

PRESS — 1987

JULY — OCT. → DEC.

ARGUS
2/17/87
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Detained city journalist free after 16 days

Staff Reporter

ARGUS reporter Rehana Rossouw has been released after 16 days in detention, eight of them with her 20-month-old son Jihaad

Ms Rossouw, 23, returned to her Wetton home after her release from Pollsmoor Prison last night

Her father, Mr. Eric Rossouw, said his wife and other daughter, who are travelling overseas, had not been told of Rehana's detention but knew that she had spent some time away from home

Ms Rossouw said Jihaad had lost weight but had coped well.

6/7/89 (243)

Servant to visit Woods

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — A Mdantsane woman, Miss Evelyn Mvunelwa, will be reunited in London today with the East London family she was separated from 10 years ago.

Miss Mvunelwa, 59, former domestic of Mr Donald Woods and his family, will step off an SAA flight at Heathrow Airport at 8.30 am. Meeting her at the airport will be Mr Woods, former editor of the Daily Dispatch, who fled South Africa after he was banned, his wife, Wendy, and their five children:

Mr Woods, now a successful author of books which recount his South African experiences, has made it possible for Miss Mvunelwa, a R150-a-month sick benefit recipient, to obtain the R3 000 return ticket for her 17-day rendezvous in London.

A tearful Miss Mvunelwa said before leaving East London for her first flying experience: "I am sickly but I want to see the Woods family before I die. I'm sure if I see them I will live for another 59 years."

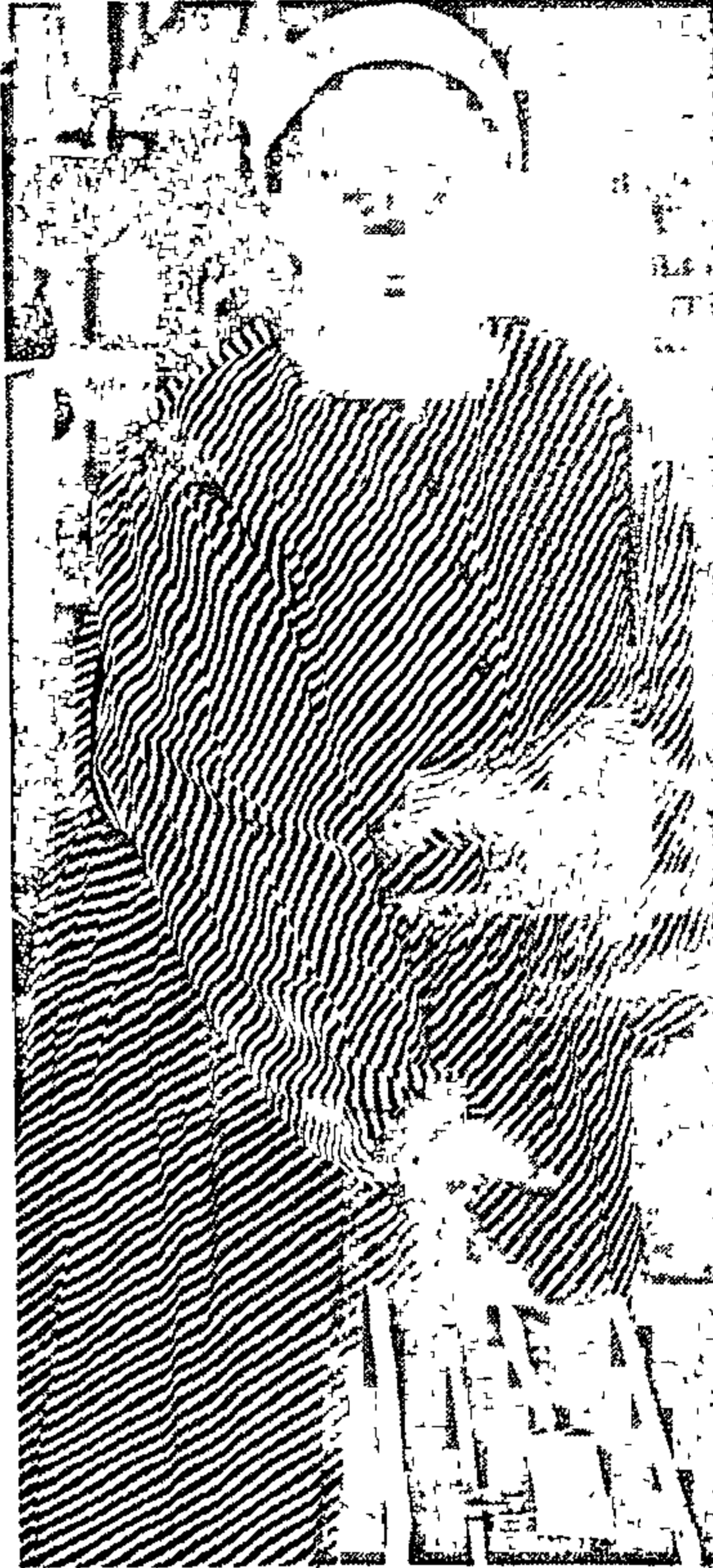
"The first thing I'm going to do is cook my boss a big plate of the food he loves best ... umngqusho (mealies and beans) and fry him some amagwinya (vetkoek)."

Miss Mvunelwa will also have a chance to see something other South Africans may be denied.

She will see a special preview of Sir Richard Attenborough's film, *Cry Freedom*, in which she features. The film is about the political situation in South Africa and revolves around the lives of Mr Woods and the black consciousness leader, Steve Biko, who died in detention.

At the East London airport yesterday was a close friend of the Woods family, Mr Donald Card, who did most of the work locally to make Miss Mvunelwa's dream come true.

Mr Card said: "It is indeed fulfilling to see this happening to Evelyn. She went through a lot in the Woods home and her excitement and determination to see the family again has brought a lump in my throat on many occasions."



Miss Evelyn Mvunelwa checks in at East London Airport yesterday.

Mwasa man questioned

A SOUTH African Broadcasting Corporation employee and member of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa was questioned for two hours by Pietersburg security police on Friday, it was disclosed yesterday.

Mr Patrick Lesibana Mantshu, an announcer attached to Radio Lebowa in Pietersburg, said he was questioned about Mwasa

The police liaison office in Pietersburg said the security police had "no comment to make on this case"

Mr Mantshu's questioning comes in the wake of a Mwasa breakthrough in organising workers at various SABC plants

Mwasa's vice-president, Mr Mathatha Tsedu, condemned the police action and said "It is obvious that our members are being harassed and intimidated to frighten them away from Mwasa. This effort will not succeed. Mwasa members have experienced similar actions and worse in the past and this will not affect our commitment to protect and advance the interest of our members"

243 7/7/87.

Excited Evelyn relaxes after family reunion

LONDON — Evelyn Mvunelwa, 59, sits back, twiddles her toes in a pair of bright mauve slippers and giggles shyly

She's not used to press interviews. The novelty of living in a London house, thousands of kilometres from her Mdantsane home near East London is beginning to

Until Monday, they had not seen each other since that fateful night

Mr Woods, now a successful author and lecturer in his adopted country, paid for Evelyn to fly to Britain for the reunion

There they all were waiting at Heathrow — Donald, Wendy and the

From IAN HOBBS

daw 1

Evelyn worked for the former Daily Dispatch editor, Mr Donald Woods, and his family before they fled South Africa ten years ago

At that time her life and the lives of the family on whom she lavished such care and affection took an unpredictable turn.

The family of seven packed their bags and left shortly after Mr Woods had fled across the border under cover of darkness

"kids" Jane, 24, Dillon, 23, Duncan, 21, Gavin, 19, and Mary, 15.

Evelyn, still flushed and excited after her first plane trip, has adapted quickly.

"They aren't nearly as lazy as they used to be. Except the boys, who still leave their socks on the floor," she said.

