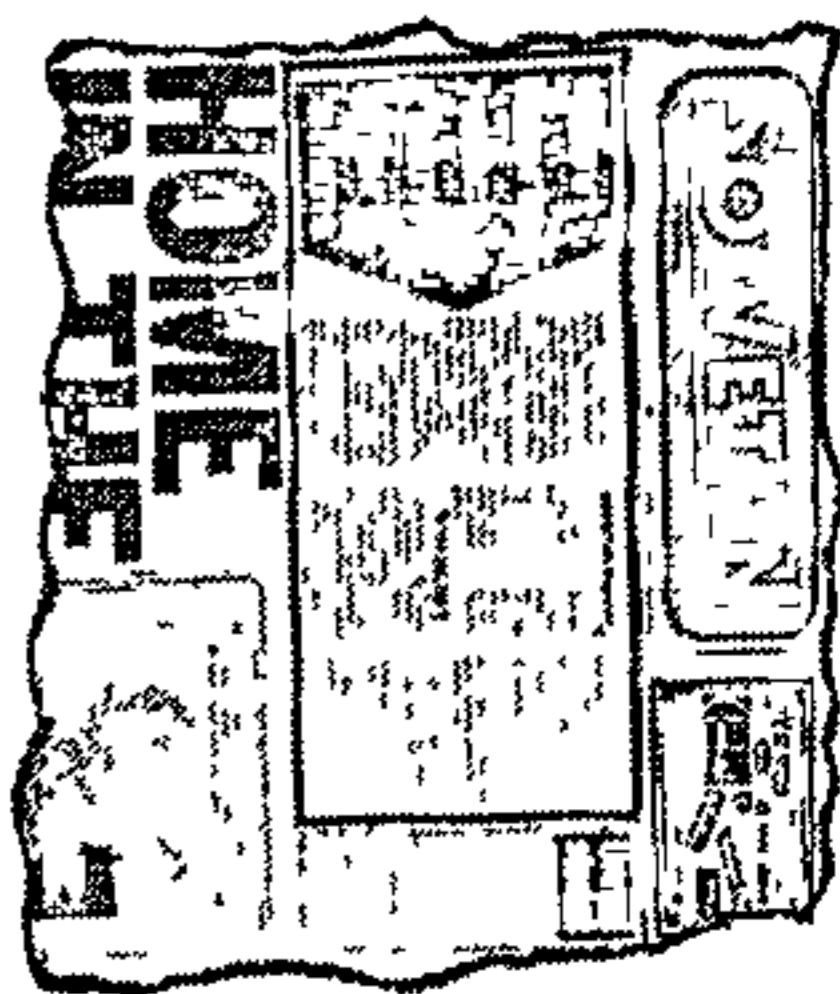
The Namibian, an independent weekly started last August, is strongly pro-independence and fiercely critical of the transitional government. 8-14 1986

Damage, estimated at R10 000, was mainly confined to one area of the building after the blaze was extinguished by the fire brigade.

The paper's offices have been subjected to a number of attacks over the last year. Previously these have mainly taken the form of "kettie" raids, with projectiles like stones and ballbearings being fired from catapults.

Sowetan is seized for second time since emergency

Police take top newspaper off streets



Staff Reporters

Sowetan, the morning newspaper published in Johannesburg, was taken off the streets by police yesterday afternoon. It is the second time that South Africa's second largest daily paper has been confiscated since the emergency was declared on June 12.

The order was issued by Commissioner of Police General Johann Coetzee, according to Sowetan management and legal representatives.

Last night the Bureau for Information in Pretoria said it was still in the dark over the exact circumstances of the order. All it would say was that it had heard *Sowetan* had been taken off the streets in the Eastern Transvaal.

Sowetan editor Mr Joe Latakomo said "It came as a shock to all of us. I can't think of any possible reason why this action."

Sowetan has not been told by the police what action it can expect, so it will be published as usual on Monday.

First reports of the seizure of *Sowetan* were received by an Argus Group correspondent in Port Elizabeth. He telephoned *Sowetan* manager Mr Brian Moulton. The paper was taken off the streets throughout the country.

Mr Moulton was telephoned by a Captain Venter of the Security Police at John Vorster Square. He was told at 4.25 pm of the seizure.

'Totalitarian attitude'

The managing-director of the Argus Group, Mr Peter McLean, said: "We're obviously very concerned that *Sowetan* has been taken off the streets. We don't know the reason for it. But we and our lawyers are looking into it."

Mr Moulton said "We're mystified. The bureau hasn't given us a reason. And if one wants to be realistic, perhaps it can't be too important. They waited until after 4 pm to inform us. The paper had been on sale since 6 am."

Dr Zac de Beer, an executive director of Anglo American Corporation, said in Johannesburg last night that taking *Sowetan* off the streets demonstrated the fundamentally totalitarian attitude of the Government.

Speaking at a Lawyers for Human Rights banquet in Johannesburg last night, Mr Justice Wilson of Natal said the freedom of the Press was a basic human right.

"It has been recognised by a number of countries for at least 200 years," he said, adding that governments which claimed they were representative of their people could only be seen to be so if the people knew what the government was doing.

The seizure of *Sowetan* comes only days before an application to the Natal Supreme Court by English-language newspapers to challenge emergency regulations.

Capl. Times 9/8/56
243

Copies of Sowetan seized

JOHANNESBURG. Yesterday's edition of The Sowetan has been declared "undesirable" and a police order was issued to seize copies in the Ermelo district

A spokesman for the Bureau for Information in Pretoria said an order had been issued for the Ermelo area, but could not confirm that it had had a "countrywide" effect

"The order, from the

Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Eastern Transvaal in Middelburg, was issued earlier yesterday and was limited to the Ermelo district"

The newspaper's lawyer, Mr Paul Jenkins, said the newspaper was told yesterday afternoon by police from John Vorster Square that an order declaring yesterday's edition undesirable had been issued by

the office of the Commissioner of Police. The order said all unsold copies should be taken off the streets

The Sowetan had received reports that copies of the newspaper had been seized in Ermelo, Bethal and Port Elizabeth

The Sowetan, which has a circulation of about 100 000, is a morning newspaper — Sapa and Own Correspondent

Exclusive to



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 PAROW 930-3333 Louis Smol a/h 902 2029

WEEKEND Argus

The Argus | **DIE BURGER** | **Cape Times**

PUBLISHING

Cape newspapers: The Argus widens its lead

243
 9/1/86
 w/c Argus



THE ARGUS is far and away the Cape's best-selling daily — and weekend — newspaper, and its lead is growing.

New figures by the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC) — the industry's official barometer of sales — show that The Argus improved its position substantially over its competitors in the first six months of this year.

Latest circulation figures are.

DAILIES: The Argus 97 603
 Die Burger 71 584
 Cape Times 60 918

● The Argus was more than 26 000 copies ahead of Die Burger and more than 36 600 ahead of the Cape Times. In both cases The Argus widened the circulation gap from the corresponding period last year.

WEEK-END: Weekend Argus 119 146
 Die Burger 82 520
 Cape Times 75 258

● This means Weekend Argus outsold Die Burger (Weekend) by more than 36 600 copies and Cape Times (Weekend) by more than 43 800 copies. Here again, Weekend Argus increased its lead over its rivals for the matching months last year

In posting an average daily sale of 97 603 for January to June in difficult trading conditions, The Argus daily improved 771 copies (0,80 percent) over the previous six months.

Compared to January-June 1985, The Argus was 2 726 copies down (2,7 percent) — the smallest drop in circulation of the three Cape Town dailies.

Die Burger sold an average 71 584 copies daily from January to June this year, 557 copies (0,78 percent) up on the previous six months. Over the corresponding January-June period in 1985, however, it was down 4 303 copies (5,67 percent).

In the six months January-June this year, the Cape Times averaged a daily sale of 60 918 — 3 288 copies down (5,12 percent) on its July-December 1985 average, and a drop of 4 735 copies (7,20 percent) on January-June 1985

The rising circulation of Weekend Argus was reflected in average sales of 119 146 from January to June this year. This represented an improvement of 4 834 (4,23 percent) on the previous six months and 952 copies (0,81 percent) on January-June 1985.

Die Burger's average weekend circulation of 82 520 was 278 copies more (0,34 percent) than July-December 1985 but a drop of 2 696 (3,16 percent) on January-June 1985

The Weekend Cape Times sold an average of 75 258 copies from January to June this year — down 3 754 (4,75 percent) on July to December last year and a drop of 4 301 (5,40 percent) compared to January to June 1985.

SOWETAN is seized by police

POLICE seized unsold copies of the *Sowetan* from selling points throughout the country on Friday — the second time this has happened since the declaration of the state of emergency on June 12.

Sowetan is the second largest selling paper in South Africa.

The first time copies of this newspaper were confiscated by police was on July 13, a day after the state of emergency had been introduced.

By late yesterday, the *Sowetan* had not been informed why copies of the Friday edition were impounded.

This newspaper's lawyer said he had learned that an order declaring Friday's edition undesirable had been issued by the office of the Commissioner of Police, General Johan

Coetzee, saying all unsold copies should be taken off the streets.

First reports of the seizure of *Sowetan* were received by an Argus Group correspondent in Port Elizabeth. In turn, he telephoned *Sowetan* manager, Mr Brian Moulton.

Mr Moulton was informed about the order on Friday afternoon, by a Captain Venter at John Vorster.

The managing director of the Argus Group, Mr Peter McLean, said: "We are obviously very concerned that *Sowetan* has been taken off the streets. We don't know the reason for it. But we and our lawyers are looking into it".

Mr Moulton said: "We are mystified."

To Page 2 →

SOWETAN seized

From Page 1

The Bureau for Information hasn't given us a reason. And if one wants to be realistic, perhaps it cannot be too important. They waited until 4pm to inform us. The paper had been on sale since 6am."

Meanwhile a Natal Supreme Court judge, Mr Justice A Wilson, said in Johannesburg last Friday that the freedom of the Press is a basic human right and "one of the greatest bulwarks of democracy".

'Bitter test' looms for South Africans

Merg 11/08/80

2435

THE FORBIDDING prospect of sanctions has eclipsed all other subjects in the headlines and editorial columns of the Afrikaans Press.

Dawie, political columnist of the Nasionale group, said that, stripping away all the false piety and other hypocrisies, it was clear that an intense attack was being aimed at South Africa from abroad. In one important respect it was an acknowledgement that the attempt at an internal revolution had failed.

South Africans now faced a 'bitter test' in finding a solution to their internal problems.

The Burger said the formers of sanctions evidently did not realise how difficult, if not impossible, it would be to control the movement they had initiated. There could be a chain reaction, because South Africa was already being threatened with more punitive measures if it defended itself.

Rapport said the Government would receive wide support, at least from the white population, in its resistance to pressure for changes that could cause chaos and dislocation. But if we went into the laager it must be because we were seeking there what demands from abroad would not be able to accomplish and were possibly not intended to accomplish.

'Who knows, perhaps black and white will learn to know and appreciate each other better in the circumstances of the laager, because each will be so much more dependent on the other.'

★ ★ ★

BEELD took a more controversial line

Not even Mussolini's Italy, it said, had endured such a wave of hatred, with its undertones of hysterical unreasonableness. Never-

theless, it would pay South Africa to listen to the arguments of the Western countries.

A 'leap of the imagination' was necessary to break out of the present impasse, and it was true that the 'fundamental question' of meaningful black rights must be purposefully addressed.

'And all the public rage?'

'Hasn't it, among other things, to do with what the world has seen of South Africa on television over the past year?'

'South Africans, and particularly Afrikaners, like to believe that they alone are right and the whole world wrong. Such an attitude will not help us or the few friends we still have left.'

★ ★ ★

With the predictable exception of the Burger the Afrikaans Press was sharply critical of the salary increases for parliament-

arians and top civil servants

The Vaderland described the move as 'a political mistake and economically unjustified'.

Rapport said that against the background of the whole public sector the additional amount involved was a drop in the bucket. But the psychological effect

State's new prop, narrowly escaped this dilemma when someone else was found to chair a meeting of the Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging and he was left free to play against the Transvaal. But, he told Rapport, had he been forced to choose he would have plumped for politics.

There was, he said, a

The Afrikaans Press

by James McClurg



should not be underestimated.

Rapport columnist Pollux pointed out that the increases were supposed to have been suspended until there was a sufficient improvement in the economy. This improvement, said Pollux sardonically, must have taken place, but if so it had remained a 'well-kept secret'.

The Volksblad said timing was extremely important. Few people today would be convinced that this was a suitable time for such a big 'swing at the bottle'.

★ ★ ★

PITY the up-and-coming young Afrikaner who has to choose between rugby and politics.

Piet Bester, the Free

feeling in the AWB that it would mean much to this Far Right organisation if one of its members 'achieved something' on the rugby field. At the meeting Bester was to have chaired an unnamed member said that 'the AWB would very much like to play in the rugby series' but wanted the name Currie Cup to be changed.

★ ★ ★

IT HAS been reported that the fire at the official residence of the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, left him with 'only the shirt he was wearing'. Now, observed Beeld columnist Lood, Mr du Plessis would know what he (Lood) felt like every year when the minister's tax-gatherers had finished with him.

Papers challenge curbs

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The emergency regulations specifically affecting newspapers are to be challenged today in the Natal Supreme Court in a joint South African Associated Newspapers (Saan) and Argus action

The application against the State President, the South African Government, the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police will be heard before a Full Bench in Pietermaritzburg

Six emergency regulations will be challenged

Counsel for Saan-Argus will argue that the effect of the regulations — issued as emergency regulations in

terms of the Public Safety Act — could not have been intended by the legislature when it promulgated the Act in 1953 and that they are ultra vires

It will be argued that the regulation empowering the Commissioner of Police to issue orders in terms of the regulations also is ultra vires

The regulations concerning subversive statements and photographs will be challenged on the basis that they exceed the State Presidents' powers in terms of the Act and unreasonably inhibit activities that would otherwise be lawful

Regulations dealing with the seizure or banning of publications will also be challenged

Challenge to Press curbs gets under way

The English-language newspaper groups launch their combined challenge on emergency regulation Press curbs in an application in the Natal Supreme Court today.

The application was being heard by a Full Bench in Maritzburg.

The main thrust of the argument against the curbs is that they are in some cases so "unreasonable, unjust and unduly oppressive" that they could not have been the intention of the Public Safety Act of 1953, in terms of which the emergency was declared.

Counsel for the Press groups will further argue that in many cases the regulations are *ultra vires*, or exceed the power or authority conferred on the State President by that Act.

The Argus Printing and Publishing Company Ltd, South African Associated Newspapers Ltd, Natal Newspapers (Pty) Ltd and Natal Witness (Pty) Ltd are challenging six of the emergency regulations and orders issued under one of those regulations.

The State President, the Government, the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police have been named as respondents.

● Copies of the Johannesburg morning paper *Sowetan* were seized on Friday.

It is the second time this has happened to the country's second-biggest daily paper since the state of emergency was declared on June 12.

The editor was given no reason for the seizure.

Legal counsel for *Sowetan* learned only that an order declaring Friday's edition "undesirable" had been issued by the office of the Commissioner of Police.

Business Day Reporter

AN ADMISSION of guilt fine of R300 has been paid by SAAN — owner of the *Cape Times* — for publication of quotes by African National Congress president Oliver Tambo.

SAAN's directors still firmly believe, however, "the public has a right to know and it is important that South Africans be aware of the policies of the ANC and what is said by its leaders

"Without adequate information informed judgments cannot be made," the board said in a statement yesterday

Cape Times editor, Tony Heard, was original-

SAAN
12/15/86
12/18/86
243
fined for
quoting
Tambo

ly charged with contravening the Internal Security Act by quoting Tambo in an account of an interview with him in London. This was published on November 4

After several postponements the charge — for which imprisonment is the only punishment — was withdrawn and the company issued with a summons

Advocate says papers driven to court action

Dispatch Correspondent

PIETERMARITZBURG

— Newspapers, which had tried in good faith to see if they could live with the emergency regulations, had been driven to court after coming up against insuperable difficulties, a full bench of the Supreme Court here was told yesterday.

Mr Justice Leon, Mr Justice Nienaber and Mr Justice Kumbleben are hearing an application by the English newspaper groups challenging certain emergency regulations affecting the press.

The applicants are Natal Newspapers (Pty) Ltd, the Natal Witness (Pty) Ltd, the Argus Printing and Publishing Ltd and South African Associated Newspapers Ltd (SAAN).

They have brought an application against the State President, Mr P. W. Botha; the South African Government; the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of the South African Police.

They are seeking an order declaring six emergency regulations — regulations seven to 12 — to be void and of no force and effect in law.

Emphasising the urgency of the application yesterday, Mr Sydney Kentridge, SC, for the applicants, said newspaper companies stood to lose hundreds of thousands of rands if even one of the publications were seized in terms of the emergency regulations.

Mr Kentridge referred specifically to regulation 11 which he described as the most considerable clog in the freedom of the press to inform the public of what was happening in the country.

This regulation empowered the Minister of Law and Order to seize a newspaper if, in his opinion, it contained a subversive statement.

Mr Kentridge said this "enormous power" had now been given to any

ways Police, the South African Defence Force or the Prisons Service.

"Any serving commissioned officer is given the power to seize the whole of an issue of the Sunday Times or Rapport, which, in his opinion, contains information which is detrimental to the safety of the public.

"This power is bad enough even in the hands of the minister, but we say that the endowing of any commissioned officer with this power goes far beyond what is permitted in the Act.

"On the face of it, it gives power to what must be thousands of people of varying types, backgrounds and abilities."

Turning to regulation 12 — which deals with the confiscation and seizure of subversive publications and allows for the banning of a newspaper for a specific period if the Minister of Law and Order is of the opinion that it is of a "subversive nature" — Mr Kentridge referred to the possible disastrous effects on such a newspaper or publication.

The editor of the Daily News, Mr Michael Green, said in an affidavit that if one day's issue of the Daily News were seized, the cost to Natal Newspapers would be about R175 000.

The editor of the Sunday Times, Mr Tertius Myburgh, said the task of an editor had been rendered almost impossible by the emergency regulations.

He said in an affidavit that as an editor he could never be certain whether a particular item of news or comment would or would not be viewed by some or other member of the security forces as a "subversive statement", "or worse still, as being detrimental to, say, the termination of the state of emergency (whatever that may mean)".

Mr Myburgh said that consequently he had

fear of seizure."

He did not believe that it was at all necessary, or desirable, to restrict the press in the manner that the emergency regulations do, even in a state of emergency.

"The ordinary laws of the land are more than adequate to curb seditious journalism. The effect of the emergency regulations on the press is quite simply to stifle news and comment which, in these times, the public in South Africa ought to hear," Mr Myburgh submitted in his affidavit.

The editor of the Natal Witness, Mr Richard Steyn, said in an affidavit that while he and his staff tried conscientiously to avoid breaking the law he was now fearful that at any time he might quite innocently publish a statement, report or article which could result not only in criminal prosecution but also the seizure of the newspaper without warning and forfeiture of their printing press.

Earlier yesterday, Mr J Conradie, SC, and Mr Jan Combrink, SC, for the respondents, asked for an adjournment of the hearing on the grounds that they needed time to assess the implications of the Lechesa Tsenoli judgment handed down in the Durban Supreme Court.

Mr Conradie submitted that the judgment could affect their position in the present hearing "quite dramatically".

The judges, however, found that the matter was urgent and that Mr Kentridge should be allowed to present his argument after which the hearing would be adjourned to enable the respondents to prepare their case.

Commenting on the urgency of the case, Mr Justice Leon said great inroads had been made on the public's right to know and the possibility of their being closed down was a daily source

Newspapers seek relief from emergency curbs

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Although the State President's powers were very wide they could, nonetheless, be exercised only subject to the constraints of the parliamentary Act which conferred them, it was argued before a Full Bench of the Natal Supreme Court in Maritzburg yesterday.

The point was made in argument by Mr S Kentridge, SC, who is appearing for the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, South African Associated Newspapers, Natal Newspapers and the Natal Witness.

The newspapers have brought an application in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court challenging several of the emergency regulations which have restricted the Press since the State of Emergency was declared on June 12.

They have brought the application against the State President, the Minister of Law and Order, the Commissioner of the South African Police and the Government of South Africa and have asked for an order declaring that regulations 7 to 12 are void and without force and effect in law.

Regulation 7 empowers the Commissioner of Police or a commissioned officer to issue orders in line with the emergency regulations.

Regulations 9 to 12 forbid the taking of photographs of unrest-related incidents and action by the various forces and allows the Minister of Law and Order to seize a newspaper if, in his opinion, it contains subversive material.

POWERS EXCEEDED

The application has been made on the grounds that, in making the emergency regulations mentioned, the State President exceeded the powers conferred on him by the Public Safety Act 3 of 1953.

It is also claimed that the regulations are unreasonable, unjust and unduly oppressive.

The Acting Deputy Judge President, Mr Justice Leon, Mr Justice Kumleben and Mr Jus-

tice Nienaber are hearing the application.

Mr Kentridge said the original legislative powers lay with Parliament and Parliament only.

Those exercised by the State President were subordinate or delegated legislation and therefore subject to judicial scrutiny. Mr Kentridge said that although the State President's powers were very wide they were nevertheless subject to tests of bona fides, gross unreasonableness and whether they were void for vagueness.

He argued that the State President's powers could be exercised only subject to the constraints implied and intended in the enabling Act and therefore were open to scrutiny.

Mr Kentridge said that by "unreasonableness" he meant a regulation that was so unreasonable as to force a court to the conclusion that Parliament could never have contemplated a regulation of that nature.

He said although the State President's powers were very wide they could not be used in the same way that Parliament used its powers.

ADJOURNED

Yesterday Mr Justice Leon ordered that Mr Kentridge could proceed with his argument but the case would then be adjourned until August 18 and 19 for counsel for the respondents to argue.

Mr Justice Leon made this order after legal counsel for the State President and Minister of Law and Order asked for an adjournment so they could reconsider their position in the light of the Tsenoh judgment which was handed down in Durban yesterday and which invalidated the sections in the emergency regulations which allowed for the arrest and detention of people.

Mr J Combrink, SC, who is appearing for the Minister of Law and Order, said that the rationale behind that judgment ran to the heart of the regulations being challenged in this case and he would have to have time to take instructions.

The hearing continues today.

Why the 'madness' of KwaNdebele?

The Black Press
by Barry Streek



Mercury 12/8/86 (2) (23)

THE SOWETAN asked somewhat plaintively in an editorial whether anyone could 'tell us why it is so desperately imperative to grant independence to the ridiculously tiny KwaNdebele'.

'And what kind of madness is this that forces down such a major measure against the wishes of so many people?'

Ilanga also commented on the issue 'If the Government has discarded the policy of apartheid as outmoded, then there is no justification for imposing the Pretoria-type independence on the people of KwaNdebele who are South African citizens by right of birth

'Independent homelands are not the answer to the country's problems and the Government should abandon the idea of creating more homelands which are economically not viable. After all, independent homelands are not recognised by major Western countries'

Both editorials reflected the total rejection in the black Press of the homeland's scheduled 'independence' on December 11

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IN ITS attack on the plan the Sowetan said the killing of the KwaNdebele Cabinet minister, Mr Piet Ntuli, 'should tell those involved that it is not worth the cost to push through an independence that will satisfy a few'

'The facts are that the majority of the people of KwaNdebele — and their judgement should at least be the yardstick — do not want independence. Even if we are unable to swear this as the Gospel truth, events there indicate large-scale disquiet

'Certainly the people of Moutse do not wish to be incorporated into KwaNdebele. Once more we may not be able to swear this as the Gospel truth but past events point to this

'What is particularly informative is that most people, and we suspect even the Government, have come to the sad conclusion that the homelands were a phenomenal blunder

'KwaNdebele does not need independence. South Africa does not need another homeland. But most important, the majority of the people are against the whole sorry business

'Ironically, elsewhere people die to gain independence while in KwaNdebele people die while fighting against independence,' the Sowetan said

THE MAIL, the Mafikeng-based weekly, said the call by Chief Lucas Mangope, the president of Bophuthatswana, for talks between the Government and the ANC as a matter of expediency and urgency 'should be the clarion call of all people, particularly those whom he calls the Freedom Generation'

'It is futile in the present era for anyone to say such a meeting would be frivolous, particularly when everyone knows there is no end to the unrest situation in sight. In fact it would be illogical to expect a change for the better in the present climate

'Whether the youth in the townships of South Africa are still listening to the ANC or not — and as the President himself says, there are indications that they are becoming impatient — men and women of good will need to place pride and ideology behind to find a solution. And talking to the ANC is a beginning in the right direction

'In the present circumstances it would be downright illogical to come up with vituperations while, as President Mangope rightly says, the country is fast approaching a South African version of a Beirut generation

'We do, however, believe that there is a new spirit of coming together to solve problems. It has always been our sincere belief that only the people themselves would finally find a working solution in South Africa and not through the wise men from across the seas,' the Mail said

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THE New Nation, commenting on the failed mission of the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, said President P W Botha had contended that 'his government will not move forward as a result of international pressure, it will then be held to ransom. But the point is that in the first instance it is the majority of South Africans who are demanding these changes — not the international community

'It is the majority of South Africans who are calling for urgent change and Botha cannot ignore them for long

'While the Government has tried to put on a strong face in dismissing local and international pressure it is clear that it does not have a strategy for getting the country out of the mess that he has put it in, and the 'last stand' mentality that he has so carefully cultivated does not augur well for our country

'It is patently clear that it is neither Botha

nor the National Party who will lead our country out of this morass, because they have painted themselves into a corner with unrealistic conditions they have set down for the release of Nelson Mandela and negotiations with the ANC,' the New Nation said

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ILANGA, also commenting on Sir Geoffrey's visit, said it was sad that the looming economic sanctions were a result of the Government's intransigence to end apartheid

'Since President Botha has rebuffed the British Foreign Secretary and insisted on a South African solution he must now move faster than ever before and attempt to find this solution. It must be made clear to him that unless he outlaws apartheid there can never be any hope of solving the country's problems

'It is important to remind Mr Botha that he needs friendly countries to help him in tackling South Africa's problems. He also needs the help of freely chosen black leaders, for without them there is very little chance of solving these problems. He must negotiate with them now for a new South Africa,' Ilanga said

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PACE, the monthly magazine, said it was left 'cold and dumbfounded by the state-of-emergency regulations, which we believe had an effect just short of shutting down the Press'

In an editorial written by editor Force Khashane, Pace said 'The way things are here it seems it is a privilege, not a right, to know what's going on in your own country

'Can we continue boasting that there is democracy in our country when we are, on occasions, not even allowed to publish blank spaces, which may be regarded as subversive if used in a certain context

'We emphatically deny and disagree with the allegations levelled against the Press that it had a hand in the escalation of violence

'The worst things happen when people are denied information. It is better to tell the people what is happening than to keep mum

'To be a journalist these days is painful, worse still if you are black. It is ridiculous to get information on what is happening in the townships, where we live, from somebody who lives in the city,' Pace said

SAAN MD Stephen Mulholland has struck back at the *Sunday Star* over a claim that it has eclipsed the *Financial Mail*

He said yesterday research SAAN had commissioned showed quite conclusively that the *Financial Mail* remained dominant in the field of weekly financial magazines. It was disappointing to see a reputable organisation publish statistics which could only have been designed to mislead.

"Sunday is the biggest newspaper reading day in SA."

"However, the *Sunday Star* has less than half the daily *Star*'s circulation and less than two-thirds of the *Star*'s Saturday edition — and this in spite of sending copies of the paper to parts of the country where the daily and Saturday *Star* do not circulate."

Sunday Star claim belied by figures

Business Day Reporter

The *Financial Mail* was a publishing phenomenon, he said. In the face of a 50% increase in its cover price, circulation had remained above 32 000, with bouyant advertising revenue and substantial profits.

It was not targeted at homes — which was the basis of the *Sunday Star*'s distorted and misleading research. It was aimed — and highly successfully — at businessmen and

women among whom it was recognised as SA's most authoritative and reliable business journal

In the words of London's prestigious *Financial Times*, the *Financial Mail* was "required reading for all serious observers of the SA scene"

He said he was at a loss to understand how the market research firm concerned could compare the two publications. It was like comparing *The Economist* in London with an obscure Sunday paper in the provinces

Having failed to make any inroads into the circulation of the *Sunday Times*, SA's most profitable newspaper, the *Sunday Star* appeared to have decided, with curious logic, to attack the *Financial Mail*

"Our own research, logically based on target markets, confirms the view of advertisers — as evidenced in their sensible allocation of client funds — that SAAN publications remain a dominant and growing force in the field of business advertising.

"This research, entitled *South African Business Research Evaluation*, is being launched this week on a nationwide basis to agencies and clients. Based on a sample of 2 000 business people, it is the largest yet undertaken in SA," he said.

Emergency regulations nightmare

BUDAY.

Judges told of editors' fears

12/8/76

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Own Correspondent

NEWSPAPERS, which had tried in good faith to see if they could live with the emergency regulations, had been driven to court after coming up against insuperable difficulties, a full Bench of the Supreme Court was told in Maritzburg yesterday.

Mr Justice Leon, Mr Justice Nienaber and Mr Justice Kumleben are hearing an application by the English newspaper groups challenging some emergency regulations affecting the Press

The applicants are Natal Newspapers, the Natal Witness, Argus Printing & Publishing and SA Associated Newspapers

They have brought an application against the State President, the SA government, the Minister of Law and Order, and the Commissioner of the SA Police, and are seeking an order declaring emergency regulations 7 to 12 to be void and of no force and effect in law.

Stressing the urgency of the application yesterday, Mr Sydney Kentridge, SC, for the applicants, said newspaper companies stood to lose hundreds of thousands of rands if even one of the publications were seized in terms of the emergency regulations.

Kentridge referred specifically to regulation 11, which he described as the most considerable clog in the freedom of the Press to inform the public of what was happening in the country.

This regulation empowers the Minister of Law and Order to seize a newspaper if, in his opinion, it contains a "subversive" statement

Kentridge said this "enormous power" had now been given to any member of the force serving as a commissioned officer in the SAP, Railways Police, Defence Force or Prisons Service.

Turning to regulation 12 - which deals with the confiscation and seizure of "subversive" publications and allows for the banning of a newspaper for a specific period if the Minister of Law and Order is of the opinion it is of a "subversive nature" - Kentridge referred to the possible disastrous effects on such a paper or publication

Daily News Editor Michael Green said in an affidavit if one day's issue of the paper were seized, the cost to Natal Newspapers would be about R175 000.

Sunday Times Editor Tertius Myburgh said the task of an editor had been rendered almost impossible by the emergency regulations

He said in an affidavit that as an editor he could never be certain whether

a particular item of news or comment would or would not be viewed by some or other member of the security forces as a "subversive statement".

Myburgh said that, consequently, he had been forced to censor the newspaper on a completely arbitrary basis, "and still live under the fear of seizure".

Natal Witness Editor Richard Steyn said in an affidavit that while he and his staff tried conscientiously to avoid breaking the law, he was now fearful that at any time he might quite innocently publish a statement, report or article which could result not only in criminal prosecution but also the seizure of the newspaper, without warning, and forfeiture of the paper's printing press.

Earlier yesterday, Mr J Conradie, SC, and Mr Jan Combrink, SC, for the respondents, asked for an adjournment of the hearing on the grounds that they needed time to assess the implications of the Lechesa Tsenohi judgment handed down in the Durban Supreme Court

Conradie submitted that the judgment could affect their position in the present hearing "quite dramatically".

However, the judges found that the matter was urgent and that Kentridge should be allowed to present his argument, after which the hearing would be adjourned to enable the respondents to prepare their case.

Commenting on the urgency of the case, Mr Justice Leon said great inroads had been made on the public's right to know, and the possibility of their being closed down was a daily source of anxiety to newspapers.

The hearing continues today

Cape oil data

ON-SHORE oil drilling could begin in the Algoa Bay area next year if locations of certain oil traps are confirmed by an Israeli exploration group

By using oil-finding techniques from North Africa, the Israelis have reinterpreted Soekor research and pinpointed several possible oil traps in the Eastern Cape

The find has not yet been proved but, if interpretation of research is correct, oil reserves of about 90-million barrels could be uncovered

Prospecting rights for the area belong

Press fights curbs

12/8/76
C.A.P.
Sowden
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AN urgent application challenging the validity of several emergency regulations which place severe restrictions on the Press and allow the Minister of Law and Order to seize any publication he considers subversive began before a Full Bench of the Natal Supreme Court in Maritzburg yesterday.

The application has been brought by the Argus Printing and Publishing Company Limited, South African Associated Newspapers Ltd, Natal Newspapers (Pty) Ltd and Natal Witness (Pty) Ltd against the Government

The four companies are responsible for the printing and publishing of most of South Africa's English-language newspapers

The Managing Director of the newspaper division of the Argus Company, Mr Peter McLean, said in an affidavit that the regulations being challenged in court directly or indirectly affected the free flow of news and comment. They therefore severely affected the

daily business of the applicant companies

Counsel for Government asked for an adjournment to consider their position in light of a judgment handed down in Durban yesterday invalidating key emergency sections allowing for the arrest and detention of people.

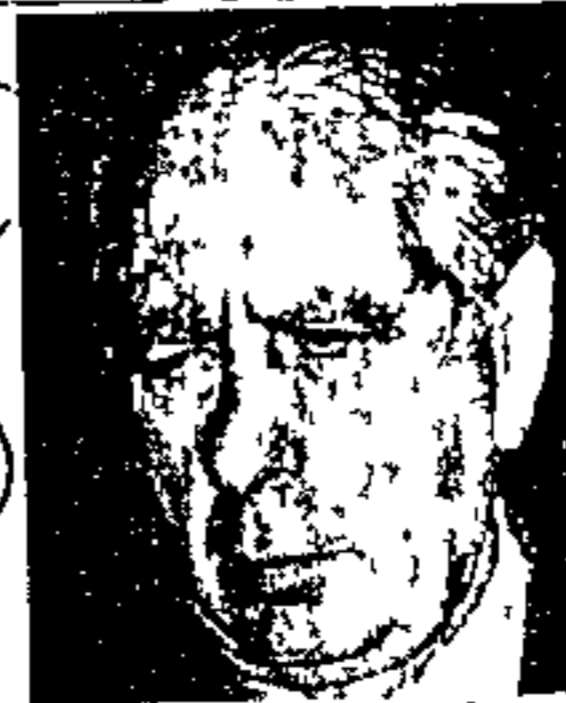
Heart

Mr J Combrink, SC, for the Minister of Law and Order, said the rationale behind the Full Bench judgment invalidating Sections 3 (1) and 3 (3) of the emergency regulations ran right through to the heart of those being challenged in Maritzburg.

Mr Justice Leon said that in order to be fair to both parties, he would allow Mr Kentridge to proceed with his argument and then adjourn the application until August 18 and 19

The hearing was adjourned until today when Mr Kentridge will proceed with his argument — Sapa.

Kentridge blasts regulations 7-12 in Press application



Mr Sydney Kentridge

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Emergency regulation 11 went beyond the pale by allowing any commissioned officer to seize a newspaper if in his opinion it contained a subversive statement, it was argued in the Maritzburg Supreme Court yesterday

Mr Sydney Kentridge said it was bad enough when the seizure of a publication was left to the Minister, but the mind boggled when one considered that even a National Serviceman who received a commission after a year had these enormous powers

He said this before a Full Bench of judges who are hearing an urgent joint application by the Argus Company and South African Associated Newspapers against the State President. They are asking for an order declaring emergency regulations 7-12 void and

without force and effect in law

The Full Bench consists of Mr Justice Leon, Mr Justice Kurnleben and Mr Justice Nienaber

Mr Kentridge, who appears for the newspaper groups, said regulation 11 was riddled with vice

He said newspapers ran the risk of committing a serious offence, not by publishing what could be objectively defined as a subversive statement, but what the Minister of Law and Order considered to be one

Mr Kentridge argued that the Minister might act in good faith, but he might regard as subversive a statement which no court would regard as such

One could not get a court interdict because the Minister's opinion could not be substituted by another

Mr Kentridge said regulation 11 was so gratuitously oppressive that it could never have been contemplated by Parliament

"The idea that one can seize a whole publication, which amounts to a fine of hundreds of thousands, if not millions of rands, simply on the opinion of a Minister cannot commend itself to any reasonable man"

Mr Kentridge said it was something that interfered with a common law right and was also bad because it left it to the discretion of an official

Dealing with section 10, which makes it a criminal offence to make, disseminate or possess a subversive statement, Mr Kentridge argued that Parliament could never have intended the regulation to go as far as it did

He said it went too far because it meant that it was now an offence to possess statements which were lawful before the regulations were made and had been acquired and disseminated lawfully

Mr Kentridge said this was of extreme importance to newspapers because they had libraries and archives which no doubt now contained subversive material

He said this went too far, particularly as the state of emergency was supposed to be temporary and newspapers could not be expected to strip their libraries and burn the offending material

Mr Kentridge said newspapers also received letters, reports from journalists and other unsolicited material, some of which might even have come by telex

He said even if an editor decided a report was subversive and did not publish it, he had still had it in his possession

Regulation 9, which forbade the taking of photographs, films and graphic representations of police conduct, was breathtaking in its scope, Mr Kentridge argued. He said this was because the regulation was not limited in terms of time and place. This meant that material taken one or 20 years ago fell within the restrictions placed by regulation 9 and even included pictures from overseas

The application was adjourned to August 18

IN THE COURTS

Press is 'oppressed'

SOME of the emergency regulations affecting the Press were "oppressive" and interfered with the common law rights of the individual, a full Bench of the Maritzburg Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Sydney Kentridge, QC, appearing for the English language newspaper groups which are challenging six of the emergency regulations relating to the Press, said this during his legal argument.

He said the regulations went beyond the powers of the State President, could not have been envisaged by Parliament and were so wide that they could not commend themselves to any reasonable man.

Kentridge was arguing before Mr Justice Leon, Mr Justice Nienaber and Mr Justice Kumleben on behalf of Natal Newspapers, the

Own Correspondent

Natal Witness, Argus Printing and Publishing and South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN). They have brought the application against State President P W Botha, the SA Government, the Law and Order Minister and the Commissioner of Police.

Referring to Regulation 7 which gives the commissioner or his delegate the power to make orders relating to comment on or news connected with any conduct of any member of a force, Kentridge said the section was vague and amounted to a total blackout of news involving say, the police, whether favourable or not.

He said Regulation 9 dealing with the taking or publication of photographs of public disturbances, riots, assaults or killings or

any conduct of any member of a force "with regard to the maintenance of the safety of the public or public order or for the termination of the state of emergency", could include normal news events.

It was "totally oppressive" and was not limited to time or place.

Kentridge said he challenged only one part of Regulation 10 which prohibits not only the making or dissemination of a subversive statement, but its possession.

He said Regulation 11, which allows for the seizure of any newspaper if the Law and Order Minister, or any commissioned officer, thought that it contained a subversive statement, was "riddled with vice".

It could lead to the complete closure of any newspaper which stood to lose hundreds of thousands of rands — "if not millions".

Powers amount to 'blackout of news'

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

SOME of the emergency regulations affecting the Press were described yesterday as 'oppressive' and interfering with the common law rights of the individual

This was said during legal argument before a Full Bench of the Supreme Court here
Mr Sydney Kentridge QC, appearing for the English language newspaper groups which are challeng-

ing six of the emergency regulations relating to the Press, submitted that the regulations went beyond the powers of the State President, could not have been envisaged by Parliament and were so wide that they could not comment themselves to any reasonable man

Blackout

Mr Kentridge was arguing before Mr Justice Leon, Mr Justice Nienaber and Mr Justice Kumbleben on behalf of Natal Newspapers, the Natal Witness, Argus Printing and Pub-

lishing and South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN), who have brought the application against President Botha, the Government, the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of the South African Police

Referring to Regulation 7 which gives the commissioner or his delegate power to make orders relating to comment on or news connected with any conduct of a force, Mr Kentridge said the section was vague and amounted to a total blackout of news involving say, the police, whether favour-

able or not.

He said Regulation 9 dealing with the taking or publication of photographs of public disturbances, riots, assaults or killings or any conduct of any member of a force 'with regard to the maintenance of the safety of the public or public order or for the termination of the state of emergency', could include normal news events

Mr Kentridge described this regulation as 'totally oppressive' and said it was not limited even to time or place
He said for example, it

could prohibit the taking or publication of a photograph of a public disturbance at a football match 'In this instance the Press, whose duty it is to inform the public, would not be able to take photographs'

Archives

He submitted that this went well beyond the question of the state of emergency and the powers of the State President and said it constituted 'such oppressive interference with the rights of the public that it can have no justification in the minds of right-thinking

men'
Mr Kentridge said he challenged only one part of Regulation 10 which prohibits not only the making or dissemination of a subversive statement, but its possession

Mr Kentridge said all newspapers possessed libraries and archives which contained records and old copies of newspapers which no doubt contained statements by, for example, trade unions calling for strikes or boycotts, which would now be regarded as subversive but which were made legally at the time

He again referred to Regulation 11 which allows for the seizure of any newspaper if the Minister of Law and Order or any commissioned officer, were of the opinion that it contained a subversive statement.

Mr Kentridge said this regulation was 'riddled with vice' and could lead to the complete closure of any newspaper which stood to lose hundreds of thousands of rands 'if not millions' including the loss of advertising revenue
The hearing was adjourned until Monday, August 18

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Newspaper group fined R300 for Tambo report

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — An admission of guilt fine of R300 has been paid by South African Associated Newspapers (Saan) — the owner of the Cape Times — for the publication of quotes of the president of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr Oliver Tambo

But Saan's board of directors said it still

believed that "the public has a right to know and it is important that South Africans be aware of the policies of the ANC and what is said by its leaders

"Without adequate information informed judgments cannot be made," the board said in a statement released yesterday

The editor of the Cape Times, Mr Tony Heard, was originally

charged with contravening the Internal Security Act by quoting Mr Tambo in an account of an interview with him in London. This was published on November 4 last year

After several postponements, the charge — for which imprisonment is the only punishment — was withdrawn and the company was issued with a summons

Newspapers: why it is an up-and-down circulation situation

By Jo-Ann Richards

Most English and black-readership newspapers in Johannesburg have risen steadily in circulation during the past two years, while Afrikaans newspapers have nosedived

Analysts point to a number of factors which have affected newspaper circulation — the death of competitor newspapers, TV, free-sheets, price, the economic and political situation in the country — but not all newspapers were hit in quite the same way

Circulation of existing English newspapers has definitely been helped by the disappearance of the *Rand Daily Mail* — noticeably in the case of *The Citizen*. Research by Marketing and Media Research shows that 22 percent of white *Mail* readers and six percent of its black readers moved to *The Citizen*

But a large number of these black readers could buy the newspaper only twice a week for the racing coverage, according to MMR

MAIL READERS

The Star gained 11 percent of white and five percent of black *Mail* readers, while *Business Day* gained 23 percent of white *Mail* readers. The black readership newspapers, *Sowetan* and *City Press*, gained nine percent and three percent of black *Mail* readers respectively

English newspapers have finally been making a comeback since the advent of TV, according to Professor Gavin Stewart, head of the Department of Journalism at Rhodes University

They appeared, particularly in the case of *The Star* and the *Weekly Mail*, to be giving readers more than they could get from TV — meaning they provided value for money

Business Day has steadily, but not dramatically, been rising in circulation since it started last year. According to Professor Stewart, it was still in the process of finding a readership, but it "appeared to be moving slowly"

The decline of Afrikaans newspapers must be qualified by the fact that *Beeld's* six-monthly circulation figures — after falling steadily since 1984 — showed a rise for the January to June 1986 period

But, according to Professor Stewart, their general nosedive had much to do with TV. Research was being done on this, but "tentatively, I would think they are not providing more than people can get from TV", he said

Afrikaans readers could also have been more affected by unemployment and the recession than English readers

Another reason for their drop, according to MMR, was the advent of

free-sheets. While free-sheets complemented *The Star's* main circulation areas, they reached every home in precisely those areas where the readership of Afrikaans newspapers was highest

"They're mostly bilingual and have great parochial interest — all over the world it's been shown people enjoy reading matters of parochial interest," said the managing director of MMR, Mrs Jocelyn Kuper

Black readership newspapers such as *Sowetan* and *City Press* have been growing by leaps and bounds — but this is not a new trend. "The black press has had a massive growth in the black community that goes back beyond 1975," Professor Stewart, said

And, the political situation in the country for the past two years had created a favourable climate for informative newspapers, Professor Stewart said, citing *The Star* and *Weekly Mail*

The *Weekly Mail's* circulation jumped from 8 635 for the last six months of 1985 to 13 598 for the first six months of 1986. However, the *Weekly Mail* was still in the process of finding readers and its circulation had not levelled off, he said

The slight decline of the *Sunday Times* in the past year appeared to mean *The Sunday Star* had been cutting in on their circulation, Professor Stewart said

UPPER BRACKETS

According to MMR, research had shown that, although there was duplication of readership, upper income brackets saw *The Sunday Star* as "an intelligent, informative read". The *Sunday Times*, with its image of an exciting, entertaining read, was more likely to be seen as "distasteful, cheap and sensational" than *The Sunday Star*

Of course, newspaper circulation is also affected by mundane details such as whether it is too rainy for John Citizen to walk to the shop for his evening paper. This could account for a strange dip in the six-monthly circulation figure for the *Sowetan* — which otherwise has shown a consistent rise — at the start of 1985

Most of their sales occur on the street. And those months were unusually rainy

And of course, there is the price

At the end of 1984, most English and Afrikaans newspapers dropped in circulation. A general price rise has been cited for this, plus the fact that newspapers became very cost-conscious and cut down distribution that was not cost-effective.

CAPE Times 14/11/86
**Tambo quotes:
SAAN pays R300**

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — An admission of guilt fine of R300 has been paid by SAAN — owner of the Cape Times — for the publication of quotations of the president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo

But the board of directors of South African Associated Newspapers still firmly believes that "the public has a right to know and it is important that South Africans be aware of the policies of the ANC and what is said by its leaders"

"Without adequate information, informed judgements cannot be made," it said in a statement yesterday.

The Editor of the Cape

Times, Mr A H Heard, was originally charged with contravening the Internal Security Act by quoting Mr Tambo in an account of an interview with him in London This was published on November 4 last year

After several postponements, the charge, for which imprisonment is the only punishment, was withdrawn and the company was issued with a summons.

The SAAN statement said

The Cape Times, on November 4, 1985, published an account of an interview which the president of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, gave to its

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To page 2



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CAPE Times 14/11/86
A From page 1
The board of directors decided that the company should pay the fine rather than contest the matter

editor, Mr A H Heard, in London

In terms of legislation at present in force, Mr Tambo is one of a number of people whose statements and utterances may not, without permission of the minister, be quoted by anyone

Mr Heard was arrested in his office and brought before the magistrate in Cape Town on a charge of contravening a provision of the Internal Security Act for which imprisonment is the only permissible punishment.

After a number of postponements, over many months, the charge against Mr Heard was withdrawn by the Attorney-General

The company then received a summons alleging that it was responsible for the offence under the Internal Security Act An admission of guilt fine of R300 was fixed

Portions of what Mr Tambo was quoted by the Cape Times as saying have already been published, in one form or another, in South Africa

Only recently, the government itself issued a brochure containing a selection of quotations from statements of leaders of the ANC But neither the reader of the government's brochure nor the ordinary informed member of the South African public can establish, from the actual sources readily available in South Africa, exactly what is being said by the ANC and its leaders

The board holds fast to the view that the public has a right to know and it is important that South Africans be aware of the policies of the ANC and what is said by its leaders Without adequate information informed judgements cannot be made.

The demise of the *Rand Daily Mail* left a vacuum in the newspaper market in Johannesburg, which no other newspaper has managed to fill.

As many as 45 percent of white and 78 percent of black Mail readers did not replace it with any other newspaper, according to a study conducted by Marketing and Media Research about six months after the demise of the Mail.

This, however, does not necessarily mean these people are not reading a newspaper at all. There was always a considerable overlap in readership between the *Mail* and *The Star*.

The major reason given for not

RDM can't be replaced

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replacing the newspaper was there was no satisfactory morning replacement, according to the study. "The others are seen as bad quality and not up to standard"

Twenty-three percent of white readers replaced the *Mail* with *Business Day*. Twenty-two percent of white readers and six percent of black readers have moved to *The Citizen*.

While *Business Day* readers were reasonably satisfied with the business news reporting, nearly half its readers gave the paper a low score

in the category: "*Business Day* as a newspaper which suits your needs".

"This, together with previous research, confirms our finding that *Business Day* is not generally satisfying reader needs," the study concludes.

One-third of whites who chose *The Citizen* as a replacement did so "because it was the only replacement available"

According to the study, the most frequent reasons given were "the office subscribers", "someone else buys" or "*Business Day* doesn't suit

my needs". Most reasons were not positively directed at *The Citizen*.

While giving a high rating to the sports coverage and the horse racing section, readers rated other topics low, particularly "the extent to which I agree with political stance".

Speculation at the time of the *Mail's* closure was that *The Star* might try to fill the gap by opening a morning newspaper.

But the managing director of the Argus group, Mr Peter McLean, said this did not make business sense. It

was expensive to operate around the clock and *The Star* was "doing very well in its traditional market".

"But there is undoubtedly a gap in the market," he added.

He said *The Star's* failure to move into the morning market at the time had nothing to do with the criticism from some sources that it had "killed the *Mail*".

"Well, we don't believe *The Star* killed the *Mail*. So that was not the reason at all," he said.

According to Professor Gavin Stewart, head of the Department of Journalism at Rhodes University, the *Weekly Mail* is probably seen as a "news replacement for the *Rand Daily Mail* in some aspects".

Tambo interview; SAAN fined

46605 15/11/70
THE board of directors of South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN), owners of the Cape Times, has paid a R300 admission-of-guilt fine for publishing an interview with African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

But the board staunchly defends its belief that South Africans should be aware of ANC policies.

"The board holds fast to the view that the public has a right to know and it is important that South Africans be aware of the policies of the ANC and what is said by its leaders. Without adequate information in-

formed judgments cannot be made,
SAAN said in a statement.

Cape Times editor Mr A H Heard was originally charged with contravening the Internal Security Act by quoting Mr Tambo after an interview in London. The interview was published on November 4 last year.

After several postponements the charge, for which imprisonment is the only punishment, was withdrawn and the company summonsed.

The board of directors decided the company should pay the fine rather than contest the matter. — Sapa

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UPA NIM 15/8/18

SAAN pays R300 fine for Tambo interview

CAPE TOWN—The board of directors of SAAN, owners of the Cape Times, has paid a R300 admission of guilt fine for publishing an interview with the ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, but has staunchly defended its belief that South Africans should be aware of the policies of the ANC

The editor of the Cape Times, Mr A H Heard, was originally charged with contravening the Internal Security Act by quoting Mr Tambo after an interview in London. The charge was later withdrawn and the company was issued with a summons.

The board of directors decided that the company should pay the fine rather than contest the matter.

SAAN pointed out that the Government itself had recently issued a brochure containing a selection of quotations from statements by leaders of the ANC. — (Sapa)

ABC CIRCULATION FIGURES

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Dailies	Average sales Jan/Jun 86	Average % change Jul/Dec 85	Average % change Jan/Jun 85
The Argus	97 603	0,8	-2,7
Beeld	92 503	4,7	-1,6
Die Burger	71 584	0,8	-5,7
Business Day	27 955	7,0	—
Cape Times	60 918	-5,1	-7,2
The Citizen	110 746	5,2	29,6
Daily Dispatch	32 707	-2,6	-1,9
The Daily News	89 757	1,9	-1,4
Diamond Flds Adv	7 194	0,1	-6,5
EP Herald	28 051	-4,1	-10,6
Evening Post	21 109	-9,2	-13,5
The Natal Mercury	61 463	-1,9	-3,9
The Natal Witness	25 688	1,8	-0,2
Oosterlig	9 513	-1,0	-6,0
Pretoria News	25 982	5,4	-2,3
Sowetan	117 447	2,5	5,5
The Star	201 426	5,3	7,3
Die Transvaler	18 403	-5,9	-6,1
Die Vaderland	35 520	-6,6	-15,9
Die Volksblad	24 048	4,1	-10,2
Weeklies			
Argus	119 146	4,2	0,8
Beeld	80 995	3,2	0,8
Die Burger	82 520	0,3	-3,2
Cape Times	75 258	-4,8	-5,4
The Citizen	81 894	4,0	26,3
City Press	162 084	5,0	26,9
EP Herald	25 752	-1,9	-7,5
The Daily News	60 002	0,8	5,5
Post Natal	31 696	-4,0	-10,1
Pretoria News	16 903	5,4	2,4
Rapport	393 922	-1,7	-3,5
The Sunrise Star	156 365	6,9	15,3
The Sunday Star	98 180	3,1	4,8
Sunday Times	489 750	-0,4	-0,5
Sunday Tribune	120 850	1,9	-1,9
Die Volksblad	16 891	1,3	-8,2
Weekend Post	43 496	-2,6	-5,8
Newspapers — Bi-weekly			
Ilanga	112 480	3,1	-1,4
Periodicals — Weekly			
Family Radio and TV	118 481	2,6	0,4
Farmers Weekly	27 619	-8,3	-16,7
Financial Mail	32 106	-2,1	4,1
Finance Week	n/a	n/a	n/a
Huisgenoot	472 599	4,1	5,1
Finansies & Tegniek	9 903	10,9	-11,2
Keur	160 602	9,4	10,9
Landbouweekblad	66 190	-2,3	-4,3
Scope	79 320	-11,6	-19,1
The Weekly Mail	13 598	57,5	131,0
Periodicals — Fortnightly			
Fair Lady	175 832	-2,3	-3,4
Femina	104 688	0,5	0,6
Rooi Rose	162 441	-5,2	-11,5
Sarie Marais	158 112	-3,3	-8,8
Periodicals — Monthly			
Bona	230 150	-5,6	-17,3
Car	116 654	2,3	-0,6
Cosmopolitan	118 465	2,9	0,01
Drum	119 746	6,2	-12,1
SA Garden & Home	129 508	-6,5	-6,2
Living & Loving	125 514	-7,2	-6,6
Pace	132 799	6,4	-12,6
Reader's Digest	380 796	-7,2	-14,9
Style	55 359	5,0	-7,9
Thandi	28 754	-46,4	—
True Love and Family	91 119	-1,8	-10,3
Woman's Value	218 517	5,0	-0,3
Your Family	260 588	4,3	9,2

Editor defends right on names

PIETERMARITZBURG
 — The editor of the Natal Witness, Mr Richard Steyn, yesterday defended his right to publish the names of detainees.

tioned yesterday by the police about the publication in Wednesday's Witness of the names of certain detainees.

Other newspapers in the country have published the names of thousands of detainees.

Legal opinion obtained by them is that they are legally entitled to publish the names of detainees because of assurances from two cabinet ministers that next-of-kin are always informed when anyone is detained.

A short statement from Mr Steyn said "In a statement to the SAP today the editor of the Natal Witness, Mr Richard Steyn, defended his right to publish the names of detainees whose identities had been disclosed by the Minister (of Law and Order) to their next of kin.

"Mr Steyn said that he saw no need to obtain authorisation for purposes of publication"

Legal advice was that this constituted official disclosure in terms of the emergency regulations — Sapa

Mr Steyn was ques-

DD 16/8/81
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Activity	Time
Plenary: Presentation of first drafts of working group reports.	5,30 - 7,00 pm
Drinks and supper.	7,00 - 8,00 pm
Addresses in Plenary.	8,00 - 10,00 pm
Late night movie: Film Festival.	10,00 - 11,00 pm
WEDNESDAY APRIL 18.	
Coffee and Croissants.	8,00 - 8,45 am
Final drafting of working group reports.	8,45 - 1,00 pm
Lunch.	1,00 - 2,00 pm
Films, videos, slide-tape shows.	2,00 - 4,30 pm
Tea.	4,30 - 5,15 pm
Plenary discussion on future directions.	5,15 - 6,30 pm
Free.	6,30 onwards
THURSDAY APRIL 19.	
Coffee and Croissants.	8,00 - 8,45 am
Plenary presentation of working group reports.	8,45 - 10,45 am
Tea.	10,45 - 11,15 am
Plenary session and conference report.	11,15 - 1,00 pm
Lunch.	1,00 - 2,00 pm
Plenary discussion and critique of the conference.	2,00 - 3,30 pm
Tea.	3,30 - 4,00 pm
Final Plenary session: "Where do we go from here?"	4,00 - 5,30 pm
Conference Assessment.	5,30 - 7,30 pm
Closing reception.	6,00 - 7,30 pm

New bid to ease curbs on media

CAPE TOWN — Two key laws curbing the free flow of information have been discussed with the Home Affairs Minister, Mr Stoffel Botha, the Media Council disclosed today

And in another development which directly concerns what the public can be told, an urgent action brought jointly by South Africa's major English language newspaper groups resumed before a full Bench in the Maritzburg Supreme Court today

The Argus Company, SA Associated Newspapers, Natal Newspapers and the Natal Witness are challenging six provisions of the emergency regulations which inhibit reporting.

In Cape Town the SA Media Council executive has approved a recommendation by its Free Flow of Information Committee that representations be made to the Government on restrictive clauses in two laws.

These are Sections 27 (b) of the Police Act and Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act

At today's Media Council meeting the committee reported that representations were made to Mr Botha, who undertook to discuss the matter with the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, and to arrange a meeting between the council and both Ministers.

Section 27 (b) of the Police Act makes it a crime to publish reports on police action which cannot be proved by the publisher

Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act empowers a magistrate, on request by a prosecutor, to summon to court any person who might have information on an alleged crime.

Representations were also made to Mr Botha on Section 15 of the Internal Security Act of 1982, which authorises the Minister of Law and Order to ask for a deposit of R40 000 for the registration of a newspaper.

The chairman of the Media Council's executive, Mr L De V van Winsen, told the meeting today he would in future refuse to attend confidential meetings with the Government unless he were set at liberty to discuss with his colleagues and with editors matters of direct concern to them

The convenor of the Conference of Editors, Mr Ed Linnington, had queried the propriety of such meetings. — Sapa

As has been stated elsewhere, by the late 1970's and early 1980's the DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT had acquired substantial pieces of land in M... initiate the devel... this end were formu... (1) to h... small... and... (2) to... neig... Jonge... In 1982, according... water-supply were... of an initial 80... completed.59; it... semi-detached ty... THE SAMPLE

This is the area of Melkhoufontein in which we have been most interested; the socio-economic characteristics of the area and its population are discussed more fully under the sections which follow. Only brief comments about its development will be made here. Part Two of this paper has already laid the background of the area's development.

MEIKHOUFONTEIN LOCATION

Rationalisation helps newspapers survive

AKG
18/10/86

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Staff Reporter

FINANCIAL problems facing newspapers and the free flow of information were outlined in two reports before the sixth meeting of the South African Media Council in Cape Town today

Financial problems had led to rationalisations in the industry and this had enhanced survival prospects of several newspapers, according to a report from the council's monopolistic trends committee

The committee reported it was convinced the merger into Natal Newspapers of the Durban branch of The Argus Company and the newspaper interests of Robinson and Company, publishers of the Natal Mercury, would not result in a monopoly of news and views.

However, it was essential to prevent the demise of the Natal Mercury, the real possibility of a monopoly in Natal by the Daily News and extensive loss of employment

The committee intervened in the Argus/South African Associated Newspapers rationalisation moves at a time when there was much uncertainty among staff members

Feelings in Cape Town were running high and there was considerable speculation about the future of the Cape Times

When sufficient information was available, the committee was satisfied the arrangements offered convincing assurances that the survival prospects of The Argus and Cape Times would be enhanced, but warned against the possibility that joint operations could jeopardise the newspapers' individual identities.

Information flow

The committee was also concerned about the problem of small country newspapers being squeezed out of existence by the major groups, the "knock-and-drop" Press and the expansion of radio services

Other threats identified by the committee were the double imposition of GST — on advertisements and the cover price of newspapers — competition from the SABC and the rising cost of newsprint.

The free flow of information committee reported that representations had been made to the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, about the hampering of the free flow of information by both Sections 27 (b) of the Police Act and 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act

According to Section 27 (b) of the Police Act, it is a crime for a newspaper to publish reports on police action which cannot be proved true

Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act empowers a magistrate, on request from a prosecutor, to summons to court any person who might have information on a crime. Refusal is a punishable offence

Mr Botha undertook to discuss the matter with the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, and to arrange an interview with both Ministers

Cape Times 1/1/72
Journalist in London

Staff Reporter *243*

A CAPE TIMES journalist, Ms Chris Steyn, who has been subpoenaed by a Johannesburg magistrate to answer questions in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act, is in London, the Cape Times has confirmed.

Ms Steyn is due to appear in court this Thursday to answer questions relating to an alleged contravention of Section 27 (b) of the Police Act by three men, one of whom she interviewed in June last year while a reporter on the Johannesburg Star.

DD 19/8/86 (243)

Media group told not to neglect authorities

CAPE TOWN — The South African Media Council should be more "pro-active" than "re-active" the executive director of Assocom, Mr Raymond Parsons, told the sixth meeting of the council here yesterday

The council adopted a motion by Mr Parsons "that in formulating any action from the Media Council in response to actual or likely developments affecting the freedom of the Media in South Africa, the chairman and the executive committee of the council should also not neglect the possibilities of negotiation with the relevant authorities as a means of influencing the situation."

The Managing Director of the Argus Group, Mr Peter Mclean, who serves on the Monopol-

istic Trends Committee, reported on the Argus/SAAN rationalisation and said editorial response from the Cape Times has been "very positive"

He said the Cape Times faced "certain closure" — and the rationalisation had given the paper a new lease on life.

The managing director of Nasional Pers and chairman of M-Net, Mr Ton Vosloo, said the time was ripe for the formation of a Federal Communications Committee to look into all aspects of licensing, advertising and programmes

He submitted a written motion on the relationship between M-Net and the SABC, which will be studied by a Media Council committee, who could issue a statement at a later stage should they deem it necessary.

Mr Vosloo submitted that the print media should have access to the electronic media without unfair curbs on its ability to maintain viability.

The Media Council committee should also examine the needs and wishes of black viewers who have lost TV-time on TV 2 and TV 3 with the announcement by the SABC that TV 4's air time will be expanded with a slot from 6-7 pm.

The next meeting of the council will be held on Aug 17 next year. — Sapa

See also P14

Mswati

**Dogs
kill
30 ewes**

Press has no benefit of a trial — QC

CA 11/78
19/8/86
243

DURBAN — The real vice of emergency regulation 11 was that an editor had no way of knowing what, in the opinion of the Minister of Law and Order, constituted a subversive statement, it

was argued before a Full Bench in the Maritzburg Supreme Court yesterday.

The argument was heard during an urgent application by the major English-language press

groups in South Africa, challenging six of the emergency regulations.

The Argus Company, South African Associated Newspapers, Natal Newspapers and the Natal Witness have brought the application before the acting Deputy Judge President, Mr Justice R N Leon, Mr Justice M E Kumleben and Mr Justice P M Nienaber.

The application asks that regulations 7 to 12 be declared void. The application has been made on the grounds that in making the emergency regulations, the State President exceeded the powers conferred on him by the Public Safety Act.

Regulation 11 authorizes the minister or a commissioned officer to seize a publication which in their opinion contains a subversive statement or information which they consider may be detrimental to public safety, the maintenance of public order or the termination of the state of emergency.

Mr S Kentridge, QC, for the newspaper groups, argued that the real problem with emergency regulations 11 and 12 was that they punished a person by confiscation and an enormous fine without the benefit of a trial.

He said that regulation 11 allowed the minister, or a commissioned officer authorized by him, to seize a publication if, in their opinion, it contained a subversive statement even if, objectively viewed, the statement was not subversive or would not be found so by a court.

He said there was not only uncertainty over what would be subversive in the minister's opinion but also who was to say what would be detrimental to public order.

He said in a sense the whole of political debate in any country was detrimental to the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order.

Mr Kentridge said if one guessed wrongly what the minister's opinion was of a statement or anything one published in a newspaper, the punishment for guessing wrongly was inordinate.

Mr Kentridge said regulation 12 was marginally better than 11 because there was no reference to information that might be detrimental to the safety of the public.

Telexed orders

He said it was more drastic in that it allowed the minister to apply the seizure to any or all publications published by a person if he was satisfied that one issue of the newspaper, for example, contained what he thought was a subversive statement.

Mr Kentridge argued that the Commissioner of Police had not adhered to regulation 8 when he issued orders relating to the press by telex through the South African Press Association.

He said regulation 8, which dealt with promulgation of orders under the emergency, was ultra vires, but added that even if it were in order, the commissioner had not followed the regulation because it did not provide for promulgation by telex as he had done.

Mr Kentridge was referring to two orders made by the Commissioner of Police relating to the press.

The hearing continues today. — Sapa

Check foreign network, Media Council advised

Staff Reporter

FOREIGN publications should also fall within the scope of the Media Council, it was proposed at the council's sixth meeting.

These would include magazines like Time and Newsweek, both widely distributed in South Africa.

The council was yesterday discussing the report of its "19 committee", set up to report on specific instances of public importance affecting the good conduct and repute of the media — as in Section 1.9 of its constitution

Not NPU members

Professor S A Strauss, an executive committee member, suggested that many foreign publications distributed in South Africa could be considered by the committee.

This was justified in terms of one of the council's objectives, which was "to consider and inquire into reports in media which are not members of the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) and have not voluntarily become subject to the council's jurisdiction where issues of

public importance are involved", he said

"Many newspapers and television networks have representatives here and their news is distributed here and overseas. This committee should have a look at these"

The council also discussed steps by which it could become more influential in matters affecting the free flow of information

It unanimously passed a resolution that "in formulating

any action from the Media Council in response to actual or likely developments affecting the freedom of the media in South Africa, the chairman and executive committee of the council should also not neglect the possibilities of negotiation with the authorities as a means of influencing the situation"

The question of the relationship between the print media and electronic media, including radio, was held over for further investigation

Man pleads not guilty to dogs cruelty charge

Court Reporter

A BOTHASIG man has pleaded not guilty in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court to cruelty to two Doberman dogs

Mr Antonio Gois, 42, of Van Breugel Street, was charged yesterday with starving or under-feeding the dogs

He was also charged with confining, chaining, tethering or securing them in conditions causing unnecessary suffering in a place with inadequate

space, ventilation, light, protection or shelter from heat, cold or weather.

Mr P Venter, for Mr Gois, said his client admitted he was the owner of the dogs and kept them at his address, but denied all the other accusations in the charges

The hearing was postponed to September 23 and Mr Gois was warned to appear

Mr M J Tolken was on the Bench and Mr Christopher Gavin appeared for the State

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243 (3) ~~243~~ Eve Post
19/8/86**

Uncertainty over what is 'subversive'

DURBAN — The real vice of emergency regulation 11 was that an editor had no way of knowing what in the opinion of the Minister of Law and Order constituted a subversive statement, it was argued before a full Bench in the Maritzburg Supreme Court yesterday.

The argument was heard during an urgent application by the major English-language Press groups in South Africa, challenging six of the emergency regulations which have placed severe restrictions on the media

The Argus Company, South African Associated Newspapers, Natal Newspapers and the Natal Witness have brought the application before the acting Deputy Judge President, Mr Justice Leon, Mr Justice Kumleben and Mr Justice Nienaber. The application attacks regulations 7 to 12 and asks that they be declared void and without force and effect in law.

The application has been made on the grounds that in making the emergency regulations, the State President exceeded

the powers conferred on him by Section 3(1) (a) of the Public Safety Act No 3 of 1953

Regulation 11 authorises the Minister or a commissioned officer to seize a publication which in their opinion contained a subversive statement or information which they consider may be detrimental to public safety, the maintenance of public order or the termination of the state of emergency.

Mr S Kentridge, SC, QC, for the newspaper groups, argued that the real problem with emergency regulations 11 and 12 was that they punished a person by confiscation and an enormous fine without the benefit of a trial.

He said regulation 11 allowed the Minister or a commissioned officer authorised by him to seize a publication if, in their opinion, it contained a subversive statement even if, objectively viewed, the statement was not subversive or would not be found so by a court.

The case continues — Sapa

DD 19/8/86 (243)

Media group told not to neglect authorities

CAPE TOWN — The South African Media Council should be more "pro-active" than "re-active" the executive director of Assocom, Mr Raymond Parsons, told the sixth meeting of the council here yesterday

The council adopted a motion by Mr Parsons "that in formulating any action from the Media Council in response to actual or likely developments affecting the freedom of the Media in South Africa, the chairman and the executive committee of the council should also not neglect the possibilities of negotiation with the relevant authorities as a means of influencing the situation"

The Managing Director of the Argus Group, Mr Peter Mclean, who serves on the Monopol-

istic Trends Committee, reported on the Argus/SAAN rationalisation and said editorial response from the Cape Times has been "very positive"

He said the Cape Times faced "certain closure" — and the rationalisation had given the paper a new lease on life

The managing director of Nasional Pers and chairman of M-Net, Mr Ton Vosloo, said the time was ripe for the formation of a Federal Communications Committee to look into all aspects of licensing, advertising and programmes

He submitted a written motion on the relationship between M-Net and the SABC, which will be studied by a Media Council committee, who could issue a statement at a later stage should they deem it necessary

Mr Vosloo submitted that the print media should have access to the electronic media without unfair curbs on its ability to maintain viability

The Media Council committee should also examine the needs and wishes of black viewers who have lost TV-time on TV 2 and TV 3 with the announcement by the SABC that TV 4's air time will be expanded with a slot from 6-7 pm

The next meeting of the council will be held on Aug 17 next year. — Sapa

See also P14

Dogs kill 30 ewes

Mswati

year-old daughter

would not have helped

doesn't fit in with image she had previous

Opinion: editors at loss court told

DURBAN. — The real vice of Emergency Regulation 11 was that an editor had no way of knowing what in the opinion of the Minister of Law and Order constituted a subversive statement, it was argued before a full bench in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court yesterday

The argument was heard during an urgent application by the major English-language press groups in South Africa, challenging six of the emergency regulations which have placed severe restrictions on the media.

The Argus Company, South African Associated Newspapers, Natal Newspapers and the Natal Witness have brought the application before the acting Deputy Judge President, Mr Justice Leon, Mr Justice Kumleben, and Mr Justice Nienaber, attacking regulations 7 to 12 and asking that they be declared void and without force and effect in law

The application has been made on the grounds that in making the emergency regulations, the State President exceeded the powers conferred on him by Section 3(1) (a) of the Public Safety Act no 3 of 1953.

Regulation 11 authorises the minister or a commissioned officer to seize a publication which in their opinion contained a subversive statement or information which they consider may be detrimental to public safety, the maintenance of public order or the termination of the state of emergency

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Mr Kentridge said there was not only uncertainty over what would be subversive in the minister's opinion but also who was to say what would be detrimental to public order

Mr Kentridge said the Commissioner of Police had not adhered to Regulation 8 when he issued orders relating to the press by telex through the South African Press Association

He submitted Regulation 8 which dealt with promulgation of orders under the emergency was ultra vires

The hearing continues — Sapa

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SAMC still waiting for meeting with ministers

By RENEE MOODIE

THE South African Media Council's (SAMC) "Free Flow of Information" committee made representations early this year to Mr Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs, for the alleviation of the harsh effects of Section 27 (b) of the Police Act and Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

However, the sixth meeting of the SAMC heard yesterday that the committee was still waiting to hear from Mr Botha on an undertaking he gave to raise the matter with the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, and arrange an interview with both ministers.

The report of the committee, which was adopted by the SAMC, said that the two sections hampered the free flow of information.

Under Section 27 (b) of the Police Act it is a crime to publish untrue reports on police action unless there are reasonable grounds for believing the information to be true.

Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act empowers a magistrate, on request from a prosecutor, to summons to court any person who might have information on an alleged crime.

During the council's discussion of the report of its "Monopolies" committee, Mr Ton Vosloo, chairman of M-Net, called for the establishment of a commission which would look into the licensing conditions of electronic media in South Africa, and on which the print media would have representation.

Referring to rescheduling moves by the SABC in which TV4 programmes are to be

screened during the air time allocated to M-Net, Mr Vosloo said the SABC could not be allowed to be a law unto itself.

"Our licensing conditions contain conditions on hours we can broadcast but the SABC has no such limit. If this is allowed to go on, many more newspapers will be ruined.

"Our objection is that the SABC can do as it pleases whereas our hands are tied behind our back. They enjoy such a strong monopolistic hold that they can move into our agreed slot — this is highly undesirable," he said.

In earlier appeals to the government, Mr Vosloo had said the SABC changes amounted to the creation of an artificial channel to attract advertising revenue.

M-Net

The SAMC resolved that the relationship between M-Net and the SABC should be investigated by the "Monopolies" committee.

The council also decided that it would not adjudicate in disputes concerning political advertisements.

The council chairman, retired Appeal Court judge Mr Louis van Winsen, said that if the issue of judgements on political advertisements was to be taken under the council's wing, the council would have to draw up and apply specific standards applying to advertisements.

The discussion arose from a submission by attorneys to the Media Council of a complaint from the End Conscription Campaign against an advertisement in the Sunday Times, inserted by a student organization opposed to the ECC.

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Club Times

19/8/86

Press clamp acceptable in emergency, counsel argues

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

PRESS censorship in an emergency situation was acceptable, counsel for President Botha and the Government argued yesterday before a Full Bench of the Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg in an application by four newspaper groups attacking the validity of six emergency regulations affecting the Press.

Mr J Conradie, SC, said 'unhappily' the freedom of the Press and the free flow of news was always 'one of the first things to go' in a war or unrest situation to protect the public from 'dismay or despondency'

Mr Conradie submitted before Mr Justice Leon, Mr Justice Kumleben and Mr Justice Nienaber that prejudice to newspaper proprietors should not be set higher than prejudice to the individual in an emergency

Mr Conradie said many people were unfairly affected by measures taken in terms of emergency regulations and agreed that newspapers were among those and could well complain that the regulations were so wide that they did not know how to conduct their affairs properly

Prejudiced

This did not, however, mean that the regulations were grossly unreasonable, he submitted

'It may be that there are facts not before this Court which make it clear that the regulations must necessarily operate so harshly on newspapers for the maintenance of public order and safety overall'

He said newspapers might claim to be prejudiced because, for example, they were prohibited from publishing a photograph of the scene of a terrorist bomb explosion, but one of the aims of the emergency was to prevent the dismay and despondency which the publication of such a photograph could cause

Mr Conradie submitted that Mr Sidney Kentridge, QC, for the newspapers, sought out absurd examples on the basis of which to attack the regulations and submitted that when interpreting the meaning of regulations one should al-

ways first look for a 'sensible' interpretation and only if there wasn't one could the regulation be declared ultra vires

He referred to an example that even photographs of violence at a soccer match could be prohibited in terms of Regulation 9, and said it was clear this was not what the regulations intended

Mr Conradie agreed with a question by Mr Justice Leon that Regulation 10, which makes it an offence to possess a subversive statement, was an unqualified prohibition and covered even statements which could be found in the Supreme Court library Mr Conradie said, however, the regulation should be viewed in the light of the objects of the emergency

Referring to Regulation 11, which provides for the seizure of a publication if in the opinion of the minister or a commissioned officer it contained a subversive statement, Mr Conradie submitted that Parliament had given enormously wide powers to the President and could have countenanced such a regulation if, in his opinion, it was necessary

Similarly, he submitted, Regulation 12, which provides for the seizure, confiscation or banning of a publication if the Minister of Law and Order were of the opinion that it contains a subversive statement, was within the powers of the President

The hearing continues today with argument by Mr Jan Combrink, SC, for the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of the South African Police

The application has been brought by Natal Newspapers, the Natal Witness, Argus Printing and Publishing and South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN)

(243)

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Censorship is acceptable — SC

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Press censorship in an emergency situation was acceptable, counsel for the State President and the government, argued yesterday before a Full Bench of the Supreme Court in an application by four newspaper groups attacking the validity of six emergency regulations affecting the press

Mr J Conradie, SC, said "unhappily" the freedom of the press and the free inflow of news was always "one of the first things to go" in a war or unrest situation in order to protect the public from "dismay or despondency"

Mr Conradie submitted before Mr Justice Leon, Mr Justice Kumleben and Mr Justice Nienaber that prejudice to newspaper proprietors should not be set higher than prejudice to the individual in an emergency

Mr Conradie said many people were unfairly affected by measures taken in terms of emergency regulations. He agreed that newspapers were among those and could well complain that the regulations were so wide that they did not know how to conduct their affairs properly.

This did not, however, mean that the regulations were grossly unreasonable, he submitted

"It may be that there are facts not before this court which

make it clear that the regulations must necessarily operate so harshly on newspapers for the maintenance of public order and safety overall."

He said newspapers might claim to be prejudiced because, for example, they were prohibited from publishing a photograph of the scene of a terrorist bomb explosion, but one of the aims of the emergency was to prevent the dismay and despondency which the publication of such a photograph could cause

Soccer violence

Mr Conradie submitted that Mr Sidney Kentridge, QC, for the newspapers sought out absurd examples on the basis of which to attack the regulations and submitted that when interpreting the meaning of regulations one should always first look for a "sensible" interpretation and only if there wasn't one could the regulation be declared ultra vires

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qualified prohibition and covered even statements which could be found in the Supreme Court library. Mr Conradie said, however, the regulation should be viewed in the light of the objects of the emergency.

Referring to regulation 11 which provides for the seizure of a publication if in the opinion of the minister or a commissioned officer it contained a subversive statement, Mr Conradie submitted that Parliament had given enormously wide powers to the State President and could have countenanced such a regulation if, in the opinion of the State President, it was necessary.

Subversive statement

Similarly he submitted, regulation 12, which provides for the seizure, confiscation or banning of a publication if the Minister of Law and Order is of the opinion that it contains a subversive statement, was within the powers of the State President.

The hearing continues today with argument by Mr Jan Combrink, SC, for the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police

The application has been brought by Natal Newspapers, the Natal Witness, Argus Printing and Publishing and South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN)

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30/8/86

Court told censorship acceptable

**Dispatch Correspondent
PIETERMARITZBURG**
— Press censorship in an emergency situation was acceptable, counsel for the State President and the government argued yesterday before a Full Bench of the Supreme Court here in an application by four newspaper groups attacking the validity of six emergency regulations affecting the press.

Mr J. Conradie, SC,

said "unhappily" the freedom of the press and the free flow of news were always among "the first things to go" in a war or unrest situation in order to protect the public from "dismay or despondency".

Mr Conradie submitted before Mr Justice Leon, Mr Justice Kumleben and Mr Justice Niener that higher value should not be set on prejudice to newspaper proprietors than was set

on prejudice to the individual in an emergency

Mr Conradie said many people were unfairly affected by measures taken in terms of emergency regulations and agreed that newspapers were amongst those and that they could well complain that the regulations were so wide that they did not know how to conduct their affairs properly

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mean the regulations were grossly unreasonable

Mr Conradie submitted that Mr Sidney Kentridge, QC, for the newspapers, sought out absurd examples on the basis of which to attack the regulations and said when interpreting the meaning of regulations one should always look first for a "sensible" interpretation. Only if there wasn't one could the regulations be declared ultra vires

11/11/86 20/11/86
243 (243)
**Vosloo
meets Pik
on M-Net**

Political Staff

M-NET chairman and Nasionale Pers managing director, Mr Ton Vosloo, has urged the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, to reverse the SABC's decision to broadcast popular programmes on TV4 in the late afternoon.

A spokesman for Mr Vosloo's office confirmed yesterday that Mr Vosloo met with Mr Botha on Monday and that more meetings on the issue are foreseen.

Mr Botha's office declined to comment.

Mr Vosloo is regarded as having significant influence with the cabinet.

He has publicly slammed the SABC's Director-General, Mr Riaan Eksteen, for his unilateral decision to broadcast popular programmes during the time slot allocated to M-Net's first programmes.

He told the Media Council on Monday that the planned programmes will earn the SABC some R48 million, which represents five percent of the advertising "cake".

If things continue like this, he said, it could mean the end of even more newspapers. M-Net is a consortium of South Africa's newspaper groups.

State may make new rules to gag Press

21/8/76 SPAR
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Staff Reporters

The Government may issue new emergency regulations after Press freedom to report on unrest was restored yesterday in a dramatic development in the newspaper court case in Maritzburg.

Counsel for the State Mr J Combrink SC conceded in the Natal Supreme Court yesterday that two orders restricting Press unrest coverage had been improperly promulgated, and were invalid because they had simply been telexed to the South African Press Association (Sapa).

The court application by English-language newspaper groups challenged those emergency regulations which restricted the free flow of news.

Both orders were made under the emergency regulations by the Commissioner of Police, General Johann Coetzee.

The first order prohibited any person from disseminating any comment or news about the conduct of a member of the police or armed forces regarding the maintenance of public safety.

The second prohibited journalists from being present in any black residential area or any place where "an incident of unrest is occurring"

Both orders were promulgated simply by telexing them to Sapa. Regulation 8 of the emergency regulations set out how orders should be promulgated. Mr Combrink admitted the regulation made no provision for promulgating orders by telex, and therefore they had never been of any force.

The court must still decide on two issues which place severe curbs on the Press: regulation 9, which outlaws any photographs of unrest situations, and regulations 11 and 12, which empower the authorities to confiscate or ban newspapers

Johannesburg media lawyer Mr Peter Reynolds said Mr Combrink's concession rendered the two police orders immediately invalid until the defective promulgation was rectified

Township reports

"It is to be welcomed by all newspapers and journalists. Once again it shows there is still an element of Press freedom left in our country"

The result of the orders being invalid is that newspapers can once again freely publish comment and news on the conduct of the police and armed forces without the prior consent of the Commissioner of Police.

Mr Reynolds pointed out that Press reporting still remained subject to the Police Act.

The other aspect was that journalists could enter black townships and areas of unrest for purposes of reporting on disturbances.

But the position concerning television reporting and taking photographs of disturbances remains unchanged. That depends on the final court decision.

Legal academic Professor John Dugard said. "It is in line with the general failure of the police during the state of emergency to act in accordance with the law. There have been cases where the authorities have acted irregularly or exceeded their powers in the present state of emergency that one can draw the inference that the police have too little regard for the law"

Press ban invalid

First press reports on unrest

9/6 Tim

2/18/86

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Staff Reporters

FOR the first time since June 16, newspapers can now publish details of South African Police, Prisons Service, Railways Police and South African Defence Force actions carried out during the state of emergency.

They include long-term roadblocks, raids on shops, schools, mourners and activists, press lock-outs, the questioning of a prominent professor and his wife, detention of a student photographing a veld fire, the rounding up of 909 striking dairy workers, and a physical police presence at some schools.

Counsel for the State in the Natal Supreme Court in Maritzburg yesterday conceded that two orders issued on June 16 banning the press from reporting security force actions and from entering unrest areas for the purposes of reporting were invalid as they had only been telexed to Sapa and had not been gazetted. This takes the situation back to before the issue of these orders.

What follows is far from a full account of security force actions in Cape Town and other parts of the country since June 16, and is merely intended to give an idea of the type of action which has taken place.

In some cases, specific allegations have been withheld at this stage because of the strict provisions of the Police Act. Some other incidents, such as the arrest of an entire congregation in Elsie's River, have already been reported, in Parliament or in court.

Roadblocks

Journalists were barred from the Greater Guguletu area for almost two months because police and soldiers at roadblocks refused them entry.

In some incidents either reported to or witnessed by the Cape Times:

● June 14, Worcester Police swoop on most major supermarkets including Pick 'n Pay, Spar, Checkers, a number of bars and the off-course tote. They detained a large number of black and coloured shoppers. Some are still in detention.

● June 16 Police surround and search Vukukhanya School, New Crossroads, and arrest between two and five people, confiscating pangas and knives. Two people allegedly whipped on grounds when a crowd gathers around a Casspir. Two others treated at Guguletu Day Hospital for rifle butt injuries, doctors say.

● June 17 Police surround Vukukhanya School and at 7.50am, a young woman and man run out of the school, breaking through police cordon. The woman escapes. The man was shot at and was last seen disappearing over a wall. It is not known if he was wounded.

The building was searched. Witnesses said 11 young men later treated for head and face lacerations and bruises at Guguletu Day Hospital.

● June 18 Police trucks roll into Nel's Dairy, Johannesburg, and police detain and arrest 999 striking Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union members. Detained for two weeks. On release from prison, 750 workers were dismissed.

● June 22 Police use teargas and sjamboks to disperse part of a 150-strong crowd of mourners gathered to bury Mr Stewart Maxama, murdered by witdoek vigilantes in his home on June 11.

● June 25 Heavily-armed police and troops surround about 200 marching mourners in Nyanga East. Order mourners to travel in vehicles to cemetery.

● June 26 Cape Times television correspondent Joe Guwa unable to file television report after being held at Guguletu roadblock. Guwa questioned about serial number of his camera and where he received it.

● July 2 Doors kicked in and cooking pots overturned when police raided I D Mkhize Senior Secondary School in Nyanga where squatter refugees were sheltering, witnesses said. Men and boys loaded into trucks, taken to Guguletu police station where a man disguised by a balaclava identified certain of the refugees. It is not known how many were detained. Some men returned to the school with an SAP ink stamp on their hands.

'Bundled into van'

● July 7 Michaelis School of Fine Art student Mr Ivor Sias, 27, detained for two weeks in Somerset East after he photographed a veld fire outside his aunt's home. Mr Sias said eight armed men jumped out of a police vehicle, "bundled me into a van" and accused him of being an arsonist. After telling security police his story, was allegedly told "I'm afraid we will have to detain you for fourteen days under emergency regulations."

● July 10 Head of School of Economics at UCT, Prof Francis Wilson, and Mrs Lindy Wilson questioned by East London security police for four hours after being detained while interviewing and filming for the South African College for Higher Education, Sached.

● July 15 Police arrest 57 pupils from Uitsig, Belhar Number 2, Symphony, Florida and Ravensmead High Schools for being outside classes during school hours.

'ECC homes raided'

● Last week of July Security police raid homes of 12 Johannesburg End Conscription Campaign members. Activists questioned, photographed and material confiscated. Neighbours of two ECC executive members allegedly asked to "spy on the members." Floor plans made of some of homes raided. Teargas thrown into homes of two ECC activists during police raids.

● August 12 Cape Times tries to visit Zwelethemba township, Worcester, but access refused at army base erected at entrance where soldiers train rifles on arriving cars and a mounted guard tower overlooks the township.

● Throughout emergency Cape Times informed almost daily that police were on premises of Modderdam Senior Secondary and sometimes stayed overnight. Police initially remained on premises of Bonteheuwel High School and later sat in a bus outside the school.

'Govt orders not valid'

By LANGA SKOSANA

21/8/86

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[Handwritten scribbles]

SO WETAN

LAWYERS representing the Government conceded in court yesterday that police orders prohibiting newspapers reporting about the conduct of police and the banning of reporters from unrest areas were invalid.

The *Sowetan* lawyer, Mr Peter Reynolds, said in an interview yesterday that this was a sequel to an application brought in the Maritzburg Supreme Court by some newspapers. The newspapers are challenging powers given to the police under Section 7 1(c) and Section 7-1(d) of the emergency regulations.

Section 7 1(c) prohibits newspapers from publishing anything regarding the conduct of police or armed forces. Section 7 1(d) prohibits the presence of journalists for the purpose of reporting any action of the police or armed forces in any black residential area or any place where unrest is occurring, without proper consent.

Telex

Mr Reynolds said the newspapers challenged both orders on the basis that they were not properly promulgated in terms of emergency regulations and also because they had been issued by a telex message and not published in the Government Gazette.

He added that the effect of the Government lawyers conceding, meant that the two orders were invalid and have no force or effect.

Judgment was reserved.

Press action lawyers get threatening calls

Two Johannesburg attorneys who have been extensively involved in the application brought by the English-language newspaper groups in Maritzburg against the State President and others, have been on the receiving end of strange telephone calls

Mr Peter Leon, a partner in Webber Wentzel and son of Mr Justice R N Leon, the presiding judge in the application, and Mr Paul Jenkins, also of Webber Wentzel, the Argus Company's attorneys, said they had received abusive and threatening calls.

Mr Leon said that on Sunday, August 10, the night before the application was due to start in Maritzburg, someone left an extremely abusive message on his telephone answering machine

While Mr Jenkins was in Maritzburg his wife received a telephone call, purportedly from a Warrant Officer Brown of Hillbrow police station, claiming that their motor car has been stolen and recovered.

Mrs Jenkins was asked to confirm both the registration number and her identity number. She refused and was told a policeman would visit her

After the call it was established that the car was exactly where it had been left the night before and, on enquiring, Mrs Jenkins was told that there was no Warrant Officer Brown at Hillbrow police station.

On August 19, a message was left at the Imperial Hotel in Maritzburg for Mr Leon. It said Mrs Leon had been hurt in a car accident in Johannesburg but was "all right". Mr Leon is single

● See Page 3.

State concedes Press

has the right to report all unrest

SA's Press can now report on unrest incidents for the first time since this year's June 16 anniversary of the Soweto riots. Two emergency regulations — banning news reporting on security force action and banning journalists from unrest areas — have effectively fallen away after State counsel yesterday conceded in the Maritzburg Supreme Court that they were invalid.

A Bureau for Information spokesman declined to comment on grounds that it could prejudice the outcome of the case. The admission by the State emerged during legal argument in an application by four newspaper groups challenging the validity of six emergency regulations. An attorney for SA Associated Newspapers said two orders — issued on June 16 and June 21 — by the Commissioner of Police had been improperly promulgated. Specifically, counsel for the State, Jan Combrink, SC, conceded the orders issued under regulation 7 (1) (C) of the emergency regulations were invalid because they were promulgated by a telexed message to the SA Press Association. He said: "But regulation 8 does not allow for this type of promulgation."

It is unclear whether the Commissioner of Police will correctly re-issue the orders in terms of Regulation 8. The orders prohibited reporting of "any conduct of a force or member of a force" regarding the maintenance of public safety, order or the prohibition of the state of emergency, and prohibited the presence of journalists in any black residential area, or any unrest area, for the purposes of reporting, without prior consent. Regulation 8, the only one of the means of promulgation of orders under

Regulation 7 are by notice in the Government Gazette in a newspaper, radio or TV, distribution in writing among members of the public and affixing it on public buildings or prominent places in the area concerned, handing it to a particular person in written form, an oral announcement to any particular person or the general public. During yesterday's argument Douglas Shaw, QC, for the newspapers, submitted that Regulation 12 (which allows for the confiscation or banning for any period of publication or containing a statement of a subversive nature) was "so drastic that

one is driven to the conclusion that those who drafted the regulations could never have considered the implications for a crime which was never brought before court. Shaw said this was not censorship, or any amount to punishment concerning Regulation 11 (which allows for the seizure of a publication if in the Minister's opinion it was a subversive statement), it was entitling a commissioned officer, even if he only had a Std 6, would be entitled to seize a newspaper which stood to hundreds of thousands of rands.

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BUSINESS DAY

HAMISH MONDOE

is separate
as out let's have
some truly democratic

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Casspirs on patrol — and it's news again

Staff Reporter

FOR the past two months and nine days, residents of Cape Town's black townships have lived daily with the rumble of police and Defence Force armoured vehicles.

For almost two months, residents of the Greater Guguletu area could not go home without being stopped and often searched at permanent roadblocks at every entrance to the townships.

Only within the past few weeks have the roadblocks been dismantled.

From June 16 until Wednesday this week, newspapers were not al-

lowed to report these routine occurrences in terms of an order under the emergency regulations telexed to the South African Press Association by the Commissioner of Police.

However, in the Natal Supreme Court on Wednesday, counsel for the State in the hearing in which the major English-language newspaper groups are challenging several emergency regulations, conceded that the regulation banning coverage of security force action without official permission was invalid.

Yesterday, police Casspirs and SADF Buffels

patrolled the streets of Nyanga, Guguletu, KTC and New Crossroads.

They appeared to be patrolling on a grid pattern, systematically covering as many areas as possible, with one Casspir parked in a position in NY5 which offered a vantage point over most of KTC.

In Langa, Casspirs were parked at strategic points in the township, with regular patrols by police vans.

In Bonteheuwel, a police Land Rover was parked in the grounds of Bonteheuwel High School, one of three high schools in the area which enter the third day of a three-day stayaway today.

Several prominent activists of the United Democratic Front, Cape Youth Congress and United Women's Congress said yesterday they had been in hiding since the emergency had been declared.

Heritage sites in Cape

TWENTY-FIVE Natural Heritage sites were registered and plaques and certificates handed over at a ceremony in Johannesburg yesterday afternoon by the Director-General of the Department of Environment Affairs, Mr Fred Otto.

The Cape sites are four private nature reserves at Paapekuilfontein, a site at Boontjieskraal in the Caledon district which conserves a rare aloe species and two sites in the Elgin Valley.

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22/11/86
Star reporter
in Rand court

JOHANNESBURG — A Star reporter, Mr Michael Tissong, appeared in the Magistrate's Court here yesterday in connection with a story about hand grenade blasts in Duduza township on June 26 last year.

A warrant of arrest was issued for another reporter, Miss Chris Steyn, who contributed to the story. She left for London last week.

The reporters are being asked to confirm under oath an article they wrote about the blasts, which killed seven youths. — Sapa

Press lawyers harassed during trial

EVE PDA

22/1/86

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JOHANNESBURG — Two Johannesburg attorneys who have been extensively involved in the application brought by the English-language newspaper groups in Maritzburg against the State President and others have been receiving strange telephone calls.

Mr Peter Leon, son of Mr Justice Leon, the presiding judge in the application, and Mr Paul Jenkins, both of Webber Wentzel, the Argus company's attorneys, said they had received abusive and threatening calls.

Mr Leon said that on Sunday, August 10, the night before the application was due to start in Maritzburg, someone left an extremely abusive message on his telephone answering machine.

While Mr Jenkins was

in Maritzburg his wife received a telephone call, purportedly from a Warrant Officer Brown of the Hillbrow Police Station. He claimed that their car has been stolen and recovered.

Mrs Jenkins was asked to confirm both the registration number and her identity number. She refused and was told a policeman would visit her.

After the call it was established that the car was exactly where it had been left the night before and, on inquiring, Mrs Jenkins was told that there was no warrant Officer Brown at Hillbrow Police Station.

On August 19 a message was left at a hotel in Maritzburg for Mr Leon. It said Mrs Leon had been hurt in a car accident in Johannesburg, but was "all right".

Mr Leon is single. — Sapa

Afrikaans financial magazines to merge

TWO Afrikaans financial magazines — *Finansies en Tegniek* (F & T) of Nasionale Pers and *Volkshandel* of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) — are to merge their activities

Volkshandel will become part of *Finansies en Tegniek* but will not lose its name completely, as it will be incorporated with that of F & T.

The negotiations were carried out by Volkskas Merchant Bank. The owners said yesterday some

of the staff of *Volkshandel* would be employed by F & T.

The last issue of *Volkshandel* will appear in September

Then, for a year, subscribers to that journal will receive the F & T

F & T was started two years ago after Nasionale Pers bought the magazine *Tegniek*, estab-

BEULAH BROWN
and Sapa

lished in 1948 by Dr Anton Rupert

Volkshandel was established in 1940 by Dr Kaalkop van der Merwe — before the AHI was founded in 1942

F & T will remain a member of the Nasionale Pers stable, and will

report comprehensively on AHI activities.

The owners said the merger would guarantee F & T a circulation of 15 000 a week.

AHI president Christie Kuun said it had become more difficult to compete for advertising with financial magazines and papers

He said. "Rationalisation has be-

come a priority because of the financial implications of competing in the tough market.

"The merger will lead to better financial position

"At the same time, our members will get wider financial news coverage."

Nasionale Pers managing director Ton Vosloo described the merger as "historical".

He said he was certain it would be of mutual benefit to the AHI and Nasionale Pers.

Koos de la

Curb on media invalid

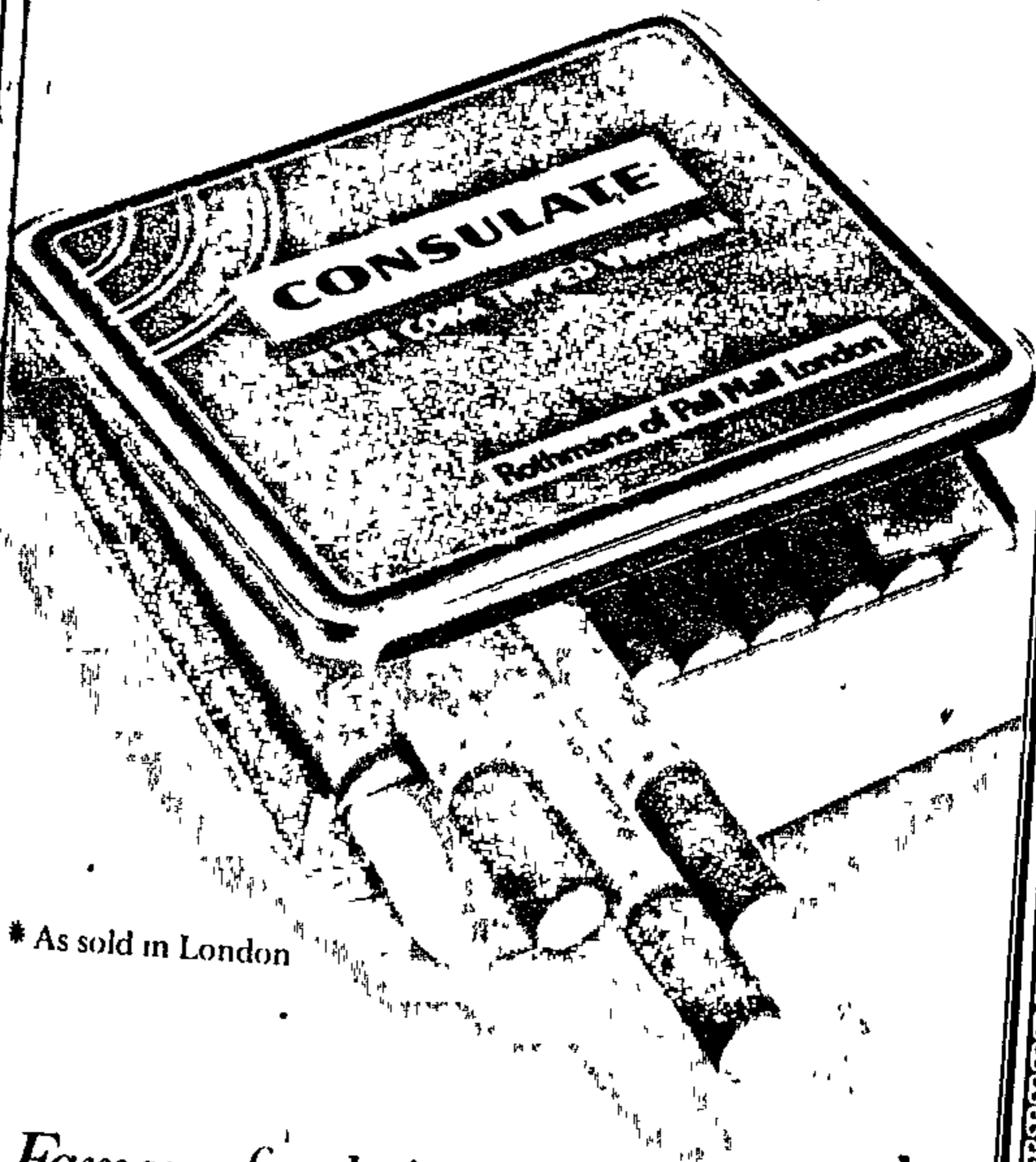
SA'S NEWS can now report on unrest incidents - for the first time since this year's June 16 anniversary of the Soweto riots. Two emergency regulations banning reporting on security force action and banning journalists from unrest areas effectively fell away after the State conceded in the Maritzburg Supreme Court that they were invalid.

The State made its concession during the application by four newspaper groups challenging six emergency regulations.

It agreed that the restrictions on media coverage had not been promulgated - they had merely been sent to newspapers by telex.

● Taking photographs and other visual material of security force action is still banned.

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CON217EF

25/8/86
Sowetan

Page 7

Soweto, Alex to get more news

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A BLACK-OWNED publishing company has launched two new, weekly publications to be distributed in Soweto and Alexandra.

Both the tabloids, published by Lesego company, will be distributed free of charge.

Lesego managing director Mr Colin Moerane said the two newspapers will focus on the social and community activities in Alexandra and Soweto.

Target

The publications are *Soweto Sun* and *Dark City News*, and will be out before the end of this month.

Dark City News is expected to reach an initial target circulation of 90 000 copies weekly, while its Soweto counterpart will aim at 150 000 copies," said Mr Moerane, a former freelance journalist with the now-defunct *Rand Daily Mail*.

2-18/76
EVE POST

Bench to hear legal argument in Press challenge

243 Post Reporter

TOMORROW a full Bench of the Grahamstown Supreme Court will hear argument in a matter in which the Editor-in-chief of the Eastern Province Herald and Evening Post and three other senior journalists are challenging the validity of a Government notice issued by the Minister of Law and Order last year.

The notice, No 2221 of September 25, deals with the prohibition of gatherings.

The applicants are Mr J C Viviers, the Editor-in-chief, Mr Trevor Bisseker, deputy editor of the Evening Post, and news editors Mr André Erasmus and Mr Cliff Foster.

The four newsmen were issued with subpoenas for an inquiry in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act 51 of 1977.

They were required to give material evidence before a magistrate concerning a supposed offence committed by Mr Mkhuseleli Jack and others.

It will be argued that they are not obliged to testify because the Government notice was invalid and that as no crime could therefore have been committed by Mr Jack and others, a subpoenae could not have been issued.

The respondents are a Port Elizabeth magistrate, Mr P Rothman, and the Attorney-General of the Eastern Cape.

CAC Tink
29/8/88

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Subpoenas 'vague'

Own Correspondent

GRAHAMSTOWN. — Subpoenas served on four Port Elizabeth newsmen to provide the police with information were yesterday criticized by three judges of the Supreme Court here as being vague and failing to specify any offence.

The judges, hearing an appeal against an earlier finding by a Port Elizabeth magistrate that the subpoenas were valid, also questioned the government notice prohibiting gatherings, in terms of which the subpoenas were served

Mr Justice Eksteen, Mr Justice Mullins and Mr

Justice Olivier presided over an application to review and set aside a decision by the magistrate that the subpoenas and the government notice under which they were served were valid.

The applicants were Mr J C Viviers and Mr Andre Erasmus of the EP Herald, and Mr Trevor Bisseker and Mr Clifford Foster of the Evening Post

The respondents were the magistrate, Mr P Rothman, and the Attorney-General of the East Cape Division, Mr J A d'Oliveira

Judgment was reserved

Healing

FIN MAIL 29/8/76

NEWSPAPERS

243

Reforms in Natal

One of the anomalies caused by last year's merger of the *Natal Mercury* and the *Daily News* into a single newspaper publishing company, Natal Newspapers, is close to resolution

From August 30, the *Natal Mercury* will appear in tabloid form on Saturday mornings

The move ends Natal Newspapers' practice of publishing competing broadsheet newspapers on Saturday mornings — the *Mercury* and a sunrise edition of the *Daily News*

Assistant manager David Mead says there's a clear need to create separate prod-

uct identities among both readers and advertisers.

He says the *Mercury* was chosen as the vehicle, because it already contains a "healthy tabloid section in its well-read property supplement" Editorial executives, too, have long toyed with the idea of a weekend tabloid.

A few years ago, the *News* followed the *Star's* lead and brought out an early Saturday edition available on the streets at dawn The paper has made good gains and Natal Newspapers was understandably reluctant to tamper with it. Mead, however, indicates other "innovations" could be on the way for the *Mercury*

He says response from a market research survey into reader acceptability of a tabloid format was overwhelmingly positive More than 80% of readers canvassed preferred a more compact newspaper

In line with the new shape, editorial executives are said to be planning a news content which will reflect more accurately readers' changing lifestyles over weekends Says Mead. "It certainly won't be an extension of the normal Monday to Friday *Mercury*"

The problem is if readers go for it in a big way and readership grows dramatically, as Mead suggests it should, Natal Newspapers could be in a difficult position

For technical reasons, advertisers, especially national advertisers and retail chains, find advertising in a broadsheet newspaper has distinct advantages. As a result, Mead admits that Natal Newspapers would respond to calls for a six-day-a-week tabloid "with a certain amount of trepidation" ■

Press - 1986

Sept. - Dec.