"I thought I'd never see the day when Donald brought me tea in bed"

Armed with only a packet of samp and



Sweet smells of home! Evelyn Mvunelwa cooks up some nostalgia, in the form of samp and beans, for Wendy and Donald Woods

beans — the Woods' favourite staple — she's whipping the household into shape

"It's all so small," she said, waving a hand at the London house

"I can hardly move in the kitchen and Donald's study is tiny"

The weeks ahead have been mapped out for her. Trips down the Thames to Greenwich, tours on top of a London bus, visits to the

optician and a medical check-up are all on the cards.

The bewildered 59-year-old's first few days in London were not smooth

The excitement of a long flight triggered an old problem — a severe asthma attack which lasted for more than 24 hours

"I'm feeling a bit better now, still a bit tired"

There was a special message for the staff of the Daily Dispatch, who on the eve of her departure passed the hat around and also presented her with a card

"They have all been wonderful to me"

Her travellers' cheques, though, remain securely stashed away

"They warned me about the tsotsis in London town. I'm not going to be robbed"

that the State Treasury

Call to restore legal rights

2/3
Eve Post
14/8/87

JOHANNESBURG — The Government should now consider how the emergency regulations could be changed to restore the legal rights of individuals and Press freedoms as soon as possible, Anglo American's chairman, Mr Gavin Relly, says in his annual report to shareholders, published today.

In the circumstances, he said, the imposition of the state of emergency last year and its recent renewal, though regrettable, were necessary to contain the widening cycle of senseless violence.

"It would be foolish to pretend that communities exposed to violence have not benefited in terms of the security of daily living, or to deny that many South Africans prefer a state of affairs in which their attention is not drawn constantly to the realities of the nation's problems," he said.

"That is the difficulty with states of emergency and accompanying media censorship they represent a rational decision by Government not to allow society to deteriorate into chaos, but at the same time they create an artificial environment which fosters illusion and complacency."

In addition, the stand-off arguments developed — some believed it was impossible for Government to make proper strides in negotiation while the country was in a state of significant unrest, while others took the view it was impossible for progress to be made as long as the emergency regulations existed.

"These dilemmas bear so directly upon our political prospects that full consideration ought to be given now to ways in which the regulations could be further amended so as to re-establish the legal rights of individuals and Press freedoms as soon as possible," said Mr Relly.

Stressing the need for innovative thinking such as characterised the Kwazulu-Natal indaba, Mr Relly urged a Govern-

ment initiative to abolish the Group Areas Act along with a parallel large-scale housing programme.

Mr Relly said the fate of the Act might have a symbolic significance, beyond its immediate practical importance, in showing whether the Government was prepared to wipe the slate clean of apartheid, or whether the country faced another period of political inertia before the 1989 tricameral elections.

"The Act effectively is a major constraint on the progress of urbanisation, which experience the world over shows is necessary to the efficiency of the industrialisation process, to the maximisation of employment opportunities through the informal economy, to a broadening of the tax base, and a reduction of the birth rate to levels which do not condemn succeeding generations to starvation and chaos," said Mr Relly — Sapa.

Cape Times 15/1/87

Mag editor to leave perplexed'

225 243

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The editor of the South African Labour Bulletin, Dr Jon Lewis, who learnt on Monday night he would be permitted to remain in South Africa until the end of the month, says he is "perplexed" at government's decision to force him to leave the country.

The two-week stay — he had been preparing to leave today — was granted on compassionate grounds. Dr Lewis's wife, Savetree, is recovering from a Caesarean section at the birth of their first child.

He speculated yesterday that his deportation might be related to the fact that the bulletin has reflected the increased politicization of the labour movement, or that his wife is not white. But, "I would like to know what it is really all about."

A number of academics and industrialists made submissions to the Home Affairs Department asking to allow him to stay.

Dr Lewis was in SA from 1976 to 1978 researching a doctoral thesis and lecturing at Wits University, and returned to edit the bulletin in 1984. He is author of "Industrialization and Trade Union Organization in SA, 1924-1955".

Asked what changes he had observed on the labour scene since his arrival here 11 years ago, Dr Lewis said yesterday there had been a significant change in the "psychological atmosphere".

Then, he said, people organized in a cowed way, with a constant fear of spies. Today unions were legitimate and respected.

The factory floor was now a much more humane place.

"This represents a massive transformation in terms of workers' quality of life and their ability to have a say in their workplace lives."

Dr Lewis said he planned to relocate in another Southern African country.

Another member of the SALB editorial board, Dr Phillip Bonner, had an order expelling him from South Africa to England retracted by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, earlier this year.



Dr Jon Lewis

mandatory sanctions against South Africa

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No charges put

JOHANNESBURG. — No charges were put to 15 journalists, detained at Jan Smuts Airport on Tuesday, when they appeared in Kempton Park Magistrate's Court yesterday. The reporters, photographers and television crewmen were arrested after police charged a crowd.

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Some of the 15 journalists who appeared in the Kempton Park Magistrate's Court yesterday — (from left) Mr Ken Oosterbroek of The Star, Mr Sipiwe Ralo of CBS News, Mr Peter Magubane of Time Magazine, Ms Loren Barale of Wits Student, Mr Gideon Mendel, a freelancer, and Mr Meshack Mokoena of CBS News.

Fifteen journalists appear in court

Fifteen journalists appeared briefly in the Kempton Park Magistrate's Court yesterday following their arrest on Tuesday at Jan Smuts Airport while covering the return of the Dakar delegates

Their appearance, in terms of the media regulations, followed their release late on Tuesday from the Jan Smuts Airport police station where they were held for more than five hours.

They were not asked to plead and 14 of the

cases were postponed to August 12 for a decision by the Attorney-General. The journalists were warned to appear in court

The case of the 15th journalist, Mr Sipiwe Ralo, was postponed to August 7 as he is leaving the country the following day.

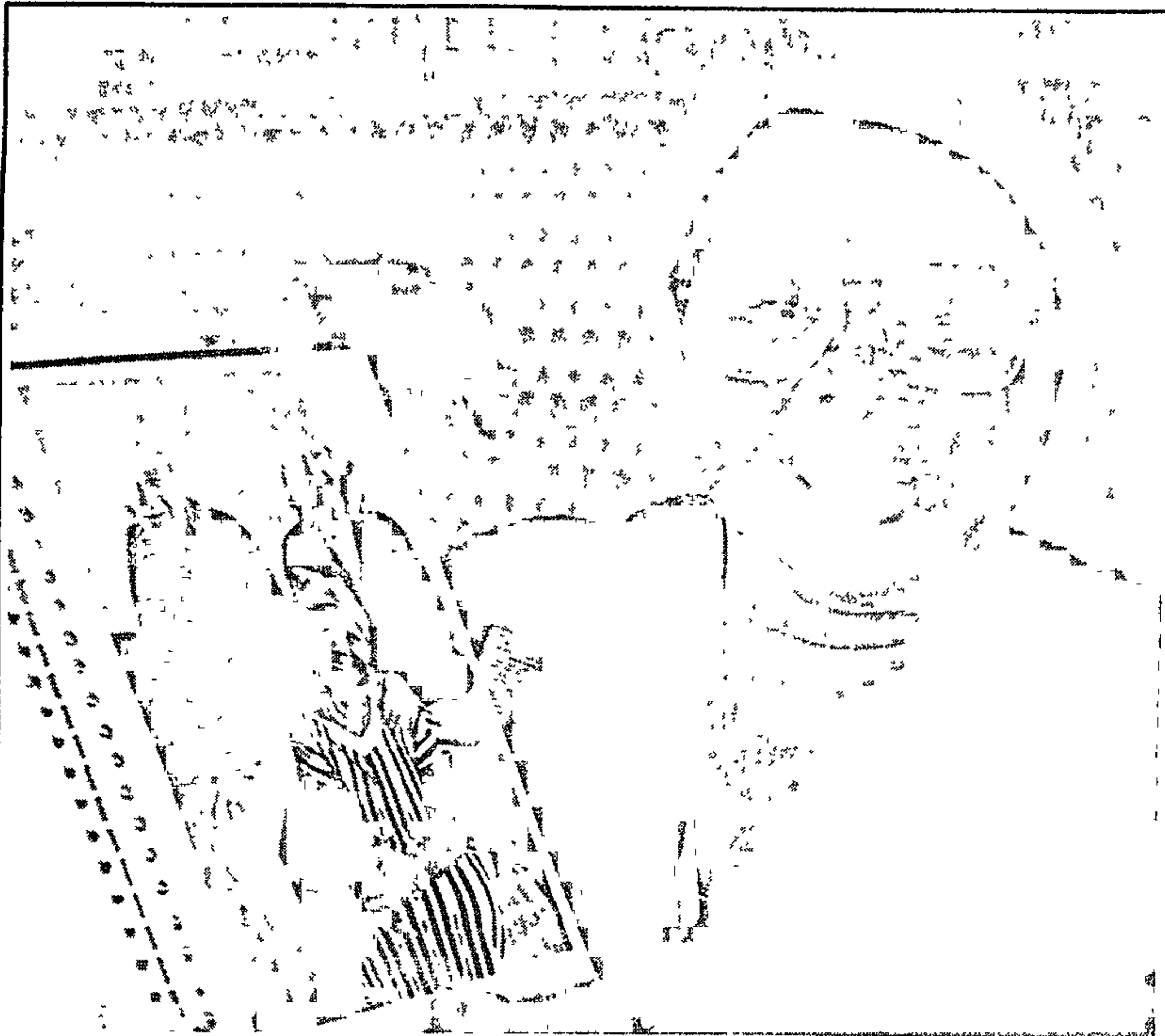
The 15 who appeared yesterday are Mr Ken Oosterbroek, a photographer for The Star, Ms Wendy Schwegmann, Mr Arnold Pronto, Mr Mike McCann, Mr Greg Marinovich, Mr Philippe Millan, Mr Gideon Mendel, Mr Meshack Mokoena, Mr Alan Sacks, Ms Loren Barale, Mr Peter Magubane, Ms Hettie Zandman, Mr Johnny Pascoal, Mr Ralo and a 16-year-old girl whose name may not be disclosed