Zimbabwe orders expulsion of two SA reporters

HARARE — The summit of the Non-Aligned Movement opened in Harare yesterday with blistering attacks on apartheid and the expulsion of two South African reporters.

The Press credentials of the two journalists, Johannesburg-based Pat Sidley and Philip van Niekerk, were withdrawn. They were ordered to leave Zimbabwe as soon as possible. No reason was given.

They were among more than a dozen SA journalists allowed in to report on the conference.

Leading the onslaught on SA was Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe.

He described apartheid as a crime against humanity to an audience of 15 000 delegates, including 50 heads of state and government.

He called on the non-aligned states to impose punitive sanctions on SA and to give more material support to black nationalists.

"In this regard, support for the Frontline and other independent states in the region is critical so that they may become dependable bulwarks against apartheid."

SA and the US were the main targets in a declaration drafted for the summit.

It read in part: "The heads of state or government condemned the policy of constructive engagement pursued by the government of the United States of America, which they saw as giving succour and comfort to the racist regime, thus emboldening it in its brazen acts of aggression against neighbouring independent states."

"In order to avoid a further escalation of the conflict, it was necessary that the international community immediately impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist Pretoria regime."

Sapa.

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"In order to avoid a further escalation of the conflict, it was necessary that the international community immediately impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist Pretoria regime."

Sapa.

Cape Times. 3/9/80

Newsman in court

Court Reporter 243

CAPE TIMES photographer Mr Alan Taylor appeared in the Bellville Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with the taking and subsequent publication of a picture of a man being apprehended by soldiers at the University of the Western Cape on October 1, last year.

The State alleges that he took the picture without the permission of the Commissioner of Police. The picture appeared on the front page of the Cape Times on October 2, with the words: Picture: Alan Taylor.

The prosecutor, Mr B R Buys, asked that the matter be postponed to October 30, as there were certain admissions that the State had understood were going to be made by Mr Taylor but it was now apparent that he was not going to admit anything.

He said that further investigation was needed and certain State witnesses had to be subpoenaed to appear. "It will probably be referred to the Attorney General," Mr Buys said.

Mr M Donen, for Mr Taylor, said he could not confirm that there had been an agreement to make admissions.

The charge sheet indicates Mr Taylor had "presumably been arrested for public violence", attending an unlawful gathering or failing to disperse after being told to do so by a police officer.

Mr F Bolleurs was the magistrate Mr Donen was instructed by Findlay and Tait

Unrest news banned

2/9/80

THE Commissioner of Police yesterday reissued orders banning reporting of "security action".

General Johan Coetzee ordered that no journalist may be on the scene or "within sight" of any unrest, restricted gathering or security action.

Previous orders by him banning unrest coverage had not been properly promulgated, counsel for the Minister of Law and Order conceded in the Natal Supreme Court recently.

The new ban will be contested in the Natal Supreme Court today in an application by English-language newspapers.

Journalists may act over 'spy' report

CAG Times 4/9/86
(243)

Staff Reporter

THE president of the Southern African Society of Journalists, Ms Pat Sidley, said yesterday that she and a fellow-journalist were considering legal action over a report saying they were "involved with South African intelligence"

Ms Sidley and Mr Philip van Niekerk, who work for the Weekly Mail and foreign publications, had their accreditation for the Non-Aligned Movement summit in Harare withdrawn by Zimbabwean authorities on Monday

The official Zimbabwean news agency, Ziana, sent out a report that day that the two were refused accreditation because they were "involved with South African intelligence". The report quoted unnamed sources

From Johannesburg Ms Sidley said: "Ziana failed to check with either of us, failed to check with a professional body in SA — our own union, failed to check with any of our colleagues about our background and published a preposterous, outlandish lie, which was not in fact printed in Harare newspapers, or on Zimbabwe radio or television

"We were not given

any reasons for the withdrawal of our accreditation, and because of Ziana's rash publication, we have been forced to take legal advice about the publication of the allegations"

Ms Sidley was interrogated for several hours after her arrival in Harare on Friday night by security men who did not identify themselves. She said they behaved impeccably and were "very polite".

Sapa reports that Ms Sidley said she and Mr Van Niekerk had been told by the Permanent Secretary for Information, Mr Justin Nyoka, in front of some of the 1 000 journalists at the conference venue on Monday that their accreditation was being withdrawn

Immigration

Ms Sidley said that after their accreditation was withdrawn, Mr Nyoka sent them to immigration officials where there was "yet another investigation, this time whether we had entered the country legally or not"

She and Mr Van Niekerk stayed in Harare until Tuesday, hoping to get the decision reversed but "since there was no charge there was no inquiry and no appeal and so we are back".

JOHANNESBURG —
The two South African
journalists who had
their accreditation with-
drawn at the Non-
Aligned Movement sum-
mit in Harare on Mon-
day said yesterday they
were considering legal
action against anybody
who linked the withdra-
wal to them being con-
nected with South Afri-
can intelligence
agencies

Miss Patricia Sidley
and Mr Phillip van Nie-
kerk, who returned to
South Africa yesterday,
said they had been given
no reasons for the can-

cellation of their ac-
creditation

Miss Sidley was to
cover the summit for the
Dutch Algemeen Neder-
lands Persbureau and
Mr Van Niekerk for the
Boston Globe

Zimbabwe's semi-of-
ficial news agency,
Ziana, said earlier this
week Miss Sidley and Mr
Van Niekerk had appar-
ently had their accredi-

tation withdrawn be-
cause they were linked
to South African intelli-
gence.

Miss Sidley said "We
are considering legal ac-
tion against anybody
who makes this charge
or who had made this
charge."

She said there had
been no trouble on arri-
val at the airport last
Friday where they were

issued with temporary
visas upon presentation
of accreditation letters
and a telex they had re-
ceived from the NAM ac-
creditation office

Full accreditation is
given at an office in the
Monomotapa Hotel That
is where the trouble be-
gan when Miss Sidley
was told her papers
could not be found

She said she had been

taken to the central
police station and ques-
tioned about her pres-
ence in Harare It had
been suggested she was
in the city the week be-
fore she arrived

"That week I was in
East London and the
Border, visiting SASJ
members At the end of
it, and without formal
charge, they dropped me
back at the hotel"

She received her ac-
creditation on Saturday

Then on Monday, they
had been told their ac-
creditation was being
withdrawn — Sapa

DAVID... (243)
We've no links with SA
intelligence — reporters

Court to rule on Press action

Pietermaritzburg
Bureau

JUDGMENT will be handed down in the Supreme Court, Pietermaritzburg, today in the application by the major English-language newspapers challenging several emergency regulations.

Mr Justice Leon, sitting with Mr Justice Nienaber and Mr Justice Kumleben, reserved judgment in the matter after lengthy legal argument, which ended on August 20.

The application was brought by Natal Newspapers, the Natal Witness, the Argus Printing and Publishing Company and South

African Associated Newspapers against President Botha, the Government, the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of the S A Police.

The applicants sought an urgent order declaring six emergency regulations — regulations seven to 12 — to be void and of no force and effect in law.

The newspapers stated on papers before the Court that the regulations concerned directly or indirectly affected the free flow of news and comment on an almost limitless range of topics, and thereby severely affected their daily business.

Govt gags Press with new curbs on unrest reports

By Sue Leeman

The Government has imposed a new set of clamps on the Press which prevent it from reporting on or being at the scene of any unrest, security force action or restricted gathering without the permission of the Commissioner of Police or a commissioned officer in a "force".

The new orders, which have been made in terms of regulation 7(1) of the emergency regulations published under the Public Safety Act, were promulgated on the eve of judgment in the Maritzburg Supreme Court today in a case in which newspapers have challenged the validity of existing media clamps

The English-language Press has asked that certain of the emergency regulations, including regulation 7, be declared null and void

The Bureau for Information indicated yesterday that the new orders had been published following an admission by the State earlier in the Maritzburg case that the existing orders were invalid because they had not been properly promulgated

The first orders were merely telexed to the South African Press Association

ON EVE OF MASS FUNERAL

The new clamps have been promulgated just in time to prevent newspapermen from covering a mass funeral today for more than 20 people killed in violence in Soweto last week

Earlier this week, the divisional commissioner announced that the mass funeral had been banned, and restrictions on the time, place and conditions of funerals for the Soweto funerals were imposed

In an extraordinary *Government Gazette* last night, the Commissioner of Police, General Johann Coetzee, barred anyone from "announcing, disseminating, distributing, taking

or sending any comment on or news in connection with any security action"

No journalist, news reporter, news commentator, correspondent, newspaper or magazine photographer, cameraman, operator of sound or other recording equipment, assistants carrying cameras or equipment, or any other person covering events for the dissemination or publication of news here or abroad, may be near or within sight of any unrest, restricted gathering or security force action

This does not apply to anyone who happens to be on the scene of unrest, a restricted gathering or security force action, or who happens to arrive there for purposes other than news gathering after the action has begun, provided such people leave the scene immediately

The regulations do not prevent someone living in an area of unrest or security action from being in his home or from travelling to and from his home

Legal and anti-apartheid organisations yesterday condemned the restrictions on the Press, saying they were undemocratic, an infringement of freedom of the Press and a serious inroad into human rights

Mr Azhar Cachalia, national treasurer of the UDF, said the intention behind the orders was to conceal incidents like the killing of people in Soweto last week

Mr Jules Browde, chairman of Lawyers for Human Rights, called the restrictions a "step back into the Middle Ages"

"If it weren't so serious an inroad into human rights, it could be classified as a bizarre piece of legislation," he said

Professor Dion Basson of the Department of Constitutional Law at the University of Pretoria said the new orders made provision for even stricter measures against the Press than the original emergency regulation

5/1/80 4/9/80

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superpower in Afghanistan." There was an impressive rhetorical band until the next

Journalists might take legal action

TWO SA journalists who left Zimbabwe after their accreditation was withdrawn are taking legal advice on whether to sue over reports linking them to SA intelligence.

SA Society of Journalists president Pat Sidley and Phillip van Niekerk said yesterday the reports could constitute defamation.

After being cleared through Customs and Immigration at Harare airport on Friday they went to the hotel where accreditations for the summit were being handled.

Sidley was taken to a police station for interrogation.

Permanent Information Secretary Justin Nyoka told them at the conference on Monday in front of other journalists that he was withdrawing their accreditations. He gave no reasons.

Nuclear-power

- In our second quarterly round of the "Invite readers to try their skill at stock" an imaginary R100 000 into a portfolio.
- Contestants who entered the first quarter submit a new portfolio into which they invest after the first three months will be published.
- It will be assumed that those who would like their portfolio to go on to the next quarter.
- There is a prize of a Krugerrand donation and an additional Krugerrand for the next quarter. Only contestants who enter for the overall prize.
- Contestants who made multiple entries, numbered in order of preference, will be allocated the new No. 1 list.
- Please print clearly. We reserve the right to reject any entry.
- Please paste the entry form below and hand to Business Day, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg.
- Mark on the entry form whether the entry is for the overall prize.
- In naming your shares, please ensure they are published in Business Day.

RULES

1. New competitors must select 10 different shares of R100 000. At the end of three months, the quarterly winner.
2. Existing competitors from the first quarter may reinvest. The new portfolio may include shares from your original portfolio to remain unchanged.
3. Starting prices will be taken at the close of business.
4. Entries and re-entries must be received by Business Day.
5. Entries must be made on the form printed below.
6. Securities standing at less than 100c at the time of entry.
7. Share prices will be adjusted for scrip and rights issues.
8. Shares subject to a takeover bid which becomes unconditional.
9. The Editor's decision in all matters is final.
10. Employees of the SA Associated Newspaper Group are not eligible to enter.
11. There is no entry fee.

ENTRY FORM

To Business Day Stock Market
PO Box 260022, Excom 202

THIS IS A (TICK BOX) new
If a re-entry, this is entry number

MY SHARE SELECTIONS ARE

1

2

Staff Reporter

THE new curbs on press reporting on unrest and security force actions appear to be far more sweeping than earlier curbs, which fell away on August 20 after counsel for the Minister of Law and Order conceded in the Natal Supreme Court that they had been incorrectly promulgated

The previous regulations prohibited the distribution of any comment on or news of any conduct of the security forces relating to public safety and order, or "terminating the state of emergency" without the permission of the Commissioner of Police

Opp. Times 5/9/80
243

New press curbs: More restrictions

In addition, the regulations prohibited the presence of journalists for the purpose of reporting in any black or other residential area in which unrest was taking place, without the permission of the divisional commissioner of police

In essence, the new press curbs contain the same restrictions, although journalists now have to remove themselves to a point out of "sight" of unrest taking place

The major difference in the new restrictions is that journalists may not be present at any "restricted gathering". This means that where restrictions have been placed on township funerals, as has become the norm, they may no longer be reported

The new prohibitions on reporting security force actions now include a ban on reporting the circumstances surrounding the arrest or detention of people, under both the emergency

regulations and the Internal Security Act. Previously, only detentions under the emergency regulations could not be reported

Also tightened up are reports on any actions or deployment of the security forces which can in any way be construed as taking place for the purpose of ending unrest, protecting life or property in unrest situations, or follow-up actions following unrest

This means that, where some newspapers have previously reported security force actions like house-to-house searches, road-blocks, or cordons, these reports now appear to be banned.

CAME TRIPS 5/9/76 243

Breakfast TV

'Flagrant abuse'

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE SABC's decision to broadcast breakfast television programmes from October 1 was last night attacked by Mr Stephen Mulholland, managing director of South African Associated Newspapers, as a "flagrant abuse of monopoly power"

Mr Mulholland said the SABC's sudden moves to extend the scope and quality of its programmes came after the government granted a licence to the new television station, M-Net, which is owned by a consortium of South African newspapers

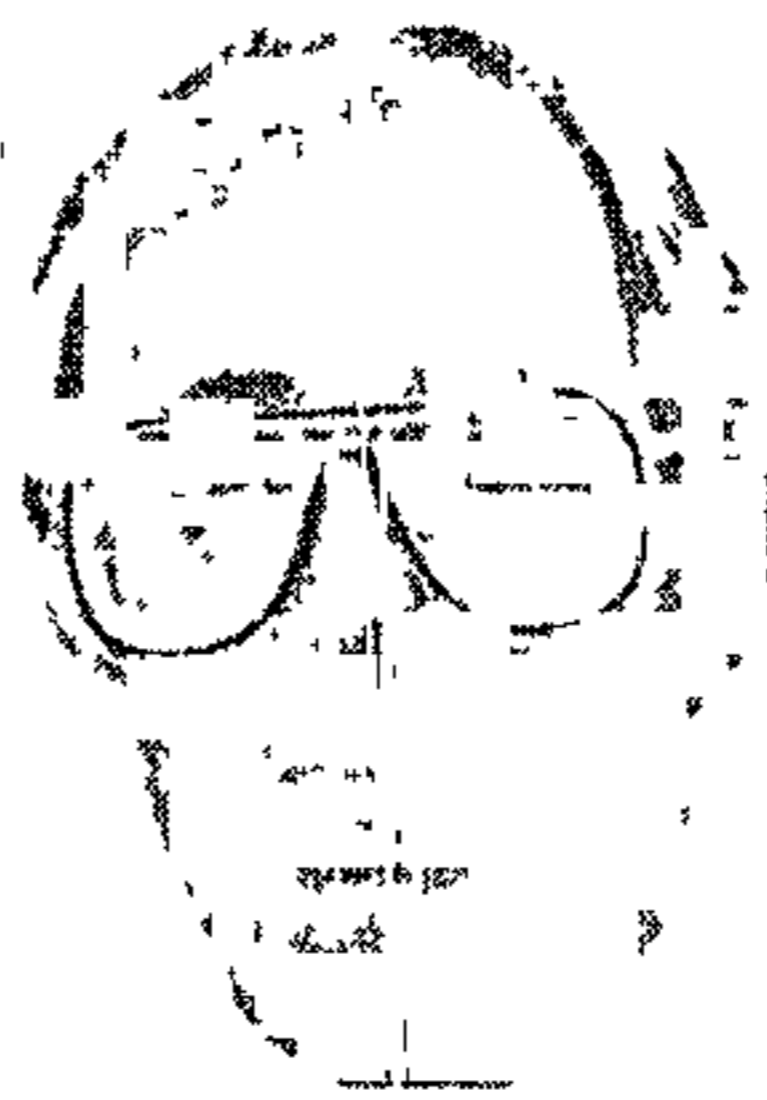
'Ruinous'

The latest move threatened to make "potentially ruinous" inroads on both English and Afrikaans newspaper publishing companies, he warned

Mr Mulholland said it was implicit in the granting of the M-Net licence that the government recognized that newspaper publishers had suffered unfairly as a result of television

"In my view what the SABC has been doing lately, and culminating in its announcement of the morning broadcasts, is a flagrant abuse of monopoly power granted by the government"

Mr Riaan Eksteen, SABC's Director-General, appeared to be



Mr Stephen Mulholland

a law unto himself and seemed beyond the control of government, which "owned" the SABC, he said

Mr Eksteen had "declared war on M-Net and now seeks to destroy the print media, both English and Afrikaans, by his arbitrary extension of television broadcast hours of the SABC", Mr Mulholland said

Unlike the situation in other countries, newspaper publishers in South Africa were denied a fair stake in the electronic media by government policy

"We have as a company, along with other newspapers, invested millions of rands on this premise and I'm afraid that government has not respected its part in the arrangement by allowing Mr Eksteen to run amok."

Mr Eksteen's actions

would have social and economic effects if allowed to continue and were contrary to the government's stated intentions to move the country towards a free-enterprise economy, he said.

'Vindictive'

Mr Leon Shirley, head of the SABC's public relations department, last night declined to respond on behalf of the corporation to what he called "personal and vindictive attacks on the Director-General of the SABC which are unwarranted, unfounded and ill-conceived, obviously promoting the interests of a consortium of which his (Mr Mulholland's) company is a major partner, in competition with the SABC"

Mr Eksteen responded last night by saying that on Wednesday the full board of the SABC had made the decision to extend viewership to the morning market

He added that he was "frankly not interested in Mr Mulholland's personal attacks"

"In my capacity as Director-General I report to the board of the SABC and they can hold me responsible. If I'm guilty of any transgressions, or whatever Mr Mulholland sees fit to accuse me of, I'm prepared to be judged by the board which appointed me."

SPAK
5/9/86

Powers against Press declared invalid

Emergency powers which allow the Minister of Law and Order to seize and ban any publications which he feels contain a subversive statement were declared invalid yesterday by a full Bench of the Natal Supreme Court.

Also declared void was a regulation which prohibits the possession of a subversive statement, and a regulation which allows the Commissioner of Police to prohibit anything which, in his opinion, is necessary for the maintenance of public order.

The judges used strong language in criticising aspects of the emergency regulations, using phrases such as "objectionable and unduly excessive", "so far-reaching and horrendous", and "oppressive and gratuitous interference".

UNANIMOUS

In an unanimous judgment handed down today, Mr Justice Leon, Mr Justice Kumleben and Mr Justice Nienaber upheld with costs the substantial part of an application brought by four English-language newspapers groups to invalidate six emergency regulations affecting the Press in South Africa.

The Argus Printing and Publishing Company, South African Associated Newspapers, Natal Newspapers and the Natal Witness had applied for an order declaring regulations 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 of the emergency regulations invalid, and also declaring void two orders issued by the South African Police on June 16 and June 21 restricting the publication of news and prohibiting journalists to be in cer-

tain areas

The Supreme Court held that regulations 7(1)(d), 10(b), 11 and 12 were invalid, as were the two police orders

MAINTENANCE

Regulation 7(1)(d) allows the Commissioner of Police to prohibit anything which, in his opinion, is necessary for the maintenance of public order.

The judges said he by giving the commissioner carte blanche to take any action he pleased, the State President was abrogating his function not only to legislate but also to determine the specific matters on which the commissioner ought to take appropriate executive action

"To entrust the commissioner with such wide and untrammelled powers, it seems to us, falls outside the State President's powers," the judgment said

The consequences of the application of regulation 10 (b), which makes it an offence to possess any subversive statement, were found to be "so far-reaching and horrendous that we must conclude that it could never have been intended, nor would be countenanced by Parliament".

EXCESSIVE

The provisions of regulation 11, which allows the Minister of Law and Order or a commissioned police officer to seize a newspaper if, in his opinion, it contains a subversive statement, were "objectionable and unduly excessive", the judgment said.

Regulation 12, which empowers the Minister of Law and Order to close down a newspaper if it is, in his opinion, "of a subversive nature", was declared void not only for uncertainty, but also because the Minister was given greater powers than the State President himself was given

The regulation involved "oppressive or gratuitous interference" and went beyond Press censorship because it introduced "catastrophic consequences far out of proportion to the Act involved and the interests of public safety"

● See Page 11.

Own Correspondent

Court rules against 'oppressive' Press regulations

A FULL Bench of the Supreme Court in Maritzburg yesterday struck down two "far-reaching and oppressive" emergency regulations relating to the seizure and confiscation of newspapers, in a unanimous judgment delivered yesterday.

Mr Justice Leon, with Mr Justice Kumbleben and Mr Justice Ntemaber concurring, declared Regulations 11 and 12 of the emergency regulations published in the Government Gazette on June 12 as amended to be void and of no force and effect in law. The judges also ruled Regulations 7

(1) d and 10 (b) to be void.

The Full Bench further declared the orders issued in terms of Regulation seven on June 16 and June 21 to be void and of no force and effect.

Natal Newspapers, the Natal Witness, the Argus Printing and Publishing Company and South African Associated Newspapers brought an urgent application against the State President, the Government, the Minister of Law and Order and the Commission-

er of Police last month challenging six emergency regulations, Regulations seven to 12.

In his 55-page judgment, Judge Leon dealt at length with the provisions of Regulation 11, as amended, in which the Minister of Law and Order or a commissioned officer may seize a publication which in his opinion contains a subversive statement) and Regulation 12, which relates to the seizure and confiscation of pub-

lications of a subversive nature.

The judges viewed the provisions of Regulation 11 as "objectionable and unduly excessive" for a number of reasons.

The definition of "publication" in the regulation made not only newspaper proprietors but other persons vulnerable to seizure of their publications. Judge Leon added that the fate of any publication or copies seized de-

pendent on directions issued by the Minister or a person authorised by him. An "unfettered and unlimited power" was thus conferred on unspecified persons, other than the Minister, to decide on what was to happen to, say, a printing or text book.

"These far-reaching powers of seizure, with the attendant consequences, are not conferred on the Minister alone but also on any commissioned officer of the Force. It

means thus that a second lieutenant in the railway police or a young man who has been commissioned at the end of his first year of National Service can 'under his hand' authorise the seizure of all copies of an issue of a national Sunday newspaper."

The Bureau for Information said yesterday the government could get round the Supreme Court ruling invalidating some of the curbs on the Press by "reformulating" them

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The

Emergency: Court rules out 'oppressive' laws

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

A FULL Bench of the Supreme Court, Pietermaritzburg, struck down two 'far-reaching and oppressive' emergency regulations relating to the seizure and confiscation of newspapers, in a unanimous judgment yesterday.

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The Judges also ruled Regulations 7 (1) d and 10 (b) to be void.

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Natal Newspapers, the Natal Witness, the Argus Printing and Publishing Company and South African Associated Newspapers brought an urgent application against President Botha, the Government, the Minister of Law and Order and the Commis-

sioner of the South African Police last month, challenging six emergency regulations, Regulations seven to 12.

In his 55-page judgment, Mr Justice Leon dealt at length with the provisions of Regulation 11, as amended (which says the Minister of Law and Order or a commissioned officer may seize a publication which in his opinion contains a subversive statement) and Regulation 12, which relates to the seizure and confiscation of publications of a subversive nature.

'Objectionable'

The Judges saw the provisions of Regulation 11 as 'objectionable and unduly excessive' for a number of reasons.

Mr Justice Leon said the applicants had explained the financial loss and other prejudice they would inevitably suffer should but one edition of a daily paper be seized.

The definition of 'publication' in the regulation made not only newspaper proprietors but other people vulnerable to seizure of their publications and perhaps financial ruin — for instance, the author of a book.

Mr Justice Leon added that an 'unfettered and un-

limited power' was conferred on unspecified people.

What was more, his right to do so was not determined or circumscribed by any objective yardstick, the Judge said.

Mr Justice Leon said the Court had chosen to base its decision on the validity of this regulation 'on the simple ground that its provisions are so far reaching and its consequences so drastic, particularly when viewed in relation to the purpose it is sought to serve, that the legislature could never have contemplated that such a measure be countenanced'.

The Judge said the Court's reasons for holding Regulation 11 to be ultra vires applied with equal force to Regulation 12.

'Indeed, the latter regulation is much more far-reaching and oppressive than the former,' he said, adding later that it was also 'far more drastic in its consequences'.

Regulation 12 (1) was not limited to subversive publications but extended to any publication containing any matter which in the minister's opinion was subversive.

The Judges observed that a contravention of Regula-

tion 12 (2) was punishable in terms of Regulation 14, which provided for a fine of up to R20 000 or imprisonment of up to 10 years, or for imprisonment without the option of a fine.

They considered that Regulation 12 was ultra vires because the minister was given greater powers than the State President himself was given under the Act.

Uncertainty

It was also void for uncertainty.

Referring earlier in his judgment to sub-regulation 10 (b), which makes it an offence for any person to possess any subversive statement, Mr Justice Leon said the consequences of its application were 'so far-reaching and horrendous' that the Court had to conclude that they could never have been intended nor would be countenanced by Parliament.

The Judges considered that the applicants' attack on the validity of Regulation 9 — which relates to the prohibition of the taking or publishing of photographs of unrest — failed.

Mr Justice Leon concluded that the applicants had been substantially successful and were entitled to their costs.

Newspapers better off but by no means free, says prof

Mercury Reporter

PROF Tony Mathews, head of the University of Natal's Law Department, said yesterday that the judgment in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court did not overtake the new gazetting of Section 7 (1) of the emergency regulations on Wednesday.

'Although it is a substantial victory for the Press, one must be disappointed that the regulation dealing with visual and sound material has been declared valid.

'Newspapers are now considerably better off, but they are by no means free to report independently on the emergency and the related events. This means that the security forces are not publicly accountable, even after this judgment,' he said.

'What is of particular importance is the part of the judgment which invalidates the clauses which authorise the minister to seize newspapers or to prevent newspapers from being published.

'For that, South Africans should be grateful'.

Although the Court had gone just about as far as it could, it was unfortunate that the regulations which allowed the Commissioner of Police to keep journalists out of unrest areas and to prohibit news or comment about the conduct of the security forces had been upheld, Prof Mathews said.

'Newspapers will once again have to refer to the Bureau for Information'.

Mr Stephen Mulholland, SAAN's managing director, said the company was 'delighted' with the Supreme Court decision.

BLACKOUT ON EVENTS

Massive new clamps on the Press

MASSIVE new gags were imposed on the Press on the eve of the planned burial of last week's Soweto unrest victims — resulting in almost total blackout of events in the township yesterday.

The gags included a ban on the presence of news reporters "near or within sight of any unrest, re-

SLIBS: SOUETOWN 243
 stricted gatherings or activities for action"
 A stayaway called by school children in Soweto was enforced by youths from early yesterday morning and commuters were forced to return home

In one incident, at Orlando West a woman was reported to have died when she was chased across a railway line and was struck by a train. A man was said to have been injured when he jumped out of a train that was being stoned.

At the Avalon Cemetery, where four of the victims were buried, teargas was fired soon after the arrival of the fourth coffin. The bodies had been brought to the cemetery from different points.

A crowd which had gathered at the Jabavu Stadium for a service was dispersed, and teargas was fired at the Ipelegeng Centre.

A spokesman for Putco said that violence broke out in deep Soweto at about 6am

THE emergency regulations prohibit the taking of photographs in black townships. The latest gags further make it impossible for the Press to record news and pictures of the day. We would have used a photograph of the events

NON

London's famous
 Consulate cigarettes
INTINS*

SOWETAN

Daily Mirror

Funeral ban 'invalid'

THE order banning the holding of a mass funeral for the Soweto unrest victims is invalid in terms of the judgment handed down by the full bench of the Natal Supreme Court, according to legal opinion.

The order was issued in terms of Regulation 7 (d), which was found to be invalid by the court. Legal opinion is that this ruling was binding throughout the country unless, or until, a judgment to the contrary is given.

Newspapers win court battle

EMERGENCY powers which allow the Minister of Law and Order to seize and close down any publication which he feels contains a subversive statement have been declared invalid by a Full Bench of the Natal Supreme Court.

In a judgment handed down yesterday by Mr Justice van Heerden, the Full Bench consisting of Mr Justice Leon, Mr Justice Kumbleben and Mr Justice Nienaber found regulations 11 and 12 to be void and without force

and effect in law

The judgment described emergency regulations related to the Press as "objectionable" and "unduly excessive"

Regulation 7 (1) (d), which authorises the Commissioner of Police to make orders related to anything which in his opinion is necessary for maintaining public order or terminating the state of emergency, was also declared void

The Full Bench also found that Regulation 10 (b) which prohibits the possession of a subver-

sive statement was void and without force and effect in law

The urgent application challenging emergency regulations 7 to 12 was brought last month by South African Associated Newspapers, The Argus Company, Natal Newspapers and the *Natal Witness* against the State President, the Government the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police

In the 54-page

To Page 2

P. T. O.

5/9/86 SOWETAN

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Newspapers win in court

From Page 1

judgment the judges said Regulation D contained the phrase "in his opinion"

They said that the phrase was coupled with a reiteration in substantially similar terms of the powers and purposes of the enabling section. This meant that the State President in effect vested the commissioner with the discretion to decide for himself what was necessary and expedient for the maintenance of public order, public safety and the termination of the state of emergency.

The judges said the commissioner was also given a free hand to decide himself what form and in respect of what matters action ought to be taken.

The range of matters on which he could issue orders was not restricted provided he considered it expedient.

The judge said they had considered whether the phrase "in his opinion" could be legitimately removed from the section but had concluded that it could not be.

Dealing with regula-

tion 10 (b) the judges said this sub-regulation had to be struck down.

They said the consequences of its application were so far reaching and horrendous that Parliament could never have intended or countenanced it.

"The impact of Section 10 (b) is particularly severe for newspapers in view of the fact that such newspapers have archives and libraries in which no doubt there are old copies containing reports which were lawful at the time but now contained subversive statements."

The judges said Regulation 11, which allowed the Minister of Law and Order or a person authorised by him to seize a publication if in his opinion it contained a subversive statement, was objectionable and unduly excessive.

They said that the Minister's right to do so was not determined by any objective yardstick.

It was sufficient that he was of the opinion

that a publication contained a subversive statement.

The judges said it also entitled him to seize any publication which in his view contained any other information which might be detrimental to the safety of the public.

"One readily accepts that it may be necessary to take prompt action to avoid the publication of subversive matter and that suitable regulations to permit this may be necessary. This regulation, however, goes much too far."

Interests

The judges said Regulation 12 went far beyond Press censorship because it introduced catastrophic consequences far out of proportion to the act involved and to the interests of public safety which the measure was intended to secure.

The judges said Regulation 12 was far more drastic in its consequences than Regulation 11 because if the Minister found one issue of a newspaper or publi-

cation to contain what he believed was a subversive statement he could seize all future issues and thus close down a newspaper permanently.

Orders issued by the Commissioner of Police in terms of Regulation 7 on June 16 and 21 which prohibited the media from reporting on any unrest matters except with his permission were also found to be void and of no force and effect in law.

The State President and his co-respondent were ordered to pay the costs of the application.

5/9/86

SOMERSON

Handwritten scribbles and initials.

1-1/81

ST **Teargas fired in Soweto**

→ **From Page 1**

Many buses were stoned, Mr Pat Rogers said, and one bus was burnt near the Protea flats

In Dobsonville, a bus was also hijacked, but was later recovered

Putco suspended its services as a result of stayaways by staff, and operations were limited to Diepkloof and between the Moroka police station and Johannesburg, Robertsham and Steeledale

The independent Labour Monitoring Group (LMG) conducted a survey among 100 employers in the immediate Johannesburg area to determine the extent of the Soweto worker stayaway

"In the manufacturing sector attendance generally was down by 38 percent. However, 72 percent of workers from Soweto employed in this sector stayed away

Work

"In the commercial sector attendance was down by 27 percent but 85 percent of workers from Soweto employed in this sector did not report for work," said the group's spokesman

"At least 90 percent of employers said they would not take disciplinary action against workers who stayed away today. Employers have, with few exceptions, adopted a no work, no pay, no penalty policy"

The Bureau for Information said that police used teargas "on a number of occasions to disperse illegal gatherings and eight people were arrested in connection with a petrol bombing incident"

No further details of events in Soweto were

available.

WEEKLY
8/19/86

Some rules out, some more in

AS the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, imposed even harsher restrictions on the press this week, the Natal Supreme Court threw out several key aspects of the Emergency regulations governing the media.

On the restrictive side, Coetzee's new ruling:

- Reimposed restrictions on the reporting of Security Force action and unrest

- Widened the definition of Security Force action

- Banned journalists from being "within sight of" Security Force action and unrest.

On the positive side, the courts:

- Threw out the police power to confiscate and close down "subversive" publications

- Threw out the commissioner's blanket power to issue orders relating to anything which in his opinion is necessary to maintain public order or terminating the Emergency.

- Described the right to seize a publication as "objectionable" and "unduly excessive".

The full bench of the Natal Supreme was ruling on a case brought by SA Associated Newspapers and the Argus Company.

E Cape judges uphold detentions

A FULL bench of the Grahamstown Supreme Court yesterday found the Emergency regulations' detention provisions valid and upheld the detention of the seven applicants, including three freelance journalists.

The ruling comes days before the Bloemfontein Appeal Court is expected to decide on earlier conflicting judgements by Natal courts on the legality of detentions under the State of Emergency.

Meanwhile, applications for the release of detainees have been postponed in the Transvaal, after a Pretoria Supreme Court judge indicated detention-related applications would not be heard until after the Bloemfontein-ruling.

The seven detainees who applied to the Grahamstown Supreme Court for their release included Mike Loewe, who runs a freelance news agency in Port Elizabeth and contributes regularly to the Weekly Mail, and freelance journalists Phila Ngqumba and Mxolisi Jackson Fuzile, who work

By FRANZ KRUGER AND
JO-ANN BEKKER

together in a small news agency in King William's Town.

The other applicants, all of King William's Town, were the Reverend Colin Jooste, a Congregational Church minister and the chairman of the Border Council of Churches' executive, Gary Damons, a schoolboy, Prince Mhamhe and Brian Osteridge.

In an 88-page judgement handed down in Grahamstown, Justice Kannemeyer said the detention clauses could not be set aside on grounds of unreasonableness or vagueness, or that Parliament could never have intended the State President to make such regulations.

His ruling is the first Eastern Cape decision on the detention regulations.

It follows the contradictory judgements delivered by Natal courts: the Durban Supreme Court decision which ordered the release of United Democratic Front publicity secretary Lechesa Tsenoli, on the grounds that

the State President had acted beyond his powers in promulgating the detention provisions; and the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court, which upheld the detention of church worker Peter Kerchhoff, and said its Durban colleagues had erred in striking down the detention provisions.

Kannemeyer said he found himself in agreement with the ruling in the Kerchhoff case, as the other was "based upon grammatical reasoning which, in my view, does not give effect to the intention of the legislature".

Dealing with the applicants one by one, Kannemeyer found that in each case there was no proof the arresting officer had acted in bad faith.

Kannemeyer accordingly found their detentions lawful and dismissed the application with costs. Jooste was released before yesterday's ruling.

Meanwhile, lawyers acting for detained Bishop Sigisbert Ndandwe told the Weekly Mail Justice TJ van der Walt of the Pretoria Supreme Court had indicated it would be pointless to consider Ndandwe's application for his release, or other detainees' applications, since the Appellate Division would be pronouncing on the validity of all detentions in the near future.

Other applications for the release of detainees have accordingly been postponed, the lawyers said.

The Bloemfontein Appeal Court is expected to hear argument on the Tsenoli and Kerchhoff cases on Wednesday.

Dispatch Correspondent
PIETERMARITZBURG
— A Full Bench of the
Supreme Court here
struck down two
“far-reaching and
oppressive” emergency
regulations relating to
the seizure and confis-
cation of newspapers
yesterday

In a unanimous judg-
ment, Mr Justice Leon,
with Mr Justice Kumle-
ben and Mr Justice Nie-
naber concurring, de-

(243) D.D. 1918⁶
**Court rejects two
emergency press curbs**

clared regulations 11
and 12 of the emergency
regulations published in
the Government Gazette
on June 12, as amended,
to be void and of no
force and effect in law.

The judges also ruled
regulations 7(1) d and

10(b) to be void, along
with orders issued in
terms of regulation 7 on
June 16 and June 21.

Natal Newspapers,
the Natal Witness, the
Argus Printing and Pub-
lishing Company and

South African Asso-
ciated Newspapers
brought an urgent appli-
cation against the State
President, the govern-
ment, the Minister of
Law and Order and the
Commissioner of the SA
Police last month, chal-
lenging emergency regu-
lations 7 to 12.

In his 55-page judg-
ment, Mr Justice Leon
dealt at length with the
provisions of regulation
11, as amended, in
which the Minister of
Law and Order or a com-
missioned officer may
seize a publication
which in his opinion
contains a subversive
statement, and regu-
lation 12 which relates
to the seizure and con-
fiscation of publications
of a subversive nature

The judges were of the
view the provisions of
regulation 11 were “ob-
jectionable and unduly
excessive”.

SA petrol in line with world prices

By Sven Lunsche

Recent petrol price cuts have brought the local price in line with world prices

Earlier this month petrol consumers underpaid about 4,4c a litre in relation to August world prices, and diesel users overpaid about 4,32c a litre

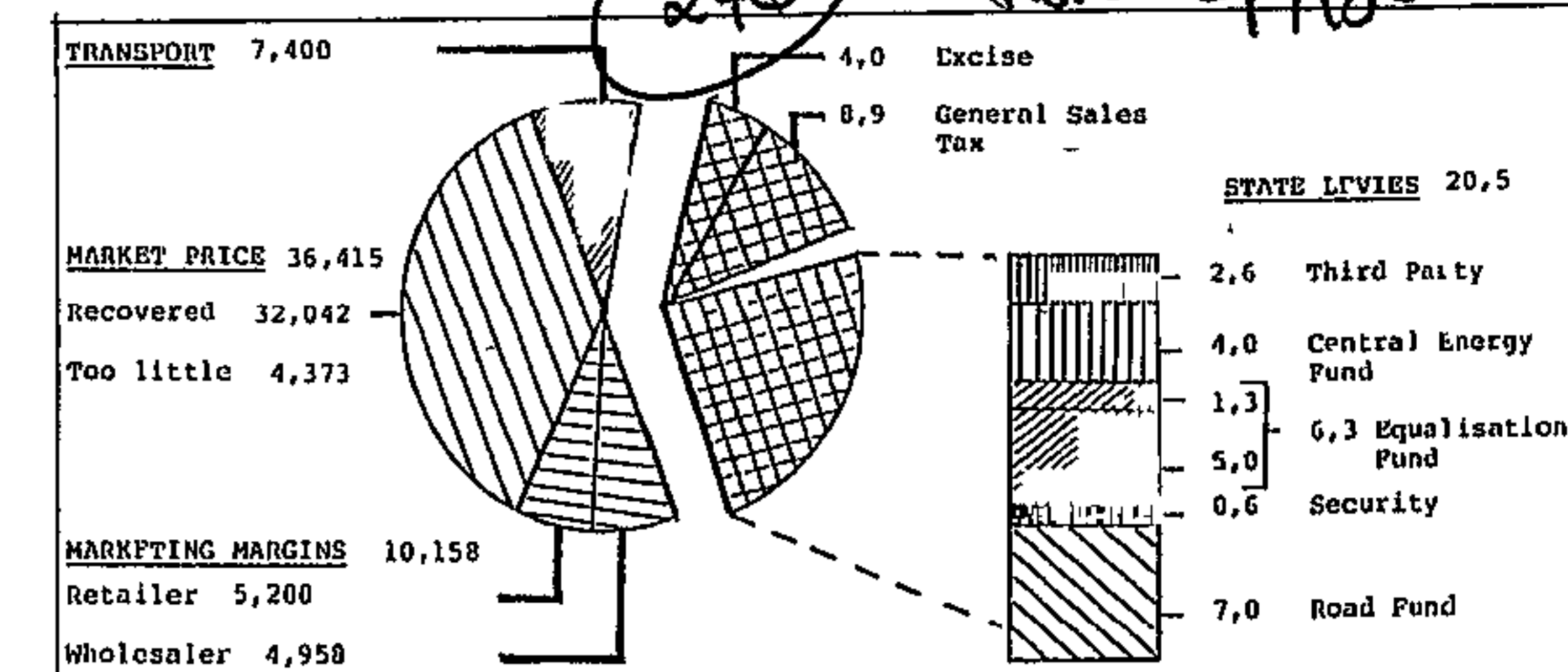
Industry sources say reserve funds now stand at 127 million, after taking into account the 5c Equalisation Fund levy introduced in May, primarily to bolster crude oil reserves

It is estimated that crude oil to the value of more than R1 billion was imported in the first quarter of 1986 when the oil price was low and oil could be bought for under \$10 a barrel

The Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs said this year that a part of the crude oil reserve could now be regarded as an economic rather than a strategic reserve

"This was made possible by Sasol's oil-from-coal production at Secunda and therefore when appropriate this enabled the department to sell oil and utilise the cash so generated for price equalisation purposes," the Minister said

Since then the price of crude oil has moved up to about \$15 a barrel, while the rand has devalued from 45c to about 40c to the dollar, which means that the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs could make a con-



A litre in the tank and this is where your money went.

siderable profit on this oil if it was sold now

The accompanying graph shows that almost half the money paid for a litre of 93 Octane petrol goes to the Government in various forms of levies and taxes GST tops the list with 8,9c, followed by the Road Fund with 7c and the Equalisation Fund with 6,3c.

The four cents which goes to the Central Energy Fund, is used to provide working capital for projects such as the Mossel Bay synthetic fuel plant and originally Sasol

While the price of shipping the oil to South Africa is included the market price, rail costs are added to the Transport Levy which currently stands at 7,4c in the Transvaal

Battle for freedom of speech has just begun

Cape Times 6/19/66

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WHEN the nation-wide state of emergency began in June the question was posed in this column whether the institutions of Western government — Parliament, a free press and an independent judiciary — would emerge unscathed when the emergency ended

The question remains unresolved in spite of court judgments which have sought to protect the rights of the individual against the might of executive government, the outlook is not encouraging

It seems clear that there is no intention of lifting the emergency soon, and the tendency is to tighten its restrictions rather than the contrary

The government has grown accustomed to acting beyond the scrutiny of the courts and of the press — and of Parliament, when that institution is not in session

The press is pretty helpless as long as the emergency lasts and it is only the courts that have been able to offer some sporadic protection, warding off the inroads of the executive

With new and more comprehensive curbs now introduced to prevent newspapers reporting the actions of the police and the army in suppressing unrest, have the slender bridgeheads won by recourse to the courts been wholly lost?

Is the country cast back into a twilight world of authoritarian manipulation of public opinion?

End not in sight

To some extent the answer is yes, regrettably, although the courts have declared void the state's power to seize newspapers, which has been a source of constant anxiety to newspaper proprietors, managers and editors

It is a ding-dong battle and the end is not in sight. The courts have won back some of the ground which has been lost to the tradition of open and accountable government under the law. But can that ground be held?

In our system of government, the legislature is supposed to be sovereign. The courts, in the last analysis, can only apply the laws of Parliament. In practice the executive is supreme, much of the time, however, with the legislature having delegated sweeping powers to the State President and his ministers to rule by arbitrary decree

If the legislature, dominated by a determined ethnic majority, is determined to abdicate its authority to an all-powerful executive president, the outlook for free government is not encouraging

In our constitutional and judicial system, as in Britain's, there is no reviewing right as found in the American system with its entrenched bill of rights against which legislation can be tested and pronounced invalid by the courts

The scope of the courts for curbing the powers of the executive government is



Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW

narrow indeed, although in recent times some judges have been using to the hilt whatever scope they can find in our system to uphold the interests of the individual

The laws themselves cannot be challenged in court but the regulations and orders promulgated under those laws can be challenged, it appears, and the manner in which the executive uses its delegated powers can be reviewed by the courts

This is a battle the state can always win, however, if it is sufficiently cynical and ruthless in riding roughshod over established traditions, standards and values. Judging by its actions in the constitutional crisis of the 1950s, when the coloured people were removed from the common parliamentary roll, the Nationalist political establishment does not scruple to act in this fashion if it believes its group interests are threatened

For reasons of history the first rule in the Nationalist book of rules is survival — and, according to this political tradition, the means of survival is to be found in keeping National Party control of the political system at all costs. The coloured people were removed from the common roll because their growing numbers and educational level were giving this group considerable electoral power

Having just enacted the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and other wounding and humiliating statutes, the Nationalists calculated that this group would soon be in a position to sway the balance — and vote them out of power at the next election. So they took them off the roll, over-riding the entrenched clauses of the constitution

If the government finds itself in a battle with the courts on questions relating to press curbs and secrecy and indemnity for the police, who will ultimately prevail? At present the government seems determined to have its way in curbing the press coverage of police action. It does not wish South Africa and the world to read about police shootings and whippings of protesting and rioting crowds

And whatever feeling there used to be in Nationalist ranks for Parliament as an institution seems to be on the wane. The executive is riding high and the legislature is fading. When you can rule by presidential and ministerial decree, and your actions are protected by indemnity and enforced secrecy, why bother with the delays and irritations of parliamentary democracy?

Yet it is necessary to resist the temptation to equate the Botha government with the Hitler regime in the Germany of the 1930s. Afrikaner nationalist authoritarianism

Nothing like it. The differences remain vast — although they are not always readily apparent to militant opponents of the apartheid system who are exposed each day to police repression

But it remains necessary to insist that the differences are real and substantial — we still have the courts, and parliamentary government of a sort — or else what hope can there be that ordinary political means of education, persuasion and negotiation can make any contribution at all in resolving the South African dilemma?

If the Nats are nazis and it is really as simple as that, what hope is left for some measure of evolutionary political change?

The important thing about parliamentary government, press freedom and an independent judiciary which is often overlooked is that they are all closely linked together. A blow against one is a blow against all

The continuing existence of Parliament, even on a narrow base of representation, is of scant value unless its proceedings can be reported in the press. If news of what is happening in the country can still be brought to the notice of the country in speeches by Opposition members of Parliament — in terms of the tradition of parliamentary privilege — the attempt to smother news and comment will inevitably break down

So if the government really means business about curbing press reporting of what is happening in the country it will need to act against Parliament and its privileges, striking at the root of our system of government. It will have to muzzle Parliament itself

Farcical situation

The whole situation becomes farcical if the newspapers are not allowed to report and comment upon the proceedings of Parliament. If Parliament cannot be reported, it might as well not exist. Freedom of the press and of expression are inextricably intertwined with parliamentary government under the law — and indeed with the independent judiciary, which remains the impartial arbiter

Sadly, the sanctions campaign is playing into the hands of the strong-arm zealots, rallying the white population behind the security establishment. Those who see the futility of President Botha's present course find it best to hold their peace

Yet it is hard to believe that the Botha government will yield any further ground to the promptings of the security establishment

The institutions of freedom of expression and government under the law, though embattled, are deeply rooted in this society. It is still possible for people in public life to work with enthusiasm for a better South Africa in the knowledge that as long as these institutions remain there is hope that the bully-boys will not always carry the day. The battle has only

Shortage of spuds leads to price in PE rocketing

6/9/88
EUSPOD
244

Weekend Post Reporter

HARD-PRESSED shoppers had something else to be boiling mad about this week — the price of potatoes jumped to their highest levels this year on the Port Elizabeth market

Potatoes were in short supply and pockets sold for about R8 for first grade. Second grade potatoes sold for R7,20 — an increase of R1 since last week.

Retail prices of pockets have been increased in vegetable shops and selling prices quoted today were R7,99 and R8,99 for first grade and R5 to R6 for third grade.

Earlier this year potatoes were selling at "special offers" of R4,99.

Supermarkets are now selling potatoes for about 79c a kilogram — 10% more than last week.

The chief auctioneer at the PE Market, Mr J Vosloo, said potatoes from the Gamtoos area should become available towards the end of the month, which should ease the shortage and bring prices down.

Consumers should look for seasonal bargains in carrots, cabbages and bananas and beetroot at present — they are all well supplied, according to Mr Derek Hayward, joint owner of a fruit and vegetable supply shop.

Tomatoes, onions, marrows, gems and pumpkins are all coming from other farming areas at this time of the year and are expensive. Apples are from cold storage and although export oranges are available, they are expensive.

"October is the worst month for fruit and vegetables in PE. Our farmers start planting in August and September, and towards the end of the year deciduous fruit comes in and the position eases," he said.

SOWETAN MAN FREED

243
SOWETAN

SOWETAN reporter Mr Mathata Tsedu, who spent 88 days in detention under emergency regulations, was released yesterday.

Mr Tsedu, an executive member of the Northern Transvaal region of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa), said he was happy to be

out of jail, but immediately expressed his disappointment because appointment because "many people are still in detention".

He said: "I am surprised that I was not interrogated during my stay in detention. I'm worried about all those people I left inside because they also want to be out."

His release comes after lawyers acting for Mwasa and for the Aragus Printing and Publishing Company, owners of the *Sowetan*, made representations to court and to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

Mr Tsedu was one of nine journalists detained since the emergency was declared on June 12.

Unions

Since his detention political, church, and community organisations and trade unions, including the International Federation of Journalists, requested the Government to release him.

Mr Tsedu said his detention has not dampened his spirits to continue working as a journalist.



FREED . . . Sowetan reporter, Mr Mathata Tsedu.

New group aims to fight SA censorship

11/9/85
Some of the objectives of the group are

About thirty people attended the official launch of the Anti-Censorship Action Group at the Witwatersrand University last night.

The group — formed to oppose censorship in any form — adopted its official constitution and elected a committee.

Mrs Nadine Gordimer, Mr Anton Harber, Mr Mathobe Mothloatse, Miss Dorothy Weaver, Miss Pat Sidley, Mr Duncan Innes and Mr Achmat Dangor were nominated to the executive committee of the group.

- "Creating a sense of unity and purpose among those subject to censorship.
- "Educating the public about the dangers of censorship.
- "Defending support and extending solidarity to the victims of censorship.
- "Embarking on joint action to prevent the extension of censorship.
- "Monitoring the effect and implementation of censorship in South Africa.

JOEL MERVIS

FIN MAIL
12/17/86

(243) (243)

IN MY
OPINION

'A very remarkable judgment'



The Natal Supreme Court has handed down its judgment in the case in which SA Associated Newspapers (Saan) the Argus Group, Natal Newspapers and the Natal Mercury challenged the emergency regulations relating to the press. Joel Mervis, a former *Sunday Times* editor, analyses the implications of the judgment.

Last week's decision by three Natal judges — Leon, Kumleben and Nienaber — declaring emergency laws affecting the press to be invalid, may come to be seen as a watershed in relations between the executive, parliament, the courts and the people

For a parallel one may need to go back about 30 years to the Appellate Division's dismissal of the notorious "High Court of Parliament" as void, invalid and of no effect

The legal points in last week's Natal case were clear enough. In drawing up the emergency regulations, the State President exceeded the powers granted to him by the Public Safety Act. President Botha gave the Commissioner of Police a free hand to take whatever action he pleased, thereby granting to the commissioner greater powers than the president himself possessed.

A regulation that possession of a subversive statement was an offence was described by the court as so far-reaching and horrendous as to be void and of no effect. Regulations providing for the "seizure" of a newspaper and for closing down a newspaper were

also declared invalid. All these findings are explicit, and were reached after a careful and thorough scrutiny of the law

It is the implicit part of the judgment — the unspoken affirmation — that raises it to a summit of eminence. One is irresistibly drawn to what appears to be some basic, fundamental assumptions of the court

The first would seem to be that although a court has no power to invalidate an Act of parliament, the court is nevertheless bound to ensure that parliament and the government exercise their sovereign power according to law

Running like a thread through the judgment was the concept that not only the law, but the rule of law, must be applied strictly and correctly. What does rule of law entail? In a civilised community, based on natural justice, the rule of law demands the recognition and acceptance of civil liberties, of free speech, of respect (by the lawmaker) for the law, and of an unswerving allegiance (by the lawmaker) to the rule of law itself

One could add that the rule of law includes also a recognition of, and a respect for, the democratic process

The Natal judges, in my view, may not have been unmindful of these considerations as they went carefully through their task of a strict, formal, logical interpretation of the law

All these factors may possibly help people to realise that a court is not necessarily a cabal of austere, aloof intellectuals, far removed from the hurly-burly of life, delivering their judgments from some kind of cloistered academe

The Natal court, in its meticulous legal

analysis, did not hesitate to speak out in fact as well as in law. When the court described regulations as "so far-reaching and horrendous" it spoke its mind. Significantly, it added that such regulations "could never have been intended, nor would be countenanced by parliament"

That test — what parliament would or would not have intended — is applied on several occasions. What it suggests is that the court puts parliament in the role of that well-known legal character, "a reasonable man"

Would "a reasonable man" have drawn up such regulations? If he would not have done so, one must assume parliament would not have done so either

One surmises, therefore, that the court might have had under consideration questions such as these: would "a reasonable man" suppress free speech, or impose harsh and outrageous penalties on newspapers, or arm the Commissioner of Police with powers greater than those of the State President? Would "a reasonable man" give these his approval?

From these assessments and evaluations, the judgment gives the impression of having two prongs, one visible, the other not. The visible prong interprets and sets out the law with abundant, convincing clarity. The invisible prong would seem to accept that the rule of law, civil liberty, free speech, and the public's right to know, are an integral, inseparable part of the civilised, democratic process

Would it be right to suggest that it is the invisible prong which carries the real sting of this very remarkable judgment?

As an institution, our press faces roughly the same economic, professional and technological challenges that you, as publishers and editors, face here in the Netherlands

High cost of technology, management-trade union tussles, competing electronic media, the rocketing cost of paper, the conflict between "advocacy" and "straight" reporting, a generation of computer-trained, won't-read children — these problems are also part of our daily lives

But in addition to all that, we in the press in South Africa find our very foundations — the assumptions of freedom on which we are based — threatened by the turmoil which sweeps the country

Urban revolt and official reaction, taking 2 000 lives in two years, have disrupted our newspaper distribution system, polarized the communities who read our papers and weakened our credibility as purveyors of news

And there are now even harsher state policies against the press which make it difficult if not impossible for us to perform our task of informing the public of what is going on around them

Up to June 12 of this year South Africa had an embattled but partly-free press

Now it is, unhappily, not possible to stand up on a public platform and say that the South African press is still free

Seizure of papers

On June 12 the government declared a national state of emergency not only to cover the difficult three days surrounding the June 16 Soweto anniversary, but a lengthy emergency that shows no sign of going away — except for some bridge-heads for freedom won in court and invariably reversed by government decree

The June 12 emergency as it applied to the press banned statements termed "subversive" (eg pleading for foreign action against the Republic or inciting people to strike or demonstrate illegally), banned the naming of detainees, reporting or commenting on actions of the security forces without explicit authority and banned access to townships or unrest areas — and the taking of pictures of unrest

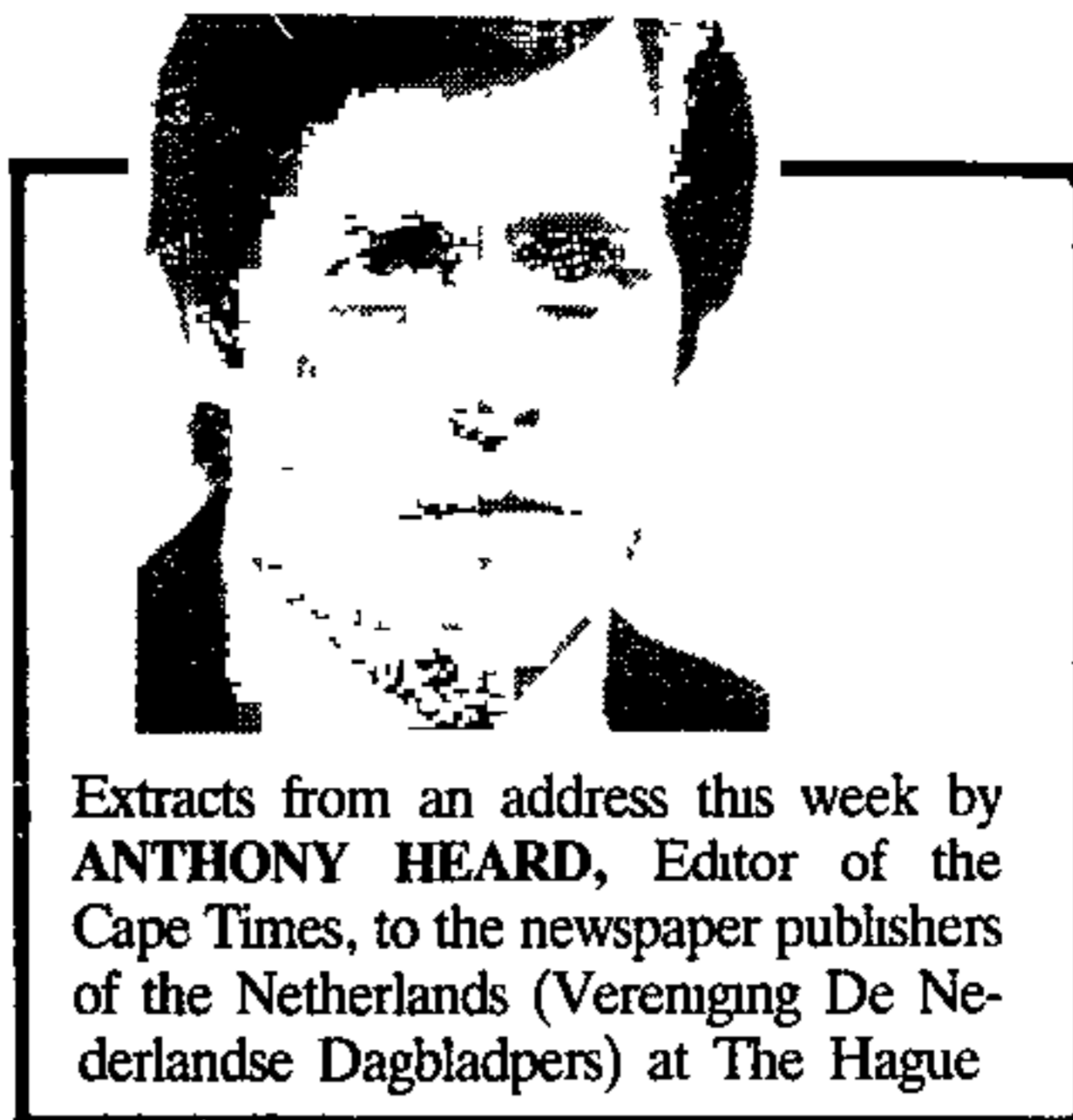
Transgression could lead to seizure of papers from the street or fines up to R20 000 or prison terms up to 10 years

The clamp was heavy. The public interest suffered. And protestations by the newly formed government Bureau for Information, the only authorized channel for unrest news, that the flow of information was adequate, drew cacophonous laughter from journalists

Even pro-government newspapers are now accusing the bureau of giving accounts markedly at variance with the facts. Its daily bulletins are a master in the art of obfuscation and obscurantism

Art 11m B 15/7/80
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Freedom of press tough nut to crack



Extracts from an address this week by ANTHONY HEARD, Editor of the Cape Times, to the newspaper publishers of the Netherlands (Vereniging De Nederlandse Dagbladders) at The Hague

Everything in South Africa, it seems, is returning to normal, except for the unrest and the deaths and the necklacing and the shooting and the stoning!

After the declaration of the emergency, for a couple of weeks newspapers were transfixed, impaled by their fear of being seized from the streets

They took few or no chances. As publishers, you will appreciate the financial and other problems if your newspaper supplies are simply taken off the streets by police

Your loss is more than the direct cost of loss of an edition — damage is done to that vital ingredient — business confidence — and advertisers can be driven away if they fear that you will not appear

Some lesser-known papers were, in fact, seized — which exercised the minds of the rest of us wonderfully

Newspapers resorted to publishing blank spaces in the place of banned news, but were promptly warned that this itself could amount to publishing a subversive statement!

Most newspapers told their readers in announcements that they were, in effect, unable to report unrest news properly

After the initial freeze, newspapers began to get a bit more brave, particularly after the courts had handed down judgments releasing detainees and declaring some definitions of subversive statements void on grounds of vagueness

Recently, a Natal court has declared null and void the state's assumed right to seize newspapers, which is a major ad-

vance, as it opens up the prospect of at least being able to answer to a criminal charge in the controlled conditions of a court rather than being whisked off street corners at the whim of any police officer

But the government has moved quickly to frustrate some of the gains made in court, for instance by reintroducing and even making more severe orders which restrict reporting security force action and unrest

There is still much confusion as to what can and cannot be done by the press

The official preoccupation with legality in South Africa, even for the most repressive measures, often opens the way for loopholes to be found through the courts, so much so that I doubt that a proper dictatorship could be organized in South Africa, without hindrance from the courts, unless full-scale martial law was declared

In this atmosphere of a slow crumbling of aspects of the emergency in court, editors progressively began widening the ramparts of freedom, notably by publishing the names of detainees, something up till then considered taboo

Way open

This was done, with deft legal advice, on the technical ground that although naming detainees was specifically banned in the emergency regulations, one section of the regulations provided a loophole because if relatives had been officially told of detentions this amounted to prior official disclosure, which meant the ban fell away

Since a government minister had stated that detainees' relatives were always told of their detention, the way was open to test the law

The Johannesburg Star took the plunge first, to its very great credit. I know it was a lonely decision for the acting editor of the Star and former editor of the Rand Daily Mail, Mr Rex Gibson, but he struck a blow for all journalists in the world when he was the first to publish names of some of the 14 000 or so people missing, presumed detained — on pain of a fine of R20 000 or 10 years in prison

If our tradition of press freedom in South Africa had been relatively weak, the plant would, I believe, have withered long ago

But the habits of free men and of free expression, were brought by early settlers, communities of English, Dutch, German, French and other extractions

Add to this similarly sturdy habits and a powerful yearning to be free on the part of a long-established black press in South Africa and it is readily clear that press freedom is a tough nut for government to crack.

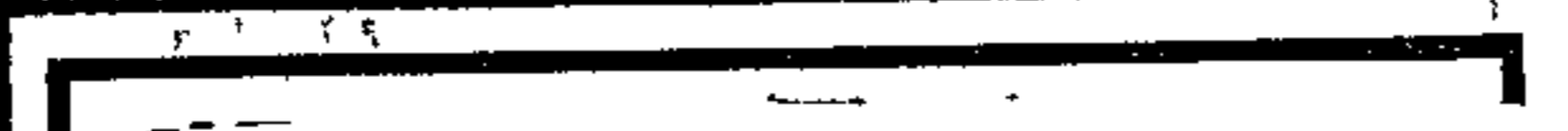
And when some fall by the wayside, like great liberal newspapers as the Rand Daily Mail, others will be there to carry on

DD 13 MAR 1981 (243)

Heard: no freedom

THE HAGUE — The editor of the Cape Times, Mr Anthony Heard, spoke critically here about restrictions imposed on the press by the South African Government and accused the government of "obfuscation and obscuran-

tism" In a speech at the annual convention of the Dutch Newspaper Publishers' Association, Mr Heard said "it is, unhappily, not possible to say that the South African press is still free" — Sapa-AP



Sowetan
18/9/86

Perskor workers down tools

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SIXTY workers at Perskor's Benoni plant were on a work stoppage yesterday demanding the recognition of their union, the Media Workers Association of SA, writes LEN MASEKO.

The workers also demanded the reinstatement of a worker who was fired this week.

After meeting Mwasa officials yesterday, management undertook to have further talks with the union on September 23

The workers returned to work conditionally. The conditions were:

Conditions

- Management stop coercing Mwasa members to join the SA Typographical Union (SATU),
- A ballot be held to determine Mwasa's support;
- Recognition of Mwasa if supported by the majority of workers,
- Non-victimisation of workers involved in the work stoppage,
- Management refrain from referring to Mwasa members as "bobbejaane" or "kaffirs"

LEAK OF INFORMATION IN NEWSPAPER

Freed journalist may not write

10/1/75
By FRANZ KRUGER
East London

JOURNALIST Mike Loewe has been released from Emergency detention, but a restriction order effectively preventing him from working has been imposed.

Loewe, a Weekly Mail correspondent, was released last Friday, just a day after a full bench of the Grahamstown Supreme Court rejected an application by him and six others for their detentions to be set aside.

Loewe's order prevents him from being involved in the dissemination of information or the production of any publication. He may also not be involved in United Democratic Front or End Conscription Campaign activities, nor attend any meeting where the government is criticised.

The order will remain in force for the duration of the State of Emergency. A number of other detainees have been released with similar orders.

A representative of the Cape Town-based Repression Monitoring Group said the group knew of at least 18 people issued with such orders, but believed there were far more.

Advertisement angers Ministers

Political Correspondent

EAST LONDON — Cabinet Ministers have reacted angrily to an Eastern Cape newspaper advertisement addressed to delegates at the National Party congress in this city.

Both Foreign Minister Mr P W Botha and Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis attacked the advertisement, which appeared prominently on page three of the *Daily Dispatch* yesterday.

The advertisement, signed by 77 people, asked Nationalist delegates to consider three questions.

How could children be held in detention for weeks on end without trial in a civilised country?

How could community councillors who had been rejected by the people and who had been unable to live in their constituencies for over a year be seen as the true representatives of the people?

How could Mr Heunis turn down the request of the East London City Council and the Duncan Village Residents Association for the incorporation of Duncan Village into East London? Did the people concerned, be they black or white, have no say in their own affairs? The advert exhorted the delegates to "wake up and face reality before it's too late".

'DAMAGING TO IMAGE OF SA'

Mr Botha, who read the advertisement to the congress, said it was just the sort of thing that damaged South Africa's image abroad and made the Government's task of countering negative publicity that much more difficult.

The people who placed the advertisement had not asked what the facts were. They had given the impression South Africa was a country where children were detained indiscriminately.

No mention was made of the murders by burning tyres or of the fact that the police had a duty to protect innocent people.

On the second question, Mr Botha said the central issue was that people could not live in their communities because they were being killed, their families were intimidated, their daughters raped, their homes and properties burned.

On the third question, he said, the impression was created that Mr Heunis could not care less about the people of other communities. He governed like a dictator, they had tried to suggest.

Yet not one of them had ever approached Mr Heunis to get his viewpoint, Mr Botha said.

Ex-mayors boycott lunch for President

EAST LONDON — Two former East London mayors boycotted a civic luncheon yesterday in honour of the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Mr Donald Card said the State President was in East London on party political matters and not with affairs affecting the city.

There was no love lost between him and the National Party. It would have been hypocritical to attend after he had been outspoken about the cost to ratepayers for the luncheon.

Mr Errol Spring refused to comment on his stayaway but had earlier said it was the mayor, Mrs Elsie Kemp's prerogative to entertain whom she wished.

He had also objected previously to the freedom of the city being conferred on Mr Botha because of his office as Cape NP leader.

The honour was usually conferred on people who had contributed meritoriously to the city, he said. Sapa

Sport can draw races together — De Beer

Political Correspondent

EAST LONDON — Sport can play a mighty role in drawing the heterogeneous society of South Africa closer together, according to Deputy Minister of Development Aid and Education Mr Sam de Beer.

Sport is something all cultures have in common, he told the Cape National Party congress yesterday.

Mr de Beer was responding to a resolution expressing concern at the incidence of crime among young blacks.

His answer provided more than an insight into the man who is generally regarded as a young and talented Deputy Minister in charge of the politically explosive portfolio of black education.

His comments are representative of the complete about-turn in Nationalist thinking about sporting contact between the various population groups.

SEGREGATED

Where the National Party once grudgingly conceded sport between teams of different races at "international" level but insisted that school sport remain segregated, it is now official policy that mixed sport at school is a desirable means of fostering goodwill.

Mr de Beer said sport promoted friendship, goodwill and an understanding of one another's problems, as well as a readiness to recognise and respect other people's traditions.

In the process, he said, sport and recreation facilities could lead to improved human and group relations, a healthy utilisation of leisure time and a curbing of juvenile crime.

Since 1976 the Government had financed or assisted the provision of 42 stadiums, 998 soccer fields, 741 netball courts, 636 tennis courts and 103 recreation halls for blacks.

TRAINING

More than R850 000 had been spent on sport introductory courses and the training of coaches, referees and administrators since 1980.

Another R350 000 was budgeted for this purpose.

The administration and control of school sport was regarded as an own affair of the respective population groups. No guidelines or prescriptions were laid down.

The Government does not prohibit integrated sport, but neither does it prescribe it. The choice of taking part in competitions and matches rests with the controlling bodies of schools and the teachers.

In the Cape this was happening in cricket and soccer.

In Durban this week there was to be an athletics meeting between coloured, black and white schools as well as from independent states.

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ECC appeal to Media Council

Weekend Argus Reporter

THE Media Council is to consider a complaint by the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) against the Aida Parker Newsletter for an allegedly "scurrilous and false attack"

A Media Council spokesman confirmed that the hearing had been set down for Monday.

In a statement yesterday the ECC said that an April issue contained "a number of major inaccuracies" and tried to link the ECC to banned organisations like the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party

"This was an attempt to discredit and criminalise the ECC," said its national secretary, Mr David Shandler.

Anonymous pamphlets quoting from the newsletter were distributed in Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth and Pretoria

Mr Shandler said the Media Council hearing was significant in that the foundation of the State's attack on the ECC would also be challenged.

● Sapa reports that the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said last night that "negative elements like the ECC cannot be allowed to dismantle the will and purposefulness of the Defence Force"

Speaking at the University of Pretoria's Rag presentation ceremony he said "elements" could not be allowed to "sow division and doubt during one of the most challenging times in the nation's history".

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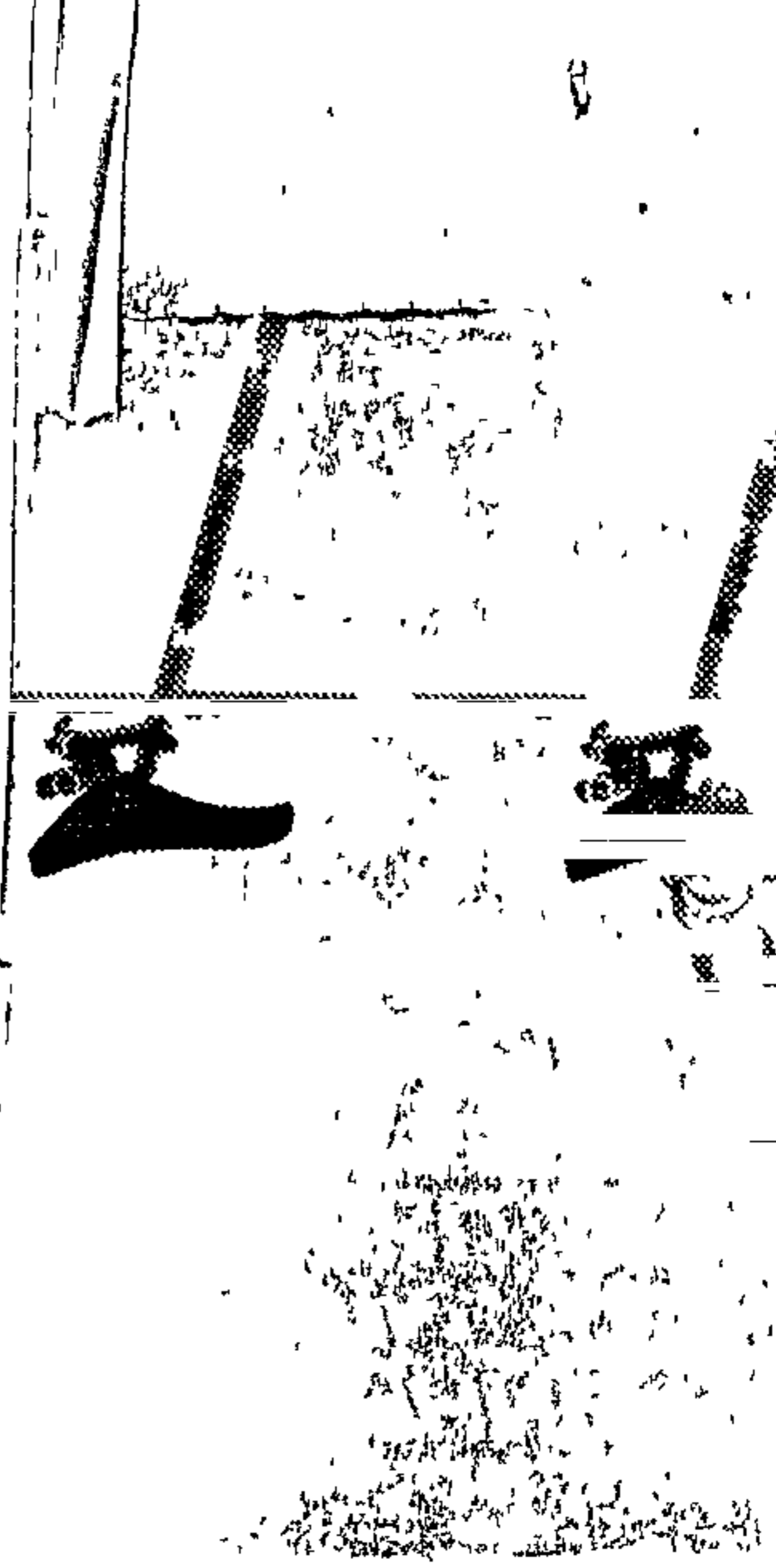
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Court rejects newsmen's challenge on subpoenas

SPTK 3/10/76 243

PORT ELIZABETH — An application to review and set aside a decision by a Port Elizabeth magistrate that subpoenas served on four newsmen and the Government notice under which they were served were valid was yesterday dismissed with costs by the Grahamstown Supreme Court

The applicants were the editor of the *Eastern Province Herald* and editor-in-chief of the *Herald and Evening Post*, Mr J C Viviers, the news editor of the *Herald*, Mr Andre Erasmus, the deputy editor of the *Evening Post*, Mr Trevor Bisseker, and the news editor of the *Post*, Mr Clifford Foster

The respondents were the magistrate, Mr P Rothman, and the Attorney-General of the East Cape Division, Mr J A d'Oliveira.

MATERIAL EVIDENCE

The hearing arose out of an inquiry held when the four newsmen were called on to appear before Mr Rothman to give material evidence concerning an offence allegedly committed by Mr Mkhuseh Jack and others

The newsmen were required to produce photographic material taken by photographers at a meeting at the Dan Qeqe Stadium in Zwide on March 31

Judge T M Mullins handed down the judgment reached by himself, Judge L Olivier and Judge J P G Eksteen

It was stated that the first question to be decided was whether the judicial existence of the alleged offence was a condition precedent to the validity of the subpoenas, or the compellability of the witnesses to answer questions or

produce documents, and whether the magistrate hearing the evidence was entitled to go into this question

It was found the magistrate should be entitled to go into the question of whether the offence was known to the law of this country

The judges stated that a witness subpoenaed under section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act to give evidence in respect of an alleged contravention under the relevant sections of the Internal Security Act was entitled to attack the validity of the prohibition

If the objection succeeded, it was said, they would not be compelled to testify or to deliver any documents unless the prosecutor expressly sought to rely on some other prohibition

The judges said the ultimate question was that, if it was found that a ground of complaint was present, whether the public authority or the person acting had the power to do what it or he did

It was found that section 46 (3) of the Internal Security Act enabled the Minister of Law and Order to issue the notice

The judges said that, even if it was ambiguous, the Government notice could not be declared void for vagueness, as it merely gave effect to the statute

Nor could the statute be declared void, they said, adding that it should be interpreted and given meaning in any particular situation

They ordered that, in the result, the application could not succeed and should be refused with costs — Sapa

CAPE TIMES 3/10/89

Court dismisses media application

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Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Grahamstown Supreme Court yesterday dismissed with costs an application to review and set aside a decision by a local magistrate that subpoenas served on four newsmen and the government notice under which they were served were valid.

The applicants were the editor of the Eastern Province Herald and editor-in-chief of the Herald and Evening Post, Mr J C Viviers, the Herald's news editor, Mr Andre Erasmus, the Post's deputy editor, Mr Trevor Bisseker, and its news editor, Mr Clifford Foster.

The respondents were magistrate Mr P Rothman and the Attorney-General of the East Cape Division, Mr J A d'Oliveira.

The hearing arose out of an inquiry held when the four newsmen were called on to appear before Mr Rothman to give material evidence concerning an offence allegedly committed by Mr Mkhuseleli Jack and others, and to testify and declare all they knew concerning the offence.

The newsmen were required to produce photographic material taken by freelance photographers Mr Brian Sokutu and Mr Elijah Jokazi. They also had to produce notes taken by Mr Sokutu at a meeting at Zwide's Dan Qeqe Stadium on March 31.

Newsletter on ECC 'untrue'

24/3
CA. Times 7/10/86

THE South African Media Council (SAMC) yesterday reserved judgment on its investigation into a complaint by the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) against the Aida Parker Newsletter (APN)

The investigation, held in Cape Town and chaired by retired Appeal Court judge Mr Justice M A Diemont, followed an April edition of the APN which took the form of a 12-page special report on the ECC.

The ECC submitted that the APN had repeatedly breached the SAMC's code of conduct

It had not indicated where its report was supposition and had never approached the ECC for verification

The APN was not represented at the hearing and has refused to submit itself to the SAMC's jurisdiction.

Mr Michael Evans, past chairman of the ECC in the Western Cape, said the APN contained blatant factual inaccuracies and malicious untruths and that there was an innuendo throughout the newsletter that the ECC was not what it appeared to be and furthered the aims of unlawful organizations.

The ECC also objected to an APN allegation that the ECC was linked with the "Soviet apparatus" through the War Resisters International and the World Peace Council and its affiliates

Mr Evans said that while the APN had alleged that the ECC had a hidden agenda, "it is the APN which has a hidden agenda. This hidden agenda is to undermine the ECC and to weaken it. It has been partially successful in this aim already, without having regard to the truth whatsoever"

Photographer who lost arm in shooting jailed for 2 years

CAPE TOWN — A photographer who lost his arm after a policeman shot at him in Crossroads in February last year, is to be jailed for two years after being convicted in the Regional Court for public violence.

Douglas Ntsele (34) of New Crossroads, Nyanga, was sentenced to four years in prison, of which two years were suspended for five years.

He told the court he had come out of his house and waved a white cloth at the police as he could no longer bear the teargas being fired.

AMPUTATED

Ntsele said he was about 10 m away from a policeman when the man had fired at him. His arm had been amputated the same night.

Warrant Officer P Freeman told the court he had been one of five policemen who had entered the dense bush in Crossroads to stop people who had

been throwing petrol bombs and stones at police vehicles

He said they had chased a group of about 15 men near Klipfontein Road. He was alone when a man had jumped from behind a bush and thrown a stone at him. He had been about 6 m away from the man when he had fired two shots with his shotgun.

The magistrate, Mr J C Lategan, said he wanted to bring home to Ntsele that things cannot be solved by violence. Mr Lategan said although Ntsele now had one arm, he would still be able to take pictures.

Mr Lategan said when a person attacked the police, he should expect to be injured, or even lose his life. He accepted that Ntsele was a first offender and had a wife and child, "but I must do what will scare others from doing the same in the future".

Mr P Gamble, for Ntsele, lodged an immediate appeal. — Sapa.

Minister denies giving formal Press interview 243

The Minister of Finance, Mr. Barend du Plessis, has issued a statement from Munich, in which he says, inter alia, that

- It is untrue that the *Financial Mail* (FM) formally interviewed him in Washington and that
- A report on the matter in the latest issue of the FM contained "a series of untruths".

The FM's report, which quoted the Minister as criticising certain South African businessmen for their alleged support of American pressure on Pretoria to change some of its policies, was prominent-

ly featured in the South African Press yesterday.

In Johannesburg, *Business Day* said: "A new storm is brewing between Finance Minister, Barend du Plessis, and the business community after he reportedly threatened certain top businessmen because of their anti-apartheid activities".

he Minister's statement begins. "It is untrue that the *Financial Mail* recently had a formal interview with me in Washington from which they now purport to quote.

"The report also contains a series of other untruths.

"I therefore dissociate myself from the content and the spirit of the report, and reject it."

The October 10 issue of the *Financial Mail* said "special delegations of (South African) businessmen gave American politicians the clear impression that pressures on Pretoria would be welcome in some parts of (our) country".

The FM then quoted Mr du Plessis as having told their Washington correspondent: "We know who these people are".

"And we know what to do with them when the time comes," he was said to have added.

The Minister's rejection of the report also says: "Another untrue statement involves Minister Pik Botha.

"The truth is that Minister Botha informed me fully about the circumstances surrounding the US senators (and) that I, in the light of all the facts, supported his actions." — Sapa.

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Firing of patriotic staffer 'unfair' ²⁴³

JOHANNESBURG — The action of the BBC in firing Ms Sarah Crowe for joining in the singing of the hymn "Nkosi Sikelele i Afrika," at Cosatu House in Johannesburg on October 1 during a national day of mourning for victims of the Kinross mine disaster, was "unjustified and unfair," the president of the South African Society of Journalists, Ms Pat Sidley, said yesterday.

Ms Crowe, a journalist with the former Sunday Express, became a press officer for the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, and was seconded to help start the New Nation newspaper where she worked until she joined the BBC in August.

In her capacity as journalist with BBC-TV, she researched information for BBC-TV films.

On October 1 she attended the service in Cosatu House and joined in the singing of the hymn. This came to the notice of the BBC in London who declared it had been compromised by her action. She was subsequently discharged.

Ms Sidley said the British National Union of Journalists in London was looking into the matter after being contacted by the SASJ.

Ms Sidley said in her statement the action by the BBC was "unjustified and unfair", and that it seemed to display "ignorance and lack of understanding".

"This is the kind of action better suited to the South African government and is likely to cause grave insults to most of the black community and many journalists in this country. We ask the BBC to reinstate her," she said. — Sapa.

Editors to sue SABC

TWO editors are to sue SABC-TV for comments made on a television programme last week.

SOWETAN Correspondent

The actions by Percy Qoboza, editor of City Press and the editor of Drum magazine, Sam Motjuwadi, follow a news programme earlier last week when SABC's Cliff Saunders interviewed the chairman of Operation Advance and Upgrade John Gogotya.

Mr Gogotya said "Racial" black pupils insisted political leaders should enrol their children in "troubled" township schools before the end of 1987.

He named Mr Qoboza, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Civic Association and Mr Motjuwadi as being among leaders whose children did not attend township schools.

The day after the TV interview Mr Qoboza's two daughters, who are at Woodmead school in Johannesburg, went home.

Mr Qoboza said they took this action after being told by friends "about the increment both on myself and family by the SABC".

The headmaster of Woodmead, Mr Peter Nixon, said he could not understand how SATV could broadcast "something like this". The interview was

also condemned by the National Education Crisis Committee.

Earlier this week Mr Qoboza issued a statement saying that nobody had made any threats against him or his family.

"That goes for Archbishop Tutu, Dr Nthato Motlana and Stan Motjuwadi," he said.

"All the threats to my life have only come from one source," he said, blaming "agents" of the South African Government.

A spokesman for SABC-TV said the comments were made by Mr Gogotya, who was "entitled to his opinion".

Lawyers instructed by Qoboza are busy working on papers this weekend and will serve them on the SABC this week.

Papers will also be served on Mr Gogotya. Mr Motjuwadi said he was also taking legal action over the programme.

CAPL Times 14.10/86
243 1401/29

BBC says why it fired 'singing' correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The BBC's dismissal of journalist Miss Sarah Crowe for singing "Nkosi, Sikelele Afrika" was condemned by a local International Federation of Journalists vice-president, the South African Catholic Bishops Conference and the Media Workers Association of SA yesterday

It was unwise as it affected the feelings of South African blacks, the vice-president for Africa of IFJ, Mr Thami Mazwai, said.

Mr Mazwai was commenting on last week's dismissal of Miss Crowe for singing the song at a memorial service

Margaret Smith reports from London that a BBC spokesman said last night the decision to terminate Miss Crowe's contract was taken "because BBC journalists and freelance contributors are required to be impartial and objective"

"It is also necessary that they are seen to be both of these at all times,"

the spokesman added. "Obviously the decision was taken with regret."

The singing of "Nkosi, Sikelele Afrika" was only one of the reasons for Miss Crowe's dismissal, he said

The Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC), which employed Miss Crowe earlier this year before she joined the BBC, said her dismissal was "outrageous"

Calling for her re-instatement, the SACBC said in a statement. "To sing this Christian anthem at a memorial service with the customary raised fist — as is done at many church services throughout South Africa — is a prayer of petition, not a political statement."

The BBC's dismissal of Miss Crowe was an insult to South Africa's "national anthem", a spokesman for the Mwasa said.

"When 'God Save the Queen' is sung in Britain, a South African in that country will stand to attention and sing with everybody else as a gesture of respect for the Queen

"We believe Sarah Crowe had a moral obligation to sing Nkosi Sikelele Afrika too, especially because she is a South African."

The SACBC failed to see how this impaired journalistic objectivity "all the more since Miss Crowe participated in the Kinross mine disaster memorial service while not on assignment"

Mr Mazwai said her dismissal was "completely unexpected from an organization that has covered explosive situations in most parts of the world".

Mr Mazwai called for her immediate re-instatement. — Sapa

News

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**Crowe sacking:
BBC puts
impartiality first**

243
CARY 17/10/86

From IAN HOBBS and Sapa

LONDON — The BBC yesterday placed its reputation for impartiality above warnings that its staff in South Africa would be boycotted by unions, including the NUM and Mwasu, if the sacked journalist Sarah Crowe was not re-employed

The BBC said it respected appeals made on her behalf in London and South Africa but the decision to sack Miss Crowe for allegedly failing to meet its standards of objectivity and impartiality had to stand

A BBC spokesman said yesterday that it was not reconsidering its decision "at this stage"

The decision had been taken "with much regret" and only after the most careful consideration

It is understood that the recommendation to sack her for giving the clenched-fist salute during singing of "Nkosi Sikelele' i Afrika" was made in South Africa but confirmed in London

Under the conditions of her short-term, six-week contract Miss Crowe was "expected to be impartial and objective and to be seen to be both on assignment"

Miss Crowe joined in the singing and raised a fist during an October 1 memorial service in a Johannesburg union office for 177 miners killed in the September 16 Kinross gold mine disaster. She was quoted as saying she was off duty at the time

The spokesman said that, in the circumstances, they had been obliged to act firmly and felt that the reactions being expressed by Miss Crowe's supporters were "unfortunate" and could prove "counter-productive" to all

The BBC had fully considered appeals by Britain's National Union of Journalists and the South African Society of Journalists that frontline reporters like Miss Crowe faced unusual circumstances and pressures

But Mr John Foster, spokesman for the broadcasting section of the NUJ, accused the BBC of being "insensitive and thoughtless"

Kommelji

'Executions are still rife in Africa'

PRISONERS are still executed in 18 African countries and thousands of people are detained without trial in the continent, according to Amnesty International.

The London-based human rights organisation said in its 1985 annual report that 90 000 people were jailed in SA last year under the now-defunct pass laws.

It said there was widespread torture and ill-treatment of detainees in SA, several of whom had died while in custody.

It also said security forces had murdered several prominent opposition figures.

"The death penalty remained a major concern. In all, about 137 people were hanged at Pretoria Central Prison in 1985," the organisation, which campaigns for the abolition of the death penalty, said.

SA journalists protest against BBC sacking

A MEDIA delegation met BBC-TV's Johannesburg representative and protested against the sacking last week of its member Sarah Crowe in a bid to get her reinstated.

Crowe, a BBC researcher, was fired for singing the anthem *Nkosi Sikelel' Afrika* and raising her fist during the memorial service for miners killed in the Kinross gold mine disaster.

International Federation of Journalists vice-president for Africa Thami Mazwai, Southern African Society of Journalists president John Allen and Mike Tisong of the Media Workers' Association met Michael Buerks in Johannesburg and presented five points for transmission to BBC's London office. They said:

- "The SA media unions regard Crowe's dismissal as unfair as the BBC did not follow normal procedures.

- "We believe Crowe was

not as representative of the BBC as their full-time Johannesburg-based correspondents are. As such whatever action she might have been involved in cannot be seen by the average person as BBC policy.

- "The BBC officials in London did not take into account the realities of the explosive and emotional situation in the country.

- "The dismissal will affect the attitude of the black community towards the BBC and the foreign representatives and this would be an unhealthy development.

- "We respect the BBC's attitude towards perceived impartiality but this cannot be applied holus bolus in any situation."

Buerks, describing the issue as delicate, told *Sapa* he had already passed on the views to the London office.

★ See Percy's Itch on Page

Editors plan to sue the SABC

Post Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The editors of two black publications have decided to go ahead with plans to sue the South African Broadcasting Corporation for comments made about them during a *Network* programme earlier this month, it was reported today.

In a front-page report in the *City Press* newspaper, Mr Percy Qoboza was quoted as saying that he would be suing the SABC for R75 000.

In addition, the article also stated that *Drum Magazine* editor, Mr Stan Motjuwadi, would follow with a similar action.

The actions initiated by the two men are in response to the October 5 *Network* programme in which Mr John Gogotya of Operation Advance and Upgrade said that certain prominent blacks were under increasing pressure from "radicals" about their children's education.

A report said lawyers were expected to serve papers on the parties this week after demands for a retraction and an apology were not met.

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Mwasa to fight for recognition at Perskor

By Michael Tissong

The Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) was given a mandate by members at a national congress in Soweto yesterday to declare a dispute with Perskor.

The union said the majority of workers at the company's plants were members of the union, but Mwasa was denied recognition.

Mwasa also endorsed a constitution entrenching clauses that Mwasa was a trade union for black media workers and would not affiliate to political organisations.

The 1984 congress split the union when the Cape regions wanted to open membership to whites and affiliate to the United Democratic Front. Unity talks lead to a reconciliation.

The union agreed to retain a reconciliation committee to run the union instead of electing a national executive. The committee, chosen last year to heal the rift, will continue to be headed jointly by Mr Joe Thlooe and Ms Sandra Nagfaal.

Father Buti Tlhagale, a labour affairs specialist at the South African Council of Churches, was the guest speaker.

Sapa may retrench 10 staff

Mercury Reporters

THE operations of the South African Press Association (Sapa) news agency may be reduced significantly, with 10 of its Johannesburg staff facing retrenchment.

The deputy managing director of South African Associated Newspapers, Mr Ray Paulson, who is on the board of Sapa, last night confirmed that the agency was looking into various cost-cutting measures — including a reduction of staff

'At a committee meeting held on Monday a suggestion was put forward in which Sapa will discontinue supplying edited Reuters and Associated Press copy to newspapers. As some newspapers already receive this copy directly, it was felt that it is a duplication of services,' he said

Mr Paulson said, however, that no final decision had been taken and that the matter would be put to the board of Sapa on October 29 for their decision

He confirmed that 10 staff members would go on leave for a month to see how the new system would work, before any decision to retrench would be taken

Sources at Sapa said the proposed retrenchments would cut Johannesburg staff from 26 to 16

Methodists may pass resolution on sanctions

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

THE Methodist Church of Southern Africa is expected to pass a resolution today on the issue of overseas disinvestment in and sanctions against this country

Members of the Church conference in Pietermaritzburg held discussions behind closed doors for nearly two hours before deciding to ask the resolutions committee, together with a number of co-opted members, to draw up a resolution reflecting opinions expressed from the floor

The conference agreed to go into committee late yesterday after receiving legal advice that some speakers might contravene the state of emergency regulations by expressing their views in open session

The Church's standpoint on the controversial issue is likely to be decided this morning when the conference resumes

The Rev Khoza Mgojo, president of the Federal Theological Seminary at Imbali, near Pietermaritzburg, was elected president of the Church for the second time in four years

He will succeed the Rev Jack Scholtz in October next year Mr Scholtz was inducted as president last Friday

Dr Mgojo previously held office as president of the Church in 1982

Teachers 'should be retired at 55'

TEACHERS should be retired at the age of 55 instead of 65 to avoid retrenchments in the Indian teaching profession, Mr Reuben John, Solidarity's candidate in the November 12 Durban Brickfield parliamentary by-election, said yesterday

Mr John, 59, a retired headmaster, said in a statement that a recent announcement by the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates that 413 qualified and 291 unqualified teachers may have to be retrenched because of expected cutbacks in education budgets was 'very disturbing' — (Sapa)

(Report by N Bissetty, 36 Westgard House, Gardiner Street, Durban)

Candidate pulls Fastest s

Copy Times 20/10/80

Mwasa consolidates new unified stance

243

JOHANNESBURG. — The Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) consolidated its reunification when it adopted a new constitution at its national congress held in Soweto this week

The new president and other officials will be announced after the next national council meeting of the organization.

The appointment of Mr Tyrone August as full-time general secretary was confirmed

Among the resolutions passed were a call for the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of all detainees and political prisoners and a rejection of the pass laws in their "new form".

The government was criticized for its refusal to grant visas to 13 foreign trade unionists and journalists who were to attend the congress as observers.

"Obviously the government, previously delighted we had split, is now shattered Mwasa is again alive and kicking," said spokesman Mr Mazwai Thami

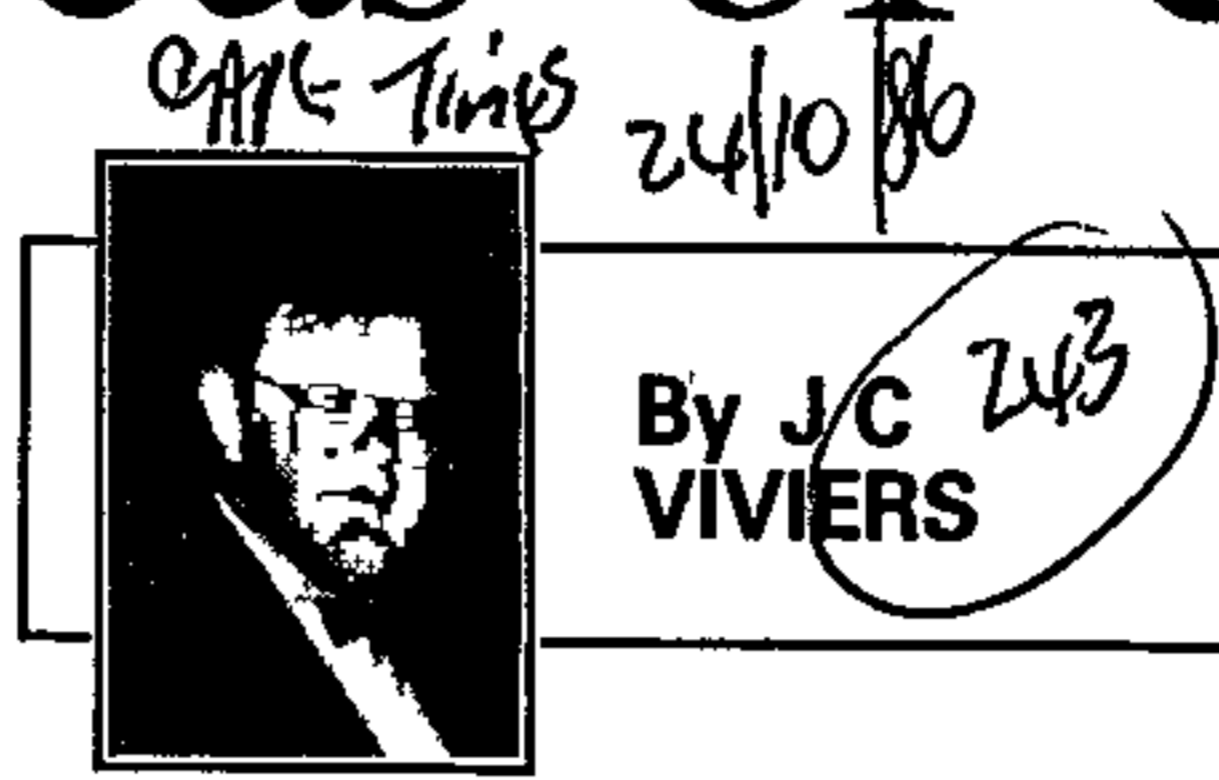
The congress held a service to commemorate the banning of three newspapers and the detention of scores of leaders on October 19, 1977. — Sapa

Battered SA press can still probe areas of darkness

CONSIDERING the obstacles that remain in the way of everyday reporting considering how journalists have been nailed down by some of the toughest laws imaginable, it is in fact possible to marvel at just how much the press is still managing to bring to light.

Yet the areas of darkness are there. As a test, see how many of the following questions you are able to answer to your own satisfaction.

- What is the government's overall political plan? Is there one?
- How well do you understand current government direction compared with when Hendrik Verwoerd or John Vorster were in charge?
- Who and what are the comrades? Is there a central control?
- What is the role of the State Security Council? What are those curious regional committees established by the military about?
- Is the UDF a front organization, wittingly or unwittingly, for the ANC?
- How much is personal gain and interest motivating the sanctions campaign abroad?
- Is the central government fully in control or do some state departments at times act independently?
- Why is the government incapable of controlling its massive overspending?
- Why does Pretoria persist with community councils when these have been roundly rejected?
- What was the state president really planning to say in his Rubicon speech and what made him change his mind at the last minute?
- Why did the government reverse course on sanctions, virtually inviting them all of a sudden?
- What percentage of South Africans are out of work?
- Who made how much money out of the oil embargo?
- Why was the SADF raid into Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana ordered at such a sensitive time when the Eminent Persons' Group seemed on the verge of a breakthrough on the ANC's attitude towards violence?
- Is Oliver Tambo a committed Christian or a committed communist?
- Who are the dozens of "credible black leaders" talking to Mr Heunis and Mr Botha behind closed doors? What followings do they have?
- What is happening in the townships?
- What are the real aims behind boycotts and stayaways?
- Who killed Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicele Mhlawuli?
- Who killed Griffiths Mxenge in 1981 and his wife, Victoria, last year?
- Who killed Mrs Albertina Dlanwja in August?
- Who killed Dr Ric Turner and, for that matter, Dr Robert Smit and his wife?



EXTRACTS from a speech on the current state of the press and news reporting in South Africa ... delivered at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, this week, by the Editor of the Eastern Province Herald

- What happened to the three Pebco leaders, Siphon Hashe, Ququawuli Godolozu and Champion Galela, who disappeared in May last year?
- What are the reorientation courses for detainees and pupils all about, and why the secrecy?
- Are forced removals still taking place — and if so, on what scale?
- Are we in danger of a military dictatorship?
- Are detainees being ill-treated or tortured? If so, on what scale?
- Are most blacks for or against sanctions?
- Is there no solution to the school boycott?
- What is the extent of the ANC's influence in the townships?
- How many jobs has the decentralization scheme created? How much money has it taken?

THESE questions are but some taken from a much longer list that in itself was not exhaustive.

Of course, the lack of answers cannot all be blamed on legal restrictions or on the government. But the increasing fogging up of perceptions in our society is part of an official shift towards more and more secrecy. It goes hand in hand, on both sides of the political fence, with growing public pressure for conformism to a cause — the us-or-them syndrome.

Successive Nationalist governments looked for opportunities to curb the press. Their urge was dampened by an argument, sometimes advanced from within the government's own ranks, that gagging newspapers would seriously damage overseas confidence and inhibit outside investment.

But when the foreign banks pulled the rug from under South Africa's economy last year, they put paid not only to overseas investor confidence but also to that argument in favour of press freedom. The government no longer saw any reason not to act against the press. So in this case, at least, foreign pressure has not improved the chances of dialogue and negotiation.

Yet even before a state of emergency was declared, the press was heavily under siege. There are nearly 100 ordinary laws that affect newspaper reporting.

The safe course would be to publish nothing except what is officially confirmed. Human attitudes being what they are, I suspect newspapers are not likely to be prosecuted for getting their facts wrong in favour of the authorities. But that would hardly constitute good and courageous journalism.

Businessmen get angry when they see what they regard as pessimistic reports about the economy. Radical groups feed in questionable or untrue information and get annoyed because it is not accepted at face value.

SIMPLY through trying to stay neutral, newspapers inevitably must expect to be attacked from both ends as being "on the other side". It is a penalty one pays for attempting to be objective, for occupying middle ground in a fast-polarizing society, and sometimes the criticism sadly comes from misguided people within the newspaper industry.

These problems of the press do not belong to newspapers alone, whatever the people who applaud Mr Louis Nel when he tries to tell them less news is better news, want to think.

Destroying the credibility of the press does not give greater credibility to a government. Hermann Goering confessed at the end of the war that the combination of propaganda and press controls in Germany had backfired to such an extent that instead of listening, German citizens were getting their information — at great risk — from an enemy source: the BBC.

However, battered though it is, South Africa's press will not sit on the sidelines and merely take what is being dished out. Newspapers may be more restricted than ever before but they are still informing the public.

They can still show up a maverick attempt to introduce a new local version of the discredited *dompas*. They can expose when officials continue resettling communities against their will, in spite of assurances from Parliament about no more forced removals. They can reveal when the Bureau of Information spends staggering amounts of tax money on producing a togetherness jingle — surely a classic instance of fiddling while Rome burns.

Press freedom will survive. I hope it does so here and now, that the public will insist on it surviving, so that when a new government comes into being in South Africa it will be able to inherit and build on the right of free speech, instead of taking over a tempting instrument of press control. For at this very moment we are putting down the foundations of the society in which we are going to live in five or 10 years.

Reporter fined for contempt of court

THE Rand Supreme Court yesterday fined a *Business Day* reporter R100 or three months' imprisonment and sentenced him to six months' imprisonment suspended for three years for contempt of court.

Transvaal Deputy Judge President Mr Justice Coetzee convicted Norman Shepherd following the publication of an inaccurate report written by him which appeared in *Business Day* last Wednesday pertaining to the trial of three Krugersdorp men charged with murder.

Mr Justice Coetzee found Shepherd guilty of "three fabrications" in his report on the trial of Anton Stoop, 23, Willem Jansen, 22, and Francois Bester, 22, for

Business Day Reporter

the murder of David Ovemile Mthutang on February 24

Stoop received the death sentence on Thursday following his conviction by Mr Justice Coetzee of murder, Jansen was imprisoned for five years for attempted murder, and Bester was imprisoned for two years for assault.

Shepherd incorrectly reported that State advocate Brink Ferreira had called for the death sentence for each of the men, that petrol had been poured on Mthutang to set him alight, and that Mthutang's skull was crushed during an assault with a stone.

Mr Justice Coetzee said before

sentencing Shepherd that the media had a responsibility to report accurately on the proceedings of a court trial in order not to present an incorrect perspective to the public.

He used last week's rioting in Harare, which led to the destruction of the SA Airways' office and the office of Air Malawi, as an example of the potential consequences of "irresponsible reporting".

Mr Justice Coetzee also said in his judgment that judges "took umbrage" at the use of their first names in newspaper reports on court proceedings and requested the media to mention judges' surnames only.

SA Press must 'take a risk'

29/10/86 The Star Bureau

(243)

LONDON — Dr Allan Boesak told a meeting in London that until South African newspapers made a strong challenge to the Government — even at the risk of being closed down — blacks would continue to believe that they “are not there to serve truth as they should”.

He said South Africa's Press “should begin to make a better contribution than they have been able or willing to make up to now”.

He urged foreign correspondents in the country to defy censorship to tell the world what was really happening. And they should employ black reporters to reflect events and impressions in situations where white reporters are unable or unwilling to go.

“British newspapers must also do a little more than they have been able or willing to do up to now.”

Dr Boesak was guest speaker at a meeting organised by the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) to launch a fund for a new “independent” news agency in South Africa.

STAND AGAINST CENSORSHIP

Details of the new agency and how it will operate are sparse, but the NUJ is hoping to raise up to R60 000 to finance it.

Commenting on South African newspapers, Dr Boesak said “The white South African liberal Press can do more.”

He said their stand against censorship since the start of the state of emergency had not been “particularly brave”.

“All these newspapers belong to Anglo American — and they can decide to challenge the Government. Why do they not decide to make that challenge and go to the black people and hear what is happening in the black areas and print the atrocities ... and let the Government decide to close them down

“And until they do that, I believe black people will continue to believe those newspapers are not there to serve the truth as they should, but to cover for white political and economic interests.”