The journalists work for local and foreign organisations.

Shortly after 2 pm yesterday, the 15 journalists, legal representatives and the Press filed into the small courtroom in Kempton Park

At one stage an attempt was made to fit all the journalists in the six-seater dock, but the magistrate decided it was only large enough for six people and asked the prosecutor to call the journalists in groups

They were all called individually and their cases postponed



Mrs Evelyn Mvunelua proudly displays one of the treasures of her trip to Britain — a photograph album with pictures of the former editor of the Daily Dispatch and her former employer, Mr Donald Woods and his wife, Wendy. Evelyn returned home yesterday

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — When Evelyn Mvunelwa left here three weeks ago to visit Mr Donald Woods and his family in London, she said she believed she would live for another 59 years if she was reunited with her former employers

And, by her own account and observations of friends, her prediction could well come true.

The Mdantsane woman, who last saw the former editor of the Daily Dispatch and his family ten years ago, when they fled South Africa, returned here some 10 kg lighter and full of the joys of spring

While in London, Miss Mvunelwa, who had been in poor health for many years, underwent intensive medical checks. A specialist found she had water on the heart and immedi-

DD 24/7/87
Evelyn's full of bounce after reunion holiday

ately started medication

"I am feeling tremendous. My legs and neck aren't swollen and I'm feeling great"

A close family friend of the Woods, Mr Donald Card, was astounded by the change in Miss Mvunelwa's appearance and her vitality

"She's lost so much weight, she's lively, and she's even talking faster," Mr Card, who helped organise the visit, said

Not even long hours on an international flight could dampen Miss Mvunelwa's excitement yesterday

Only minutes after

stepping into the airport building, she declared "I've just come to check on things I'm going back. It's lovely in England"

Miss Mvunelwa was also sporting spectacles (she's never worn them before), a new dress and shoes, and new luggage

Her greatest joy is that Mr Woods is to buy her a house in Duncan Village "and he's going to pay for the electricity, the telephone and buy me a television"

"He's also gave me some money and is going to send me money now and then," said Miss Mvunelwa, who has been living

off a quarterly R150 sick benefit grant

What were the highlights of her trip?

"I don't know. They took me to see their friends, we went to all sorts of places, I didn't get lost but it was seeing the family

"They call me grandmother and wouldn't let me do much cooking. I did make some mngqusho (samp) and some bread, but when Donald kept on asking for amagwinya (vetkoek) we almost had an argument because I wasn't feeling well then"

And treasures from the trip? An album of photographs of the Woods family and herself taken during her visit, takes first place

Could the family still speak Xhosa? "Not really. Donald just kept on saying 'Sisimanga' (it is amazing)"

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2/23 5/Day 2/1/74

News bribery case postponed

THREE employees of the Afrikaans morning newspaper Beeld and four policemen appeared in the Pretoria regional court yesterday on charges of bribery

The case was postponed to August 24 when they will be asked to plead. The Beeld employees are alleged to have paid a total of R985 to the policemen for information last year

DIANNA GAMES

They are Johannes Ackerman, Beeld Pretoria manager at the time of the payments, news editor Gabriel Stoltz and reporter Jan Taljaard.

The policemen are Mark Montgomery, 23; Daniel Oosthuizen, 25, Hermanus Venter, 22, and Marais Wolmarans, 22

Glimpse of life in a city

I WAS rudely awoken by this loud crash on my door. It couldn't have been more than two hours after I'd gone to bed. I don't know exactly what time it was, but I guess it was about 3am. The semi-furnished flat was rattling from bangs and kickings at the door.

Dazed, I instinctively dashed to the peep hole at my door. I was reeling with confusion. Before I reached the door I realised I was nude and scuttled back to cover myself.

I'd hardly moved two steps when I was blinded by light flooding the room from thick torch rays which pierced through the veil of curtaining and frosted kitchen windows.

They formed frightening dancing shadows. If people in the flats across the street were watching, they must have thought I was a witch conducting a laser show at that ungodly hour of the morning.

For a fraction of a second my mind stopped functioning. After some time it reeled back to the days of the blackjacks who were notorious for their pre-dawn raids. That, and more bangs this time megawatts louder, and shouts of Maak oop, jong" jolted me back to

Zodwa Mashibe died in a flat in Berea. In the last story she wrote for *City Press* she detailed an experience in her block of flats and, as part of our tribute to her, we are republishing her story.

For a fleeting second I mused "If those guys at the door were blackjacks and were to see me in my birthday suit, they'd blush but these

But this was no time for such crazy thoughts. I got down on all fours trying to avoid being caught in the dancing light rays and crawled towards the bed, reaching for whatever clothing I could lay my hands on. Then it was back to the peep hole again.

From the hole I saw several white men looking mean and dead in blue uniforms. I couldn't make out how many there were.

On all fours again, I crawled back into a corner between the toilet and wall cupboards. My mind racing, I grabbed what felt like woolen pants and a top and thought "F--- them. Let them smash the door if they wish. I'm not opening."

"Maak oop, jong and Daar's mense hier binnkant". More obscenities and loud knocks continued for what seemed like a lifetime.

I wasn't opening. This time I walked back to my bed.

The building was abuzz with activity. Voices, bangs, kicks, screams, footsteps, lift doors, the works. It was chaos.

I suspected everybody on every floor, 29 of them, was getting it.

The frightening thing was not knowing what exactly they were doing to the other people I knew in the building. My anger increased. I was getting more mad every second.

The ones outside my door moved on after what seemed like an eternity, but I couldn't make out which direction they went.

After a while our floor quietened down. I tipped to my uncurtained windows and looked down Koitsie Street.

These guys had really come in numbers. I counted two yellow "gumbas" and a small yellow van sped past. Two private cars drove out of the base-ment and I soon realised it was part of the gang.

One white kombi with two blacks a driver and a passenger, parked behind the gumba-gumba. When a group of white guys moved in the kombi's direction, I pitted them, thinking they were going to harass them. When the two whites got inside, I realised they were together.

The street was full of them. Some munching food and some sipped hot drinks.

"Last one loop," one shouted from the white kombi. Scores of others jumped on the back of the two big vans and they drove off.