Boesak hits at Press in S A

LONDON—Dr Alan Boesak yesterday challenged the South African Press to tell the story of the country's 'suffering people' — and Britain's National Union of Journalists launched a fund to establish an independent news agency in the country.

Dr Boesak told some 400 people at a public meeting organised by the NUJ. 'All the newspapers belong to Anglo American. Why don't they decide the time has come to speak the truth, find out what is happening in the townships and challenge the Government to close down all those newspapers.'

Dr Boesak said he believed the South African Press was protecting white interests in the country, and he also criticised foreign correspondents based in South Africa.

'Many or most of them are white. How do they report what is happening in the black community. We must have black journalists who can go into the townships,' he said. — (Sapa-Reuter)

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(22)

Another news group quits Namibia

(243)

WINDHOEK — The Afrikaans Sunday newspaper *Rapport* is to close its editorial office in Windhoek at the end of next month, company sources said yesterday.

The move adds to a growing list of South African news organisations which have withdrawn their editorial representation from Namibia.

Those who left the territory in the last five years were Perskor, Nasionale Koerante, SA Associated Newspapers and the SABC.

Once a flourishing hunting ground for news reporters from abroad, Namibia now has only two full-time "foreign" correspondents left. They are the representative of the *The Star's* Foreign News Service and the representative of the SA Press Association. — Sapa.

CHIEF EDITOR (circled) 203
September 5, 1986 11

Inkatha sues Sunday Tribune

DURBAN — Inkatha has brought a R20 000 defamation suit against a Durban newspaper for the publication of an article that the organization said held it responsible for violence at a conference in Durban earlier this year.

The action, brought by the secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, against Natal Newspapers (Pty) Ltd, is being heard by Mr Justice J A van Heerden

The claim arises from an article published in the Sunday Tribune headlined, "Two killed as violence flares"

Dr Dhlomo claims that the article was defamatory because it was intended to mean and was understood by readers as meaning that Inkatha

□ Caused delegates at the conference to be attacked

□ Destroyed or supported fire bomb attacks on property.

□ Was responsible for the premature termination of the conference

□ Had intended to kill or supported the killing of a large number of delegates Sapa

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The Star Thursday Nov

Media Council inquiry rules against newsletter

CAPE TOWN — The right-wing Aida Parker Newsletter (APN) of April 8 1986, breached the Media Code of Conduct and had caused "great harm" to the End Conscription Campaign as well as individual members of the ECC

This was the unanimous conclusion reached by a Media Council committee of inquiry.

The committee's findings were released in Cape Town yesterday

The ECC had lodged a complaint with the Media Council.

Although the Aida Parker Newsletter is not a member publication of the Newspaper Press Union of South Africa, and has not accepted the jurisdiction of the Media Council, the council, in terms of its constitution, "can con-

sider and inquire into reports in media which are not member publications of the NPU"

Aida Parker took no part in the proceedings, although she advised the registrar through an attorney that she would attend the hearing. She failed to appear

The major complaint by the ECC was that the APN attempted to link it to a "Soviet-inspired apparatus" and that it contained "many factual inaccuracies."

The council found that the Aida Parker Newsletter contained a number of untrue and incorrect allegations and many statements of fact were not substantiated and were clearly incorrect.

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Aida Parker broadside 'false' and 'misleading'

CAF 7/1/86 6/11/86

By HILARY VENABLES

AN ATTACK on the End Conscription Campaign in the right-wing Aida Parker Newsletter earlier this year has been discredited as "false" and "misleading" by the Media Council's committee of inquiry

The committee, which conducted an inquiry into the April issue of the newsletter after a complaint from the ECC, decided unanimously this week that Miss Parker had

- "failed to report news truthfully and accurately" and
- "failed to report news in a balanced manner as a result of distortion, misrepresentations and omissions from the newsletter"

In a strongly-worded judgment, the alternate chairman of the council, Mr Justice M. Diemont, said Miss Parker's claim that the ECC was linked to the Soviet-backed World Peace Council was clearly "misleading and untrue"

"nor is there any evidence that the ECC is in any way involved with any Soviet organization or any Russian surrogates," he said

He described as a "strange misstatement" the allegation by Miss Parker that the ECC had links with Libya.

"It is possible that Libya is a misprint for Namibia or it may be that the misquotation was deliberate since Libya at the time was prominent in world news and in particular associated with international acts of terrorism

'Never linked with Libya'

"Whatever the explanation, it is clear that the ECC has not and never had any direct or indirect link with Libya," he said

Mr Justice Diemont criticized Miss Parker for her "considerable zeal" in urging readers to use material in the newsletter "in whatever way they choose"

"Numerous pamphlets, emanating from other bodies have been distributed in different parts of the country," he said

These pamphlets all refer to the allegations made in the APN and perpetuate some of the false statements made in the newsletter

"A more serious consequence is that extracts from the APN have been used as evidence in affidavits used to oppose an application in the Supreme Court (Eastern Cape Division) for the release of detained ECC members."

'Failed to provide evidence'

He said it was "most unfortunate" that Miss Parker did not attend the hearing "or attempt to substantiate some of the allegations made and that she failed to provide any evidence in support of her statements"

As the newsletter does not belong to the Newspaper Press Union and has not accepted the jurisdiction of the Media Council, the council cannot order Miss Parker "to correct many of the incorrect statements in the publication", Mr Justice Diemont said

● Miss Parker's attorney, Mr David Feldman, said he could not comment on the judgment until he had studied it

"To the best of our knowledge, the inquiry was one-sided. The Media Council made no independent inquiries and the finding is based on the evidence of one witness."

Miss Parker had declined to attend the hearing because she was not prepared to submit to the jurisdiction of the Media Council, he said

● The finding by the Media Council was "a vindication" of the End Conscription Campaign's position and legitimacy, the ECC said yesterday.

Mr David Shandler, national secretary of the ECC, said the finding was proof that the "attack" made on the ECC by the newsletter constituted an attempt to smear the ECC, Sapa reports

● Miss Parker said last night she did not wish to comment until she had discussed the matter with her lawyers.


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Jill B

ECC Wins against 'red-smear' attack

THE rightwing Aida Parker Newsletter's blistering attack on the End Conscription Campaign — which the police quoted when it successfully opposed applications for the release of ECC detainees in Grahamstown — breached the Media Council's code of conduct, a committee of inquiry ruled this week

The committee's report said the newsletter had caused "great harm" to the campaign and to individual members of the ECC
The Media Council committee was

ruling on a complaint lodged by the ECC against the April 8 bumper edition of the Aida Parker Newsletter (APN) which was devoted entirely to an *exposé* of the ECC. The ECC claimed the articles tried to link it to a "Soviet-inspired apparatus" and contained "many factual inaccuracies".

The newsletter is not a member of the Newspaper Press Union of South Africa and does not accept the jurisdiction of the Media Council
Aida Parker herself did not attend the

Media Council hearing

The council found the newsletter had included a number of untrue allegations. Many statements of fact were unsubstantiated and clearly incorrect.

"A more serious consequence is that extracts from the APN have been used as evidence in affidavits used to oppose an application in the Supreme Court (Eastern Cape Division) for the release of detained ECC members," the committee said
The Media Council committee

concluded Parker had breached the code of conduct by failing to report news truthfully and accurately and failing to report news in a balanced manner

"In the small print at the foot of the last page of the newsletter Aida Parker states that 'every reasonable effort is taken to ensure the accuracy and soundness of the contents of this report'."

"The statement is untrue as no attempt was made to verify the correctness of the report."

Continued from Page 1

coverage and push for greater control over newspapers through the Media Council

The government might also force the "alternative press" into line by making it submit to the authority of the Media Council which up to now has served as the disciplinary body for the establishment press alone.

Newspaper owners, editors and members of the Media Council met in Johannesburg yesterday to prepare for a "crunch" meeting today with the government

Journalists, opposition parties and extra-parliamentary groups have called on the newspaper owners not to buckle to government pressure at the meeting which will be chaired by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis

Details of yesterday's meeting were not disclosed to the press yesterday

It is believed that details of the meeting would only be made known today

An SABC editorial comment programme, usually a reliable barometer of government thinking, yesterday said nobody would still dispute that there was "a calculated revolutionary campaign" under way in South Africa

Sapa reports that the Anti-Censorship Group said in a statement in Johannesburg yesterday that the effect of the imminent restriction of newspapers will limit the free flow of information to established newspapers and kill alternative newspapers

This would leave South Africa with a "totally compliant and servile press", the group said.

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'Leave press alone'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government should stop interfering with newspapers and get on with ridding South Africa of apartheid, the Progressive Federal Party federal executive said yesterday

Its chairman, Mr Ken Andrew, said in a statement after a meeting in Cape Town that every time the government finds itself in trouble it looks around for someone else to blame.

"This time the scapegoat is the press. Anyone who believes that the newspapers are the cause of the mess in which the Nationalists have landed South Africa must be very naive."

The Cape Times chapel of the Southern African Society of Journalists yesterday noted its "grave concern" at a statement issued by President P W Botha which outlines the Newspaper Press Union's views on the need to review disciplinary mechanisms affecting the press in the light of the "revolutionary onslaught and the resultant state of emergency".

"We find this statement extremely ominous, especially the fact that the newspaper managements are using

the same language as the state in describing the highly complex South African political situation," it said

"To even suggest that the newspaper groups join forces with the state in combatting this so-called 'onslaught' fills us with fear for the future of an independent press in South Africa

"Such a stand compromises our independence, integrity and objectivity as professionals, and we reject in the strongest terms the NPU stance

"We challenge the managements of SAAN and Argus to state unequivocally where they stand in relation to the state propaganda machinery. Are we to become one more cog in the apartheid state's information network?"

"We believe that not only have the managements of our newspapers compromised our integrity, but they have also placed our lives in danger. We reject their statement with contempt," the Cape Times chapel said.

The statements came amid fresh indications that the government is planning to tighten up its state of emergency regulations affecting press

Continued on Page 3

'Disinformation' can swamp us - Morum

ONE of the major issues facing people today was being able to distinguish between information and disinformation, Mr Peter Morum, former managing director of Firestone said today.

Misunderstanding and deliberate disinformation threatened to swamp what little understanding there was in the world, he said addressing a meeting of the Port Elizabeth Rotary Club

People were brought up to believe in the printed word and that the camera could not lie. Yet at the United Nations there were 240 people employed to sort out information harmful to SA.

"And the ability to make things appear to be not what they are, is second nature to some cameramen

"Whatever you read in the newspaper is the opinion of one person. If you have no background on the issue, talk to someone who has. Understanding anything as complex as

our society is difficult in the extreme."

Mr Morum said he believed sanctions would have been imposed irrespective of changes in SA and repeated his previous call for the Eastern Cape to develop a forum on the lines of the Kwazulu/Natal indaba

"The only way to re-

solve the game is to get on the field and play. There are no instant solutions, but we will certainly become a better country through our trauma."

Mr Morum said disinformation about SA had been distributed as long ago as the 1950s.

Politicians all over the world were jumping on

the sanctions "bandwagon" because it could do no harm and even win votes whereas any positive comment on SA could cost them constituents

He accused the Australian Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, of promoting sanctions so that Australia could secure SA's lucrative contracts to sup-

ply coal, iron and steel to Japan and the US

Of Australia's member of the Eminent Persons Group, Mr Malcolm Fraser, he said his concern over SA could have a lot to do with the need to get Thurd World votes in his plans to become the next Secretary-General of the United Nations

(Handwritten initials and scribbles)

THE Media Workers Association of South Africa has launched a pamphleteering campaign against Afrikaans newspaper group Perskor, following the company's refusal to recognise the union.

Campaign against Perskor

BY LEN MASEKO

The pamphlets, distributed in the Transvaal and Eastern Cape, give details of the differences Mwasa had with Perskor over the question of recognition.

Mwasa recognition on the grounds that its employees belong to the SA Typographical Union (Satu), adding: "We challenged management to hold a secret ballot to prove Mwasa's popularity with its employees and they refused. They alleged that

some workers had been intimidated into joining Mwasa, but still refused to name the intimidators."

Mwasa's regional chairman, Mr Sam Mabe, confirmed yesterday that the union had launched the campaign, saying the union had declared a dispute with Perskor about three weeks ago.

"We launched the campaign so that readers of magazines such as *Bona*, *Scope*, *Darling* and newspapers like *Citizen*, *Witbank Times*, *Northern Times* and *Imvo Zabantsundu* could be informed of what goes on at Perskor," Mr Mabe said.

A Perskor personnel manager, Mr Venter, declined to comment yesterday and referred the *Sowetan* to Perskor's newspaper section manager, Mr Willem Allen, who was said to be "out of town".

The company said it had taken the decision after "serious consideration". CNA was open for further discussion in case the union proposed another measure to solve the dispute.

Workers Union to go to arbitration on the wage dispute that resulted in a strike at the company's outlet.

The company said it had taken the decision after "serious consideration". CNA was open for further discussion in case the union proposed another measure to solve the dispute.

About 600 Cawusa members are on strike demanding a R105 across-the-board increase, while the company offers R85.

Meanwhile Gallo management has been granted an interim order evicting 85 employees who went on strike in sympathy with CNA workers at the company's Bedfordview plant.

Stoppage

● About 1 200 Paper Wood and Allied Workers Union members who staged a one-day work stoppage at Sappi's Ngodwana Mill in the Eastern Transvaal this week, have returned to work.

The mill's general manager, Mr Barry Melrose, yesterday confirmed that the situation had returned to normal at the plant.

Pwawu national secretary, Mr Jeremy Bas-kin, told the *Sowetan* that union members at the plant suspended the work stoppage on Wednesday night.

CNA has stated it has decided against a proposal by the Commercial, Catering and Allied

demands — of a R1,50

per hour increase —

per hour increase —

19/11/86. BUS DAY
Editor dismisses
attack on paper

THELMA TUCH

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NEW NATION editor Zwelakhe Sisulu yesterday rejected President F W Botha's accusation that the publication was "dangerous".

Such accusations were without foundation and must be viewed within the context of government's continuing onslaught against the independent news media, he said.

Sisulu said the growth and popularity of the newspaper was proof that it represented a large and growing section of South Africans calling for fundamental change.

On Monday night Botha referred to the *New Nation* as a dangerous publication unworthy of the Catholic Church.

NUM asks
for order

19/11/86 ALAN FINE

THE National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) will ask the Industrial Court today to order the Gold Fields group to afford the union strike balloting facilities at four of its gold mines.

Last week, Gold Fields agreed to provide balloting facilities to the NUM at Deelkraal, West Driefontein and Libanon. The NUM has attained recognition at the three mines.

However, the company refused to include East Driefontein, Doornfontein, Venterspost and Kloof in the arrangement.

New Nation hits back

19/11/86
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Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG —
The editor of The New Nation, a weekly newspaper established by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, has hit back at the State President, Mr P W Botha, for statements he made about the newspaper when he met a delegation of Catholic bishops in Pretoria on Monday

The editor, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, said Mr Botha's accusations that The New Nation was a "dangerous" newspaper and "unworthy" of the Catholic Church were "without foundation"

He said they had to be viewed within the context of the government's "continuing onslaught against the independent news media

"The growth and popularity of The New Nation among all sectors of South Africans is proof enough that it represents a large and growing section of concerned South Africans calling for fundamental change in our country," Mr Sisulu said

See editorial opinion

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Dispatch Correspondent JOHANNESBURG — The inability of the foreign press to understand Afrikaans is largely responsible for South Africa's poor image abroad, incoming Deputy Minister of Information, Dr C.J (Stoffel) van der Merwe, said here yesterday

Language ignorance seen as damaging

internationalised, but also internalised overseas

In both the United States and Europe, decisions on South Africa were being taken primarily for domestic political reasons

The local newspapers, like the government, is divided along language lines, but Mr Van der Merwe said most foreign correspondents were only able to read the critical English media

he assumes his new post on December 1.

South Africa's "greatly unfair" image overseas has become so bad that reform must come for reform's sake, and not to sway world opinion, he said.

A Progressive Federal Party member, Mr Dave Dalling, said if the government wished South Africa to be regarded by the West as just another African dictatorship, all it had to do was continue with its domestic and foreign policies.

At a South African Institute of International Affairs forum on South Africa's image abroad, Mr Van der Merwe blamed the opposition for exploiting the situation by slightly misrepresenting government motives to the press

"If we handed Nelson Mandela the keys to the Union Building on a silver cushion, the world would not accept it because we did it"

Time Magazine's South African bureau chief, Mr Bruce Nelan, said South Africa's image abroad was being damaged by the active police presence, the state of emergency, government's "unswallowable" rhetoric on the communist threat and the sanctions debate

Unfortunately, the outside world acts on its perceived image of South Africa and not on the true situation.

Mr Van der Merwe declined to comment on the flow of information from government until

Mr Van der Merwe said South Africa's politics had not only been

He termed South Africa's propaganda efforts "shabby"

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Atex pull-out hurts Press freedom — PFP

The withdrawal from South Africa of the Kodak subsidiary, Atex Systems, will severely damage Press freedom in the country, says PFP media spokesman Mr David Dalling

"It is ironic that the ban on Atex products will hinder institutions in the forefront of the fight against apartheid," he said

"Kodak should make an exception with regard to continuing the supply of Atex parts and technology to the English opposition newspapers in South Africa"

The ban on supplies of Atex computer equipment and software, which comes into effect on April 30, will affect all major newspapers in South Africa with the exception of The Star and Durban's *Daily News*

The managing director of Argus Newspapers, Mr Peter McLean, has supported the call for Kodak to exempt English opposition newspapers from the Atex ban

"We are certainly willing to take the initiative on an approach to Kodak and this would be strengthened if all interested parties could take a united stand."

INANE

Mr Stephen Mulholland, managing director of SA Associated Newspapers, said: "We have fought unceasingly against apartheid, we have exposed corruption and abuse of power in the Government. This move by Kodak shows up the inane character of the sanctions campaign."

A spokesman for Atex Systems said customers would not be left high and dry with regard to spares and maintenance

"Most of our customers are self-sufficient. For those that are not, we will make suitable arrangements."

Reacting to concern in the industry on the effect the ban would have on technological improvement and upgrading of the estimated R20-million worth of Atex equipment installed in South Africa, he said South Africa could "look after itself"

"South African computer technology has led the way in a number of areas and I have no doubt there are sufficient computer specialists in the country to ensure that local newspapers do not suffer from any lack of technology."

Freedom of Press infringed — court

The Star's Africa News Service

21/11/86 243
WINDHOEK — In what is hailed here as a significant victory for freedom of speech, the Supreme Court has rejected a transitional government order imposing a R20 000 registration deposit on a Windhoek newspaper.

Mr Justice H Levy commented that imposition of the deposit on *The Namibian* newspaper was tantamount to an infringement of the right to free speech and the freedom of the Press

The owner-editor and publisher of the newspaper, Ms Gwen Lister, will be refunded the money

The court heard that *The Namibian* was obliged to lodge the high deposit when other publications paid as little as R10 to secure registration

The transitional government argued in affidavits that it considered Ms Lister and her paper to be threats to public order and security

Ms Lister (32) has often been accused by members of the government of showing bias towards Swapo. The offices of the paper and vehicles have been attacked by vandals.

BUS DAY

24/11/86

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THE Argus Group more than doubled net income in the six months to the end of September, with bottom-line profits surging to R6,7m from R2,4m in last year's first half.

The interim dividend has also been doubled to 100c per share from 50c last year.

Full year figures, therefore, should be considerably enhanced by the improved utilisation of plant and equipment.

Operating margins are still not enormous, with the pre-interest return only edging up by 10% to 5,5%.

These margins were assisted by both advertising tariff increases and higher circulation revenue, but somewhat blunted by the continuing decline of advertising revenue in real terms.

While all editions of *The Star* increased circulation during the period under review, virtually all other publications — bar *The Sowetan* — produced lower sales figures.

On the investment side, both CNA-Gallo and printing group CTP increased their contribution to profits, while an almost 50%

Argus forges ahead to double net income

increase in investment income to just under R1m was attributed to higher dividends from the shareholding in Maister Directories

However, this figure could leap once 39% associate company Saan has resumed the payment of dividends.

No mention is made of either the group's 49,9% stake in Caxton — now the controlling shareholder in the Hortors printing group — or the joint control of the Newspaper Marketing Bureau that Argus shares with Caxton.

The influence of Caxton's Terry Moolman and Noel Coburn should not be underestimated in the revived profit performance of the group as a whole.

In the past year, Argus has participated in the new M-Net televi-

sion service, with a stake of a little over 20%.

The directors report that initial results are ahead of budget.

It is, however, likely to be more than two years — the budgeted break-even — before any positive contribution comes back to Argus shareholders.

The group's share price has roared ahead this year, to a recent new peak of R70 a share from a 1985 low of a shade above R38.

With earnings looking set to substantially exceed the 466c a share earned last year, after posting 345c at the halfway stage, there is still upside potential.

The interim dividend has been doubled to 100c per share from 50c last year. — Sapa

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MK 25/11/86

NPU defers new advert system

JOHANNESBURG—The Newspaper Press Union has decided to defer the introduction of standard advertising units and the 12-column broadsheet for display advertising because of the continuing weakness of the economy

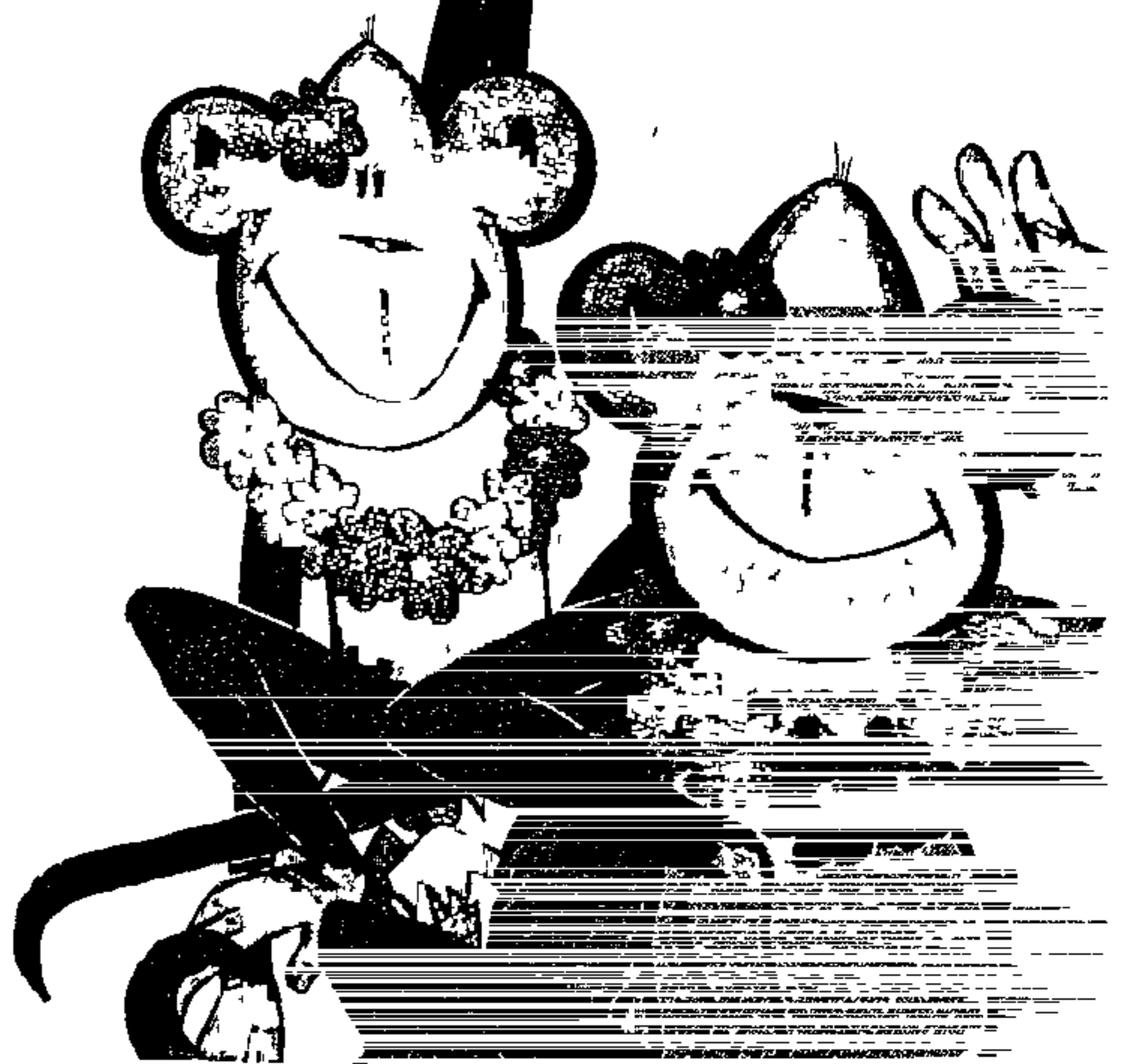
In a statement released here yesterday, Mr Philip Kotze, general manager of the NPU, said a number of major advertisers faced significant production cost increases as a result of the change, an additional expense difficult to bear while the recession was still severe

'There is widespread agreement that the proposals will bring substantial long-term benefits, not only to newspapers but to advertising agencies and advertisers

'But we need an improving economy to limit some short-term disadvantages for display advertisers. In classified pages, 12-column broadsheets and 8-column tabloids will be widely used by January 1987,' he said

A recent survey of advertising personnel, and comment from major retail advertisers, had opposed the introduction of the measures in display pages at this stage

'We have therefore decided to defer this new system in display advertising,' he said — (Sapa)



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Dramatic fightback as SAAN notches profit

JOHANNESBURG — A dramatic turn-around at SA Associated Newspapers has seen profit after interest and (nil) tax up to R3,44 million in the six months to end-September, compared with a loss of R4,44 million in the same period last year.

The profit after extraordinary items reflects an even more spectacular swing from a loss of R8,83 million to a profit of R7,12 million.

Earnings per share have climbed to 182c before extraordinary items and 355c after these items, compared with negative earnings of 251c and 440c, respectively, in the same period last year.

The directors have de-

clined, however, that it would be premature to declare a dividend at this stage.

During last year the company changed its financial year end to March 31. Thus this is the first interim report dealing with the six months to end-September, and the comparative figures for the half-year to end-September, 1985, are therefore estimates based on monthly management reports and the audited financial statements for the 15 months to end-March, 1986.

The depths to which the figures plunged before the rigorous rationalisation programme brought them back up, is illustrated by

the fact that per-share earnings in the 15 months to end-March were a negative 967c (and more than 1 000c after extraordinary items) compared with the positive earnings for the latest six months.

Of prospects, the directors say "Although there are signs that the economy has bottomed out, conditions in the marketplace remain difficult and highly competitive.

"The change in the year end from December to March has affected the ratio of first to second half results since three traditionally low revenue months (December, January and February) will now fall in the second half" — Sapa

New AA

'Govts have right to withhold facts'

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — Governments have a right to withhold certain information, just as the Press has a right to obtain information, says the new Deputy Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe

This often led to a kind of "two-way shoving match", where each tries to push its rights to the limit

The function of the bureau was to see there was fair play and understanding and, wherever possible, a "free flow of information"

Dr van der Merwe, speaking just 24 hours after he was sworn in, conceded that the Government, "like every other government", made mistakes.

"Blood and guts"

But, he says, the Government is often misunderstood. If the bureau can keep the information channels between government and the people open, he believes it can end some of this misunderstanding

He does not believe the bureau's job is to "propagate a National Party government but rather the government of the country — that includes the three chambers, the civil service, etc".

South Africans, he says, must be shown the positive things the Govern-

ment does. The media, and the visual media in particular, have a tendency to "emphasise the dramatic"

"Blood and guts is much more dramatic than a new housing project," according to Dr van der Merwe

There has been a particular misunderstanding of South Africa's problems among the foreign media, he says, because most foreign correspondents do not speak Afrikaans

"In this country the Press which supports the Government is largely Afrikaans while the opposition Press is generally English

"The foreign Press has easy, automatic access to the opposition Press"

No secret funding

However, he says "I want to see the Press as an ally, not an enemy"

On the future of the bureau, Dr van der Merwe says there will be no programmes for selling South Africa overseas, this being the task of the Department of Foreign Affairs, and there will definitely be no secret funding of campaigns.

He believes the bureau made a good move recently when it mounted an advertising campaign to make black communities aware of how basic services such as housing, transport and electricity work.

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Dhlomo sues newspaper for R20 000

Court Reporter

THE Secretary-General of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, brought a R20 000 claim in damages against Natal Newspapers in the Supreme Court, Durban, yesterday

The claim, heard before Mr Justice van Heerden, arises from an article published in the Sunday Tribune on March 30 this year

Dr Dhlomo claims the article, headlined 'Two killed as violence flares', followed by the sub-heading, 'Inkatha clash with conference delegates', was defamatory

The article, he submitted, implied that Inkatha members had attacked, or caused delegates at the National Education Crisis Conference to be attacked with the intention of stopping the conference

He said the article further implied that Inkatha destroyed property with firebombs, causing the conference to be terminated prematurely by violent means

Dr Dhlomo claimed that readers would deduce from the article that Inkatha intended to kill or supported the killing of a large number of delegates at the conference.

Status

They would also deduce, he said, that Inkatha was guilty of supporting the commission of these crimes and as an organisation was hypocritical in achieving political aims through violence

Mr M Wallis, SC, for Natal Newspapers, said it was impossible to assess to what extent a corporate body was injured by defamation

He based this assessment on the grounds that a corporate body lacked the feelings, status and dignity of an individual

Arguing for Dr Dhlomo, Mr A Findlay, SC, said there was no reason why a non-trading corporate body could not be seen to have a measure of esteem and could be injured

He submitted there was no reason why such a body could not be protected by way of being awarded punitive damages

Mr Justice van Heerden reserved judgment

Inkatha claims R20 000

damages from Natal papers



DURBAN — Inkatha's Secretary-General Dr Oscar Dhlomo has brought a R20 000 defamation claim against Natal Newspapers before the Supreme Court in Durban.

The claim, heard yesterday by Mr Justice van Heerden, follows a report in the Sunday Tribune on March 30.

Dr Dhlomo said the article headlined "Two killed as violence flares" followed by the sub-heading "Inkatha clash with conference delegates" was defamatory.

He said it implied Inkatha members attacked or caused delegates at the National Education Crisis Conference to be attacked with the intention of stopping the conference and that Inkatha destroyed property with fire-bombs and caused the conference to be

terminated violently. Dr Dhlomo claimed readers would deduce that Inkatha intended to kill or supported the killing of delegates and that Inkatha supported the commission of these crimes and was hypocritical in achieving political aims through violence.

Mr M Wallis SC, for Natal Newspapers, said it was impossible to assess to what extent a corporate body was injured by defamation as it lacked the feelings, status and dignity of an individual.

Mr A Findlay SC, for Dr Dhlomo, said there was no reason why a non-trading corporate body could not have esteem and be injured.

Mr Justice van Heerden reserved judgment. — Sapa.

SIPA

GOVTTIGHTENS SCREENS ON PRESSES

Streamline

Instead the NPU has offered to streamline its own disciplinary body, the Media Council, to meet Government complaints that it is slow-moving and its proceedings time-consuming.

Many of the smaller anti-Government newspapers are neither members of the NPU nor do they submit themselves to the authority of the Media Council.

"The discussions next week will include editorial members of the Media Council."

Mr Stephen Mulholland, managing director of South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN), said "The NPU is fighting a rearguard action hoping to avoid further curbs on Press freedom."

Mr Joel Mervis, official representative of the International Press Institute in South Africa and former editor of the Sunday Times, said the South African Press was once again being forced into a Catch 22 situation.

"In this the Press is steadily being bludgeoned into bargaining away its freedom."

"On the one hand the Press wants to be free. It demands freedom as a right."

"It is aware of its duties and obligations to all the people of SA and it wants to carry out its duties in a proper and responsible manner."

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By JOHN MACLENNAN
Political Staff

THE Government is determined to further restrict South African newspapers — and the major Press groups are fighting for time in the hope they will be able to stave off new curbs.

In talks with the major newspaper groups President P W Botha has presented written proposals for sweeping State's powers to clamp down on reporting which it sees as helping to create a revolutionary atmosphere.

His major target is said to be the so-called "alternative" Press — small-circulation but frequently vociferously anti-Government publications.

The Newspaper Press Union (NPU), which represents all the major Press groups, has refused to come up with a requested rubber stamp of approval for the proposed new measures, which are likely to be approved by the Government soon.

Up to Media Council to approve changes

By DALE LAUTENBACH
Weekend Argus Reporter

ANY Government proposals designed to change the constitution and functioning of the Media Council would have to be acceptable to a two-thirds majority of that council, the body's chairman, former Appeal Court judge Mr L de V van Winsen, said today.

"We don't know yet what the Ministers involved have in mind but it will be up to the 28 council members to decide how far they are prepared to accede to any proposals," he said.

The Media Council was a totally independent body, he said, and if Government proposals involved a change in the council's constitution, a two-thirds majority vote was required to make this change.

"It would be premature to make a statement but we are going to attend the meeting on Monday to find out what is happening," said Mr van Winsen.

As far as understanding it, Mr P W Botha's idea that the council needs 'pepping up' involves extending the council's jurisdiction to deal with matters pertaining to the state of

emergency.

"Should this be the case it would most certainly involve an amendment to our constitution and then it's up to us to decide whether we find the amendment acceptable."

Mr Bob Steyn, conciliator/registrant for the Media Council, said that about 400 formal complaints, some from Government departments, had been received since the body's inception at the beginning of 1983.

"In most cases we have mediated at the parties have reached a settlement. The next step is a formal committee hearing and this has happened seven times.

In five cases the adjudication went against the publication involved (Sunday Times, Sunday Tribune, Air Parker Newsletter, Pretoria News and SABC) and in two cases we made findings for the publication (Star and Burger).

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"On the other hand the Government — as the result of the crisis brought about largely by its own laws, restrictions and mismanagement — is driven to impose fresh restraints and restrictions on the Press

"In these circumstances what must the newspapers say to the Government? "We won't budge — do your worst?"

Principle

"That approach has merit. The newspapers would show the world that they stand firm on principle

"But what is to be achieved by that firm stand? The Government *will* do its worst — and the inevitable outcome is that the Press, whether it likes it or not, will become shackled and bound. It will operate as anything but a free Press

"I must assume that the Press, in trying to do a deal with the Government by means of the Media Council, hopes to save something from the wreck of Press freedom

"In other words the newspapers are faced with a desperate choice

"What the public needs to understand is that Press freedom is steadily being eroded

"The important thing is that the public should know that every fresh assault on Press freedom is a further assault on their freedom

"For how much longer are the people prepared to put up with it?"

NPU has not yet agreed to this

Ms. Pat Sidley, president of the Southern African Society of Journalists, has accused newspaper managements of frittering away Press freedom in talks with Government

She said Press freedom had suffered a "mortal blow" and called on journalists, editors and journalists' organisations to resist further attempts by managements and the State to interfere any further with Press freedom

Mr Peter McLean, managing director of the Argus Group, said "No one believes more emphatically about the public's right to know than the Argus newspapers

Responsibility

"Our obligation to serve the public with the news must be overlaid with a sharpened responsibility during this period when our country is undergoing an intense revolutionary attack.

"We are trying to see whether it will be possible to discipline ourselves voluntarily through the Media Council to meet these circumstances. We are not giving away the credibility of our newspapers

(Turn to Page 3, Col. 1)

'Onslaught': press to meet Botha

CNA Times
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By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government and establishment press have agreed to finalize new mechanisms for disciplining the press in the light of the "intensification of the revolutionary onslaught and the resultant state of emergency"

The decision follows discussions between President P W Botha and members of his cabinet with the chairman of the Newspaper Press Union and members of the boards and executive officials of the four major newspaper groups SAAN, Argus, Nasionale Pers and Perskor

Mr Botha said last night that two meetings had been held with the press groups to discuss "the security situation, the revolutionary onslaught and steps to combat these threats".

'Urgent' meeting

At one of these meetings, on November 28, Mr Botha had stated the existing mechanism for disciplining the press — the Media Council — was "unsatisfactory and needed pepping up".

The press groups, in turn, indicated to the government that the mechanism of the Media Council "may need reviewing to take into account the state of emergency, the revolutionary onslaught" and concerns expressed by the government

Press suggestion

Mr Botha indicated yesterday that he had accepted a suggestion by the press groups for an urgent meeting between a special cabinet committee, the chairman of the Media Council and representatives of the press

A spokesman for Mr Botha's office indicated that the meeting to "urgently finalize the matter" would probably be held early next week

The full statement by the press groups

"The Press Union fully realizes that South Africa is being subjected to a many-pronged, but well co-ordinated, revolutionary onslaught

"We accept the need to do everything in our power to avoid giving support and encouragement to those seeking revolutionary change by overt or covert means

"Within the above condition we regard it as essential that the newspapers of our members should continue to pursue their primary purpose of informing the public with such objectivity and fairness as they are able to attain in an intensely divided society.

'Credibility'

"Only thus can the members of the NPU retain and enhance their credibility and fulfil their vital service of information to all sections of the population

"We believe that this service is of the utmost importance for the well-being and orderly government of South Africa.

"The weakening or undermining of the credibility of the press, from whatever quarter it proceeds, including its own ranks, can be counter-productive for South Africa as a whole and highly prejudicial to the national interest

'Unsatisfactory'

"It is, in fact, one of the main aims of the revolution

"The State President stated on the 28th November 1986 that the existing mechanism for disciplining the press, the Media Council, is unsatisfactory and needed pepping up

"It is worth noting that the Media Council was not created by the NPU to deal with conditions such as have been brought by the intensification of the revolutionary onslaught and the resultant state of emergency

"We believe that the mechanism of the Media Council may need reviewing and take into account the state of emergency, the revolutionary onslaught and the concern you expressed on November 28," the statement said

Mr Botha's statement did not make any reference to possible steps against the foreign media or local publications falling outside the mainstream press

CAPE TIMES 6/12/80

SASJ rebuts Mrs Mandela

Staff Reporter

MS PAT Sidley, president of the Southern African Society of Journalists, said yesterday it was "regrettable" Mrs Winnie Mandela had accused Cape Town journalists of "orchestrating" an attack against her this week.

"It is regrettable that journalists are being accused in this way. The journalists involved are highly unlikely to have orchestrated any news event on anybody's behalf, least of all on behalf of the system."

A crowd shouted abuse and pelted Mrs Mandela when she left the Supreme Court on Wednesday after attending the trial of her friend and convicted killer Lindi Mangaliso.

Mrs Mandela said last night she "merely gave a report of what I saw".

She claimed that she had seen a magazine photographer "beckoning these hooligans and pointing to where she was standing".

She apologised to the Cape Times and the Editor, Mr Anthony Heard, for mistakenly accusing a photographer from the newspaper of involvement in the attack on her.

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Press groups accused of capitulating over curbs

JOHANNESBURG — The Black Sash and the United Democratic Front have reacted strongly to the State President's announcement last night that the Government and the Newspaper Press Union had agreed that the mechanism of disciplining the Press by the Media Council may need "reviewing" in the light of the state of emergency and the "revolutionary onslaught"

A Cabinet committee, the chairman of the Media Council and representatives of the Press would "urgently finalise the matter", Mr P W Botha said

Discussions will be held on Monday

Mr Botha said the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) accepted the need to do everything in its power to "avoid giving support and encouragement to those seeking revolutionary change by overt as well as covert means"

The Black Sash said it was "frightened" by the NPU's falling in line with the Government, by labelling all extra-parliamentary opposition as being part of a revolutionary onslaught and "agreeing to censor itself in the cause of continued white racial domination".

The UDF criticised the NPU for "meekly capitulating" to further curbs by the Government

"To actually agree to

save the Government the embarrassment of extra legislation by volunteering to restrict their journalists through new measures to be worked out with the Government, is to effectively turn the NPU into a Government pawn," it said.

Mr Botha said the NPU had accepted the need to do everything in its power to "avoid giving support and encouragement to those seeking revolutionary change by overt as well as covert means".

Mr Stephen Mulholland, managing director of SAAN, said the companies wanted to maintain as much freedom of the Press as possible in the current situation. The aim in changing the workings of the council was to make it as effective as possible

"I and my company are opposed to legislation which circumscribes the freedom of the Press and will do whatever we can to resist and avoid further intrusions on this freedom"

Miss Pat Sidley, president of the Southern African Society of Journalists, said the credibility of the media had apparently been dealt a mortal blow

"Have the newspaper owners seen fit openly to join forces with this Government — a Government which has almost strangled the last gasps of Press freedom from the industry?" she asked

PW tells newspaper proprietors to pep up council

Press watchdog comes under scrutiny

STAR

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Political Staff

Political Staff

The workings of the Media Council, an independent body which disciplines South Africa's daily and weekly newspapers, may be reviewed in the light of the State of Emergency and the "revolutionary onslaught".

This follows a series of meetings between the Newspaper Press Union (NPU), which represents the major Press groups, and President P W Botha.

President Botha said last night that he and a number of Ministers had twice had discussions with the chairman of the NPU, members of the board and executive officials of Nasionale Pers, Perskor, the Argus Group and South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) on the security situation, the revolutionary onslaught, and steps to combat these threats.

Mr Botha said the Press groups had informed the Government that:

"The NPU fully realises that South Africa is being subjected to a many-pronged but well co-ordinated revolutionary onslaught.

"We accept the need to do everything in our power to avoid giving support and encouragement to those seeking revolutionary change by overt as well as covert means

"Within the above condition, we regard it as essential that the newspapers of our members should continue to pursue their primary purpose of informing the public with such objectivity and fairness as they are able to attain in an intensely divided society.

"Only thus can the members of the NPU retain and enhance their credibility and fulfil their vital service of information to all sections of the population

"We believe that this service is of the utmost importance for the well-being and orderly government of South Africa.

"The weakening or undermining of the credibility of the Press, from whatever quarter, including its own ranks, can be counter-productive for South Africa as a whole and highly prejudicial to the national interest. It is, in fact, one of the aims of the revolution.

"The State President stated on November 28 the existing mechanism

● To Page 2

The Press and the Emergency

● From Page 1

for disciplining the Press, the Media Council, is unsatisfactory and needed pepping up. It is worth noting that the council was not created by the NPU to deal with conditions such as have been brought about by the intensification of the revolutionary onslaught and the resultant State of Emergency.

"We believe that the mechanism of the council may need reviewing to take into account the State of Emergency, the revolutionary onslaught and the concern you expressed on November 28, and suggest a meeting at short notice between members of a Cabinet Committee appointed by the State President, the chairman of the Media Council and ourselves."

President Botha said the Government accepted these viewpoints and came to an agreement with the representatives of the Press that the Cabinet Committee, the chairman of the council and representatives of the Press would urgently finalise the matter.

(The Media Council is an independent, private body representing a number of organisations which will also have to be consulted about any changes. The Media Council's constitution was designed to maintain normal newspaper standards and not for political purposes.)

Mr Peter McLean, managing director of the Argus Group, said in a statement last night "Argus Company newspapers are committed to the most free flow of information possible. The public's right to know is of cardinal importance to us.

"These are two of the most important principles which guide our newspapers in serving their readers. However, we accept there is a revolutionary attack against this country and that it is of paramount importance that we do not, however

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"These are two of the most important principles which guide our newspapers in serving their readers. However, we accept there is a revolutionary attack against this country and that it is of paramount importance that we do not, however unwittingly, give support and encouragement to those seeking to effect change by revolutionary means."

"To this end we have gone along with the proposal to review the workings of the Media Council, which we voluntarily formed three years ago, to see whether the mechanisms of the council adequately cater for the conditions imposed by the present State of Emergency."

Mr Stephen Mulholland, managing director of SAA, said the publishing companies wanted to maintain as much freedom of the Press as was possible in the current South African situation.

The aim in changing the workings of the council was to make it as effective, efficient and rapid as possible in its reviewing process.

"It is a non-governmental vehicle of addressing any perceived misconducts of the Press," said Mr Mulholland. "I and my company are opposed to legislation which circumscribes the freedom of the Press, and will do whatever we can to resist and avoid further intrusions on this freedom."

"The Government is intent on addressing the problems it perceives to exist in regard to media coverage."

Mr Ton Vosloo, managing director of National Pers, said he had no comment to make on the matter, except that discussions would be held in Johannesburg on Monday. "We agreed not to say anything beyond the statement."

The Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ) was "shocked to learn" that the NPU had apparently agreed with the Government that disciplinary measures needed revamping due to the revolutionary climate in the country.

Miss Pat Sidley, SASJ president, said the credibility of the media had apparently been dealt "A mortal blow".

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Pressure groups attack NPU

By Sunday Times reporters

THE Newspaper Press Union was criticised yesterday by two Parliamentary pressure groups over a statement issued after NPU executives had held discussions with President Botha on Friday

The statement said the NPU and the Government had agreed that the mechanism of disciplining members of the Press by the Media Council might need reviewing in the light of the state of emergency and the

"revolutionary onslaught" against South Africa

The United Democratic Front accused the NPU of "meekly capitulating" to further curbs on the Press

'Frightened'

Mr Murphy Morobe, the organisation's publicity secretary, said "To actually agree to save the Government the embarrassment of extra legislation by volunteering to restrict their journalists through new measures to be worked out with

the Government, is to effectively turn the NPU into a Government pawn"

A spokesman for the Transvaal region of the Black Sash said "We are frightened by the Newspaper Press Union falling into line with the Government in labelling all extra-Parliamentary opposition as being part of a revolutionary onslaught and agreeing to censor itself in the cause of continued white racial domination"

The Black Sash said it had reason to believe the State

was preparing for a "massive crackdown" in the form of detentions, bannings, restriction orders and other measures "which the public may never know"

It said "There can be no freedom when the Press is emasculated"

President Botha's statement came after a series of meetings between himself, a number of Cabinet Ministers and the NPU, which represents the major Press groups

Mr Botha said the groups had informed the Government that the NPU fully realised that South Africa was being subjected to a many-pronged but well co-ordinated revolutionary onslaught

Credibility

It had accepted the need to do everything in its power to avoid giving support and encouragement to those seeking revolutionary change by overt as well as covert means

Within these conditions, the Press groups had told the Government "We regard it as essential that the newspapers of our members should continue to pursue their primary purpose of informing the public with such objectivity and fairness as they are able to attain in an intensely divided society

Mr Steve Mulholland, managing director of South African Associated Newspapers, responded to the criticism by saying the freedom to hold opinions and have them published in newspapers such as SAAN's was precisely the sort of freedom the NPU was striving to protect from further inroads of legislation

"I fully accept that some people, including some of our editorial staff, will disagree with the approach we are adopting"

He said he considered freedom of expression within a framework of reasonable law and ethics as sacred

● See Page 28.

Govt determined to tighten control of S A Press

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Emergency regulations are to be tightened considerably to restrict the Press further, it is understood.

The Government is apparently planning this move as part of a two-pronged attempt to force the media to play a more submissive role in the state of emergency.

The other element of the plan is to pressure newspaper owners to impose self-censorship on their publications by means of agreeing to give extended powers to the Media Council.

The re-drafting of the emergency regulations will centre on tightening the definitions of what is subversive.

It is understood that these regulations will be aimed mainly at the "alternate media", which includes the *Weekly*

Mail, New Nation and Die Afrikaner.

Government thinking, it is understood, is that these publications should not be closed provided they are forced to uphold the spirit and letter of the emergency regulations.

Foreign correspondents would also be affected.

The major newspapers owned by the four big groups are to be more effectively controlled by the Media Council in terms of the Government's thinking.

This includes a speeding up of procedures of the Media Council and more teeth to be given to the body to act with greater deterrence.

Newspaper executives and the two co-chairmen of the Media Council are to meet a Cabinet delegation led by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, in Pretoria tomorrow.

'NEEDS PEPPING UP'

The meeting follows a series of meetings between newspaper owners and President Botha last week and Mr Botha's statement of November 28, which said the existing mechanism for disciplining the Press, the Media Council, was unsatisfactory and needed "pepping up".

Mr Heunis said today that he had nothing to add to President Botha's statement of last Friday, in which Mr Botha said the Press groups had informed the Government they fully realised South Africa was being subjected to a many-pronged but well co-ordinated revolutionary onslaught.

The groups said they believed the mechanism of the Media Council may need reviewing to take into account the state of emergency, the revolutionary onslaught and the concern the President expressed on November 28.

● See Page 11.

'Statement insulting'

THE Newspaper Press Union's statement revealed by State President P W Botha last week, equating the black struggle for justice and human dignity as a "well co-ordinated revolutionary onslaught", was insulting and should be withdrawn.

The Media Workers Association of South Africa said this in a statement at the weekend

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

This followed disclosures over the weekend that the NPU had indicated to the Government that it was prepared to review the workings of the Media Council — a Press watchdog dealing with complaints against the Press.

The NPU comprises owners of the major

SOWETAN 8/12/86
newspaper companies in the country — The Argus, SAAN, Perskor and Nasionale Pers

President Botha said the NPU had informed the Government that it "fully realises that South Africa is being subjected to a many-pronged but well co-ordinated revolutionary onslaught

"We accept the need to do everything in our power to avoid giving support and encouragement to those seeking revolutionary change by overt as well as covert

means "

"That the NPU should brazenly echo Mr Botha's usual threats about a "well co-ordinated revolutionary onslaught" confirms the black masses' long-held suspicion that the liberal Press in South Africa is in cahoots with the Government and has never reported objectively on repression, particularly where State organs like the police and the army are concerned," the statement read

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Journalists' body plans unity campaign

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Mercury Reporter

A NATIONAL campaign of Press unity has been announced by the fledgling Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ) which met in Durban for a national consultative conference at the weekend

Journalists and editors are to be invited to regional meetings to discuss the looming talks between President Botha and the managing directors of the major newspaper groups — Perskor, Argus, SAAN and Nasionale Pers. The talks are seen as the forerunner to the introduction of further Press restrictions

Yesterday an ADJ spokesman said the regional meetings were seen as a kick-off to action to resist further incursions into the freedom of media

Plans by the Newspaper Press Union to pep up its

Media Council, and attempts by the Government to co-opt the four major Press groups, as well as the current state of emergency, are seen by the ADJ as the most dangerous and debilitating in 300 years of Press history, the statement said

Delegates from five regions formed a national steering committee under the convenership of Sefako Nyaka

The committee is to draw up a constitution and organise the official launch of the organisation.

A committee for the protection of journalists was also established following harassment, detentions and restrictions on journalists

A policy decision was taken to co-operate with the Media Workers' Association of South Africa and the Southern African Society of Journalists

Newspapers prepare to meet Cabinet delegation

Press reacts to Botha's demand

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Executives of the Newspaper Press Union, some editors and the two co-chairmen of the Media Council are meeting in Johannesburg today in preparation for a meeting with Cabinet Ministers on Tuesday.

The Cabinet delegation, led by Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, will meet the Press delegation in Pretoria

Mr Justice Marius Diemont, former Appeal Court judge and an alternate chairman of the Media Council, NPU executives led by president Mr JM Butendag and some editors are expected to attend the meeting with Cabinet members

This follows a statement on Friday by the State President, Mr P W Botha, demanding that the Press extend the mechanisms available to it for disciplining members through the Media Council under the state of emergency

Mr Botha, after two recent meetings with the NPU, said the union had agreed to do everything in its power to "avoid giving support and encouragement to those seeking revolutionary change by overt as well as covert means" and that the Press Union believed part of the aims of the revolutionary onslaught was to undermine Press integrity

Mr Justice L de V van Winsen, the other Media Council co-chairman, said any change to the body's constitution would have to be acceptable to a two-thirds council majority. The council, created by the NPU, is meant to uphold newspaper standards.