I stood there staring, not believing it was over. I was too numb - consumed by a mixture of feelings - shock, disbelief, anger and hatred.

My watch registered 4.28am. But one thought lingered. Is this the election mandate?



Zodwa Mashibe... a tragic loss for journalism.

AS I sit down to write about the tragic death of a friend, colleague, verbal archivist and surrogate mother to my two "brats" one thing becomes startlingly clear about Zodwa Mashibe - she was exceptional. No matter how you look at it, she will be missed in so many different ways by so many different people. I still cannot believe that the resolute Zodwa has died at such an early age. She was only 32.

What I feel about this tragedy is really beyond words. My personal grief is such that it is perhaps best to give you a representative feeling of what "Zodwakes" meant to some of those lucky enough to have rubbed shoulders with the Sachmo-voiced charmer who always stood her ground.

Zodwa knew what was important and made that evident in her concern for the community, which made her stand up and be counted. She had a high sense of justice, as her shattered colleague and friend Rugh Bhengu put it.

She cultivated friends and never went out of her way to create enemies. She was serious about life and was spreading happiness.

We have been robbed of a vibrant woman who was a university graduate, a teacher, a voluntary social worker and a journalist of stature - but most of all, she was one of the warmest and most compassionate people on earth. So perhaps the real tribute should come from those who were less close to Zodwa than me - even if they loved her as much.

What follows then is a tribute to her placing her in her rightful place in the history books. *City Press* chief sub-editor Jon Swift said "Zodwa bubbled. She fizzed. It showed in her writing and it showed in the way she burst through the artificial barriers this country threw in her way. She is a loss to me, to my colleagues and ultimately to the people of this country." Barney Cohen writes "When Zodwa Mashibe, Zodwakes as I affectionately

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We mourn a big loss

THE death of Zodwa Mashibe has left her colleagues at *City Press* stunned. For me it was a particularly great loss of a woman who showed promise in a profession that is dominated by men.

She came back to South Africa not long ago, after spending six months on a training course in the United Kingdom.

"Zodwakes" was human. She was

compassionate. She was full of zest and had a sense of humour that left many who knew her gasping for breath. On behalf of all my colleagues, I would like to extend our deepest condolences to her family. At this, their most tragic moment, we would like them to know that we share their sense of loss deeply.

Percy Qoboza
Editor, *City Press*

Herbert KUNENE



called her, came to work with me at *True Love* magazine, she quickly became more than just a colleague. Bright, affectionate and witty. She established herself as a personal friend. Together we shared many a joyful moment, imbibing in the spiritual waters of life. Together we battled to build a magazine, under the most trying conditions - but most important, Zodwakes loved what she was doing - and she loved life. She will be bitterly missed by myself and the many common friends we came to share. I wish her family strength and assure them that we share a common loss.

Designer Meisie Mosmane, one of the last people to be interviewed by Zodwa, said her death had something sinister about it. "I was quite astounded by the way she was dressed during our interview early on Friday, a few hours before her tragic death," said Mosmane. "She was dressed in a black full-length dress with flaps on the shoulders, black boots and conduced the interview in a solemn way. It was so unusual - an opposite of the Zodwa I knew, who was always full of life," said Mosmane.

"Personally, I've lost a great friend, colleague and a sister in Zodwa, her death came as a shock to all of us who knew her. In fact, the newspaper will never be the same again without her," said *City Press* showbiz editor Sibho Jacobs.

Yes, the woman's world has lost a gravel-voiced dark beauty, who was a challenge and threat to the conservative, live chauvinistic society.

Her betrayed mom, Beauty, who resembles Zodwa in some way, said God had chosen her among her five daughters. "I saw her lying motionless on that tragic night. She was solemn and beautiful - like an angel. She loved peace and her other name, Nokuthula, means just that. I appeal for peace at her funeral. Let her soul rest in peace," said Beauty Mashibe. To carry out Zodwa's wish, mourners have been asked not to bring flowers. They should rather spend that money on charity.

Zodwa will be buried at the Avalon Cemetery at 2pm tomorrow. The service will be held at the Uncle Tom's Hall at 10am. She was born in Orlando West in 1955 and started school at the Ithunga Primary School in 1962. She matriculated at Orlando West High School, where she later taught in 1976 after graduating from the University of Zululand.

She taught for a year in Sobantu, Maritzburg, and in 1978 she joined the *Natal Witness* as a journalist. She moved to Johannesburg in 1979 and joined the *Post* newspaper. That is where we met. And since then we have been inseparable. When the *Post* was banned, I joined the advertising industry while she ventured into radio as both writer and announcer for the *Voice of America*.

She joined me at the *Sowetan* in 1982 and was offered a post at *True Love* the following year. I followed in 1984 and we worked together until she met her untimely death. In September 1985, Zodwa went to London for six months on a journalism course. She came back in 1987 to rejoin *True Love* as a features editor. She was a member of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa. She was also an executive member of the African Women Organisation and was involved in numerous community projects. She is survived by her parents, and four sisters. May her soul rest in peace.

Indicator staff get abusive calls

STAFF members of the Lenasia-based monthly newspaper *The Indicator*, have been subjected to a stream of abusive and threatening calls following the publication of its

By SOWETAN REPORTER

July issue which focuses on the August 4 House of Delegates by-election in Lenasia Central.

3/8/10
The paper's editor, Mr Ameen Akhalwaya, said that from the content and tenor of the messages, it appeared that the calls were being made by supporters of the House

Sowetan
of Delegates. He said the matter was being reported to the police.

In its latest issue, *The Indicator* carries advertisements from a number of extra-parliamentary

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political organisations as well as from religious and sports organisations calling on the community not to vote in the by-election. It also carries articles by officials of extra-parliamentary organisations.

Mr. Akhalwaya said *The Indicator* had invited all four candidates in the by-election to submit articles on the case of participation, but none had accepted it.

Rapid rail transit system

253 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Transport Affairs

- (1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 300 on 23 February 1987, a decision has as yet been taken on the introduction of a rapid rail transit system for Johannesburg, if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that a decision will be taken, if so, what was that decision,
- (2) what specified factors are being taken into consideration in taking a decision on this matter?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS.

(1) No

(a) Adequate funds for the project are not assured

(b) After further discourse with the public and the Johannesburg City Council and when it becomes foreseeable that funds for the various phases of a project of such magnitude will be available

(2) The following factors will be decisive—

- * The availability of funds,
- * The support of all interested parties, and
- * Unqualified consensus that the proposed project is viable and in the public interest

The Citizen transported

269 Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Transport Affairs

With reference to his reply to Question No 2 on 26 May 1987, (a) how many copies of *The Citizen* were transported by the South African Airways from Johannesburg to other destinations on a daily basis in April and May 1987, respectively, (b) what was the freight weight of the newspapers so transported in each of these months and (c) what, in the absence of

any special agreement existing, was the normal commercial charge for such transportation in each of these months?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS

(a) Information is not available as airfreight is based on mass and not units

(b) 6 083 and 5 875 kilograms respectively

(c)

	Johan- nesburg/ Cape Town	Johan- nesburg/ Durban
Up to and including 100 kg per shipment	1,80	0,84
More than 100 kg per shipment	1,35	0,63
More than 300 kg per shipment	1,26	0,59
More than 500 kg per shipment	1,17	0,55

The Citizen copies to passengers

270 Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Transport Affairs

(1) With reference to his reply to Question No 2 on 26 May 1987, how many copies of *The Citizen* were used by the South African Airways on a daily basis for in-flight purposes in April and May 1987, respectively,

whether such copies were given to all passengers travelling in the business and first class sections of aircraft, if not, (a) why not and (b) to which passengers were they given,

(3) how many passengers travelled (a) business and (b) first class on morning flights from Johannesburg to other destinations in April and May 1987, respectively?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS

(1) 376 and 407 respectively

(2) (a) and (b) Copies were offered to all

passengers in the business and first class sections

(3) (a) and (b) Separate figures are not readily available

SA Transport Services Board

296 Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs

(1) (a) How many commissioners are serving on the South African Transport Services Board at present, (b) what (i) academic and/or (ii) other specified qualifications in the field of transport do they hold in each case, (c) (i) for how long has each of these commissioners served on the Board and (ii) what is the normal term of office of a commissioner and (d) in respect of what date is this information furnished,

(2) whether he is considering appointing persons currently holding key positions in industry or commerce to the Board, if so, what are the relevant particulars?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS

(1) (a) Three

(b) (i) and (ii) It is the sole prerogative of the State President to make appointments of this nature

(c) (i) Since 1 December 1974, 1 November 1975 and 1 October 1981, respectively

(ii) Five years

(d) As at 31 July 1987

(2) No

Taiwan: former ambassador

299 Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs

(1) Whether a former ambassador to Taiwan was involved in any irregularities concerning the sale of a Japanese motor-car to a Taiwanese citizen prior to the completion of his mission, if so,

(a) (i) what was the age of the vehicle and (ii) how many miles or kilometres had been registered on its distance recorder at the time of sale, (b) what was the profit made on the transaction and (c) what are the particulars of the alleged irregularities,

(2) whether any customs and excise duties were paid to the Taiwanese authorities on this transaction, if not, why not, if so, what were the amounts involved,

(3) whether the national intelligence agency in Taiwan investigated this matter, if so, (a) on what grounds and (b) what recommendations were made to his Department by this agency,

(4) whether the ambassador concerned is still in the South African diplomatic service, if so, (a) why, (b) (i) where and (ii) in what capacity and (c) what action has been taken against him as a result of this transaction, if not, why not,

(5) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(1) No (2), (3), (4) and (5) Falls away

THURSDAY, 6 AUGUST 1987

Indicates translated version

For written reply

General Affairs

Employees

153 Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning

(1) What was the total number of persons employed in a full-time capacity in his Department as at the latest specified date for which information is available,

HoA

6/8/87

5/8/87

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Rapid rail transit system

253 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Transport Affairs

- (1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 300 on 23 February 1987, a decision has as yet been taken on the introduction of a rapid rail transit system for Johannesburg, if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that a decision will be taken, if so, what was that decision.
- (2) what specified factors are being taken into consideration in taking a decision on this matter?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS

- (1) No
- (a) Adequate funds for the project are not assured
- (b) After further discourse with the public and the Johannesburg City Council and when it becomes foreseeable that funds for the various phases of a project of such magnitude will be available

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(2) The following factors will be decisive—

- * The availability of funds,
- * The support of all interested parties; and
- * Unqualified consensus that the proposed project is viable and in the public interest

The Citizen transported

269 Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Transport Affairs.

With reference to his reply to Question No 2 on 26 May 1987, (a) how many copies of The Citizen were transported by the South African Airways from Johannesburg to other destinations on a daily basis in April and May 1987, respectively, (b) what was the freight weight of the newspapers so transported in each of these months and (c) what, in the absence of

HOA

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any special agreement existing, was the normal commercial charge for such transportation in each of these months?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS

- (a) Information is not available as airfreight is based on mass and not units
- (b) 6 083 and 5 875 kilograms respectively
- (c)

Johannesburg/ Cape Town	Johannesburg/ Durban
R/kg	R/kg
Up to and including 100 kg per shipment	1,80
More than 100 kg per shipment	1,35
More than 300 kg per shipment	1,26
More than 500 kg per shipment	1,17
	0,84
	0,63
	0,59
	0,55

The Citizen copies to passengers

270 Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Transport Affairs

- (1) With reference to his reply to Question No 2 on 26 May 1987, how many copies of The Citizen were used by the South African Airways on a daily basis for in-flight purposes in April and May 1987, respectively,

whether such copies were given to all passengers travelling in the business and first class sections of aircraft, if not, (a) why not and (b) to which passengers were they given,

- (3) how many passengers travelled (a) business and (b) first class on morning flights from Johannesburg to other destinations in April and May 1987, respectively?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS.

- (1) 376 and 407 respectively
- (2) (a) and (b) Copies were offered to all

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passengers in the business and first class sections

- (3) (a) and (b) Separate figures are not readily available

SA Transport Services Board

296 Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs

- (1) (a) How many commissioners are serving on the South African Transport Services Board at present, (b) what (i) academic and/or (ii) other specified qualifications in the field of transport do they hold in each case, (c) (i) for how long has each of these commissioners served on the Board and (ii) what is the normal term of office of a commissioner and (d) in respect of what date is this information furnished,
- (2) whether he is considering appointing persons currently holding key positions in industry or commerce to the Board, if so, what are the relevant particulars?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS

- (1) (a) Three
- (b) (i) and (ii) It is the sole prerogative of the State President to make appointments of this nature
- (c) (i) Since 1 December 1974, 1 November 1975 and 1 October 1981, respectively
- (ii) Five years
- (d) As at 31 July 1987
- (2) No

Taiwan: former ambassador

299 Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs

- (1) Whether a former ambassador to Taiwan was involved in any irregularities concerning the sale of a Japanese motor-car to a Taiwanese citizen prior to the completion of his mission, if so,

HOA

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(a) (i) what was the age of the vehicle and (ii) how many miles or kilometres had been registered on its distance recorder at the time of sale, (b) what was the profit made on the transaction and (c) what are the particulars of the alleged irregularities,

- (2) whether any customs and excise duties were paid to the Taiwanese authorities on this transaction, if not why not, if so, what were the amounts involved,
- (3) whether the national intelligence agency in Taiwan investigated this matter, if so, (a) on what grounds and (b) what recommendations were made to his Department by this agency,
- (4) whether the ambassador concerned is still in the South African diplomatic service, if so, (a) why, (b) (i) where and (ii) in what capacity and (c) what action has been taken against him as a result of this transaction, if not, why not,
- (5) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

- (1) No (2), (3), (4) and (5) Falls away

THURSDAY, 6 AUGUST 1987

†Indicates translated version

For written reply

General Affairs

Employees

153 Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning

- (1) What was the total number of persons employed in a full-time capacity in his Department as at the latest specified date for which information is available,

Handwritten: Answer 6/8/87

W/6 ARGUS 8/8/87 243

Axed editor won respect of the world

Weekend Argus Reporter

THE axing of Mr Tony Heard as editor of the Cape Times comes a year after he received one of journalism's most highly-prized awards — the Golden Pen of Freedom Award from the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers

No reason was given for his sacking but it is believed to be a combination of factors including decreased sales and his political standpoint.

Mr Heard, who became the youngest editor of a major South African newspaper when he was appointed in 1971 at the age of 33, declined to comment on the issue or on his future plans

His successor will be Mr Koos Viviers, editor-in-chief of Eastern Province Newspapers.

Mr Viviers said yesterday he had no plans to change the political direction of the Cape Times

"The Eastern Province Herald has had a very similar policy and philosophy to the Cape Times and I do not intend changing that," he said

Mr Derek Smith, deputy editor of the Financial Mail, will take over from Mr Viviers

Referring to Mr Heard, the Times Media statement said "He has enjoyed a distinguished career of 30 years at the Cape Times, 16 as editor After 16 years as editor it was felt that the time had come for a successor to be appointed"

The Progressive Federal Party's spokesman on the media, Mr Dave Dalling, described the action as "nothing short of disgraceful" He said that Times Media, formerly SAAN, had a "long history of cowboy management insofar as the employment and discharge of its editors was concerned".

He said, however, that he did not question the appointment of Mr Viviers

The president of the Southern African Society of Journalists, Ms Pat Sidley, said the move "rests among the most cynical if not dishonest the SASJ has come across"

"The act of firing Mr Heard and moving Mr Viviers away from the Eastern Province Herald impoverishes further what is left of journalism in this country and is the act of a management hell-bent on making money at the expense of any decent value," she said

In May last year Mr Heard received the Golden Pen award for his "courageous contribution to the cause of Press freedom" in publishing an interview with banned ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo

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Claims of 'tamped records' at journalist's trial

THE trial in which *Cape Times* deputy news editor Tony Weaver is accused of contravening the Police Act could result in the police themselves entering the dock

The magistrate presiding over Weaver's case was this week asked to bring to the attention of the attorney general

● The conduct of police involved in the Guguletu shoot-out on March 3 last year around which the case revolves

● The fact that material evidence was destroyed and police records allegedly tampered with, and

● The possibility of re-opening the inquest into the deaths of the seven alleged African National guerrillas who died in the gun-battle

The request came from defence counsel Jeremy Gauntlett SC at the close of his argument that Weaver should be acquitted of contravening section 27(b) of the Act.