The State President had met representatives of Nasionale Pers, Perskor, Argus and South African Associated Newspapers on "the security situation, the revolutionary onslaught and steps to combat these threats". However, in editorials, the divergent views on the necessity of the changes were given

'Next victim'

The *Sunday Star*, an Argus paper said the State President had put aside reform in favour of repression and pressure for more and more "security" was getting out of hand

"The next victim of the 'security' onslaught (committed as a counter to the 'revolutionary onslaught') is likely to be the independent, democratic, anti-revolutionary Press"

The Government needed to be persuaded to allow all citizens to be vocal and visible about their rights

The *Sunday Star* said the Media Council had to become the "unfortunate lightning conductor" and it was doubtful it would acquiesce to suit a "frightened Government". It did have a "failsafe" clause in that Government interference would destroy it. However, it defended the NPU trying to steer the Press, fighting for its life, between flat defiance and voluntary submission to the Government

The NPU was forced to take a common political stance, although it "catered for the common professional needs of newspapers with divergent political ideals"

The *Sunday Times*, a SAAN newspaper, said it was proper that the Government and the Press should talk about matters "in these

exceptional times" "Discussion is better than the unilateral imposition by the State of restrictions on access to information by the public," it said

The International Press Institute has said the Government is bludgeoning the Press into bargaining away its freedom

An editorial in today's *Citizen*, Perskor's only English newspaper, blamed liberal newspapers for testing the extent to which they could go before the authorities acted

The freedom of the Press was labouring under "a mountain of laws" and curtailed by the "sufficiently wide" emergency regulations. If newspapers that breached the regulations were not brought before the courts "the Government should look to its enforcement agencies for an explanation"

The Media Workers' Association of South Africa said it was not surprised by the NPU statement because the liberal Press was "in cahoots with the Government"

Mortal blow

The Southern African Society of Journalists was "shocked" to learn that the NPU "apparently find themselves at one with the State President on the state of the media and the need for a re-vamping of the media council". This was a mortal blow to the Press

After its first conference at the weekend the fledgling Association of Democratic Journalists said it considered the NPU plans and the present state of emergency "the most dangerous and debilitating moves in 300 years of Press history"

It formed a committee to provide legal help for harassed, detained or restricted journalists

The United Democratic Front accused the NPU of becoming a Government pawn by "meekly capitulating" to the Government to save them the embarrassment of further legislation to restrict journalists covering events under the state of emergency

The Black Sash issued what it said might be its last statement. It said it could be stopped from condemning publicly "the totalitarian rule that has so rapidly enveloped this country in the last few months and that will reach its zenith with the total co-optation and annihilation of the already fragile concept of a free Press"

The *Sunday Star* had reported the Government was trying to get at the independent voices in South Africa — that of the Black Sash, the voice of the ultra-right wing *Die Afrikaner*, the progressive *New Nation* and the "much milder" *Weekly Mail*

Comment by the *Cape Times*, a SAAN newspaper, said if the Government wanted to deal with the alternative Press it should do its own dirty work. It said the Cabinet should be considering policy changes to "38 years of destabilising, constricting, disastrous apartheid", not Press curbs

The *Eastern Province Herald* in Port Elizabeth said without free, independent newspapers the Government would become dependent on bureaucratic sources which distorted the picture

It echoed the *Cape Times* in saying the country's solution to its dilemma lay not in the Government talking to newspapers, but to credible black leaders — Sapa

Emergency laws to be tightened up

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

STATE of emergency regulations are to be redrafted to clear up or tighten up present definitions of what are deemed to be subversive actions.

In the process attempts are to be made to have more efficient, or tighter, control over newspapers through the Media Council, membership of which would become mandatory.

The council will also be given more teeth and the procedures it follows will be speeded up.

This was confirmed today by Government sources

Maintenance of law

These sources emphasised that, in present Government thinking, the aim was the maintenance of law and order and not the closing down of newspapers

The Government apparently at one stage had in mind a register of journalists, an idea that had been mooted in the past, but this has for the present been shelved following negotiations between the Newspaper Press Union, President Botha and a number of his Cabinet colleagues

The two sides agreed that the state of emergency and the "revolutionary situation" must be taken into account

Mr Colin Eglin, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, today warned the Government not to take South Africa across the threshold separating democracy from dictatorship

Executive members of the NPU, some newspaper editors and the two co-chairmen of the Media Council are holding meetings in Johannesburg today in preparation for a meeting with Cabinet ministers.

The Cabinet delegation led by Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, will later meet the Press delegation in Pretoria

All Mr Heunis would say today was that he could not go any further than the statement issued by Mr Botha on Friday. He said it would be wrong to anticipate the discussions

Growing irritation

There has apparently been growing irritation in Government circles about reporting in some newspapers which are independent of the NPU, sometimes known as the "alternative Press"

Among these publications are the Weekly Mail, the Catholic Church's New Nation and Die Afrikaaner, official mouthpiece of the Herstige Nasionale Party

Only NPU newspapers automatically fall under the Media Council which can impose penalties of up to R10 000 after complaints against these newspapers. The independent newspapers can co-operate voluntarily with the council.

The Government appears to have in mind a restructuring of the council which will have all newspapers fall under it

It also feels that the procedures of the council must be speeded up

Mr Eglin said today that "one wonders what is going on in the minds of Mr Botha and his Cabinet colleagues"

"Stalling"

"At a time when the whole country is calling for reform they are stalling. At a time when there are calls for the lifting of the state of emergency the Cabinet is thinking of tightening the emergency regulations

"While there are cries for more reform the Government is thinking of more restrictions

"Further restrictions on the Press and a further clampdown in civil liberties through a tightening of emergency regulations will take South Africa across the critical threshold separating democracy and dictatorship

"Once this has happened it will be much more difficult to get the country back to true democracy," Mr Eglin said

Mr Justice Marius Diermont, former Appeal Court judge, the alternate chairman of the Media Council, NPU executive members under leadership of the president, Mr J M Buitendag, and some editors are expected to attend the meeting with Cabinet members

Mr Justice L de V van Winsen, a co-chairman of the Media Council, said any change to the constitution of the body would have to be acceptable to a two-thirds council majority

Press part of wider crackdown?

CAPL TIME
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By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government is understood to be planning a sweeping two-pronged crackdown on the press, involving pre-publication censorship for "alternative" or fringe newspapers and greater self-censorship for the mainstream establishment press.

This is widely expected to coincide with a new wave of action against extra-parliamentary organisations as "Christmas Against the Emergency" plan take shape (See leading page 6)

Details of the new press measures— apparently affecting mainly reporting on State repression and popular resistance to this in the form of boycotts, strikes, protests and violence — are expected to be thrashed out this week when members of the Newspaper Press Union and the Media Council meet with the government

The fresh onslaught against the press comes on top of the roughly 100 statutes already curbing its freedom and a maze of tough state of emergency restrictions

Journalist bodies and opposition parties last night warned newspaper owners — represented by the NPU — that they would destroy any remaining credibility of the press and endanger reporters' lives if they continued in the "surrender by instalment" tradition in the face of government pressure

They warned the NPU of the danger of being "co-opted into the government's total onslaught propaganda laager" and challenged newspaper chiefs to retract their statement issued on Friday in which they informed the government that the NPU "fully realizes that South Africa is being subjected to a

multi-pronged but well-coordinated, revolutionary onslaught".

Responding to the criticism, the managing director of South African Associated Newspapers Mr Stephen Mullholland, was quoted as saying, "I fully accept that some people, including some of our editorial staff, will disagree with the approach we are adopting."

Fringe publications

He said the NPU was striving to protect freedom of expression from further inroads of legislation

Reports have indicated that the main targets in the government's latest bid to curb reporting which engenders a "revolutionary atmosphere" are the highly-critical fringe publications, which are neither members of the NPU nor submit themselves to the authority of the Media Council, an independent body headed by two former appeal judges and set up to discipline the press

In recent talks with the government, the major newspaper groups were reported at the weekend to have refused requested approval for written proposals involving sweeping press clamps, but offered to make the Media Council "more effective"

FPF media spokesman Mr Dave Dalling warned last night that if the establishment media "sold out" to the government in the hope of escaping the harsher clamps earmarked for the alternative press, the major newspaper groups would "destroy their credibility"

Mr Dalling said "The press is facing a two-pronged attack entailing very harsh and drastic measures against non-establishment newspapers on the one hand and attempts by government to get the

To Page 3

P.T.O.

establishment press to negotiate even greater self-censorship for itself."

The "safety valve" of the alternative press would be destroyed, driving black opinion and resentment underground and paving the way for "more rumours and violence"

"I hope the NPU has the strength to withstand the onslaught this time," Mr Dalling said, in referring to a planned NPU meeting tomorrow with a Cabinet committee

'Betrayal'

The president of the South African Society of Journalists, Ms Pat Sidley, said the NPU's willingness to adopt the government's "language and assumptions" regarding the "revolution-

ary onslaught" against South Africa had placed the NPU squarely in the camp of "the system"

"This amounts to a betrayal of faith in their employees. The NPU's latest stance will result in a great loss of credibility in newspapers here and abroad"

"The NPU's identification with the government represents a great danger to working journalists whose lives are being placed at risk because of the perception that they belong to the wrong side"

The Media Workers Association of South Africa challenged the NPU to retract its "insulting statement" which, it said, demonstrated that the "liberal press in South Africa is in cahoots with the government"

The United Democratic Front also accused the NPU of "meekly capitulating" to additional press restrictions

The acting publicity secretary of the UDF, Mr Murphy Morobe, said "To actually agree to save the government the embarrassment of extra legislation by volunteering to restrict their journalists through new measures to be worked out by the government is

to effectively turn the NPU into a government pawn"

The chairman of the PFP's Unrest Monitoring and Action Committee, Mr Jan van Eck, said the NPU's "uncritical swallowing of the revolutionary onslaught propaganda takes it very close to the position and assumptions of the government" — a stance that would have perilous consequences for the freedom of the press

"We urge the NPU to guard against any attempt to do the government's dirty work for it and to resist being co-opted into the total onslaught laager," he said

The national president of the Black Sash, Mrs Mary Burton, urged "the representatives of the media to fight for the right to inform us fully"

"We view with the deepest forboding the further threat to the right to know the truth. We ask the government what it fears from a free press"

Meanwhile, the UDF said it had received information that a nationwide crackdown on anti-apartheid activists would take place before December 16

"Reliable information from a range of sources inside the country indicates that the State has been planning a massive operation against all democratic forces before December 16," Mr Morobe said

The UDF believed that pamphlets distributed yesterday in its name, attacking Azapo, were a calculated attempt to create confusion, so that when apartheid's agents struck, the ensuing chaos would be attributed to "black on black violence"

Detentions

The Black Sash said it also feared an imminent crackdown, including detentions, bannings and restriction orders

The Star in Johannesburg reported the likely targets of the clampdown on the press would be the New Nation, a black newspaper backed by the Roman Catholic Church, the Weekly Mail, Afrikaner publications such as Die Patriot, and foreign correspondents.

The Media Council has not yet been informed of the factors being considered to heighten its disciplinary function. Its chairman, Justice L de V van Winsen, said that as he understood it, any changes would involve extending the council's jurisdiction to deal with matters pertaining to the emergency

But any government proposals to change the council's constitution and functioning would have to be accepted by a two-thirds majority of the 28-member council, he said

□ Comment, page 6

Changes likely over state of emergency

Media Council faces govt pressure over discipline

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BLVDAY

DIANNA GAMES and Sapa

THE Media Council, whose function is being investigated by government, has not yet been informed of the factors being considered to increase its disciplinary powers

A meeting is expected to take place today between a Cabinet committee, headed by Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis, Press representatives and the council

Council chairman Mr Justice L de V van Winsen, said that as he understood it, any changes would involve extending the council's jurisdiction to deal with matters pertaining to the emergency

But any government proposals to change the council's constitution and functioning would have to be accept-

ed by a two-thirds majority of the 28-member council.

The decision to review the council's function follows discussions between President P W Botha and Cabinet members with the Newspaper Press Union chairman and members of the four major newspaper groups — SAAN, Argus, Nasionale Pers and Perskor

The groups have indicated to government the mechanism of the council "may need reviewing to take into account the state of emergency, the revolutionary onslaught" and government concern to avoid giving support and encouragement to those seeking revolutionary change

They said the council was not created by the NPU to deal with conditions that had led to the state of emergency and thus its mechanism might need reviewing.

The Media Workers Association of SA (Mwasa) said yesterday the NPU echoing of Botha's "usual sinister threats about a well co-ordinated revolutionary onslaught" confirmed suspicions that SA's liberal Press was "in cahoots with government".

And the Black Sash said they were "frightened" by the NPU toeing government's line by agreeing to censor itself "in the cause of continued white racial domination" and by labelling all extra-parliamentary opposition as being part of a revolutionary onslaught

Newspapers' concern at further Press discipline

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NEWSPAPERS around the country have expressed their concern at the possibility of further Press restrictions and the issue of greatest worry — that they may be introduced in part from within the industry. An independent body, the Media Council, is the vehicle through which further disciplining of the Press could be made, but no decisions will be made until after today's meeting between a Press delegation comprising members of the Media Council and Newspaper Press Union (NPU) and a Cabinet delegation.

The meetings follow government's demand that the Press take action to extend its disciplinary mechanisms through the Media Council with regard to the state of emergency. Newspaper editorials have not welcomed the course of events

□ *Eastern Province Herald* (South African Associated Newspapers — Saan) said: "With South African newspapers already nailed down by some of the toughest restrictions imaginable, it is difficult to see what further curbs on the Press government could possibly need, even in these extraordinary times."

It said they could not readily perceive of any to which the industry could or should acquiesce, and it would be watching with concern to-

day's meeting with government

Discussions between government and the media in times of crisis were probably unavoidable, and would be acceptable if they led to making the Media Council more effective in its role of judging newspaper ethics and standards of fairness and accuracy.

"But we would have grave reservations if the council were required to assume responsibility for a more controversial and political policing of the Press."

□ *Weekly Mail* co-editor Anton Harber said it hoped that, in its meeting with government today, the NPU would bear in mind that there were non-NPU members that were also part of the Press and that any attack on them would be an attack on the Press as a whole.

□ *The Daily News* (Argus) said government's new warning to the Press was "disturbing".

But it was difficult to see what response to government threats, other than offering to speed up the Media Council's processes and to discuss government's complaints, newspaper companies could have adopted

DIANNA GAMES

Blamed

Defiance would probably have induced stricter restraints from government.

□ *The Citizen* (Perskor) blamed liberal newspapers for testing the extent to which they could go before the authorities took action

It said the freedom of the Press was labouring under a "mountain of laws and is further curtailed by the emergency regulations" If newspapers that breach the regulations were not brought before the courts, government had to look at its own enforcement agencies for an explanation, the remedy was thus in government's hands

"It is one thing to have to observe emergency regulations because there is no alternative but to

obey the law; it is quite another to gag oneself voluntarily by applying some emergency code or rules"

□ *Cape Times* (Saan) said if government intended to deal with the alternative Press, it should do its own "dirty work" without the connivance of established newspapers.

It said the Cabinet should be considering policy changes to "38 years of destabilising, constricting, disastrous apartheid" and not Press curbs.

400-page book

The country's solution to its dilemma lay not in government talking to newspapers, but with credible black leaders.

□ *Evening Post* (Saan) said it was "Press-bashing time again".

It appeared not to matter that no other Western country had as many Press clamps as SA, that dozens of laws covered reports on anything from divorce court proceedings to uranium exports and that the number of offences has required a 400-page book to list and explain.

"Now, according to the State President, the existing mechanism for disciplining the Press — the Media Council — is unsatisfactory and needs pepping up. So what does government want this time?"

□ *The Argus* (Argus) said: "We do not quite know why exactly government is again poking its long nose into the affairs of the Press

Conflict

"Of course the media is fully aware of powerful revolutionary elements at work; just as it is equally fully aware of the disastrous government policies and actions which have so ominously brought these forces into conflict."

□ *Sunday Star* (Argus) said Botha had put aside reform in favour of repression. This pressure for more and more "security" was getting out of hand and the Media Council was to become the "lightning conductor".

But it was doubtful that the Media Council would acquiesce to this role to suit a "frightened government".

□ *Sunday Times* (Saan) said it was proper that government and the Press should talk about matters "in these exceptional times," as discussion was better than the unilateral imposition of restrictions on information by the State

The International Press Institute reacted by saying that government was bludgeoning the Press into bargaining away its freedom.

Press not to blame for SA's woes, says PFP

CAPE TOWN — Every time the Government finds itself in trouble it looks around for someone else to blame, the federal executive of the Progressive Federal Party said in a statement after a meeting in Cape Town yesterday.

Commenting on the Government's new warning to the Press, the federal executive of the PFP said that this time the scapegoat is the Press.

"Anyone who believes that the newspapers are the cause of the mess in which the Nationalists have landed South Africa must be very naive," said the executive, calling on the Government to stop interfering with the newspapers and "to get on with the job of ridding South Africa of apartheid."

The executive also expressed alarm at the continued and increasing numbers of people, including young children, being detained without trial and called for all detainees to be released.

"If any have broken the law they should be charged before a court."

"We need negotiation with representative leaders, not repression, to restore peace in our troubled land," the statement said. — Sapa.

SASJ chapel hits out over Press curbs

CAPE TOWN — The South African Associated Newspapers (Saan) Cape Town (Cape Times) chapel of the Southern African Society of Journalists unanimously adopted the following resolution at a meeting of the chapel yesterday.

"The Saan Cape Town chapel notes with grave concern the statement issued by the State President, Mr P W Botha, quoting the Newspaper Press Union,

"We find this statement extremely ominous, especially the fact that newspaper managements are using the same language as the State in describing the highly complex South African political situation, namely that the country is faced by a 'revolutionary onslaught'."

"To even suggest that the newspaper groups join forces with the State in combating this so-called 'onslaught' fills us with fear for the future of an independent Press in South Africa."

"Such a stand compromises our independence, integrity and objectivity as professionals, and we reject in the strongest terms the NPU stance."

"We challenge the managements of Saan and Argus to state unequivocally where they stand in relation to the State propaganda machinery." — Sapa

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English media nationwide united against fu Leave us alone, s

Leading articles in English-language papers nationwide have expressed firm opposition to further restrictions on Press freedom and the free flow of information — particularly during unrest when, they say, the public needs to be as fully informed as possible.

Representatives from newspapers and their umbrella bodies are meeting Government officials today to discuss voluntary curbs.

An editorial in yesterday afternoon's Durban Daily News called the Government's new warning to the Press disturbing and said the freedom of the Press to publish news, especially news about unrest, was already severely restricted by the emergency regulations and dozens of laws.

"South Africa is, for historical, social and political reasons, a divided country and if a peaceful post-apartheid nation is to emerge it is essential that the various elements have a better understanding of each other."

The paper added that the Government no longer cared about anti-Press action damaging its image abroad and the 'alternative Press' looked vulnerable.

"These publications would be safer if they accepted the disciplinary authority of the Media Council," it added.

Bloemfontein's Volksblad said the Government's proposals were an attempt to get the Press to develop a better formula for reporting in the light of numerous threats.

"Naturally the Press must be alert and not get trapped in a bureaucratic straitjacket which prevents it from performing its function as a reliable news medium and watchdog," Volksblad said.

Nasionale Pers' Johannesburg paper Beeld said today the Government's concern about security was understandable. "We are at the end of a year in which revolutionary forces have launched attack after attack on our internal security."

"We are also standing on the eve of a new year in which an escalation of attacks can be expected. It is against this that this week's talks between the Government and the Press are to take place. The purpose is to agree to 'inform the Press about its most important task — to keep readers informed about what is happening in their country without making illegal propaganda for the revolutionaries'."

Beeld concluded by saying that the alternative to the meeting was total Press censorship.

'Political adroitness'

The Pretoria News said: "From this week, if the dread implications in the State President's Friday statement become reality, the country and all its composite parts — of which the Government is but one — will have lost the one instrument which has retained South Africa a shred of respectability: a credible Press."

"With political adroitness, Mr Botha couched his statement in such a way that it appears that following talks with him the Newspaper Press Union, an organisation representing the four main newspaper publishers in the country, has rallied to his side to defend the nation against 'a many-pronged but well co-ordinated revolutionary onslaught'."

"In other words, to impose further self-restriction on top of the mountain of laws and emergency regulations which have already knocked Press freedom down, if not yet quite out."

The NPU was clearly trying to walk the precarious fence between total submission to the Government and total suppression. "How well they will succeed we will know only after they meet Mr Botha and his colleagues — but given the powers Mr Botha has and his patently kragdadig temper at present it seems inevitable that they will topple one way or the other."

"The tame Nationalist media will obviously toe the party line, for it controls them, but for the truly independent Press, the Argus and SAAN groups, there is only one choice. They must resist with all their might, bearing in mind that the principles of Press freedom they represent apply not only to their own publications but also to such vigorously outspoken contributors in our national debate as The Weekly Mail and the New Nation, and to the general public."

'Probably unavoidable'

In Port Elizabeth the Eastern Province Herald said: "With South African newspapers already nailed down by some of the toughest restrictions imaginable, it is difficult to see what further curbs on the Press the Government could possibly need, even in these extraordinary times."

"That there should be discussions between the Government and the media in times of crisis is probably unavoidable. If they lead to making the Media Council more effective in its current role of judging newspaper ethics and standards of fairness and accuracy, well and good. But we would have grave reservations if the council were required to assume responsibility for a more controversial and political policing of the Press, a role that might be implied in statements about the coming meeting."

"A free flow of information within a society is an aid hindrance to democratic government, even — perhaps — at times of internal crisis."

The Cape Times said a free flow of information was the country's future. Policy changes, not Press curbs, the Cabinet should consider.

The Cape Argus said: "We do not quite know why Government is again poking its long nose into the Press. Given the draconian measures already ranged against media, there is reason for grave apprehension about any of further inroads into Press freedom."

"What the Press needs — in the broad public interest — left alone and without undue interference to get on with its job, tell people what is going on, whether they like it or not — is for the Government to get on with putting right the wrongs in front of the nation."

Port Elizabeth's Evening Post said it was Press again. "Now the Government wants to toughen up the Press to play a role in counteracting the 'revolutionary'."

"Now, according to the State President, the existing"

English media nationwide united against further news restrictions

Leave us alone, says Press

'Curbs could kill papers'

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The Cape Times said a free flow of information was vital to the country's future. Policy changes, not Press curbs, were what the Cabinet should consider.

The Cape Argus said: "We do not quite know why exactly the Government is again poking its long nose into the affairs of the Press. Given the draconian measures already ranged against the media, there is reason for grave apprehension about any prospect of further inroads into Press freedom."

"What the Press needs — in the broad public interest — is to be left alone and without undue interference to get on with trying to tell people what is going on, whether they like it or not. The Government needs to get on with putting right the wrongs that confront the nation."

Port Elizabeth's Evening Post said it was Press-bashing time again. "Now the Government wants to toughen up the Media Council to play a role in countering the 'revolutionary onslaught'."

"Now, according to the State President, the existing mechanism for disciplining the Press, the Media Council, is unsatisfactory and needs pepping up. So what does the Government want this time?"

"Now the objective, it appears, is to clamp down on reports of state actions and responses to such issues as boycotts, strikes, protests and violence."

The Daily Dispatch in East London said further restraints on the Press could do serious damage to the credibility of newspapers and cause readers to turn to the alternative Press.

"Just as private enterprise is essential to the survival of a non-marxist economy, so is a free flow of information through privately-owned and politically-independent newspapers the very life blood of the Western-style democracy South Africa wants."

The Natal Mercury says that if the NPU agreed to "pep up" the Media Council the union would become party to the final "garotting" of the last "whisper" of free speech in South Africa.

"We believe the Press has gone far enough and President Botha should be told so. Government should be resolving the problems its policies have brought about, not deviously creating a myth of peace and normality where it does not exist. Conjuring tricks are no substitute for reality" — Sapa

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The Natal Mercury says that if the NPU agreed to "pep up" the Media Council the union would become party to the final "garotting" of the last "whisper" of free speech in South Africa.

"We believe the Press has gone far enough and President Botha should be told so. Government should be resolving the problems its policies have brought about, not deviously creating a myth of peace and normality where it does not exist. Conjuring tricks are no substitute for reality" — Sapa

The reported imminent restriction of newspapers would limit the free flow of information to established newspapers and kill the alternative newspapers, the Anti-Censorship Group said in a statement in Johannesburg yesterday.

It appeared that the National Press Union had "colluded" with the Government and was "willing to accommodate these restrictions," said the group.

It has been widely reported that additional restrictions on the media, and newspapers in particular, are to be imposed.

"This would not only limit the free flow of information into the NPU newspapers but also kill the alternative newspapers through the manipulation of the Media Council," the statement said.

This would leave South Africa with a "totally compliant and servile Press" — Sapa

US pressman has to leave SA

By EBRAHIM MOOSA

THE Department of Home Affairs yesterday confirmed that the application for a renewal of a work permit by Mr Michael Parks, correspondent for the Los Angeles Times, has been turned down

A spokesman for the department said it was not policy to provide reasons for the decision, adding that Mr Parks had till the end of December to leave the country

The spokesman emphatically denied that any negotiations were in progress to overturn the decision, even though diplomatic sources disclosed that this was the case

LA Times 10/12/80
The department refused to comment as to whether other foreign journalists had also been affected "Every application of foreign journalists is evaluated on merit while giving paramount importance to South Africa's interest," the spokesman said

On a previous assignment Mr Parks worked as correspondent for his newspaper in China for several years It is believed that the Los Angeles Times' critical editorial policy towards South Africa had more to do with his expulsion than his own reports from this country

Yesterday Mr Parks refused to elaborate on the decision after

243 300
he had cut short a vacation in Cape Town "In my two years here I have had good relations with the department of Home Affairs, the Bureau for Information and the Department of Foreign Affairs If there are any problems I am prepared to discuss them"

The Foreign Correspondents' Association has also refused to issue a statement until further details have been disclosed

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that the US State Department had called in the South African Ambassador, Mr Herbert Beukes, and delivered a separate protest to the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria

10/12/75
BUSA
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Govt to tighten Press clamps

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

STRINGENT, carefully worded regulations to further impinge on Press reporting of the state of emergency are almost certain to be gazetted by the end of the week.

Government's new regulations, expected on Friday and believed to be specifically directed at the *Weekly Mail*, *New Nation* and the *Afrikaner*, are likely to be worded in such a way as to rule out any possibility of court intervention on their interpretation.

This is because several of the existing emergency regulations are seen by government as to be too vague.

However, the Newspaper Press Union (NPU), said yesterday any steps taken by government to handle the emergency must apply to all media, which should include the SABC.

Home Affairs and Communications Minister Stoffel Botha said last night the NPU had, in a submission to the President and Cabinet members, stated that the Media Council, an existing mechanism set up by the NPU to discipline the Press, was unsatisfactory and had to be reviewed.

Botha said "They said it was obvious the Media Council had not been created by the NPU to handle circumstances such as those caused by the revolutionary onslaught and the resulting state of emergency"

NPU and the four major Press groups' representatives, who met with a special Cabinet committee under the chairmanship of Constitutional Minister Chris Heunis, remained tightlipped on the matter.

NPU asks for time on council

CAP: TWP 10/12/86 (243) (27)

PRETORIA — The Newspaper Press Union (NPU) yesterday told cabinet members that it was not possible within the constitution of the Media Council to speedily review the constitution and the council's code of conduct

This was said yesterday by the Minister of Home Affairs and of Communication, Mr Stoffel Botha, after a meeting between the NPU and cabinet members

He said the NPU had elected a committee to take the matter further with the Media Council

Emergency

Another meeting will be held on February 13.

At this meeting, "the further application of steps which may be taken with regard to members of the NPU or publications under the authority of the code of conduct and of the Media Council will be considered in order to handle the state of emergency", Mr Botha said

An NPU statement said "As a result of the statement by the State President on December 5,

1986, on his meeting with the NPU and representatives of four newspaper groups, members of the NPU and editors discussed the issue on Monday

"Consultation was also made with the chairman and alternative chairman of the SA Media Council

"Divergent viewpoints were put and note was taken of the fact that the Media Council's constitution and codes of conduct could be amended only within 21 days of written notification

"The meeting appointed a committee to discuss the matter further with the Media Council

"The meeting accepted that the steps which may be taken to handle the emergency will apply to all media"

At the meeting on December 5, NPU representatives and the newspaper groups accepted that South Africa was "subjected to a multi-dimensional, but co-ordinated revolutionary onslaught" and that it was necessary to do everything possible to avoid supporting those seeking revolutionary change openly or covertly

The representatives said in

their submission to the State President and cabinet members that Mr Botha had stated on November 28 that the Media Council, the existing mechanism to discipline the press, was unsatisfactory, had no "pep" and had to be revived

SASJ concern

They said it was obvious that the Media Council had not been created by the NPU to handle the "revolutionary onslaught" and the state of emergency

The NPU representatives also believed that the mechanism of the Media Council needed to be reviewed. Matters that had to be considered in this review included the state of emergency, the "revolutionary onslaught" and the concern expressed by the State President on November 28

□ SASJ chapels at the Star and at SA Associated Newspapers in Johannesburg expressed "grave concern" at the NPU statement, quoted by President Botha last week. They wished to distance themselves from the NPU remarks — Sapa

UDF worried by army presence

STBR Political Reporter
11/2/88

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[initials]

The United Democratic Front says it is concerned about the growing numbers of soldiers in Soweto.

A spokesman for the Bureau for Information said the bureau "does not comment on the deployment of security forces".

A statement issued by the UDF said: "The soldiers of apartheid are now patrolling the streets of Soweto on foot. In the past two weeks we have been receiving a constant flow of reports about incidents in which troops have asked children in the streets the whereabouts of the houses of activists.

"Particular attention is being paid to members of the Soweto Youth Congress and the Soweto Students Organisation."

Tough curbs on unrest reporting go into effect today

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BUSDAM

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Press rejects govt's secret censor deal

GOVERNMENT will today go ahead with sweeping new media curbs after the National Newspaper Union (NPU) rejected its attempted secret deal aimed at gagging the alternative Press.

The four main newspaper groups in the NPU this week flatly refused to be party to an offer proposed by Cabinet Ministers that they would be exempted from the regulations if they agreed to self-censorship.

This resulted in the NPU's statement that any steps taken by government to handle the emergency must apply to all media.

Government officials have confirmed that a total black-out on unrest reporting, except for statements cleared officially, will be imposed today on the me-

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

dia in terms of the revised emergency regulations.

SAAN MD Stephen Mulholland, a member of the initial NPU delegation which met government, said yesterday he interpreted the offer as "an attempt to have us condone, or be party to, the new regulations".

He said: "We've given away nothing and told them we did not seek exemption and would not accept exemption."

The NPU had pointed out clause 7 of the Media Council's constitution which provided for media checks on matters that may have a detrimental effect on the peace and good order, safety and defence of the country.

As a compromise, Mulholland said, the NPU agreed to consult the council about

the possibility of strengthening the clause to deal with the emergency, should it be deemed necessary.

PFP's media spokesman Dave Dalling said if government wanted to apply further censorship it should accept the consequences. It was to the credit of the NPU that, as far as he was aware, it had not destroyed the credibility of major newspapers by accepting a government deal.

Home Affairs Minister Stoffel van der Merwe — who will administer the regulations which are to be published in the *Government Gazette* today — confirmed they would severely curb news on political unrest and opposition to government.

Van der Merwe said journalists would

● To Page 2



Press rejects govt deal

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~~343~~

need to obtain official approval before reporting on any racial conflict and "all sorts of resistance".

He told members of the Foreign Correspondents Association. "Government's aim is not to establish a totalitarian system, it is to establish a democratic system."

Asked for his personal view of the new censorship, Van der Merwe replied. "I dislike it intensely but I'm part of it and I'll live with it."

While the regulations could not be clarified last night, it was believed they were likely to result in a virtual blackout of unrest-related news and also affect statements made by parliamentarians and statements before the courts until

such time as a finding of fact was made.

The Southern African Society of Journalists' council slammed the media curbs as "pre-publication censorship and the final resort of the world's worst dictatorships".

It said: "If SA does not rise in massive protest against these proposals, it may as well abandon hope of bringing any influence to bear on its future." And, it said, a blanket ban on unrest reporting would not make unrest go away and was more likely to endanger people's lives.

Newspaper editors will be briefed on the new regulations by the Bureau for Information in Pretoria this morning.

● From Page

Wynberg City
Cape Times 11/12/86

New era of censorship

Cape Times 11/12/86 (243) (25)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
and DOMINIQUE GILBERT

THE government will today implement sweeping new media curbs after the National Newspaper Union (NPU) rejected its attempted secret deal aimed at gagging the alternative press.

The four major newspaper groups in the NPU this week refused to be party to an offer proposed by cabinet ministers that they would be exempted from the regulations if they agreed to self-censorship

This resulted in the NPU's statement that any steps taken by the government to handle the emergency must apply to all media

The lights go out for South African journalism today as the country enters a bleak era of pre-publication censorship of news and comment on political unrest and "all sorts of resistance to the government"

'Attempt to condone'

SAAN MD Stephen Mulholland, a member of the NPU delegation which met the government, said yesterday he saw the cabinet offer as "an attempt to have us condone, or be party to, the new regulations"

He said "We've given away nothing and told them we did not seek, and would not accept, exemption"

The NPU had pointed out clause 7 of the Media Council's constitution, which provides for media checks on matters that may have a detrimental effect on the peace and good order, safety and defence of the country

As a compromise, Mr Mulholland said, the NPU agreed to consult the council about the possibility of strengthening the clause to deal with the emergency, should it be deemed necessary

The Editor of the Cape Times, Mr Tony Heard, who attended talks between the NPU and the government, commented "Emergency matters are for the government to deal with and not independent, ethical, voluntary and professional bodies like the Media Council"

He said the NPU's statement was significant and any conniving to destroy the alternative Press would have been "a blot on SA's newspaper history"

The PFP's media spokesman, Mr Dave Dalling, said it was to the credit of the NPU that, as far as he was aware, it had not destroyed the credibility of

Cape Times 11/12/86 (243) (25)
From page 1

major newspapers by accepting a government deal. The sweeping new extensions to the emergency regulations will effectively quash any reporting on political unrest or opposition to the government in a wide variety of fields — unless these have been approved by a government censor

The new regulations are expected to affect not only Pretoria's extra-parliamentary foes but also statements by parliamentary opposition parties

Details of the planned curbs emerged yesterday when the new Deputy Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, told foreign correspondents at a luncheon in Johannesburg that unrest-related news items would have to be cleared by a cabinet minister, his deputy or a designated spokesman

Reuters reports that he said the issues covered would include "all sorts of resistance to the the government", including passive opposition such as consumer, bus and school boycotts

The regulations will be published in the Government Gazette in Pretoria today and policed by the Ministry of Home Affairs, he said. They will apply to both local and foreign media

Dr Van der Merwe said it would be up to the media to decide before publication whether their reports might violate the rules. If so, the media would have to obtain approval, or publish without approval and face possible consequences

Violations of existing emergency press rules carry penalties of 10 years in jail or a R20 000 fine

It could not be established last night whether editorials, commentaries and columns would be subjected to the same restrictions

Mr Van der Merwe told members of the Foreign Correspondents' Association that "the the government's aim is not to establish a totalitarian system, it is to establish a democratic system", Reuter reports

Asked for his personal view of the new censorship, he replied "I dislike it intensely but I'm part of it and I'll live with it"

□ Feared press curbs slated, page 3

will pass away. The only question is how much damage they will do to this great land in the process.

THE EDITOR

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5 to December 11, 1986

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Key case as Inkatha sues the Tribune

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban
THE Sunday Tribune and its editor, Ian Wylie, are being sued for R20 000 by Inkatha's secretary general, Oscar Dhlomo, in a case that raises the important question of whether an organisation like Inkatha can take such action for defamation.

The action, which started in the Natal Supreme Court yesterday, is being brought on behalf of Inkatha which Dhlomo claims was defamed in an article about the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) conference in Durban at Easter

Dhlomo claims the article, which describes the alleged role of Inkatha at the violence-ridden conference, created the impression that Inkatha attacked the NECC, that Inkatha had the intention to kill a number of the delegates and that Inkatha was guilty of committing or supporting criminal acts.

The defence is arguing that Inkatha, as a corporate body, cannot sue for defamation

This issue — whether organisations can be defamed — is, both sides agree, a question which still has to be settled in South African law

Malcolm Wallis, SC, for the defence, claimed that an organisation could not be defamed. If, for example, one held that political organisations could be defamed, it would create a situation where any critical comment against a political or quasi-political body — the NP, PFP, even the AWB — could be the basis for defamation

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CAM Times 11/12/86 (243)

Feared press curbs slated

Political Correspondent

EXPECTED curbs on the press were widely condemned by government opponents last night

The leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, said any attempt to "muzzle the press still further" will be "sabotaging democracy and undermining the very foundation on which the parliamentary system is built"

The PFP media spokesman, Mr David Dalling, said "By a single stroke of his malignant pen President (P W) Botha has brought about a *coup d'état* in South Africa

"As long as Mr Botha and the National Party remain in power we will continue down the slippery slope of authoritarianism and move into the realm of being a tin-pot police-controlled dictatorship"

Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the UDF, said "We may be affected a little, but it will not stop our work. We have long ceased to rely on the commercial media"

The Southern Africa Society of Journalists said "This is pre-publication censorship — the final resort of the world's worst dictatorships. If South Africa does not rise in massive protest

against these proposals they may as well abandon hope of bringing any influence to bear on their future"

The Media Workers' Association of South Africa said it restates its belief "that the demands of the oppressed and exploited are not a co-ordinated revolutionary onslaught"

"We are a creative and resourceful people, and we will find ways of getting and disseminating information"

Mr Stephen Mulholland, managing director of South African Associated Newspapers, said "It is not in the interests of society to restrict information to its citizens. There is already sufficient legislation that the government can use to deal with abuses it perceives the press to be guilty of"

The Southern African Bishops' Conference said that if the total suppression of state of unrest information was to be imposed "an intolerable and dangerous situation must arise"

Bishop John Carter, a spokesman for the Anglican Church, was quoted as saying that such measures would be adopted only by "authoritarian regimes of the worst kind that are afraid to let people know what is happening"

Restrictions draw widespread criticism

Press curbs face court challenge

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

YESTERDAY's surge of opposition to government's information blackout has led to indications from several fronts the new regulations will be challenged in the courts.

The UDF said it would go to the Supreme Court to challenge the validity of the media gags, while the PFP last night sought legal advice and said it would use any means possible to fight the regulations in a bid to restore Press freedom.

The British government deplored the restrictions. Opinion there was that SA had ceased to be a member of the free world

In Washington, the Reagan administration voiced regret over the curbs and rejected Pretoria's claim that the steps

'DEATH OF FREEDOM'

THE revised Emergency Regulations tolled not only the death knell for Press freedom in SA, they reached out far beyond the Press, PFP leader Colin Eglin said yesterday.

His view was echoed by lawyers, journalists, unionists and politicians countrywide.

They said that the heart of the parliamentary system had been struck at and that the fundamental right to be informed had been eroded.

were necessary

A US official said "We regret all restrictions on freedom of the Press. We've raised the matter with the SA government and will continue to do so."

Various SA unionists, journalist or-

ganisations, newspaper group chiefs and human rights lawyers said the regulations were being considered in terms of possible legal action

Widespread condemnation was voiced on what was described by lawyers as a gross violation of and inroad into the reporting of court proceedings

● **Comment and interpretation — Page 4; details and reaction: Page 5**

They said it was a fundamental requirement of justice

Judge Presidents contacted yesterday declined to comment, some saying the issue was too sensitive and was likely to come before the courts anyway

Local businessmen reacted by ex-

● To Page 2

Curbs face challenge

● From Page 1

pressing "horror and repulsion", apologetic support or a flat "no comment". Capital markets and rand rates barely flinched, while dealers said the new curbs were likely to affect overseas investor sentiment, rather than local investor sentiment.

A Witwatersrand Lawyers for Human Rights spokesman said many lawyers held the view the regulations went farther than was warranted by the Public Safety Act.

He said: "However, no matter what final decision is made by the courts, whatever remains of these regulations will impose a sombre inhibition on the freedom of speech as a fundamental human right."

The regulations were "the most appalling step in the direction of totalitarianism that could have been made."

PFP leader Colin Eglin said the clamps demonstrated "beyond all doubt the political bankruptcy" of the Botha government

He echoed lawyers' sentiments that the implications of the new restrictions went far beyond the death of Press freedom in SA

Government, through its latest action, had taken SA across the threshold which separated democracy from dictatorship, and made a farce of the concept of free and fair elections.

Eglin said: "The denial of freedom of speech to the public, the control of the news, the awesome powers given to officials, and special privileges given to Cabinet Ministers, members of the Minister's Council, deputy Ministers and other government spokesmen, are monstrous and strike at the heart of the parliamentary system."

However, the PFP did not intend to be

"coerced into silence" by regulations Eglin said. "Just as the NP claims it has a responsibility as the government, so we have a responsibility as the official opposition. We take the mandate given to us by the voters seriously."

Lawyers for Human Rights' national chairman Jules Browde said: "Regulations relating to the courts are another invitation, I regret to say, to people in authority — police and persons in control of prisoners and detainees — to do with them what they will"

The regulations appeared to be designed to prefer confrontation, rather than peaceful negotiations

Browde said "I can only hope government will see it this way or government should be changed as soon as possible to save this country"

Other lawyers said the regulations — the "most radical forms of media control ever known in SA" — appeared also to be an attempt to stifle all extra-parliamentary opposition

The UDF said "It is clear the Nationalist government has not only lost control, but has gone completely mad."

It was now no different from dictatorial regimes elsewhere

It said "The UDF has already warned that government is preparing itself for the total elimination of all democratic forces. The regime will try to achieve this by extending its reign of terror and prevent reporting on it."

"The UDF fears any possibility of a relatively non-violent negotiated transition to democracy will now disappear permanently."

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BUSDAY

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BUSDAY
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SA quits free world, says UK

JOHN BATTERSBY and MARGARET SMITH

SOUTH Africa has ceased to be a member of the free world, the British public believes

"We deplore these further restrictions on Press freedom in South Africa. They are entirely contrary to the Western values the South African Government claims to espouse," a Foreign Office spokesman said yesterday

Government sources said further action would depend on how the restrictions were applied in practice and whether the authorities began deporting British correspondents. They said further action could include formal diplomatic protests and even advice to the British Press corps to quit SA

The restrictions dominated most TV and radio bulletins. The International Press Institute (IPI) said the restrictions had effectively reduced SA to a police state

In an urgent telegram to President P W Botha the IPI, representing 2 000 editors and publishers worldwide, said

"They are an affront to human rights and a disgrace to the free world to which, with increasing implausibility, you claim South Africa belongs"

"The IPI strongly urges you to abandon these desperate measures before objectivity and truth disappear entirely from the pages of the SA Press," it said. Dr David Owen, leader of the Social Democratic Party, said the "house of censorship" had been pulled tight around the throat of freedom in SA

Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock alleged "horrifically cruel" inflicted on detainees and referred to children disappearing into "apartheid jails". TV and radio bulletins featured interviews with Harvey Tyson, editor of *The Star*, and deputy editor

Censorship on a scale not seen before

THELMA TUCH

THE introduction of new emergency regulations to supplement existing Press curbs effectively increases government's stranglehold on the media by implementing censorship on a scale never before witnessed in SA.

The new regulations expand on the old definition of "subversive" making it illegal to publish a statement which merely encourages members of the public to

□ Discredit the system of compulsory military service, □ Oppose any member of government,

□ Participate in a boycott action against any particular firm, product or educational institution,

□ Stay away from work, attend a restricted gathering or exert authority via illegal alternative structures

The previous regulations were less comprehensive as they stipulated that a subversive statement had to have the effect of inciting the public to any of the above.

However, the new regulations — unlike the previous ones — exclude the promotion of disinterest or the application of sanctions against SA from its definition of "subversive".

But in addition to the previous restrictions, the regulations prohibit the publication of the circumstances of the detention of

emergency regulations. Also declared illegal is the publication of any blank space as a reference to the restrictive nature of the regulations.

Further, the regulations inhibit the privilege of court reporting in certain circumstances as they ban the media from publishing evidence — relating to detentions — presented to court in affidavits until the court delivers its final judgment

Reinstated in the regulations is the Minister's power to seize publications should he believe that they contravene certain regulations. This power was struck out of the previous regulations in the Maritzburg Supreme Court judgment in response to an application by four English newspaper groups to have certain regulations declared invalid.

The term "security force" has been broadened in the new regulations to include municipal police. The words "unrest" and "security force action" are also defined more precisely making the total black-out on the media coverage of unrest more effective

The new regulations go much further than the previous ones, introducing an unprecedented scale of censorship in SA, legal experts say. Judicial challenges are predicted and are expected to be based on submissions that President P W Botha has exceeded his

powers by introducing such regulations

An end to the activities of the End Censorship Campaign is anticipated as the regulations make it "subversive" even to encourage the public to undermine the system of compulsory service. The previous regulations made it subversive to "incite" the public to undermine conscription.

The new regulations recognise this year's Supreme Court judgments which invalidated some of the old regulations. However, heeding the judgments, they reintroduce the content of the previously invalidated regulations in a more clearly defined manner.

In this way, they effectively render meaningless the effects of some of this year's successful court challenges to the previous restrictions

The new restrictions are justified by government as a response to the "revolutionary onslaught" facing SA.

However, they appear to represent government's reaction to its lack of total success in silencing the media as some newspapers have utilised loopholes in the previous regulations to convey news events.

THE NOOSE GETS TIGHTER

SIX months ago — three days after government declared on June 12 that SA was in a state of emergency — a total ban was declared on media reporting on unrest or events in black townships around SA without police permission.

The orders — made under the emergency regulations — banned the media from commenting on security force action or the presence of journalists for the purpose of reporting in any black residential area hit by unrest.

Photographing unrest or the action of security forces was also banned. Contravening the clamps was punishable by up to 10 years imprisonment, a fine of up to R20 000, or both.

Further publication of a "subversive" statement permitted the Law and Order Minister or a person nominated by him to seize all copies of the publication. The Minister could also ban any newspaper considered to be of a "subversive nature".

The Bureau for Information was established to channel information to the media within the constraints of emergency regulations.

Within days, the government ordered CBS cameraman Wim de Vos to leave SA and police detained an ABC film crew for allegedly disseminating "subversive" news. Security forces seized copies of

the *Weekly Mail*, the *Sowetan* and demanded proof copies of *City Press*.

Towards the end of June, government tightened press censorship by barring the media from quoting 118 political, labour and community organisations in the Western Cape. It also announced curfews in some Eastern Cape areas.

Newspaper editors were warned by Deputy Minister of Information Louis Nel that government would act against them if they did not adhere strictly to the regulations.

Newsweek's SA bureau chief Richard Manning and Israeli journalist Dan Sagir, were ordered to leave SA.

The justification behind this first set of emergency press clamps was spelt out by the Bureau which said the country was faced by a direct threat by radical elements to "make SA ungovernable".

Sensationalist or subversive reporting, it said, instigated violence by sowing inter-group enmity and suspicion and by undermining national will and unity during an SA crisis.

The regulations evoked a flood of court applications which led to many restrictions on the media being lifted and a number of detainees being released. In Cape Town, Cosatu challenged the ruling gagging 119 organisations and the matter was settled out of court.

English language newspaper groups brought an application challenging six of the emergency regulations relating to the Press. It was submitted in the Maritzburg Supreme Court that the regulations went beyond the powers of President Botha, could not have been envisaged by Parliament and were so wide they could not command themselves to any reasonable man.

On August 20, in a major victory for the press, counsel for the State J Combrink SC, conceded that two emergency regulations banning news reporting on security force action and banning journalist from unrest areas were invalid.

This restored the right of journalists to report on unrest incidents without the consent of the Commissioner of Police. But the victory was short-lived. By September 3 — on the eve of the judgment — restrictions were re-imposed when the Commissioner of Police re-issued orders banning reporting of security action.

The next day, the newspaper application was upheld by the court which found that some of the regulations were invalid. It dismissed the regulation which allowed the Minister to seize a close down any publication as "objectionable and unduly excessive".

Observers then predicted the government might respond by issuing a new set of emergency regulations — a move which materialised in yesterday's release of the tightened regulations.

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Death rattle of frightened men — Bloom

BUSINESS reaction yesterday to government's media restrictions ranged from harsh criticism to apologetic support and flat "no comment".

But capital markets and rand rates barely flinched at the move.

Assocom, however, predicted that prolonged censorship would promote uncertainty and rumour in the market place, which could have a serious impact on business confidence and decision-making.

The most scathing criticism came from Premier Group chief executive Tony Bloom, who said he was "horrified and repulsed" by the restrictions. He described the move as the "death rattle of frightened men".

HAMISH MCINDOE

Asked if the private sector could effectively lobby government into lifting the curbs, he said: "Pretoria does not take the slightest notice of businessmen, whose opinions bounce off government like ping-pong balls. "And don't cut this," he said.

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) felt government had to maintain law and order. "We accept the situation," said president Christie Kuun.

Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce GM Marius de Jager felt "abnormal circumstances require abnormal actions," but said the free flow of

information was critical for rational business decision-making. The Federated Chamber of Commerce would not comment.

The virtual media blackout on non-official unrest news is likely to have a mixed effect on promoting SA as a foreign tourist destination.

Tourism Board executive director Spencer Thomas said: "Unrestrained foreign media reports had a disastrous effect on tourism levels two years ago.

"The first round of media clamps stabilised the situation immensely. The latest restrictions will undoubtedly be more anti-SA ammunition for

some, but fewer unrest reports overseas will make marketing the country easier."

SA Airways said it was not in a position to comment on the curbs.

Vice-president of the Association of Advertising Agencies, Len van Zyl, warned that the media risked losing advertising support if "government intervention makes the medium less effective."

Checkers MD Clive Weil thought it unlikely that the curbs would help stop consumer boycotts.

He said: "Boycotters have never resorted to the Press to publicise their aims."

A news coverage from SA, ITV's Peter Sharpe, signed off from The News at One in Johannesburg with these words.

"Whatever the reason for the introduction (of these new restrictions) they represent an end to 150 years of Press freedom in South Africa."

The London evening newspaper, *The Standard*, reported the restrictions under the headline: "Uproar over new Botha media gag."

It quoted a front-page editorial from *Business Day's* front-page editorial: "Government today unceremoniously dumps this country into the totalitarian camp."

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 All Gold 1850.0 (1867.0)
 Indust 1364.0 (1370.0)

Markets
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 FT close 1284.7 down 0.8
 Dow close 1923.65 down 9.28

Commodities
 Copper (3-mths) \$933.50
 Platinum \$481.00 (\$480.75)
 Sugar \$133.50 (\$151.00)

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 ALMOND 12 1280

Neglected silver could confound the sceptics

By Neil Behrman

LONDON — Precious metals dealers, are wondering whether silver — today's Cinderella in the precious metals market — will outperform gold and platinum in the coming year.

If precious metals do badly in 1987, silver will remain depressed, they say. But if the market is strong the neglected metal could surprise the sceptics.

With supplies well in excess of demand, and a huge surplus that has grown since the Bunker Hunt debacle, it is hardly surprising that silver is a shadow of gold and platinum.

Prices languished between \$5 and \$8 an ounce, a tenth of 1980 levels, for most of the year. The dull market in precious metals seemed to pass it by.

When prices rallied, producers from Peru and elsewhere were only too happy to sell.

Silver prices, however, are back to a range last seen between 1975 and 1978.

Gold prices exceeded silver prices by 25 to 45 times during

that period, whereas the current ratio is more than 70.

That historically high ratio reflects widespread scepticism.

Only time will tell whether the cynics are right.

But forces at work in the silver market indicate that fundamentals are at last showing signs of improvement.

Price-conscious Italian jewellery manufacturers have instructed their designers to work at full speed on new silver jewellery.

Fratelli Cacchione, president of the Italian Federation of Silversmiths, said recently that silversmiths in Italy, United States, United Kingdom and France had formed an association, Promosilver, which intends promoting silver worldwide.

The organisation will not have InterGold's or De Beers' massive promotion budget. But Promosilver has been successful in showing jewellers that silver designs can be beautiful objects.

"We are exchanging views on the markets, and the information helps promotion. It is im-

portant to co-ordinate efforts," he said.

"We want to restore the image of solid silver and make silver jewellery popular."

According to him, the Italian silver industry is the biggest in the world.

Italian production is 1 000 tons a year, about the same as the combined total of the United States, Germany and the UK.

"We believe in silver and want to invest in silver," Silversmiths in Italy, United States, United Kingdom and France have formed an association, Promosilver, to promote the metal worldwide.

Promosilver has already been successful in showing jewellers that silver designs can be beautiful objects.

Science is also helping, say Italian silversmiths.

New anti-tarnishing methods protect the metal, but do not leave stains on clothing or skin.

Liquid additives are added in smelting, and the new technique keeps silver bright.

In the past silverware and

jewellery had to be cleaned.

Jewellery invariably had expensive platinum and rhodium around the edges to prevent stains.

But the grey metallic colours around the silver items hampered designers and made silver jewellery less attractive, say the silversmiths.

Italian jewellers say that fashion markets began turning to silver three years ago, but since then the silver jewellery market has taken off.

Silver is especially popular with young people, they say. Sales are surging in the United States, Germany and Scandinavian countries.

Italy's silver production — 60 percent jewellery and 40 percent tableware — rose 40 percent in 1985 and was higher in 1986.

Silver bulls believe that prices will rise to \$7 an ounce because the surplus between supply and demand is narrowing.

Production is slipping while jewellery and photographic consumption is rising.

Bond Finance Available
 RDP
 ALMOND 12 1280

New paving franchise

By Frank Jeans

Competition in the paving market is certain to hot up with the introduction of a franchise programme by the Pebble Pave Group, which operates under licence to US paving giant, Futura Systems.

Mr Mark Elder, PP's managing director, who is targeting for its franchisees over the next two years, says "Our franchisees will be able to identify with the latest technology and resin sourced from the US".

Mr Elder believes a franchisee should achieve sales of at least 50 m of paving a day, giving an annual turnover of R500 000.

Mr Elder believes that inflation, high interest rates and the cost of building a new house have combined to turn many potential home buyers from new homes to the "more realistic and affordable aspects of enhancing the homes they already have" and so boost the paving industry.

Share incentive — or tax headache?

By Reg Rumney

Share participation schemes are not worth their salt, says Mrs Jane Ashburner, manager of The P-E Remuneration Service.

She says that for tax reasons, share purchase loan schemes have proliferated, but with one exception they do not "motivate" as a stimulus to action.

The exception is the pure share option granted to one or two top managers.

In general, though, pure share options are unpopular because any gain made by employees on exercising the option will be subjected to tax at maximum marginal rate.

Although employees are not taxed on capital gains accruing to them, there is an element of double tax which adversely affects other shareholders.

ing the amount to R25

"Finally, being surplus to the needs of the company (this must be so for the amount to have been declared as a dividend in the first place), the amount of R25 is declared as a dividend to outside shareholders.

"The final ignominy is that the amount is again taxed — this time subject to the one-third dividend exemption.

"Thus, if the private tax rate is taken at the approximate rate of 50 cents in the rand, a further R8.33 will be paid to the fiscus.

"The final net after-tax return out of the original profits of R100 is the meagre amount of R16.67. The effective tax rate in

this sequence of transactions is no less than 83.3 percent."

If the participant pays no interest on his loan, fringe benefit tax will be levied — this is also tax-ineffective because while the employee pays tax on a notional amount of income, the company does not get a corresponding deduction.

These two adverse tax features may well spur employers to consider replacing share participation schemes with an appropriate profit sharing scheme.

"Conceptually, share participation gives employee participants a shareholder's perspective of the organisation."

"From the point of view of top management, the introduction of a share participation scheme is naturally popular because there is no direct impact on corporate profitability.

"The real impact will be felt by outside shareholders whose interests are to the extent of the scheme watched down. But it is in the interests of outside shareholders as well that a stable staff should be maintained by the company."

'Upswing' doubted

WITBANK COLLIERY, LIMITED

Registration No. 01/01389/06
 (Incorporated in the Republic of South Africa)



Date of annual general meeting changed to 7 January 1987

Notice is hereby given that the annual general meeting of Witbank Colliery,

Two top Barlow men sell shares

By Peter Farlow

would have brought in between 80 000 shares in

to the time of 80 000 shares in

cate censorship

"The penalties for contravening the regulations are a maximum fine of R20 000 or 10 years imprisonment, or such imprisonment without the option of a fine

"The power of the State to seize newspapers, television, films, etc. which contain matter in contravention of the regulations has been re-introduced

"In addition, the State has the power to ban the publication of publications which commit contraventions for a maximum period of three months at a time, but only after publishing a warning in the *Government Gazette*, and if thereafter a further contravention is committed"

Instant rejection of actions by US

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The new restrictions on the South African Press were major items in the American media yesterday

While commentary — which is certain to be hostile — is yet to come from the media, the Reagan Administration wasted no time in denouncing the clamp-down

At the State Department, newly-appointed spokesman Miss Phyllis Oakley said "We reject the claim that these actions, and any other curbs on the media, are necessary"

In one nationwide television newscast yesterday, executives of The Star were shown making editorial decisions in terms of the restriction orders

A commentator noted that their decisions "would see them in jail if they got them wrong"

Competition in the paving mar-

By Frank Jeans

franchise

Competition in the paving mar-

"These regulations must be fought — democracy must not die without a fight

"Any so-called verligte Nationalist who remains in that

Township 'resistance' tactics will be hampered

By Jon Qwelane and Mudini Maivha

The definitions of "unrest" published in yesterday's *Government Gazette* will severely hamper "resistance" tactics in the townships

The Government is acting to curb the activities of

Street committees These were instituted by the United Democratic Front (UDF) in many townships across the country, particularly in the Eastern Cape and the Transvaal in areas where township councils had completely or partially collapsed

Where these committees were highly visible were in townships like kwaNobuhle and Langa (Uitenhage), kwaZakhele and New Brighton as well as Zwide (Port Elizabeth), Duduza (Nigel), Kagiso and Munisville (Krugersdorp), Alexandra and Soweto and wide areas of the Vaal Triangle

They were set up as an alternative to the unpopular community councils, and were a form of "people's government"

Class boycotts Since June 1976 when Soweto pupils took to the streets in protest against Bantu education there has not been a single year when schooling in townships across the country has not been erratic

Boycotts were used by pupil and student organisations to get the Department of Education and Training to agree to certain demands or redress certain "wrongs"

Peoples' courts These were an alternative to the "system's" justice and were active in many of the townships where the street committees functioned

Because many street committee members were youths, they were used to "police" the townships and bring "transgressors" to the tribunals

thing that (Dr) Marius Barnard once said to me about a Cabinet Minister "He is not paranoid Everybody does hate him" I think one can say that

ways used — Press censorship and the creation of law and order forces of great size which tend to become a law unto themselves" — Sapa

Tactics will be hampered

In Krugersdorp, Eastern Cape, East Rand townships and Alexandra the "courts" enjoyed a measure of popularity in Krugersdorp residents usually said at meetings that the street committees and the people's courts had brought order back to the townships

The politicisation of economic grievances As a strategy to force the Government into bargaining with black communities, many organisations had already made popular the tactic of refusing to pay certain dues or levies to the authorities

For example, by August this year a rent boycott was affecting 54 townships in all four provinces and had already sapped an estimated R460 million from the embattled councils' coffers

The Putco bus company has already lost hundreds of thousands of rands since a boycott of its buses was started last month

Last year's highly successful consumer boycotts in many parts of the country were just being repeated this year, but today's Proclamation R 224 has outlawed all that

Civil disobedience For some years now, open-air meetings, protest marches and numbers of people beyond an officially stated limit at certain gatherings have been banned

Funerals of unrest victims have been used to circumvent the ban on open-air gatherings

Work stayaways have been a popular form of protest since 1976 Since then every year on June 16 there have been mass work stayaways in metropolitan areas, and unions have in recent years said that May 1 — May Day — must not only be observed annually but must also be a paid holiday

All these forms of protest have now been made more difficult or outlawed

More 9 CP has measur sary" The had no

neglect as an excuse to clamp down on the Press"

IPI says it is appalled

LONDON — The International Press Institute said on Thursday it was appalled by new Press censorship regulations introduced in South Africa and warned they would reduce that country to a police state

IPI director Mr Peter Galliner said in a message to President Botha "The International Press Institute representing leading journalists, editors and publishers throughout the world is appalled at the measures which go significantly further than the severe Press curbs already in force under the state of emergency, will effectively reduce South Africa to a police state

"They are an affront to human rights and a disgrace to the free world to which, with increasing implausibility, you claim South Africa belongs

"The IPI strongly urges you to abandon these desperate measures before objectivity and truth disappear entirely from the pages of the South African Press" — Sapa-Associated Press

more

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are not permitted to say where, how or to what extent

UDF plans challenge to Press gag

The United Democratic Front is to go to the Supreme Court to challenge the validity of the latest gags on the Press

"The Nationalist Government has now become no different to dictatorial regimes elsewhere," a UDF statement said today

The statement added "After carefully considering the new regulations with our lawyers, we have decided to challenge them in the Supreme Court" — Sapa

Clamp on SA Press widely condemned

12/12/86 STAR

243

Reconsider Press curbs, Govt is urged

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Media Council yesterday appealed to the Government to reconsider the new regulations, saying they gave rise to great concern for the future of South Africa

The chairman Mr Justice L de V van Winsen said they contained a "double jeopardy"

In addition to depriving people of information, they also sought to deprive them of the knowledge that they were being deprived, by preventing the media drawing attention to the forced omission of certain news and views

This would lull people into a false and "potentially fatal sense of complacency"

The statement said the new regulations "constitute the most far reaching constraints yet on the free flow of news"

"The existing situation poses a serious threat to people of all races

"The Press, the radio and television services have as their prime function the duty to inform the public accurately and, where appropriate, to comment fairly on matters of public interest without fear or favour

"The Media Council has felt obliged to warn against the consequences of previous restrictions imposed by the Government on the availability of informed news and comment

"These latest regulations move even further in the same direction and will place the public at an even greater disadvantage

"There is double jeopardy in that, in addition to depriving the public of vital information the regulations seek also to deprive the public of the knowledge that they are being so deprived

"This result is sought by preventing the media from drawing attention to the forced omission of certain news and views, omissions which would lull the public into a false and potentially fatal sense of complacency"

Media censors get into action early

Within hours of the declaration of the censorship regulations, an organisation called the Inter-departmental Press Liaison Centre (IPLC) was in session on a 24-hour basis in Pretoria. It handles news reports dealing with "unrest"

The Star sent IPLC 10 reports for approval — and was refused permission to publish six of them. Replies about the other four have not been received

These were the prompt replies received

At 5 25 pm "Your telex requesting permission to publish refers. A spokesman for the SA Police replies as follows: 'Your request to publish is refused, repeat refused.' Message ends, thank you"

At 5 27 pm "Your telex requesting permission to print the report is regrettably refused, repeat, permission to publish refused. Message ends, thank you"

At 5 32 pm "Your telex re the report quoting Zakharla Makhanyane allegations refers. A spokesman for the SA Police has refused permission to publish this report. Repeat, permission refused. The affidavit you refer to should be made available to the SA Police for further investigation. Message ends, thank you"

At 5 36 pm "Your telex re the report 'What is life like for a boy of 11 years?' refers. A spokesman for the SA Police refused permission to print this story. Repeat, permission refused. Message ends, thank you"

At 5 47 pm "Your telex re the story on Thelma Lindi Nzondo refers. A spokesman for the SA Police has refused permission to publish. Repeat, permission to publish is refused. Message ends, thank you"

At 6 26 pm "Your telex re 11 year-old boy William Modibedi refers. Your request to publish is hereby refused. Message ends, thank you"

SPEAK OUT

New curbs on the media were promulgated in the Government Gazette this week. What do you think of Press freedom in South Africa? This is the topic of Speak Out! tonight. Your comments will be published — if permissible in terms of the law — in The Saturday Star. The number to phone is 834 7747 between 5 30 and 7 pm

The West has condemned the South African Government's new censorship laws; the United Democratic Front has vowed to challenge the restrictions in the Supreme Court, and the Association of Chambers of Commerce has expressed "deep concern" about the clamps

International condemnation has been headed by the United States and Britain

A US State Department spokesman has rejected the claim that the actions against the media are necessary

In Britain, a Foreign Office spokesman said the news blackout was "entirely contrary to the Western values that the South African Government claims to espouse"

In Johannesburg, the chairman of the Premier Group, Mr Tony Bloom, said he was "appalled and disgusted" by the Government's latest curbs on the media and expanded emergency regulations

"The Government has consistently been telling us through their information service that things are much better in the townships and violence is decreasing. If that is so, why the need for further

See Pages 6 and 17.

media clamps? It looks to me as though someone is lying"

He said the introduction of more media curbs seemed to him "like the death rattle of frightened men"

Mr Bloom had harsh words for those business leaders who attended the last business conference with President Botha and said they were proud to be part of the Government's initiative

"Those businessmen, who were third-time round conned at the meeting with P W Botha, should reconsider their positions. All that has happened since then is that the Government has backed down on the Group Areas Act, cracked down on its opposition, and now introduced media curbs. If that is the way forward? The less I have to do with it, the better"

The UDF said it would challenge the regulations in court. Assocom president Mr Harold Groom issued a statement saying "While organised commerce recognises the radical pressures at work in South Africa, it is deeply concerned that the authorities have found it necessary to impose further serious restrictions on the flow of information to the public and to the business community

"Assocom fears that a prolonged censorship on what is happening in South Africa will promote uncertainty and rumours which could have a serious negative impact on business confidence and decision making

Organised commerce hopes that the restrictions will be of short duration"

The Foreign Correspondent's Association said yesterday that the Government has established one of the severest systems of censorship in the world — and this was profoundly inconsistent with its declared goal of democracy

The association said the curbs stifled the possibility of genuine national debate for a peaceful solution

"As with any system of censorship, much will depend on the enforcement of it, but the Government's action has made it impossible to report fully and fairly on a social conflict of great significance which has engaged the attention of the world for two years"

What the curbs mean

The censorship imposed on South Africa today means among other things

● No "subversive statements may be made orally or in writing"

● The media may not publish "news or comment" about any security force action

● Journalists may not be in any area where unrest is taking place

● The media may not publish photographs of unrest or any information, news or comment on security force action

● The media may not publish evidence given in court about the arrest or treatment of detainees until final judgment

● The media may not publish blank spaces, any obliteration or deletions to indicate that reports have been censored. They may not tell readers when reports are censored

● The media may not publish reports about the detention, treatment or release of detainees

● The media may not publish details of education, rent and consumer boycotts, stayaways, illegal strikes and calls for a boycott of conscription

● The only information that can be published without risk is that provided by the Government

● The regulations will affect opposition politicians, trade unions and all other Government opponents. Their ability to criticise the Government will be severely curtailed

STATE OF EMERGENCY

The toll after six months

(Handwritten scribbles and the number 243)

Fears of a new security crackdown swept extra-parliamentary opposition groups this week, sending many leading figures underground. They were fuelled by government's apparent intention to tighten up the emergency regulations and to impose greater restrictions on newspaper coverage of political violence.

This week, as the *FM* went to press, a Cabinet committee under the chairmanship of Constitutional Development and Planning



Minister Vlok ... new face of law and order

Minister Chris Heunis (never a particularly good friend of the press) was told by representatives of the larger newspaper owners that they would not be party to a self-censorship agreement with government.

Newspaper Press Union (NPU) officials agreed to discuss coverage of the abnormal political and security situation in the country with the Media Council, an independent mediation body, but would go no further.

Deportation notices suddenly served on certain foreign nationals long resident here compounded fears of an impending clamp-down. Affected are Wits University associate history professor Philip Bonner, a Briton who has close trade union ties, and Bonner's ex-wife, Chris, who is Transvaal branch secretary of the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union. Although an order was not served on her at the time of going to press, police reportedly confirmed this was their intention. *Los Angeles Times* correspondent Michael Parks this week became the latest

foreign correspondent not to have his work permit renewed.

These developments coincide with six months of the State of Emergency today (Friday), and the installation last week of Adriaan Vlok as the new Minister of Law and Order to replace Louis le Grange.

Opposition spokesmen believe an end-of-year crackdown on radicals and a further muzzling of the press may set the scene for a new year in which the National Party will ditch reform, try to maintain its power in a white general or mini-election, and batten down the economic hatches for a long international siege.

Declining unrest

Talk of new restrictions comes at a time of steadily declining unrest figures, which seem to indicate that the emergency's immediate aim, to restore some semblance of law and order in the townships, has been achieved. But it is perhaps the realisation that the emergency has done little or nothing to solve the underlying causes of the unrest that has forced government to react more severely.

Most detentions are short-term (about three weeks) and it is estimated that about 7 000 people are in detention at any one time. But fears of a new crackdown on opposition groups, and a tightening of the emergency regulations, could push up the number of those in detention dramatically before Christmas.

From government's side, the numbers paint a different picture. Statistics from the Bureau for Information show a marked decline in incidents of unrest since June 12. Although the bureau declines to allow publication of the figures, unrest incidents for October — the last full month for which figures are available — are down 16% on September, and are only 12,8% of the total number of incidents since June 12.

The number of unrest-related deaths since the start of the emergency has also dropped. From June 12 to the end of October, there were 294 deaths, according to the bureau. In October, there were 21 (from June 12 to June 30 there were 93 deaths). In September there were 28 deaths.

The bureau says most deaths are still due to "black-on-black" violence. Out of the 294 deaths since the start of the emergency, 173 were black-on-black killings.

The *FM* has been edited to comply with the emergency regulations. Information may therefore be distorted, incomplete and misleading.

From June 12 until the end of October, the number of attacks on the security forces constituted just under 22% of the total number of unrest incidents.

Figures for October were the lowest since January last year. In May, there were 157 recorded deaths, and 161 in June. It is estimated that since the start of the current wave of unrest in October 1984, at least 2 200 people have died in unrest-related incidents. The bureau is currently working on an



Minister Heunis ... seeking a compliant press

analysis of November's figures, which were due to be published as the *FM* went to press.

Increase

It is understood that the November figures will show an increase in unrest incidents, due mainly to the Putco bus boycott on the Witwatersrand.

If this is so, it indicates the endemic nature of the unrest, which the emergency has been unable to resolve. The norm now is for township issues to be dealt with by force because of the absence of peaceful channels for satisfying political and community aspirations.

At a briefing in October, the bureau's director of research, Kobus Neethling, said that while the "revolutionary climate" had not abated and some areas of the country were still tense, the degree to which law and order had returned was "encouraging".

He tells the *FM* that the pattern is continuing.

X

Fears, but NPU stands firm with the rest

By PATRICK LAURENCE
THE debate within the press about how best to counter government moves to impose new controls on dwindling press freedom raged with renewed intensity this week.

But fears that the established press — large-circulation newspapers represented by the Newspaper Press Union — would sacrifice the alternative press to save themselves from new government controls were allayed, temporarily at least.

After a special meeting at which the latest government move was discussed, the NPU said "The meeting accepted that the steps which may be taken to handle the State of Emergency will apply to all the media."

The latest round of speculation about the future of the beleaguered press was triggered by a statement released by President PW Botha last Friday after discussions on the security situation with the NPU chairman and executive officials of the four main newspaper companies, Nasionale Pers, Perskor, Argus and Saan. The statement contained the NPU's verbatim response to Botha.

"The Press Union fully realises that South Africa is being subjected to a many-pronged but well co-ordinated revolutionary onslaught," the NPU said.

"We accept the need to do everything in our power to avoid giving support and encouragement to those seeking revolutionary change by

Massive blow to the ECC

YESTERDAY'S clampdown deals a serious blow to the End Censorship Campaign (ECC)

The new ban on statements that discredit or undermine the system of compulsory military service hits at the heart of the campaign.

The ECC, a broad front of organisations from the PFP Youth to religious organisations to the Black Sash, has since 1983 led a highly successful single-issue campaign for the abolition of compulsory military con-

scription

It has walked a tightrope along the legal margin of two acts the Defence Act and the Public Safety Act

Previous Emergency regulations banned statements which were likely to incite a rejection of compulsory military service. This gave the ECC a lawful margin in which to work, because the state would have had to show that their activities were

objectively likely to incite opposition to conscription

The new test is far more restrictive, ruling out any statement that discredits compulsory military service

Yesterday, the ECC issued a lengthy statement calling for a day of prayer and fasting on December 14 "as part of our call for the release of our detained leaders"

Sixteen ECC members are currently in Emergency deten-

tion as well as covert means'

The NPU went on to stress the importance to the press of fulfilling its function of objective and fair reporting, and of guarding its credibility against all threats, even those from its own ranks

But if that part of the statement allayed the anxieties aroused by the first part, the concluding sentences rekindled them

"The Media Council was not created by the Press Union to deal with conditions such as have been brought by the intensification of the revolutionary onslaught and the resultant State of Emergency," the NPU said

"We believe that the mechanism of

the Media Council may need reviewing to take into account the State of Emergency, the revolutionary onslaught and the concern you (Botha) expressed on November 28'

The NPU then proposed a meeting between itself, the chairman of the Media Council and a special cabinet committee, triggering speculation that, having recognised the inadequacy of the Media Council to regulate reporting of a 'revolutionary situation', it planned to discuss revision of the council's code of conduct with the government

Only the established press is subject to the Media Council's jurisdiction. Thus fears were generated that a deal was pending in which the established

press would gain immunity from new government controls by agreement to submit to a revised Media Council code of conduct — and that the alternative press would be left to face government censorship

The NPU agreed, however, both at its in-house meeting on Monday and at its Tuesday meeting with a special cabinet committee that the sweeping new controls should apply to all newspapers

But, judging from a statement by Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha after the NPU cabinet committee meeting, the prospect of revision of the Media Council code of conduct to buy a decree of immunity for the NPU newspapers has not been removed

A second meeting between the NPU and the cabinet committee has been scheduled for February 13, at which the NPU and the Media Council are expected to make suggestions for the revision of the council's rules of procedure and code of conduct, Botha said

At next year's meeting, Botha added, 'the application of steps which may be taken with regard to members of the NPU, or publications under the authority of the code of conduct and the Media Council, will be considered, in order to handle the Emergency'

One threat in recent South African press history consists of recurring attempts by the newspaper industry to forestall direct government controls by imposing its own professional controls

First there was the establishment of the Press Council to avoid falling under the Publications Act. Then, during the premiership of Vorster, there was the granting of powers to the council to fine erring newspapers. Finally, after the Steyn Commission and its proposal to establish a register of journalists, there was the establishment of the more widely-based Media Council

But these moves, at best, delayed government demands for more and more control

The latest government measures raise the question of how much time is left to play for and how much freedom remains to be salvaged, if any at all

Media council chief warns of 'fatal sense of complacency'

A WIDE range of individuals and organisations have reacted with outrage to the government's latest inroads into the remnants of press freedom in South Africa

Even though yesterday's government gazette did not fulfill the direst predictions — extending to the expected closure of some newspapers — the regulations are seen as the most serious threat yet to the supply of information.

The chairman of the South African Media Council, ex-Appellate Division Judge L de V van Winsen, said "the omission of certain news and views will lull the public into a false and potentially fatal sense of complacency"

The restrictions constitute "the most far-reaching constraints yet placed upon the free flow of news during the present crisis", he said

He appealed for a "reconsideration" of the regulations, saying "failure to draw attention to the risk they entailed would be a dereliction of the public responsibility delegated by the Media Council's Charter"

Church groups, political organisations, professional associations, trade unions and even a foreign government have come out in swift and strong condemnation of government clamp

●The Anglican Church's liaison officer, Bishop John Carter, said "only authoritarian regimes of the worst kind, that are afraid to let people know what is happening,



Left, the front page of the regulations. Right, the back page

UDF challenge in courts

or to seize single editions

However, the regulations follow the decision of the courts in that this power can only be exercised if there is a clear breach of certain regulations. The previous, impeached power was dependent on the mere opinion of the authorities

In some minor respects, the regulations have been tightened up and are now more precise. They also

would resort to such measures"

●The president of the Methodist Conference, the Rev Jack Scholtz, said "the government is moving a step closer to totalitarianism"

●The acting president of the

●From Page 1

fall short of some of the more drastic predictions in the press during the last week

But generally, in the words of a press lawyer, the gains which were made by the press in the Natal Supreme Court have been 'swept away' and 'ominous' new prohibitions have been imposed

Azanian Peoples Organisation, Nkosi Molala, said "the restrictions are reminiscent of the steps adopted by Adolf Hitler and Mussolini and their totalitarian henchmen. Denying people knowledge of what is

happening in their own country will not stop what is happening now"

●Herstigte Nasionale Party leader, Jaap Marais, said "the government is demonstrating that it has allowed the unrest to develop to such an extent that it now has to take extreme measures such as these to regain control"

●The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Mangosothu Buthelezi, said "the restrictions will exacerbate our problem, and will only help those clamouring for sanctions"

●Progressive Federal Party spokesman on the media, David Dalling, said "the press is entering a new dark era", and he called on the government to "seriously reconsider the regulations"

●Lawyers For Human Rights vice-chairman Barry Jammy said the regulations would mean that South Africa 'has effectively become a police state and freedom of speech and the press has effectively been destroyed'

●The Congress of South African Trade Unions said it was 'clear the Emergency has failed to produce the desired results, and it is time for all South Africans who want no truck with apartheid and repression to unite to stop the government before it does irreparable damage to the country'

●A spokesman for the British Foreign Office "deplored the restrictions", claiming "they are entirely contrary to the Western values that the South African government claims to espouse"

Biggest arts festival ever banned

By CHARLOTTE BAUER

THE largest cultural festival in the country has been banned in terms of the newly amended Emergency regulations

The National Conference of the End Censorship Campaign was banned at the same time and in terms of the same regulation

Notice of the blanket ban on the Arts Festival '86 — Towards a People's Culture was served late yesterday afternoon. It came in the wake of the detention last week of three festival committee executive members, Chippy Oliver, Alistair Teeling-Smith and Mike Rautenbach, also End Censorship Campaign members

The prohibition order, signed by the divisional commissioner of police for the western Cape, Maj-Gen Christoffel Swart, affects more than 600 artists, musicians, actors, dancers and organisers, some of whom had already travelled from Johannesburg and were in last minute rehearsal

Some of the organisers — particularly those with ECC affiliations — went immediately into hiding

Festival committee representative, Steve Gordon, said people were "outraged" by the ban, citing it as an example of how the state used the Emergency regulations to "stifle non-racial cultural activity"

"It's remarkable that this is done in the name of 'public safety'," Gordon said, adding that "it is clear now that the state is in such a precarious position that it feels threatened by the music, art, drama and literature of our people"

The festival organisers have taken legal advice, but at present it seems highly unlikely that the 12-day event will materialise

Events on the programme included a wide range of symposia, more than 20 live concerts, numerous plays and four major art exhibitions which were to have gone on tour

Several trade unions, political organisations and artistic institutions were to have taken part — from Gardens to Guguletu — in the people's festival. Bands participating included Malombo, The Sharpshooters and Winston's Jive Mix Up

Ministers can give permission

IF you want to discuss anything that falls within the Emergency regulations, you had better phone the authorities for permission

The Emergency regulations now hold up the threat of 10 years imprisonment, with or without the option of a R20 000 fine, for anyone who "whether orally or in writing, makes any subversive statements or causes such a statement to be made"

This means you could be in trouble if you make such a statement at the dinner table, in casual conversation or even in private notebooks

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER

And you will have to be careful. Illegal statements now include:

●The fact that a detainee has been released or even the circumstances of his or her detention

●The effect of a consumer boycott on business performance,

●Date, time, place and purpose of a gathering that has been restricted;

●Certain words of any of the scores of people served with Emergency restrictions

The only way you can talk about

such issues is if you get permission from a cabinet minister, deputy cabinet minister, the Bureau for Information or a government spokesman

So, if you want to talk about these things, we suggest you phone one of the numbers given on our front page and ask for permission

Since all those people listed are public servants, whose salaries are paid by the taxpayer, we are certain they will assist with any reasonable request from citizens not wishing to break the law

Press curbs widely condemned

SMAR 13/2/86
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The curbs on the Press imposed by the South African Government have brought widespread condemnation at home and overseas. The Saturday Star looks at some further views that have been expressed.

The Port Elizabeth newspaper, Evening Post, said that locking people up and producing newspapers that "reflect a rosy society" would not remove the cancer in South African society

"Mr Dave Steward, head of the Bureau for Information, trying to justify the tough new censorship measures, says the idea is not to restrict the free flow of information Ha, ha! — that surely is what these new regulations are all about Stick your head in the sand and hope that when you resurface everything will be hunky dory," the paper said

The Mozambique News Agency, AIM, described the new Press curbs as the "most draconian restrictions yet on both local and foreign reporters"

"The practice of journalism has become illegal in South Africa," it said

Mr Gavin Evans, publicity secretary of the End Censorship Campaign, said that the organisation would seek legal advice "on how far we will be able to go in terms of the new regulations"

The Cape Times said that the Government's

Report by Sapa-Reuter; The Star's Africa News Service; The Star Bureau; London: Own Correspondents

latest "jumble of bureaucratic wordage" to curb media utterances was "subversive of independent journalism"

The responsibility of the Press remained to publish as much as possible within the law and to challenge the Government in the courts on its unreasonable, vague and contradictory demands

In Harare, The Herald declared that the Press in South Africa had been stood up against a wall and President P W Botha's executioners were now bludgeoning opponents of apartheid without having to look over their shoulders.

'Price will be high'

The Daily News of Durban "The price of these restrictions will be high The rumour-monger is a dangerous messenger, much more dangerous than the factual reporter And, in a complex and difficult political situation, ignorance is not bliss The right of the Press to inform is nothing more than the right of the individual to know The newspapers are the target of these regulations — but what are really under attack are the rights of every South African"

London's Fleet Street was almost unanimous in its condemnation of the restrictions

The Guardian's headline was "Turning its back on the West" and the story argued that South Africa's ability to "seduce important sectors of opinion in the West with its claim to an underlying commitment to residual Western values has been swept away"

Today saw the curbs as "one more fatal step, bringing the country perilously close to becoming a full-blown police state and refuting any claims South Africa has to anything resembling a free Press"

"This is a giant step," the Daily Mail said, "down the road to an out-and-out police state"

The mildest criticism came from the Daily Express but even that Right-wing newspaper called the restrictions "lamentable"

But The Independent said "As South Africa proclaims its increasing 'liberalisation' of apartheid to a disbelieving world, it corresponds more and more to the caricature which its enemies have presented for years"

The Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee protested against "the wholesale demolition of freedom of speech and of the Press"

In West Germany, the journalists' union condemned the curbs

Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, said that Press curbs to halt all subversive comment against the Government were rather the preparation for a general election than related to the state of emergency.

The Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa) and Azanian Congress of Trade Unions (Azactu) union federation said that restricting the media would not "hide the ugly truth of apartheid nor smother the resistance of the people"

STAR (273)
13/12/86
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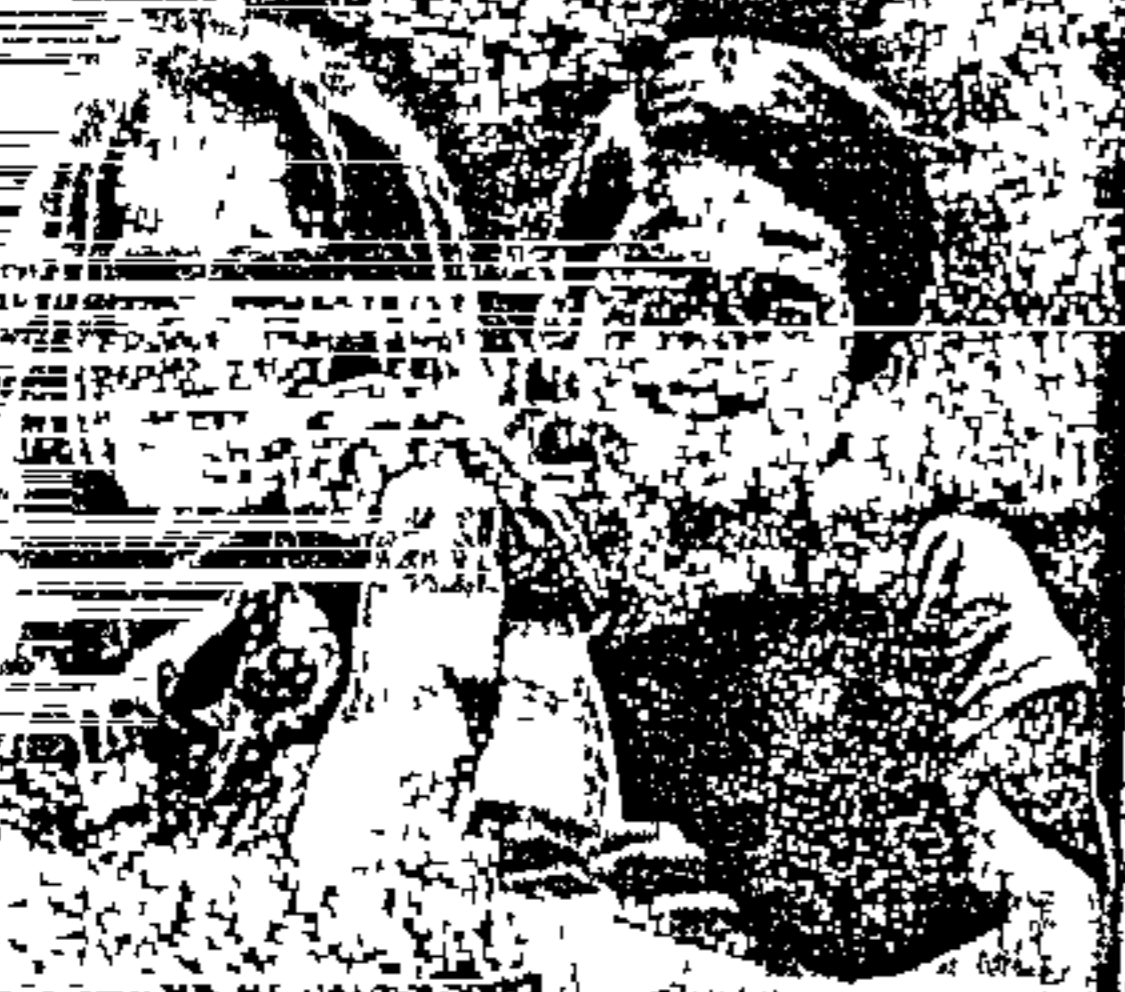
New Nation editor held

The editor of *New Nation*, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, has been detained in terms of the emergency regulations, according to family and lawyers.

Lawyers confirmed yesterday that his mother, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, had had police notification of the detention.

Archbishop Denis Hurley, whose church appointed Mr Sisulu to run the Catholic publication, said yesterday "We are very concerned that no trace can be found of Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu at home or at work. We are investigating"

The weekly, a publication of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, is seen as part of the "alternative Press" referred to by Government spokesmen. It published its last edition for 1986 yesterday, hours before curbs were promulgated in an extraordinary Government Gazette, and will not publish again until January 8.



The Government yesterday produced what it said was documentary evidence of the commitment of the African National Congress (ANC) to violent struggle — and, at the same time, reserved the right to ban the publishing of any non-official reply to its allegations.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and the Deputy Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, also declined to answer for the record any questions from the Press.

Dr van der Merwe said South Africans had to take his word that a variety of documents presented to the media were extracts from authentic ANC publications.

The original documents, he said, could not be produced for fear of compromising sources.

Documents handed out at the start of the proceedings included one entitled "ANC Planning, 1987" which contained the Government's selective compilation of ANC statements.

Two documents detailing the resolutions and recommendations of the ANC's Second National Consultative Conference — which sources said were genuine — were declared unsuitable for publication.

OFF-THE-RECORD QUESTIONS ONLY

These ground rules were spelled out clearly from the start by chairman Mr Dave Steward, of the Bureau for Information, who also warned the Press that they would be able to question Ministers only off-the-record on the subject of the ANC as presented by the Government.

Dr van der Merwe then took the Press through the "ANC Planning" booklet, pointing out what were considered to be salient points in proving that the ANC was bent on violent struggle and the violent overthrow of the Government.

All attempts to get on-the-record replies on the ANC and the Government's current stance on the UDF failed. Even one "no comment" has to remain unreported.

According to the foreword to the ANC Planning booklet, "the attached documents originated from a recent combined National Executive Committee (NEC) and Politico-Military Council (PMC) meeting of the ANC in Lusaka, Zambia, and were distributed to various regional ANC command centres during October 1986.

"The documents consist of opening statements by Oliver Tambo (ANC president) and decisions taken in regard to proposed ANC activities for 1987 when the ANC will commemorate its 75th anniversary."

'VIOLENT REVOLUTION PLANNED'

Dr van der Merwe said the ANC planned violent revolution. He quoted Mr Tambo as saying: "Our people have, in many parts of the country, responded very well to our calls to make the country ungovernable and to create organs of people's power."

"In this regard, we would strive further to reinforce the confidence of our people in the ability to emerge victorious as well as to organise for a co-ordinated all-round offensive on all fronts."

Dr van der Merwe said the South African economy was a priority target. This was evident from another quote in which Mr Tambo said (in reference to the sanctions issue) "This situation demands that we should carry out a sustained and effective sabotage campaign against the South African economy."

The ANC, Dr van der Merwe said, also intended to use "alternative structures" such as street committees to make the country ungovernable.

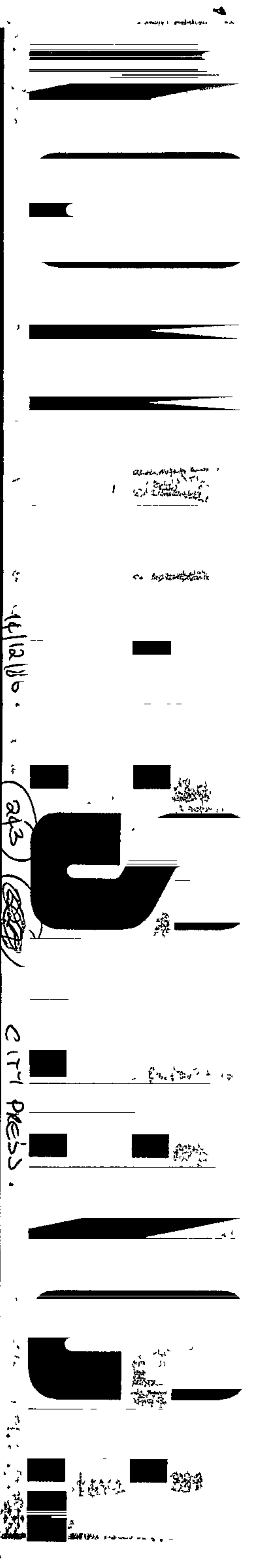
Dr van der Merwe said it was also clear from ANC statements that divisions within the UDF were posing problems for the creation of its revolutionary bases.

Muzzled media told of ANC

Pretoria Bureau

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SMC
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Plans



CITY PRESS COMMENT

A blindfold on SA

All the myths, the trimmings, the happenings and the pretences of South Africa being a democratic country based on Western and Christian values have finally been exposed.

South Africans whether they be black or white, have never known true freedom.

White South Africans who deluded themselves that they were enjoying the fruits of democracy must now accept that all of these years the freedom they enjoyed was imaginary.

Freedom is indivisible. The people of the white suburbs can never be free if the people of the ghettos are not free.

The new Press curbs have one intention only. To deny the people the fundamental right to know. To keep them captives of ignorance about the state of the nation.

How empty the claims we have heard with such monotony regularly in the past few weeks that the state of emergency is working. The tightening up of the Press curbs is a tacit admission by the State that the emergency has not produced the desired effect, as they had hoped it would.

We have consistently said to the government — and we want to repeat it now — that the iron fist of the security might of this nation will not solve the problem. What we have is essentially a political problem and it can only be resolved in a political arena — by entering into serious negotiation about the future of all our people.

To that ideal there is no short cut. Imposing the serious curbs on the media merely takes away a valuable source of engaging in that debate — and amounts to sweeping the crisis under the mat.

None of us can take consolation in the self-defeating attitude of living in cuckoo-land and generally behaving as if nothing is happening.

If, as the government alleges, there is a total onslaught against this country, then they must remove the causes of that onslaught. Bashing the Press does not remove those causes. All right-thinking South Africans will see that as the action of bullies.

Removing the freedom of the Press has clearly signalled the government's intention of maintaining power by methods unheard of in Western and Christian circles.

All other freedoms are set to crumble like a badly baked cake.

A THUNDEROUS sense of anger and dismay greeted the government's announcement of new curbs on the Press gazetted yesterday in Pretoria.

Both the national and international media interpreted the move as formal censorship and suggested that South Africa was now a virtual dictatorship.

Yesterday's curbs came after a week of speculation that the government intended taking action on unrest reporting and that it was reviewing the security position in the country.

It also came after behind-the-scenes Cabinet meetings in which the government was reported to be reviewing the state of emergency and the revolutionary onslaught against it.

The 10-page proclamation by State President P.W. Botha in terms of the Public Safety Act gives a comprehensive definition of what a subversive statement during the state of emergency is.

Publications may not carry blank spaces as an indication or reference to the regulations.

Measures

The new measures also effectively prohibits reports on:

- Municipal police action
- News or comments on street committees and possibly civic associations.

- The Press is also not allowed from today to give times dates places or the purpose of any restricted gathering/funerals or give an account of any speech, statement or remark made at such a meeting.
- Where there is unrest or security action or any gathering/funeral over which conditions have been placed, the Press is not allowed to be present.

The Press your watchdog has not only been muzzled it has been effectively chained to a post.

Sapa reports that provisions have been made under the new measures for the seizure without prior

By IEN KALANE

Reaction

BESIDES depriving the public of vital information the new Press curbs would also deprive the public of the knowledge that they were being deprived. SA Media Council chairman L. De Van Winsen said in a statement released in Johannesburg yesterday.

"The emergency regulations affecting the media and promulgated in yesterday's Government Gazette give rise to grave concern for the future of our country."

"They constitute the most far-reaching constraints yet placed upon the free flow of news during the present crisis."

"The existing situation poses a serious threat to people of all races a situation which must be taken into account by the media in their coverage of current events."

As is stated in the preamble to the Media Council's constitution the Press, radio and television services have as their prime function the duty to inform the public accurately and where appropriate to comment fairly on matters of public interest without fear or favour.

"Their task is to keep the public reliably and timeously informed on all aspects of the situation to the best of their ability."

"Ignorance serves only to make the public more vulnerable to threats to their security," the statement said — Sapa.

Reaction

THE Association of Democratic Journalists has called for unity among SA journalists to effectively challenge the erosion of Press freedom in SA.

Reacting to the latest government curbs on the Press, the ADJ said: "The time has come to act if we are to save even the limited freedom we have to report, and the people's already limited right to know what is happening in their country."

"Only by united action can we hope to succeed. As journalists we must try to cast aside sectarian and ideological differences to unite in defence of our right to publish," an ADJ statement said.

The ADJ is launching a campaign for Press unity today and called on "all those who cherish the dream



The grief-stricken Ribeiro children — Barbara, Andy and Chris.

Ribeiro's laid to rest in Mamelodi

By SOL MORATTEI

He remains of the slain Mamelodi medical practitioner Dr. Fabien Ribeiro and his wife Barbara were finally buried in a ceremony at the Mamelodi cemetery this week.

The Ribeiros both 50 were cremated in Pretoria West on Wednesday but were given the traditional funeral this week after a request from relatives and friends.

The curfew was lifted by two masked men in the early morning at their Mamelodi home last Monday. Mameyville CID Chief Lt. Genet al. St. Schutte said the police are being hampered by hostile attitudes taken by the family members and alleged eye witnesses. People with information about the killings should contact Lt. De Bruyn at (012) 28 4925 Ext. 349 (o/h) or at 70-1754 (a/h).

Reaction

THE Times of London After more than three decades in which it has strewn all manner of obstacles in the way of those who bear bad tidings the South African government has finally decided to bind its unwelcome messengers hand and foot.

"The sweeping new powers under which the government will censor in advance Press reports of all sorts of resistance are a last resort and one characteristic of all authoritarian regimes which face a challenge to their established order."

It is to be hoped that Pretoria comes to realise its mistake and reverses its decision.

The Natal Witness The proprietors of the controversial four large newspaper groups appear to have

CITY PRESS Meeting 14/12/86 on Press Freedom

By SANDIE MERRIA

MORE than 100 journalists and representatives from political and labour organisations attended a meeting on Press Freedom at Funda Centre this week.

The meeting called by the Media Workers Association of SA took place on Wednesday hours before the new media curbs were announced.

The gathering resolved to unite extra-parliamentary and labour organisations to resist the reaction to the government's onslaught which it fears will be unleashed if the government blacks out unrest coverage.

Sowetan news-editor Thami Mazwai said before the end of the week editors will have more jobs.

"The Burden of Information will be mutually responsible for what goes into the papers and what readers will know," he said.

The Indicator editor Ameen Akhalwava said the National Press Union should be taken to task for unilaterally accepting there was a revolutionary onslaught.



by the claims we have heard with such regularity in the past few weeks that emergency is working. The tightening of emergency is a tacit admission by the State that emergency has not produced the desired results.

What we have is essentially a political and it can only be resolved in the political by entering into serious negotiation about of all our people

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Raised soccer star

chiefs' Swaziland-based star Absolum "Scara" the surprise of his life on Wednesday night voted the 1986 NSL Players' Player of the

7 500 in the SA Breweries-sponsored event - of the Year Mark Anderson and into joint second place Cosmos' came fourth

Peter Hird (left) gave Thintwa his

● See Back Page

The naked truth?

STAN MHLONGO

Director Jeremiah Makaane in the Vereeniging Regional week - and it seemed he off the set of *Shaka*

30, accused of theft and a firearm without a license loin cloth covering his private

Residentia Football Associ- Prikash Gopal told the Makaane stole his gun after car on November 10. He said

he had left one of his car windows un- locked on that day

Makaane stole the gun and returned it five days later. He warned a witness, who told him Gopal was looking for his gun, "to come and see me, but don't bring the police and you will get the gun"

In mitigation Makaane appealed to the court not to send him to jail because he was a reformed person and no longer a tsotsi since he came back from prison six years ago

Makaane was sentenced to 12 months, suspended for three years

Publications may not carry blank spaces as an indication or reference to the regulations

Measures

The new measures also effectively prohibits reports on

- Municipal police action,
- News or comments on street committees and possibly, civic associations,

- The Press is also not allowed, from today, to give times, dates, places or the purpose of any restricted gathering/funerals, or give an account of any speech, statement or remark made at such a meeting,

- Where there is unrest or security action or any gathering/funeral over which conditions have been placed, the Press is not allowed to be present

The Press, your watchdog, has not only been muzzled, it has been effectively chained to a post

Sapa reports that provisions have been made under the new measures for the seizure, without prior notice, of any publication or film or recording by order of the Minister of Home Affairs or the Commissioner of Police if it is in contravention of the regulations

Fines

Any person contravening the regulations will be liable, on conviction, to a maximum fine of R20 000 or 10 years' imprisonment, or to such imprisonment without the option of a fine

Many of the 10 new regulations are amendments of previous regulations covering the expression of "subversive" statements, the presence of journalists at unrest scenes, and the seizure of publications

A subversive statement - which may not be published - is defined as a statement calculated to

"They constitute the most far-reaching constraints yet placed upon the free flow of news during the present crisis

"The existing situation poses a serious threat to people of all races, a situation which must be taken into account by the media in their coverage of current events

"As is stated in the preamble to the Media Council's constitution, the Press, radio, and television services have as their prime function the duty to inform the public accurately and where appropriate to comment fairly on matters of public interest without fear or favour

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"Ignorance serves only to make the public more vulnerable to threats to their security," the statement said - Sapa

Reaction

THE Association of Democratic Journalists has called for unity among SA journalists to effectively challenge the erosion of Press freedom in SA

Reacting to the latest government curbs on the Press, the ADJ said "The time has come to act if we are to save even the limited freedom we have to report, and the people's already limited right to know what is happening in their country

"Only by united action can we hope to succeed. As journalists we must try to cast aside sectarian and ideological differences to unite in defence of our right to publish," an ADJ statement said

The ADJ is launching a campaign for Press unity today and called on "all those who cherish the dream of a future democratic SA to join us in our struggle"

"The time for protest statements, for outraged editorials, is past. The government is deaf to such protests and, too soon, such protests will be illegal," the statement said

The ADJ said the government was wrong in believing that "strong-arm action against the Press will blot out reality and save it". It called on "all journalists in the commercial and the alternative media, and all editors, to join us in a campaign for Press unity in defence of the people's right to know"

have the effect of inciting or encouraging the public to boycott firms, products, educational institutions or to take part in any act of civil disobedience

This includes the refusal to pay municipal rents, or the refusal to go to work

A statement "by which the system of compulsory military service is discredited or undermined" is also classified as subversive. This ruling effectively prohibits the activities of the End Conscription Campaign

A ban is placed on publishing news or comment on or in connection with security action, any statement made at any restricted gathering, or the success and certain other particulars of any boycott action

The ban also applies to "structures purporting to be structures of local government and acting as such in an unlawful manner". In this sense the government may be referring to street committees and civic associations. Only local authorities are exempted by this rule

The treatment of detain-

ees or news of their release may also not be published

All reports, under these categories, can only be published after disclosure or clearance by a Cabinet Minister, Deputy Minister or Government spokesman

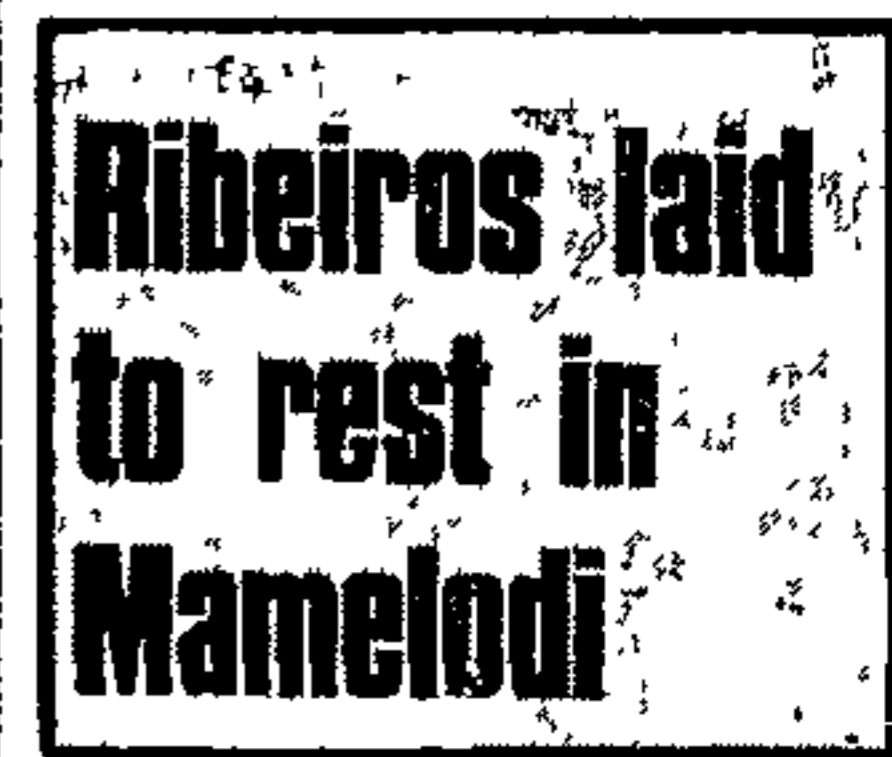
The curbs come shortly after the government had met newspaper owners for talks on the security situation, whereby ways were being sought to combat what the government termed as threats from "revolutionary forces"

The Press curbs are also seen as the first step by the government to thwart all opposition within the country as rumours are growing that a pre-Christmas crackdown against activists is imminent

The stringent measures against the Press also follow a spate of detentions and restrictions which observers said were mainly aimed at the UDF and its affiliates

They come after a week in which the government took strong action against the End Conscription Campaign members who were either restricted or detained

The grief-stricken Ribeiro children -



Ribeiro

THE *Times* of London "A" decades in which it has strewn all cles in the way of those who ben South African government has bind its unwelcome messengers

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The *Natal Witness* "The propr try's four large newspaper gro, fallen victim to a snare set by F

"Having agreed to the question that the country faces a revoluti which the Press has a duty to the main newspaper groups find to co-counter a divide-and-rule their support is being invoked for sures against smaller newspapers bers of the NPU and thus not tion of the Media Council"

Reaction

IF total suppression of the state tion was to be imposed an intoler situation must arise, the SA Con ference said this week

The SACBC was commenting Press curbs to be imposed in ter emergency regulations

The SACBC said "The F expressed their dismay at the exist news. The actions of the security seen by all to be just and contr-

"They should have nothing to censorship already prevents full such actions. One is aghast to suppression of this information SACBC said - Sapa

Reaction

THE final nail into the coffin of been hammered in by the gov introduction of new state of emer the *Sowetan* said in a front page

"No more can we fool the peop and the world, about being a rel-

"If newspapers are expected to statements made by organisati both parliamentary and extra-parl have reached the stage of censor-

"No self-respecting editor will for approval to a government can

"They (the people) will be ill ters affecting their lives and fut abound. But, the government has its knack for self-destruction"

Rapport ~~343~~ turns a deaf ~~243~~ ear to latest Press curbs ^{STILL}

By Don Holliday

^{15/11/86}
South Africa's English-language Sunday newspapers slated government censorship yesterday — but readers of *Rapport*, the Afrikaans Sunday paper, had to wait until page four to find a report on the curbs

Three days after the Government censored information, the lead story in *Rapport* concerned a man regaining his hearing after 38 years of deafness.