The state alleges Weaver stated falsely in a BBC interview that some of the men were shot in cold blood and that police planted Russian-made weapons on their bodies to imply they were guerrillas.

Weaver has pleaded not guilty. Three similar charges against him, relating to *Cape Times* reports on the same incident, were withdrawn.

When the trial resumed this week, the court heard medico-legal evidence that six of the seven men were shot at close range. Trauma expert Dr Johan van der Spuy testified that accounts by witnesses brought by the defence were "more compatible" with the medical evidence than police accounts of what took place.

One victim had no wounds on his left side, although a policeman who said he shot him testified this was the side the man presented as he ran. In addition, one of the man's wounds was vertical, indicating he was shot

By GAYE DAVIS, Cape Town

while lying on the ground. A witness said he saw the man shot with "a long gun" at close-range.

Another victim had a flash-burn, indicating a virtually point-blank shot, although police testified he was shot from some distance away.

Two of the men were shot behind the ears, which Van der Spuy, himself a shotist, said was "remarkably good shooting on moving targets".

Prosecutor Selwyn Schrock maintained the wounds were consistent with the police account of what took place. Dismissing three witnesses as "unsatisfactory" he said if the magistrate accepted the accounts of other defence witnesses, "you would still have to come to the conclusion that there was a conspiracy between the police to eliminate every terrorist — and it's my contention that this in no way can be proved"

Weaver's BBC interview was partly based on information from another reporter, Chris Bateman, who interviewed witnesses for the *Cape Times*, and partly on interviews Weaver conducted with families of the dead men, who said they felt the weapons had been planted.

Schrock said Weaver had done nothing to establish the facts of Bateman's information and could not escape the Act by saying he had only conveyed the "feelings" of the family.

Rebutting this, Gauntlett argued that section 27(b) was aimed at preventing the publication, as truth, of unsubstantiated allegations. Weaver made a clear distinction between fact and opinion in the interview. Gauntlett further argued that the state had failed to establish beyond reasonable doubt that the events did not happen as reported by Weaver.

Arguing that the medical evidence

— unchallenged by the state — was "decisive", Gauntlett said: "These people could not have been shot in the way police described. Whether it was done by men acting under high stress or in a conspiracy we'll never know. But something is happening on a large scale when six of the seven are shot in a way that is incompatible with the evidence."

Gauntlett said the explanation given for the destruction of shrapnel and bullets found in the men's bodies — destroyed by police after the inquest, even though they knew Weaver faced charges — was unsatisfactory.

In addition, a police record referring to the bullets had been amended "at a later stage" by a different hand.

He asked that this, as well as the conduct of the police in the matter and the question of whether the inquest should be re-opened, be referred to the attorney general. Judgement is on September 17

copy - Times

Charges withdrawn 243

JOHANNESBURG — The Attorney-General has withdrawn charges against one of the 19 people — 16 of them journalists — arrested at Jan Smuts Airport last month shortly after the arrival of delegates from the Dakar talks with the ANC

Defender of press freedom

Staff Reporter

ANTHONY HEARD joined the Cape Times in 1955, a year after matriculating at Durban High School. He covered Parliament from 1959 to 1964 and was awarded the Imperial Relations Trust Bursary to Britain in 1961.

Between 1957 and 1964 he attended the University of Cape Town as a part-time student, gaining a first-class BA Honours degree in philosophy.

Between 1964 and 1966 he was Cape editor of the Financial Mail.

He rejoined the Cape Times and was seconded to the London office of the South African Morning Newspapers for 18 months until late 1967.

Mr Heard was appointed assistant editor of the Cape Times in October 1968 and chief assistant editor in January 1970. In August 1971, he was appointed editor of the Cape Times when Mr Victor Norton, editor for 27 years, resigned.

In 1984, Mr Heard published a debate between SA ambassador to London Mr Denis Worrall and banned former Daily Dispatch editor Donald Woods without repercussion from government.

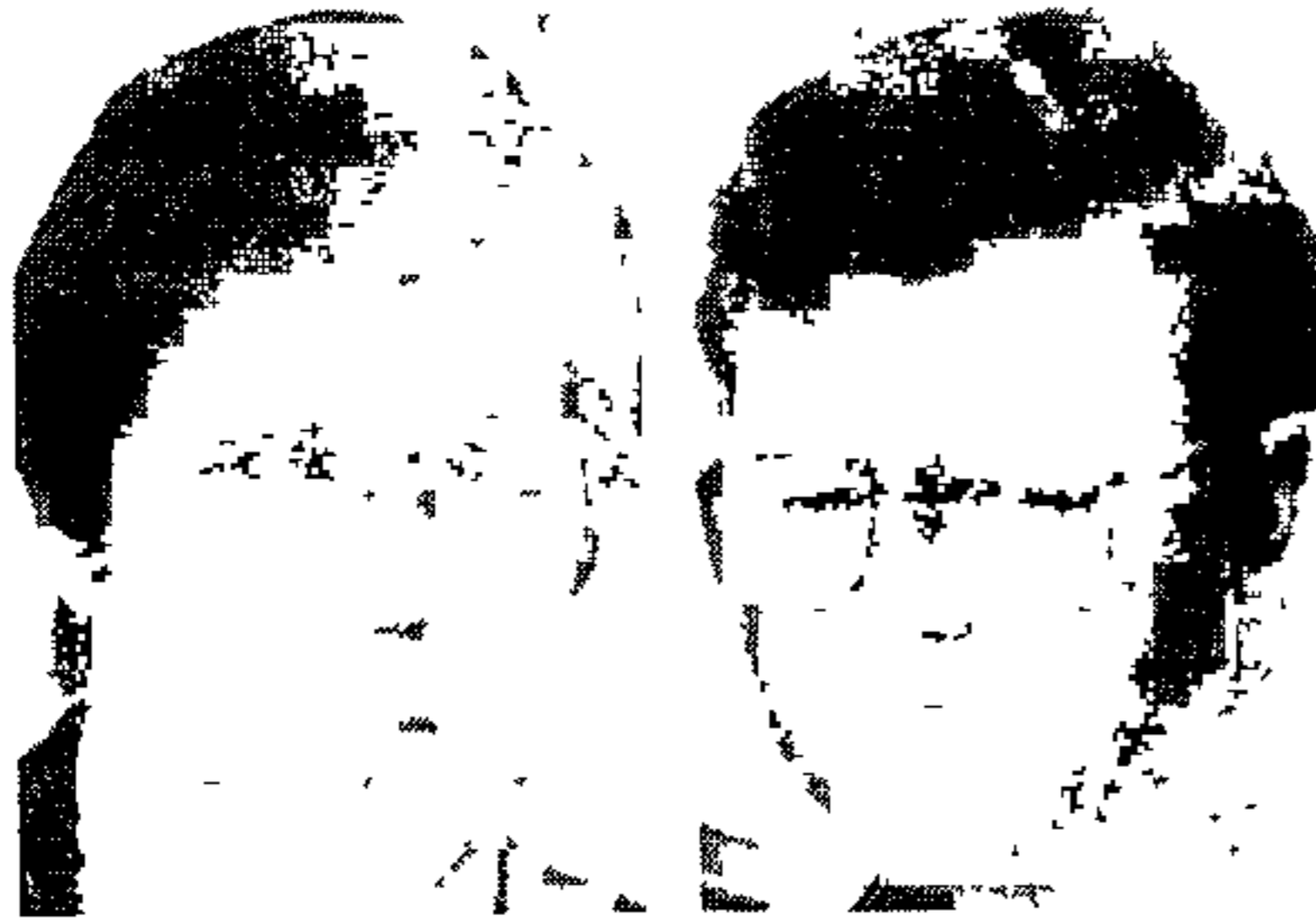
In May last year he received the Golden Pen of Freedom Award, the highest honour bestowed on publishers and editors by the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers.