The Sunday Tribune's lead story read. "Big Brother Is Watching You, now the State can muzzle anyone who criticises its actions" Other reports were carried on inside pages

Both *The Sunday Star* and *The Sunday Times* lead with a story on a top-level police investigation into spying allegations in the South African Defence Force.

The Sunday Star carried a notice on its front page which read: "This issue of *The Sunday Star* may have been censored. The law does not permit us to give details" Other reports on the restrictions were carried inside the paper.

The Sunday Times carried a front-page editorial comment on the restrictions and further reports inside the paper.

SA hurtled 'into mad nightmare'

CAPE TOWN — The Government's latest gags on the Press and anti-apartheid organisations has "hurtled South Africa into a mad nightmare where secret deeds and unknown powers will control our lives", the Black Sash said yesterday

The Black Sash national president, Mrs Mary Burton, said her organisation was "filled with anger" at the clamp-down and "filled with fear for South Africa and its people".

"We search for comparable experiences of totalitarianism in other countries or in other eras and find little to comfort us," she said

"Our only solace lies in the firm stand taken by so many newspapers and in the continued courage of those many people who will never abandon their resistance to apartheid and repression.

"The Black Sash will continue to press towards the realisation of its goals, even though we may be temporarily prevented from voicing our demands," she said

"We remain committed to a truly democratic and non-racial future in which truth, justice and freedom will be the common goals of society." — Sapa

Zimbabwe journalists slam clamp

HARARE — The Zimbabwe Union of Journalists (ZUJ) yesterday condemned the South African Government's actions against the Press

Ziana, the semi-official news agency, reported ZUJ chairman Mr Charles Chikerema as saying in a statement

"The recent measures against the Press in South Africa add to the many crimes being committed by the apartheid regime against humanity"

Calling on all the progressive journalists in the world to expose the evils of apartheid, which the United Nations identified as a crime against humanity, Mr Chikerema said

"Together with other progressive media, and people the world over, the ZUJ declares its solidarity with the persecuted journalists in South Africa, who, side-by-side with the struggling masses in that country, are contributing to their heroic efforts" — Sapa.

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X

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Press curbs are 'final curtain on democracy'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The final curtain on democracy in South Africa had been drawn with the latest Press curbs, says the Progressive Federal Party's Natal leader, Mr Ray Swart.

He said history had shown that censoring the free Press was the last step taken by any government before imposing a totalitarian regime, and South Africans had to now decide if they were prepared to allow this to happen, or stand up for values that were "democratic and decent"

It was also patently obvious that the newly created Government "news service" to deal with unrest reports, the Inter-Departmental Press Liaison Centre (IPLC), was nothing more than a media suppression mechanism

He said this was graphically illustrated last Friday when the Star in Johannesburg submitted six stories to the IPLC for clearance. Each request received the same reply: "Your request to publish is refused, repeat Refused"

Sapa's news service was also

refused clearance on a report on the United Democratic Front's decision to challenge the new restrictions in the Supreme Court

"The IPLC is basically just an organisation created to prevent the free flow of news," said Mr Swart.

"The Government doesn't give a damn about disseminating information it believes people should not know and at a critical period in our history, the public will be even more misinformed than ever before"

He said there was little the

Press could do without breaking the law in fighting the curbs — the toughest restrictions imposed on the media in the country's history.

"What is really needed is a vigorous public campaign to support the Press. The ideal of a free Press is a bastion of democracy and the good and decent values our society should be upholding

"Unfortunately in many instances people are apathetic about this. Indeed, some even believe that news reports should be censored."

Call to promote race communication

Cape Times 17/12/86
243

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

NEWSPAPERS in Cape Town should intentionally break away from selective reporting and encourage communication between the authorities and black and brown communities, a Stellenbosch University academic, Mr J C R Liebenberg, has concluded.

He also said recognition should be given to the frustrations, grievances of all concerned and he called for a deliberate attempt to work against polarization.

Mr Liebenberg, who is attached to the Institute for the Study of Marxism at Stellenbosch University, made these recommendations after a study of reports in the Cape Times and the Burger over the Pollsmoor march in 1985 and the boycott of examinations in 1985/6.

His study, published this week by the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town, said the Burger in its reports on those two incidents had largely relied on quotes from government representatives and officials.

This had or could have left the impression that "the Burger has little or no empathy with the grievances of the community."

"The fact that during the examination question few teachers' organizations were quoted in the Burger, could have created the impression among students and teachers that their situation had not been taken up seriously enough."

"The inability to link regional and local (political) conflicts and place them in a broader perspective for the Burger readers, could create the impression that the Burger does not understand the grievances of the brown and black communities."

"Among the Burger readers, it again creates the impression that unrest is isolated and is the only result of 'agitators from outside'."

"The spelling out of the achievements of white students in examinations and the labelling of the exam boycotters as 'anarchists' may possibly have contributed to growing polarization."

"There were no in-depth articles over the school situation (reasons, background and actions of the boycott movement). As a result, the fact that there is, actually a crisis in black and brown education, largely bypasses the newspaper's readers."

"The impression therefore can pos-

sibly (wrongly) be created that 'everything is normal', Mr Liebenberg said.

The Cape Times laid "considerably more emphasis on the communities and community organizations."

"Although this is of considerable importance, it can possibly be seen by the authorities as a misunderstanding of the dilemma of the government and the attempts by the authorities to scale down the violence, or a misunderstanding of the attempts by the government to give pupils, who indeed wanted to write the exams, the opportunity to do so."

"The fact that the government's point of view received little coverage (for instance, through the minimum of quotes by officials), could also be regarded as negative by the government, the unrest control and a (large) segment of the 'white' public."

"Although a newspaper also has a duty to protect informants and people who are quoted, the use of anonymous quotations can contain a suggestion of subjectivity for some."

Understand

"Although it is to the credit of the Cape Times that analysis of and articles about the reasons for the violence are indeed published, it would possibly help for such analyses — which could possibly be more difficult because no objective distance had been obtained — to be placed in the middle of the situation of violence."

"This should help the community, the police and the broader public to understand themselves, their role and the grievances in the midst of the situation," Mr Liebenberg said.

In regard to the media, he said it would help if the situation was thoroughly analysed to inform people on as wide a level as possible and to link the situation to the overall political situation.

It would also help, if recognition were given the frustrations, grievances and problems all those involved, a deliberate attempt was made to work against polarization, a forum for public debate between all those involved was created, and pleas for self-control and discipline, as the Cape Times had done on occasion, could make an important contribution in working against polarization.

"This does not have to mean that the ideal of greater democratization, justice and 'commitment' to a more legitimate government has to be sacrificed."

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CAT TRANS 17/12/86

Banning order served on paper

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JOHANNESBURG. — An order banning the Sowetan from publishing statements which "advocate" or "support" the Christmas Against the Emergency campaign has been served on the newspaper.

The Assistant Editor, Mr Agger Klaaste, said yesterday the order, signed by the Divisional Commissioner of Police, was delivered about 6.30pm on Monday.

The Sowetan's Editor, Mr Joe Latakomo, said: "It is amazing how the government can hope that by stopping us from publishing information they are addressing the problem. People want to be heard. Their voices should not be suppressed," he said.

The order bans publication of statements from organizations which "advocate, further or support the campaign known as Campaign for National Unity or Campaign for National Unity or Christmas Against the Emergency or Christmas of Concern".

A similar restriction order was placed on the Weekly Mail

Co-editor of the Weekly Mail, Mr Irwin Manoim, said his biggest fear was that the restriction was "merely a prelude for worse to come".

"In itself it is a minor restriction and doesn't really make much sense. It's not as if the campaign was going to lead to the overthrow of the government. I think it's just a symptom of a pre-December 16 panic — like the panic before June 16 and last year's hysteria over candles.

"But it could be the start of a pattern of specific restrictions on specific newspapers, and that really concerns me," Mr Manoim said.

The Johannesburg branch of the Black Sash has condemned the restriction orders on the Weekly Mail and the Sowetan.

"If any member of the public still has any doubts as to whether freedom of the press has been destroyed in South Africa, these latest orders should remove all doubt from their minds.

"There is no press freedom any more," the branch said.

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Sash hits at order on two papers

JOHANNESBURG—The Black Sash has condemned the restriction orders on the Weekly Mail and the Sowetan prohibiting them from publishing statements which 'advocate' or 'support' the Christmas Against the Emergency campaign.

'If any member of the public still has any doubts as to whether freedom of the Press has been destroyed in South Africa, these latest orders should remove all doubt from their minds,' the women's organisation said.

'There is no Press freedom any more. The Press can only publish what the Government chooses to allow it to publish.

'The people no longer know what is going on in their own country, every day momentous events occur but all the public knows is what the authorities choose to disclose.

'Already rumours abound and rumour is exceedingly dangerous.

'The Government has already driven resistance underground.'

The Black Sash said the bans were 'a tribute to the courage and determination of the editors of the Weekly Mail and the Sowetan. —
(Sapa)

THE Interdepartmental Press Liaison Centre (IPLC), a government body in charge

of clearing and censoring newspaper copy for publication, said yesterday it had received 134 inquiries regarding media reports

Of those, 15 were authorised for publication by the relevant government departments and 47 not authorised. Another 40 fell outside the ambit of the regulations.

The IPLC said it referred 12 reports to departments for a decision on a higher level or for the compilation of data requested, while in one case a report's contents merely had to be confirmed.

Five inquiries pertained to reports already published and required no decision. The remaining 14 inquiries pertained to the IPLC itself or were requests for interviews.

The Black Sash has condemned the

Media curbs: 134 inquiries

SIPHO NGCOBO
and Sapa

restriction orders on the *Weekly Mail* and *The Sowetan* prohibiting them from publishing statements from a number of groups if the statements "advocate" or "support" the Christmas Against the Emergency campaign.

It said the latest orders would remove all doubt from the minds of anyone wondering if media freedom had been destroyed in SA.

Black Sash said "The people no longer know what is going on in their own country. Already rumours abound and rumour is exceedingly dangerous."

But it also said the bans were a tribute to the courage and determination of *Weekly Mail* and *Sowetan* editors and journalists. Black Sash

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said "They are under threat but so is every single person who lives in SA as we enter into this long silence."

The Sowetan's deputy editor Agrey Klaaste said the groups involved were the UDF, the Black Sash, Congress of SA Trade Unions, Detainees' Parents Support Committee, Detainees' Support Committee, End Conscription Campaign, Federation of Transvaal Women, Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee, National Education Union of SA, Transvaal Anti-Presidents Council, Transvaal Indian Congress, National Education Crisis Committee and SA Council of Churches.

PFP leader Cohn Eglin said horrific as the new emergency regulations were, people should not indulge in self-censorship by reading restrictions into them that did not exist.

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Burger says Reds learnt lesson of gagging the press

Political Staff

THE Soviet leader, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, had on his own admission learnt the "very important" lesson that openness eventually overwhelmingly strengthened a community and gagging made most things worse, the official mouthpiece of the National Party in the Cape, the Burger, said yesterday.

In an editorial, headlined "Openness strengthens a country", the Burger said the Soviet government was apparently serious in its attempts to make the country a more open community.

It said under Mr Gorbachev's leadership the Soviet press had opened up on a number of issues which previously would have closed. These issues included theft and drugs, corruption among party members and the Chernobyl nuclear disaster.

"This is not to say that the new openness policy is a total reversal, if it puts the government in danger, it will probably be very quickly closed again."

"Nevertheless, Mr Gorbachev has on his own admission learnt the very important lesson that openness eventually overwhelmingly strengthens a community and gagging makes most things worse," the Burger said.

The editorial did not refer in any way to the new press restrictions in South Africa.

IPLC rejects 47 reports, three newspapers restricted

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By Colleen Ryan,
Political Reporter

The Government has already begun to exercise its new censorship powers — in the last week it has restricted three newspapers and refused permission for at least 47 reports to be published.

The Government censor board, the Inter-Departmental Press Liaison Centre (IPLC), said in a statement that from December 11 to 16 it had received 134 inquiries, which included requests for permission to publish reports, for information to be verified and for interviews to be granted.

Only 15 reports were ap-

proved, 47 were rejected and 40 reports fell outside its ambit, said the IPLC.

Other steps taken by the Government include the detention of the editor of the *New Nation*, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, and its refusal to renew the passport of Mr Thami Mazwai, who is news editor of the *Sowetan* and an executive member of the International Federation of Journalists.

This week police served restriction orders on the *Sowetan*, *The Weekly Mail* and *City Press*.

The restriction orders prohibit the newspapers from publishing statements which advo-

cate or support the Campaign for National United Action, Christmas Against the Emergency Campaign, Campaign for National Unity and Christmas of Concern.

The campaigns are backed by affiliates of the United Democratic Front, the National Education Crisis Committee, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the SA Council of Churches.

The Progressive Federal Party's unrest newsletter distributed in the Maritzburg area, *Outreach*, was one of the items rejected by IPLC.

PFP regional director Mr Radley Keys said permission to publish the December newsletter had been refused.

The coy, faceless men who censor the news

By Andrew Walker

Who censors the news?

Which Government officials are responsible for deciding what you may or may not read?

Is there a "human" side behind the Inter-Departmental Press Liaison Centre (IPLC) set up in Pretoria to screen the news?

In an attempt to shed light on the censors — who they are and how they operate — *The Star* tried to get behind their doors and report on the workings of the censorship office.

The IPLC was asked if *The Star* could produce a feature article on their operations.

"We would like to show our readers the human face of a department of which little is known," the censors were told in a telex.

"The general idea is that we would like to write about 'a day in the life of the department', showing how the work is processed and give some human interest details about the individuals who work there."

No, said the censors.

All we know is that they are a mixed bunch — speaking to the censors on the telephone can mean talking to a naval officer one moment and to a prisons official the next.

The only further details which the IPLC were prepared to give, via telex, were:

"The IPLC is manned, 24 hours a day, by representatives of all government departments on a rotation basis.

"It is not a department or even an organisation.

"It is merely a channel established to facilitate the referral of reports/articles which, in the opinion of the media, fall within the ambit of regulation 3(1) to the relevant government department(s).

"In view of the above the representatives of the IPLC do not consider the IPLC as a subject matter for a feature story."

INTERFERENCE

The leader of the PFP in Natal, Mr Ray Swart, condemned the move, saying it was an example "of gross interference in the right of groups to monitor the situation in South Africa".

A statement released by the Media Workers Association of South Africa said "These are the desperate actions of a panic-stricken Government.

"It is naive to believe that such vicious and arrogant actions will destroy the commitment of journalists to make information available to the public.

"We condemn in the strongest terms this futile attempt to intimidate journalists into silence," the statement added.

The editor of the *Sowetan*, Mr Joe Latakgoma, said the information clampdown would not solve any of the country's problems.

"If any member of the public still has any doubts as to whether freedom of the Press has been destroyed in South Africa, these latest orders should remove all doubt from their minds," the Johannesburg branch of the Black Sash said.

Clamps imposed on third newspaper

A third Johannesburg newspaper has been prohibited from publishing statements concerning the "Christmas Against the Emergency" campaign

City Press joins the *Sowetan* and *The Weekly Mail* who were served with restriction orders earlier this week

The order prohibits the publication of statements which "advocate, further or support the campaign known as Campaign for National United Action, Campaign for National Unity, Christmas Against the Emergency and Christmas of Concern".

Sowetan will challenge restriction order in court

The *Sowetan* intends to challenge the restriction order prohibiting it from publishing statements supporting the "Christmas Against the Emergency Campaign", attorneys for the newspaper said today

The attorneys said the newspaper would consult its legal advisers today with a view to bringing an urgent application to the Supreme Court tomorrow to have the order declared invalid and set aside

On Monday police served restriction orders on the *Sowetan* and the *Weekly Mail*. Yesterday a similar restriction was served on the *City Press*

Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of the *City Press*, said today that he was angered by the action.

"We in the media must not underestimate the capacity of these people to go even further than they have already. I think the Government does not want to ban the UDF and other organisations outright but it wants the media to do its dirty work for it by not quoting them," said Mr Qoboza

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Plus DAY (248)

Mystery over govt's special clamp on two newspapers

18/12/86

GOVERNMENT'S selection of two newspapers as specific targets of further Press restrictions has mystified legal and media experts

The newspapers are the Weekly Mail and the Sowetan, both of which have been prohibited from publishing statements from several organisations which "advocate" or "support" the Christmas Against the Emergency Campaign.

The campaign has been advertised in several newspapers apart from the Sowetan and the Weekly Mail

Reacting to the restrictions, Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber said yesterday the paper had not yet decided how it would react to the restrictions and was consulting lawyers on the matter

Sowetan assistant editor Aggrey Klaaste said his paper had obviously been selected because it served a large market

THELMA TUCH

A legal expert said yesterday that one would imagine such restrictions to be aimed at newspapers read by black South Africans

It was "inexplicable", he said, why newspapers such as The Star and City Press, which have a substantial number of black readers, were unaffected.

The Weekly Mail has an average readership of 13 598, according to the latest ABC circulation figures, while City Press has a weekly circulation of 162 084. The Star has a daily circulation of 201 426, which includes a substantial number of black readers.

Opposition spokesman on Information Peter Soal said government's action showed it was conducting a vendetta against the two newspapers.

"The bullying tactics they are using are typical of the Nats, who have been bully boys for years," he said.

ARGUS 19/12/86

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Argus and Saan go to court over Press laws

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Government's new emergency regulations are to be challenged in the Supreme Court by the Argus and Saan newspaper groups and the Progressive Federal Party

The United Democratic Front has also said it will challenge the regulations in court.

A statement issued today by attorneys representing the Argus Company and South African Associated Newspapers said: "The decision has been made by the Argus Group and Saan, the country's two largest newspaper groups, to attack certain provisions of the new censorship laws, which came into force on December 11"

"SEVERE CENSORSHIP"

It said that "although the new regulations, according to some lawyers, are somewhat clearer and more lucidly contained than their predecessor, they amount to the severest form of censorship of the media that this country has seen, certainly since the time of World War 2"

"So, as with the earlier regulations, the major English language newspapers have once again come together as the only guardians left of the public's right to know, to present a united front against the new regulations and, more specifically, freedom of speech for all.

"Time is no longer an affordable luxury.

"Senior lawyers, experienced in the laws affecting the media, have been consulted, and the newspapers have decided once more to seek relief from the

(Turn to Page 3, Col 1)

Press curbs

Weekly Mail plea rejected by court

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BUSDAY

19/12/86

LIAM EGAN

AN URGENT application by the *Weekly Mail* newspaper, to have invalidated the December 15, SA Police order prohibiting it and other publications from printing statements by 13 organisations, was dismissed with costs in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

The *Weekly Mail* brought the unsuccessful application against Witwatersrand Divisional Commissioner of Police Major-General Mulder van Eyk after it had been banned from publishing statements about four current anti-government campaigns.

Mr Justice MacArthur dismissed "for lack of sufficient urgency" the application to invalidate Van Eyk's order, which prohibits some newspapers from promoting the Campaign for National United Action, the Campaign for National Unity, the Christmas Against

the Emergency campaign and the Christmas of Concern campaign.

In a founding affidavit before the court, *Weekly Mail* business manager Clive Cope argued that Van Eyk's order should be invalidated to allow publication of a UDF advertisement, entitled "Unity Pledge", in support of the Campaign for National United Action and the Christmas Against the Emergency campaign.

Cope claimed Van Eyk's order, insofar as it prohibited publication of the UDF advertisement, was inconsistent with government's latest Press restrictions — the ambit of which had allowed

● To Page 2



Weekly Mail application dismissed

for publication of the same advertisement in the two preceding editions of the *Weekly Mail*.

□ The Rand Supreme Court is to hear an urgent application today, instituted by the *Sowetan*, to contest the validity of a police order of prohibition served on it on Monday.

The application, lodged with the Court Registrar yesterday, lists the Argus Printing & Publishing Company and *Sowetan* deputy editor Aggrey Klaaste as applicants and the Witwatersrand Divisional Commissioner of Police as respondent.

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Mail challenge to curbs 'not urgent' court

THE state's latest attempts to black out news were challenged by the *Weekly Mail* yesterday in what is expected to be the first of several such actions.

The newspaper brought an urgent application before the Johannesburg Supreme Court contesting a police order which bans the *Mail* from publicising the United Democratic Front's "Christmas Against the Emergency" and other campaigns.

Manager Clive Cope, who brought the legal action, said in an affidavit that the UDF had applied to place an advertisement to publicise its campaign. He said the matter was urgent as this week's issue of the *Mail* was the last of the year.

Judge NM MacArthur dismissed the application with costs, ruling that — as it concerned only one advert — it was not sufficiently urgent to warrant a hearing without giving the respondents an opportunity to reply.

The half-hour hearing dealt solely with whether the matter was urgent or not.

In his affidavit Cope said the *Mail* had published the UDF's "Unity Pledge" advert twice before the Witwatersrand Divisional Commissioner, Major General M van Eyk, served the restriction order on the newspaper this Monday. The order banned statements by a number of organisations which advocated or furthered the UDF's campaign for "National United Action" or a "Christmas Against the Emergency".

Michael Mendelowitz, for the *Mail*, told the court he would argue that the order be declared invalid as it was beyond the scope of the Emergency's powers.

He also told the court the application went far beyond the scope of a single advert and touched the very nature of press freedom.

Newspaper fails in bid to beat emergency gag

An urgent application by the *Weekly Mail* to have a restriction order by a Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police — served on the newspaper on Monday — set aside was dismissed in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Justice NM MacArthur found that the application was not urgent and dismissed it with costs.

The order prohibited

the newspaper from publishing any statement by certain organisations in support of the "Christmas Against the Emergency" campaign.

Mr Justice MacArthur said the application concerned only one advertisement, by the United Democratic Front, in the whole newspaper and had been brought very late without giving the other side the opportunity to reply.

In papers, a director of the newspaper, Mr Clive Rodney Cope, said the application was urgent as they had a deadline of 6 30 pm for their last edition of the year.

Mr M Mendelowitz, for the *Weekly Mail*, told the court the order would be contested on, among other things, the ground that it was beyond the power of the emergency regulations.

He said it was an issue

concerning the freedom of the Press which had been considerably muzzled.

Because the advertisement was "Christmas Against the Emergency" it would not be possible to have it after Christmas. If it did not appear in this edition, it would not appear at all, he said.

Mr P A Hattingh, SC, for the Divisional Commissioner, contested the urgency of the application and submitted that the *Weekly Mail* had created its own urgency.

The only prejudice to the newspaper would be the loss of revenue from one advertisement, he said.

Appearances: Mr Justice NM MacArthur was on the Bench. Mr M Mendelowitz appeared for the newspaper and Mr P A Hattingh SC, assisted by Mr J Wessels, appeared for the divisional commissioner.

Roodepoort town secretary dies

West Rand Bureau

Roodepoort's town secretary, Mr C J "Neels" Voigt (56), died suddenly on Wednesday night in the Garden City Hospital after a short illness.

He suffered from asthma and apparently had another lung complaint.

Mr Voigt, who was born in Fauresmith in the Free State, was appointed town secretary in 1971 and acted as

town clerk on several occasions.

At the time of his death Mr Voigt was a member of the management of the South African Institute of Organisation and Methods as well as serving on its examination board.

He is survived by his wife, Leonie, and two children.

Mr Voigt will be buried at 3 30 pm today from the NG Church in Daniel Malan Drive, Florida Park.

Two English paper groups go to court

Argus to challenge emergency muzzle

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Staff Reporters

The Government's new emergency regulations are to be challenged in the Supreme Court by the Argus and South African Associated Newspapers (Saan) groups — as well as the Progressive Federal Party.

The United Democratic Front has said it will also challenge the regulations.

A statement today by attorneys representing the Argus Company and Saan said: "The decision has been made by the Argus Group and Saan, the country's two largest newspaper groups, to attack certain provisions of the new censorship laws which came into force on December 11."

It added that "although the new regulations, according to some lawyers, are somewhat clearer and more lucidly contained than their predecessor, they amount to the severest form of censorship of the media this country has seen ... certainly since World War 2

"So, as with the earlier regulations, the major English language newspapers have once again come together as the only guardians left of the public's right-to-know, to present a united front against the new regulations, and more specifically, freedom of speech for all.

"There is no longer an affordable luxury. Senior lawyers, experienced in the laws affecting the media, have been consulted, and the newspapers have decided, once more, to seek relief from the courts from those restrictions which are considered

excessive, under the circumstances, and which can, with some prospects of success, be attacked as being too wide, unclear, or ultra vires the Public Safety Act — and therefore void"

Review strategy

The chairman of the PFP, Mr Ken Andrew, said in a statement that the party wanted to challenge the emergency regulations as soon as possible and had instructed its attorneys to obtain the opinion of senior counsel

Speaking after a special meeting of the PFP's federal executive yesterday, he said the party would be seriously reviewing its strategy in Parliament in the light of the new restrictions.

It had decided not to submit party literature to any authority for approval, and would not be silenced or intimidated

The first challenge brought to the Rand Supreme Court yesterday failed. An urgent application by *Weekly Mail* to have a police restriction order set aside was dismissed with costs.

The police order, served on three newspapers this week, goes further than the general media restrictions by prohibiting publication of information on various Christmas campaigns

An urgent application challenging a restriction order prohibiting *Sowetan* from publishing statements by 13 organisations supporting several campaigns — including "Christmas Against The Emergency" — is expected to be heard in the Rand Supreme Court today

● See Page 4.

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Urgent application by Sowetan postponed until Monday

By Lesley Cowling and Jenni Tennant

The urgent application by Sowetan challenging a restriction order prohibiting the newspaper from publishing statements by 13 organisations supporting several campaigns — including the "Christmas Against the Emergency" — was yesterday postponed to Monday in the Rand Supreme Court.

The newspaper is seeking to have an order, served by the Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police for the Witwatersrand Division on December 15, in terms of the

emergency regulations, declared void and of no force or effect in law

The Deputy Judge President, Mr Justice G A Coetzee, yesterday said that the matter appeared to be an important one concerning the public interest and should not be dealt with in a hurry

Mr P A Hattingh SC, for the Divisional Commissioner, said time was needed to answer certain allegations made in the

papers and asked that the hearing be postponed to Monday.

Mr S Kentridge SC, for Sowetan, said that the case concerned the freedom of the Press

He said that if the application was not completed on Monday it would become academic because it concerned a matter that ended at Christmas

The order, which prohibits the newspaper from publishing any "publication" or statement by the 13 organisations in support of the "Campaign for National

United Action", "Campaign for National Unity", "Christmas Against the Emergency" and "Christmas of Concern", was served on Sowetan last Monday.

Similar restrictions have been served this week on Weekly Mail and City Press.

In papers before court this morning the deputy editor of Sowetan, Mr Aggrey Klaaste, said that the police order would be challenged on the grounds

that

● The order was so wide it covered matter which was not within the powers conferred on the State President by the Public Safety Act

● The order was so unreasonable as to give rise to the inference that the Divisional Commissioner acted in bad faith, or failed to apply his mind.

Mr Klaaste submitted that the terms of the police order discriminated against Sowetan and

not against the media industry as a whole. The order was partial and unequal and therefore unreasonable, it was submitted

● That the order was vague

Mr Klaaste submitted that the application was urgent because the order restricted the daily business of the paper — restricting the free flow of information and comment on a wide range of activities of the 13 organisations, many of which were high profile and constantly in the news

He added that the order further restricted the daily business of Sowetan in that it prohibited the publishing of advertisements which the organisations may wish to place, resulting in a loss of revenue

He said he and his employees were experiencing difficulties interpreting the order

Mr Justice G A Coetzee was on the Bench Mr S Kentridge SC, assisted by Mr G Marcus, instructed by Weber Wentzel, appeared for Sowetan Mr P A Hattingh SC, assisted by Mr J Wessels, appeared for the Divisional Commissioner

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Argus, Saan to go to court

(Cont from Page 1)

courts from those restrictions which are considered excessive under the circumstances, and which can, with some prospects of success, be attacked as being too wide, unclear, or ultra vires the Public Safety Act, and therefore void.

"The details of the application are presently being finalised, whereafter the court will be requested to allocate a date for the matter to be heard by three judges of the Supreme Court," the statement said.

An urgent application challenging a restriction order prohibiting the Sowetan from publishing statements by 13 organisations supporting several campaigns — including the "Christmas Against the Emergency" — was expected to be heard in the Rand Supreme Court today.

The newspaper will seek to have an order, served by the police Divisional Commissioner for the Witwatersrand Division on December 15 in terms of the emergency regulations, declared void and of no force or effect in law.

It is expected to be challenged on the grounds that:

- The order is so wide it covers matter which is not within the powers conferred on the State President by the Public Safety Act

- The order is so unreasonable as to give rise to the inference that the Divisional Commissioner acted in bad faith or failed to apply his mind.

- That the order is vague

Yesterday, Mr Justice NM MacArthur dismissed the application by the Weekly Mail to have a restriction order by a Divisional Commissioner of the police set aside

- PFP on its role in Parliament, Page 2; Paper's plea dismissed, Page 5.

Weekly gets its R20 000 back

By JEAN SUTHERLAND, *Windhoek Weekly*

A SIGNIFICANT blow was struck for press freedom in Namibia this week when the Supreme Court set aside a R20 000 deposit slapped on *The Namibian* newspaper by the interim government

The deposit was imposed under the Internal Security Act which allows the government to levy up to R40 000 if it believes a newspaper could threaten state security or promote the aims of communism or banned organisations.

The Namibian, an independent weekly started in August 1985, is strongly pro-independence and fiercely critical of the interim government

In a judgement which emphasised the freedom of the press, Mr Justice Harold Levy said the interim government had displayed a "certain confusion of thought" and "illogicality" in reaching their decision on the matter

Evidence before court, he said, had fallen "far short" of showing that criticism in *The Namibian* endangered state security or threatened law and order

Levy also ordered the cabinet to pay the newspaper's costs in bringing the application

The fine line between the right to know and the need to suppress

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

The Government's new emergency regulations are not intended to prevent information reaching the public or to shield the Government from legitimate criticism, says Deputy Minister of Information Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

"The basic motivation is to prevent the Press from reporting in a biased fashion and to prevent unsubstantiated and substantially untrue reports from being put out," he said in an interview in Pretoria.

Dr van der Merwe was enlarging on an earlier interview in which he said the Government has a right to withhold information from the public. He said two opposing principles were at work: the right of

the public to know and the right of the Government to withhold information.

"In no country can the government make available to the public and the media all information at its disposal.

"It is universally recognised that governments have the right to withhold information such as diplomatic or security strategies," he said.

However, a problem arises when it comes to drawing the line between these principles.

"In stable and sound society, more emphasis will be placed on the right of the public to know," said the Deputy Minister.

"But in a society under stress or at war the government's right to withhold information becomes emphasised at

the expense of the public's right to know.

"Of course, it suits any government to give less information while the newspapers always want more. That is why the line between the two rights is always in dispute, and especially in a situation such as ours."

Dr van der Merwe agreed that withholding information from the public could be counter-productive in the long term.

"There is a lot of sense behind the principle of the right to know, and after all we are talking about democracy.

"The present limitations are not intended to shield the Government from legitimate criticism but to safeguard the security of the State," said Dr van der Merwe.

He said that from the Bureau for Information's point of view, as much information as possible should be divulged to the public.

The latest restrictions were motivated by the deterioration of the security situation and by the Government's wish to end the state of emergency as soon as possible, he said.

"It is perhaps desirable that harsher measures be instituted for a shorter period rather than imposing more tolerable measures for a longer time."

Asked why the Government upholds the privilege of Parliament which can be used by op-

position parties to circumvent the curbs on the publishing of information which is considered too sensitive for public consumption, Dr van der Merwe said, "We want to retain the basic essentials of democracy, and Parliament is at the core."

Asked what the point was of refusing to release the names of people in emergency detention when by law such information had to be tabled in Parliament, whereupon it would be public knowledge anyway, the Deputy Minister said "In cases like this it might be that it sometimes gives the security people a little more leeway to conduct their investigations if the names of detainees are not published immediately."

Dr van der Merwe would not be drawn on allegations the

Government was failing to give Parliament sufficient information, as was evidenced by Ministers refusing to answer questions "in the public interest".

But he pointed out that the principle that a government could withhold information on the grounds of national interest was built into the Westminster system.

Asked if the Government was satisfied the latest restrictions on the media were necessary, Dr van der Merwe said "Yes. The regulations have been carefully considered and they are also supposed to be temporary."

Dr van der Merwe said the basic motivation for the restrictions was to prevent the Press from reporting in a biased fashion and to further prevent unsubstantiated or sub-

stantially untrue reports from being put out.

"It is easy enough to say you can put the situation right afterwards, but you know as well as I do that once the damage is done it can very rarely be put right."

He said the Government was aware that restrictions on hard information could facilitate the spreading of rumours and that this was one reason why it would try its best to facilitate the free flow of information.

"I can make an open invitation to the Press to discuss instances where they are convinced information is being unduly withheld either with the Bureau or even myself.

"We will discuss this fully with both the Press and the Government departments involved."



Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said new curbs not meant to shield the Government from criticism

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New curbs on three newspapers

JOHANNESBURG — New restriction orders banning reports on the Christmas Against the Emergency campaign were imposed on the Weekly Mail, City Press and the Sowetan on Saturday

The orders, which replace earlier curbs on the three newspapers, were issued by the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee

Weekly Mail's manager, Mr Clive Cope, said the order banned publication of "any report, pamphlet, comment or advertisement or any other news in connection with the four campaigns for a Christmas Against the Emergency"

The three newspapers recently ran advertisements for the campaign

Mr Cope said staff had already consulted attorneys with a view to fighting the order in court

He said the order was wider than earlier measures. The main changes are

□ The ban is no longer restricted to statements from 12 organizations listed in the old order but now applies to comments on the campaign by any person or organization

'Any part of South Africa'

□ It prohibits news reporting on the campaigns by the three newspapers whereas the previous order focused only on advertisements and statements that were designed to promote the campaigns

□ Publication of news or comments on the campaigns is now banned in any part of the country, including "self-governing homelands". The old order applied only to the Witwatersrand

Last week the Weekly Mail and Sowetan both launched Supreme Court applications against the first set of restrictions. On Thursday, the Rand Supreme Court rejected the Weekly Mail's application on the grounds that it was "not urgent" and the Sowetan's hearing was postponed for Monday

Mr Thami Mzwai, news editor of the Sowetan, said he thought the new regulations targeted the three newspapers because they were the main suppliers of news to residents of the black townships in which the campaigns were most widespread

The campaign calls on people to turn off their electricity and light candles between 7pm and 9pm from December 16 to December 26 in solidarity with detainees — Sapa

Cape Times
22/12/86

A-G can't confirm newsmen charged

By EBRAHIM MOOSA

THE Attorney-General of the Cape, Mr Niel Rossouw, was yesterday unable to confirm a report in the pro-Nationalist Rapport newspaper that two Cape Times journalists have been charged with violating the Police Act

Mr Rossouw said he was "aware" of the case against Mr Chris Bateman and Mr Tony Weaver but had not personally worked on it and therefore could not confirm the report.

Yesterday, a surprised Mr Weaver said he had not been informed about any charges against him.

Mr Bateman is away on holiday in Zululand and could not be contacted.

The two journalists are alleged to have breached the Police Act in reporting events surrounding the killing of seven suspected ANC guerillas in a police ambush near Guguletu in March this year.

Mr Rossouw said he was "distressed" at the fact that information had been leaked to the media before the persons charged had been notified.

"I will definitely make an inquiry into the matter."

He said that someone from his staff of 27 people could have issued the order in his name.

GM-Trans

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Media again blamed for SA 'climate'

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Staff Reporter

EXPLAINING the latest news clampdown in "true perspective" in an advertisement in Sunday newspapers yesterday, the Bureau for Information again claimed that the country's "revolutionary climate" is generated to a considerable extent by the media

The half-page advertisement says that in spite of the emergency regulations imposed on June 12 this year, "most of the media have continued to generate perceptions which have, on balance, been more favourable to the radical cause than to the cause of the moderates"

Although the government respected the role of the media in criticizing the government, there were "individuals within the established media and organs of the alternative media who strongly believe that the media should be overtly and covertly used to promote the objectives of the radical revolution

'Mobilize public opinion'

"The media can become the main ally of terrorists if reporting on a terrorist incident helps to generate the climate of fear, panic and despair which is the terrorist's main objective

"In the same fashion reporting on clashes between security forces and demonstrators can be used to mobilize public opinion against the police, to further polarize opinion and promote further confrontation and conflict", the bureau said

According to the advertisement, the new restrictions "were not directed at the established media but at those elements of the media which are consciously and continuously supporting the cause of the radicals"

"They were not intended to limit the right of the media to continue to criticize the government across a broad spectrum of national affairs"

The advertisement also claims that the new curbs "were not imposed

without prior consultation"

The government had invited representatives of the "established media" to draw up their own code to ensure "responsible reporting" during the state of emergency

This would have exempted them from the new regulations

The representatives had, however, called for the curbs to be applied to all media until they had reported back to the government on the outcome of their discussions with the Media Council

The advertisement says the state of emergency "has succeeded in achieving some its immediate objectives"

However, it had "not yet succeeded in eliminating the political agitation, incitement and subversive propaganda which have created the revolutionary climate"

"Under current circumstances, there would be a quick return to violence and unrest if the state of emergency were now to be lifted"

□ Opposition and media spokesman have hit back at the advertisement, our correspondents report

The PFP Information spokesman, Mr Peter Soal, said the advertisement was "misleading" and did not reflect the true picture

'Normalizing society'

The deputy managing director of SAAN, Mr Roy Paulsen, said it appeared from the tone of the advertisement that government realized it had damaged the image of a free press that was valuable to it, and was trying to justify its stand

The Argus MD, Mr Peter Mclean, said the government's message appeared to be that the media should choose sides between "radicals" and "moderates"

"It is the task of our newspapers to present the facts so that the process of normalizing our society can be assisted. Regrettably the new emergency regulations prevent us from presenting all the facts," he said

Ambivalence on press curbs

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A weight of business opinion, expecting more consumer boycotts and strikes in the shopping days to Christmas, is ambivalent about the government's media curbs

Pick 'n Pay chairman Mr Raymond Ackerman said late last week "Press censorship is supposed to cool things down, but I've never known anything so difficult as this time"

He believes that the curbs will have the "short-term rub" of not inflaming consumer boycotts and unofficial strikes as "headline stories accelerate these activities"

"It's a double-edged sword. You don't want to promote the causes of strikes and boycotts, but restrictions make people more obdurate," he said

Assocom, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut and the Department of Trade and Industry report no negative feedback on the press curbs

Few retailers trading in black areas believe that lack of information on boycotts and strikes will affect their business

SA Breweries for one, has its own information network in the townships to keep abreast of political actions that could mar beer sales

"But you still want more not less information when making business decisions in difficult times," said an SAB spokesman

Pressing on with news

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FOLLOWING legal advice, many newspapers have gone ahead and published certain articles which government censors staffing the Interdepartmental Press Liaison Centre (IPLC) have refused to authorise.

These articles include the United Democratic Front's reaction to the new Press emergency regulations, released on December 11.

That night the IPLC would not authorise a story sent to it by the SA Press Association (Sapa), stating that the UDF planned to challenge the regulations in the Supreme Court.

However, media lawyers said such information did not contravene the emergency regulations and newspapers heeded their advice and published.

The new emergency regulations prohibit the publication of any news dealing with security force action, restricted gatherings, boycotts, illegal alternative structures and detentions, unless such information is released by government or authorised for publication by the IPLC.

The IPLC was set up by the Bureau of Information to deal with media inquiries regarding the above categories of information.

By authorising certain stories they effectively assure the media the content of the articles does not contravene the regulations.

But refusal to authorise does not automatically imply the stories contravene the regulations. It means that government is not interested in disclosing such information or is unaware of the facts, according to legal experts.

A second example of the IPLC attempt to prevent certain information being conveyed to the public is that of

the detention of *New Nation* editor Zwelakhe Sisulu early last Friday. His mother, Albertina Sisulu, confirmed that she had been notified of his detention.

The telexed response from the IPLC read that police had no record of the detention and therefore could not authorise publication. Newspapers went ahead and published the news.

Another story the IPLC would not authorise was the turning off of lights and lighting of candles by Soweto residents on December 16 between 7pm and 9pm in response to a call by the UDF for such action, to observe a "Christmas against the Emergency" campaign.

The process of liaising with the IPLC is arduous and largely unsuccessful. The usual reply to inquiries is a blanket refusal to authorise publication.

But in certain cases private lawyers have challenged such a refusal stating that the new restrictions do not prohibit their publication.

And there has not yet been any government reaction to newspapers' decisions to publish such stories.

The refusal to authorise stories later cleared by lawyers leads one to the conclusion that IPLC responses merely hamper the publication of certain stories, according to legal sources.

The standard responses from the IPLC to newspaper inquiries are usually brief and unspecific, a curt reply refusing to authorise publication.

In most cases no reasons are given. The entire procedure appears directed towards inconveniencing and delaying the media in their attempts to convey news. It also makes the constant consultation of lawyers an ongoing necessity.

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THELMA TUCH

Choking the messenger

The new and amended curbs inflicted on the press in the name of security differ in a number of significant respects from the existing regulations

They are more stringent, explicit and all-embracing. However, interestingly, there are one or two areas in which government has actually conceded a point — though this is small beer compared to the overall effect on news reporting

Regulation 3 of the new regulations provides that "no person shall publish, without governmental permission any publication, television recording or sound recording containing news or comment on or in connection with . . . a number of matters, particularly those concerned with "security action."

Under the old regulations there was no equivalent to this rule which introduces a far more stringent element of control. It is important, however, that newspaper editors draw a distinction between the categories of information that are subject to government control, and information which may constitute a subversive statement and which may not be published at all

Information subject to control can be submitted to the Bureau for Information for approval. This covers all unrest-related topics not specifically covered under the definition of a "subversive statement"

In addition, government has formed the Interdepartmental Press Liaison Centre, though most queries put to this body had gone unanswered or had been turned down, at the time of going to press

No blanks

The regulations prohibit the publication of any blank space or any obliteration of part of the text of a report or photograph. This particular prohibition is worded in such a way that any indication that a report has been censored is forbidden

However, it is still permissible to publish a statement that a newspaper or a report has been restricted because of the regulations

The definition of "security forces" has also been widened to include forces under the control of local authorities. As a result, the township police, commonly known in Johannesburg as "blackjacks," who are under the control of the local authorities, and who have recently been involved in a number of disturbing incidents of violence, are included in this definition

According to legal advice, it is possible that the ban on security force action does not apply where the reports refer to illegal security force action

Perhaps the most significant changes revolve around the definition of a "subversive statement"

The new definition has been extended to include statements which incite or encourage members of the public to take part in boy-

cotts against any particular firms or against any particular products

In fact the clauses enshrining these bans are so widely couched that they virtually amount to curbs on the right of a newspaper to recommend (or warn against) the use of any product at all

In fact, it is a moot point whether a newspaper even has the right to say whether a particular company's trading results have been adversely affected by boycott action, according to the *FM's* lawyers

For example, to quote the regulations, it is illegal to incite anyone to boycott "any particular product or article of any particular nature, class or kind" and this also applies to statements inciting people to boycott educational institutions

Subversive statement

The definition of a subversive statement also includes any statement that incites or invites civil disobedience and the definition has also been broadened to include any statement that supports in any way bodies that have set themselves up to act, without any recognised authority, as judicial or administrative bodies

This would seem to be a reference to the street committees and peoples' courts that have sprung up in townships all over South Africa, as different factions try to wrest control of the townships both from the authorities and each other. What this amounts to is a ban on reporting the activities of any underground organisation

Strikes

As far as strike action is concerned, the definition of subversion makes it clear that while a newspaper cannot encourage people to strike, there is no prohibition on simply reporting the existence of a strike

The aim of the legislation appears to be to stop the circulation of any news concerning what is going on in the townships. There is a distinct emphasis on controlling local information rather than anything else

The definition of a subversive statement also includes a clause that makes it illegal in any way to discredit or undermine the system of compulsory military service

Of course, in addition to these new definitions of a subversive statement, the original definitions covering resistance to ministers or, in effect, any member of the government or official of the Republic still apply. In fact this clause even covers resistance to officials of any of the homelands

This particular clause cannot but help lead one to wonder just how "self-governing" the so called self-governing territories really are, if the SA government can legislate on their behalf in this fashion

However, a subversive statement also encompasses various scenarios mentioned in

the definition of "unrest." In this context, the concept of the "reasonable bystander" is found

So it is now the reasonable bystander's view as to whether, for example, a gathering is in contravention of the security regulations, or whether conduct constitutes a riot or public violence in contravention of the Intimidation Act.

Of course the new regulations do not attempt to qualify just who the reasonable bystander is likely to be or what qualities he or she should possess. One imagines that the man on the Diepkloof bus, for instance, might take a rather different view of a particular situation than would the man on the Parktown bus or the Verwoerdburg bus.

The clause permitting the seizure of publications, which was thrown out by the Natal Supreme Court in September, has been re-introduced

However, there has been a subtle but meaningful change here. Previously, if Commissioner of Police General Johan Coetzee, was of the opinion that a publication, TV film, sound recording or whatever was subversive, he could order its seizure.

New rules

In terms of the new rules, however, it would appear that the commissioner or the Minister of Home Affairs will have to show that the publication is in contravention of various clauses, which stipulate explicitly that they must contain subversive statements within the definition as set out in the new rules. That may not offer much succour to newspaper proprietors, but it certainly presents them with a better situation than that which has so far applied

The blanket ban on reporting any security action has, since the earlier regulations were promulgated, always contained a clause forbidding discussion in the press on the circumstances or treatment of a detainee. Now this has been extended to forbid the disclosure by the press of what detainees say in court, until such time as judgment has been given

In the past the press has been able to extract much useful comment from detainees in terms of the law, which has permitted anything said in court to be published. The new stricture is obviously an attempt to close this loophole

Penalties for infringement of the regulations provide for a fine of up to R20 000, imprisonment for not more than 10 years, or imprisonment without the option of a fine. In the event of a publication being banned and its production halted, the minister has to issue orders banning it for three months at a time

All in all, the effect of the new regulations is to stifle the free flow of news relating to political interest

Cape Times

Cape Times, Wednesday, December 31, 1986 3

Editor slams reporter's detention

JOHANNESBURG — The editor of Business Day, Mr Ken Owen, yesterday condemned the detention of a reporter as a violation of democracy

"The detention of reporter Mr Siphon Ngcobo in terms of a fascist provision of the law emphasizes and confirms the character of the regime that has seized him," Mr Owen said in a front-page comment.

"South Africa groans under a government that has abandoned the tenets of justice as it has violated the procedures of democracy," he said

The newspaper said Mr Ngcobo was detained without charge on Monday. Police officers searched his desk and took away notebooks. They refused to let him consult a lawyer and would not let senior editors speak to him before he was taken away.

Mr Owen said Mr Ngcobo's reporting of township politics had given readers "a unique and illuminating view of township affairs"

"His detention puts out their eyes and increases their uncertainty," he said

Mr Ngcobo, 32, was a reporter on the Rand Daily Mail until it was closed in April last year. He worked as a stringer for United Press International until he joined Business Day early this year.

He is among an estimated 22 000 people who have been detained without charge or trial since President P W Botha imposed a nationwide state of emergency on June 12

The president of the SA Society of Journalists, Ms Pat Sidley, said Mr Ngcobo's detention was likely to have a profound effect on journalists in South Africa

"We can only believe his detention is linked to his work as a journalist and that this is the way in which journalists are likely to be dealt with increasingly in this country," the statement said — Sapa and UPI

N.A.3

Security Police arrest *Business Day* reporter

20/12/86
BUS DAY

BUSINESS DAY reporter Siphon Ngcobo, 32, was detained by security policemen at the newspaper's Diagonal Street offices yesterday afternoon.

He was detained for interrogation under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Ngcobo's desk, notebooks and personal effects were searched and several documents confiscated by two security branch policemen before he was taken to John Vorster Square.

Although *Business Day's* lawyers were summoned immediately, they were

Business Day Reporters

not allowed to speak to Ngcobo.

A police official intimated that Ngcobo's arrest had nothing to do with his journalistic activities.

In terms of Section 29 of the Act, Ngcobo may be detained indefinitely.

Business Day senior assistant editor Michael Acott said the company's lawyers had been in contact with the office of the Commissioner of Police, General Johann Coetzee, expressing concern at the detention and seeking Ngcobo's re-

lease.

A similar plea was made by SA Associated Newspapers (SAAN) MD Stephen Mulholland, who said the reporter should be released immediately or charged.

The fact that Ngcobo was unable to communicate with his lawyers or his family added a nightmarish dimension to an already distasteful matter and SAAN would do everything it could to assist him and his family during his incarceration, said Mulholland.

"This whole matter is disturbing in the extreme in the sense that Ngcobo's re-

porting of township matters — an area of vital concern to *Business Day's* readers — could now be severely circumscribed and his credibility, not to say his own personal safety, put at risk.

"There is already ample evidence that the public is uneasy over the lack of credible information as to what is taking place in the country. Every time there is a power failure or any breakdown in normal services, there is a flurry of rumours

● To Page 2

BD newsmen taken from office

about violence and insurgency

"The seizure of an able reporter such as Ngcobo further erodes the credibility of the Press and therefore damages the interests of the country."

Detention without trial was a denial of a basic human right, Mulholland said, and an abuse of power by government which he deplored, regardless of against whom it was perpetrated

"One has a sense of despair and helplessness when individuals are seized and held incommunicado. One appreciates that the government and the security forces face a most difficult and

From Page 1

unenviable task, but they should remain accountable in the courts for their actions."

Media Worker's Association of South Africa (Mwasa) co-chairman Joe Thloloe said the arrest of Ngcobo, a Mwasa member, was further proof that South Africa was sinking deeper and deeper into totalitarianism

Ngcobo started work at the *Rand Daily Mail* in 1984 and joined *Business Day* when it was first published in May last year

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Commentators slate detention

Bids to release reporter draw no SAP reply

URGENT requests to the Commissioner of Police for the release of detained *Business Day* reporter Sipho Ngcobo have drawn no response.

Ngcobo was taken from the newspaper's Diagonal Street offices on Monday and detained for interrogation under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Lawyers acting for SA Associated Newspapers asked the Commissioner of Police to intervene, because of the unique circumstances of the detention and because Ngcobo was a journalist working in a sensitive area.

They also submitted that a detention under Section 29 was not appropriate and asked for the police to supply reasons for Ngcobo's arrest by the close of business today.

Meanwhile political and Press commentators slated the detention as a further attempt to inhibit the English Press.

Joel Mervis, SA representative of the International Press Institute, said the detention combined the worst features of government misrule.

"First, it is a gross interference with individual liberty. Second, it is a fresh move to muzzle the Press by a process of harassment and intimidation. Third, it is so shrouded in secrecy one must infer that the government is up to some fresh mischief."

He protested against the government's arbitrary and arrogant action.

"It confirms what has long been feared, namely, that the government will not rest until it has dragooned the Press into tame submission."

Business Day Reporters

"The Press is the barometer of freedom and peace. The tighter the government draws the Press gags, the less chance there is of freedom and the greater the prospects of unrest," he said.

The PFP demanded Ngcobo's immediate release and called on the government to "cease its vindictive campaign against the English Press".

PFP federal executive chairman Ken Andrew said the detention of a journalist was particularly serious seen against the background of the government's attempts to manipulate the news and to keep information from the public.

"The authorities must charge him in open court without delay if they believe he has committed an offence. If they do not do so, they will stand accused of further repression and harassment of the media."

SA Society of Journalists president Pat Sidley said the incident was likely to have a profound effect on journalists in SA, perhaps more severe than any of the emergency restrictions.

"By searching his desk and confiscating work-related documents we can only believe his detention is linked to his work as a reporter. We fear this is the way in which journalists are likely to be dealt with increasingly in this country," she said.

Sidley added that the entry of police into a newsroom anywhere in the civilised world is regarded as an invasion, not only of the journalists and the newspaper, but of the public's right to know.