He was cited for his "courageous contribution to the cause of press freedom" in deciding to publish an interview with the banned ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo and his record of fearlessly reporting human rights violations.

Mr Heard is the son of the late Mr George Heard, formerly political correspondent of the Rand Daily Mail and Mrs Vida Heard, formerly editor of Femina and Woman's Life.

Editorship changes at Cape Times

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Cape Times 8/87



Mr A H Heard

Mr J C Viviers

THE board of Times Media Limited (TML), owners of the Cape Times, announced last night that Mr J C Viviers, editor-in-chief of Eastern Province Newspapers, (EPN) is to assume the editorship of the Cape Times

Mr Viviers would be succeeded as editor-in-chief of EPN by Mr Derek Smith, deputy editor of the Financial Mail, a TML statement said

Mr Viviers would succeed Mr Anthony Heard "who has enjoyed a distinguished career of 30 years at the Cape Times, 16 as editor," the statement said, adding

"After 16 years as editor it was felt that the time had come for a successor to be appointed"

The statement continued "Mr Viviers will have the same guarantees of editorial independence always enjoyed by the editor of the Cape Times which ensure continuation of the traditions and practices of the Cape Times, so that it may continue fearlessly to serve the public interest

"Mr Viviers has had a distinguished career in journalism His record as an enlightened and capable newspaper professional is well established in senior posts at EPN and, before that, at the Sunday Express (during the testing time of the information scandal) and at the Rand Daily Mail

"Mr Smith is a highly experienced and well-qualified journalist He served on the Natal Mercury

To page 3

From page 1

Editorship change

Cape Times 8/87
24

before joining the Rand Daily Mail in 1965. He was with the Rand Daily Mail for 15 years before joining the Financial Mail as property editor in 1979. He was appointed an assistant editor of the Financial Mail in 1981, senior assistant editor in 1985 and deputy editor in 1987.

Last night Mr Heard said that he "had absolutely no comment"

Mr Viviers said "It is a great honour for me to succeed Mr Heard, who has had a very distinguished career, as editor of the Cape Times. I see it as my task to maintain and build on the proud tradition and high standards of the newspaper, and am looking forward to the challenge"

But Progressive Federal Party media spokesman, Mr David Dalling, said he found the TML statement "nothing short of disgraceful"

Mr Heard's dismissal was "summary, and surprisingly unexplained," he said

He said the editor "did not deserve to be axed in this apparently unfair and peremptory manner"

He also said TML shares had risen dramatically, and "If this company is to retain its respect in the newspaper world as a company which puts into practice those values which its newspapers preach, then it must learn to deal in a more civilized fashion with its loyal staff"

But Mr Dalling had no problem with Mr Heard's announced replacement

He said Mr Viviers's appointment "can meet with no objection"

Commenting on Mr Dalling's remarks, TML's managing director, Mr Stephen Mulholland, said there was no political motivation whatever in the board's decision

"It was felt unanimously that a fresh and vigorous approach was needed in the administration of the Cape Times," he said

The president of the Southern African Society of Journalists, Ms Pat Sidley, strongly criticized the dismissal

"While the action will disturb most journalists in this country, we feel sure there will be champagne corks popping in the office of the State President, Mr P W Botha and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, as well as, perhaps, in some police offices in the Eastern Cape," she said

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S. Times
Newspaper 18/87

hand on Cape Times tiller

Sunday Times Reporter

THE new editor of the Cape Times, Mr J C Viviers, will take up his duties this week

Mr Viviers, editor-in-chief of Eastern Province Newspapers, succeeds Mr Anthony Heard at the helm of the oldest daily newspaper in South Africa

He will be succeeded as editor-in-chief in Port Elizabeth by Mr Derek Smith, deputy editor of the Financial Mail

In announcing the changes this week, the board of Times Media Limited said Mr Heard had enjoyed a distinguished career of 30 years at the Cape Times, 16 as editor

"After 16 years as editor, it was felt that the time had come for a successor," the statement said

Mr Viviers would have the same guarantees of editorial independence enjoyed by his predecessors and the traditions and practices of the paper would be continued

Executive

Before taking charge at EP Newspapers, Mr Viviers was a senior executive at the Sunday Express (during the Information Scandal) and at the Rand Daily Mail

Mr Smith served on the Natal Mercury before joining the Rand Daily Mail in 1965, where he worked for 15 years before joining the Financial Mail

The appointment of a successor to Mr Heard elicited some critical comment this week

The Progressive Federal Party media spokesman, Mr Dave Dalling, told Sapa that Mr Heard's "unexplained" departure would have "Mr P W Botha and Mr Chris Heunis laughing"

He added that Mr Viviers' appointment could "meet with no objection"

The president of the Southern African Society of Journalists, Miss Pat Sidley, described the moves as "cynical, if not dishonest"

Champagne

She added that "while the action will disturb most journalists in South Africa, the SASJ feels sure there will be champagne corks popping in the offices of the State President and the Minister of Constitutional Development"

Yesterday, the chairman of Times Media Ltd, Mr Pat Retief, said "The change of editorship at the Cape Times had nothing whatsoever to do with politics"

"It was a purely business decision based on our view that the paper would benefit from a fresh mind being brought to bear on its affairs"

"The company is grateful to Mr Heard for so many years of service in maintaining the paper's century-old traditions"

"We are confident that Mr Viviers will promote those values, while at the same time securing the paper's future in these testing and competitive times"

Heard departure 'not political'

Staff Reporter

THE managing director of Times Media Limited, Mr Steve Mulholland, has denied suggestions and accusations that the dismissal of Mr Anthony Heard as Editor of the Cape Times had political motivations

Mr Mulholland was reacting to a statement released by the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) yesterday which condemned Mr Heard's dismissal on Friday and called for his immediate reinstatement

Mr Koos Viviers has replaced Mr Heard

In his statement, Mr Mulholland said "All of our editors, and therefore their publications, are firmly opposed to the system of apartheid. This is not the result of directives from management or from the board, but as a consequence of the personal convictions of our editors

"Mr Heard's departure from our company has nothing whatever to do with politics. We seek only to meet the practical administrative needs of the newspaper. Anyone who suggests otherwise is wrong," he said

"The appointment of Mr Viviers as editor of the Cape Times surely renders absurd suggestions that Mr Heard's departure is in any way politically motivated

'Tradition of dismissal'

"Mr Viviers is a staunch and well known opponent of apartheid. He has shown great courage in pursuing his journalistic principles, and we have no doubt he will continue in this tradition at the Cape Times"

In his statement, the IFJ's executive member for Africa, Mr Thami Mazwai, said that TML had a history of dismissing its editors immediately they incurred the displeasure of the government and Mr Heard's dismissal followed that tradition

The IFJ said it was shocked but not surprised that Mr Heard, "who, with his newspaper, has of late displayed some fine journalism", had now been replaced

"Laurence Gandar, Raymond Louw and Allister Sparks are some of their victims who immediately come to mind"

Mr Mazwai went on to condemn the liberal press and the white business community as being no different to that of "apartheid-supporting South Africa"

He described them as "two sides of the same coin"

'Practical needs'

"We are in no doubt that what the emergency regulations as affecting newspapers failed to achieve, newspaper owners will achieve. The IFJ condemns this dismissal and calls for Mr Heard's reinstatement"

But Mr Mulholland said that instead of criticism, those "who have the interests of the Cape Times at heart" should rather give Mr Viviers support

"I suggest, with the greatest of respect to Mr Dave Dalling, the Southern African Society of Journalists and the IFJ, that we are slightly better placed than they are to form judgements on the practical needs of the Cape Times," he said

"Why don't they ask Mr Viviers if he has been given any political directives or any suggestions whatsoever as to how he should shape the political position of the Cape Times?"

In a Sunday newspaper it was claimed that Mr Heard had been offered an early retirement offer of almost R1-million

This was denied by Mr Mulholland, who said there had been an offer but not as large as that, the report said

Change at Cape Times

KOSIE Viviers takes over this week as editor of the Cape Times from Tony Heard, who has been replaced after 16 years in the post.

Times Media Ltd, owners of the Cape Times, announced last week that it felt the time had come to appoint a successor to Heard "who has enjoyed a distinguished career of 30 years at the Cape Times, 16 as editor".

Viviers is to be succeeded at EP Newspapers by Derek Smith, deputy editor of the Financial Mail

TML said Viviers "will have the same guarantees of editorial independence always enjoyed by the editor of the Cape Times which ensure

continuation of the traditions and practices of the Cape Times, so that it may continue fearlessly to serve the public interest".

The move has been criticised by the Western Cape branch of the SA Society of Journalists and by PFP media spokesman Dave Dalling.

SAPA reports that the International Federation of Journalists said in a statement yesterday that TML had a history of dismissing its editors immediately they incurred the displeasure of the Government.

The statement, released in Johannesburg by the IFJ executive member for Africa, Thami Mazwai, called for Heard to be reinstated

Sawefan
11/8/87

Times Media MD denies claims

SA Press
Association

THE managing director of Times Media Limited, Mr Steve Mulholland, has denied suggestions and accusations that the dismissal of Mr Anthony Heard as editor of the Cape Times had political motivations.

Mr Mulholland is reacting to a statement released by the International Federation of Journalists on Sunday which condemned Mr Heard's dismissal on Friday and called for his immediate reinstatement.

Mr Koos Viviers has replaced Mr Heard.

In his statement, Mr Mulholland said "All of our editors, and therefore their publications, are firmly opposed to the system of apartheid. This is not the result of directives from management or from the board, but as a consequence of the personal convictions of our editors."

Politics

"Mr Heard's departure from the company has nothing whatever to do with politics. We seek only to meet the practical administrative needs of the newspaper. Anyone who suggests otherwise is wrong," he said.

"The appointment of Mr Viviers as editor of the Cape Times surely renders absurd suggestions that Mr Heard's departure is in any way politically motivated.

"Mr Viviers is a staunch and well known opponent of apartheid. He has shown great courage in pursuing his journalistic principles, and we have no doubt he will continue in this tradition at the Cape Times."

Shocked

In his statement, the IFJ's executive member for Africa, Mr Thami Mazwai, said that TML had a history of dismissing its editors immediately they incurred the displeasure of the government and Mr Heard's dismissal followed that tradition.

The IFJ said it was shocked but not surprised that Mr Heard "who, with his newspaper, has of late displayed some fine journalism," had now been replaced.

Teleletters Phone 208-4722

Cape Times 11/8/87 (243)

Tributes paid to a courageous editor

THE replacement of the editor of the Cape Times, Mr Anthony Heard, yesterday concerned Teleletter callers.

Mr C Milner, Paarl: "What a pity the sports editor was not fired at the same time as the editor. Then there may be more chance of having some cycling coverage, which at the moment amounts to nil, forcing me to buy Die Burger which gives first-class coverage"

Mrs A R Baker, Green Point: "I raise my glass to you, Mr Heard, for your courage and honesty towards us, John Citizen, by trying to keep us informed as to the things we should know through the press, and your dedication to a very trying task of

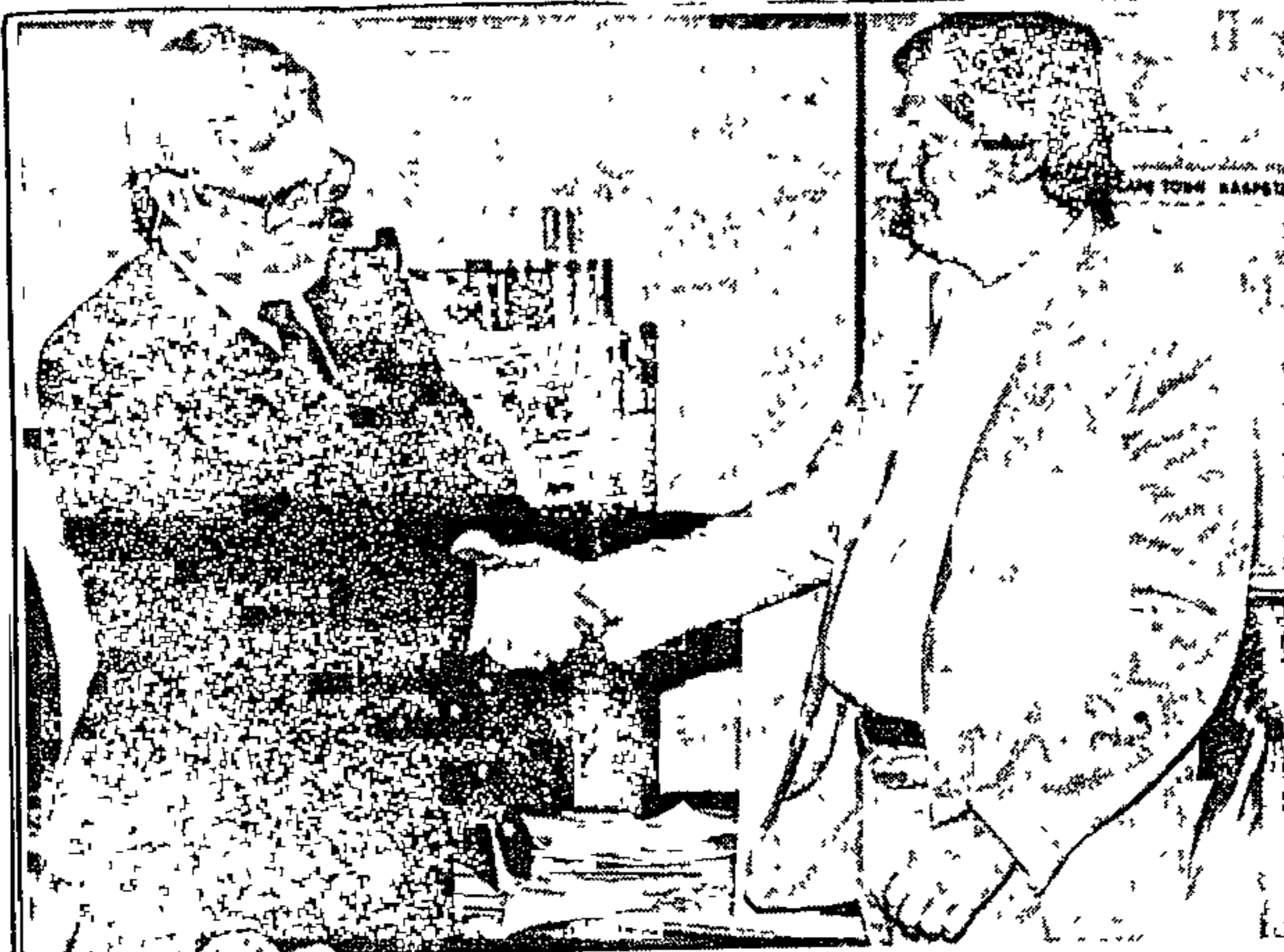


giving us a paper that was not afraid. Thank you, Ms Pat Sidley, for your comment. I ask all Cape Times readers to raise their glasses with me in paying tribute to a very respected and courageous man who tried to defend the freedom of

the press. Here's to you, Mr Anthony Heard. May the gale force winds of destruction and change always be a gentle breeze on your back."

Mr R Capel, Johannesburg: "With due respect to Mr Stephen Mulholland, I think the retirement of Tony Heard is politically motivated. Mr Heard's backing of the Dakar conference has had a lot to do with this. I foresee the day that the Cape Times will be following in the footsteps of the old Rand Daily Mail unless the editors toe the line."

To comment on these and other issues, call Teleletters between 10am and 12 noon on 208-4722.



FAREWELL . . . Mr A H Heard, right, outgoing editor of the Cape Times, wishes his successor, Mr J C (Koos) Viviers, well at an editorial staff meeting yesterday, symbolically handing over his long-service tie. *CAPE TIMES 11/8/87* Picture GLENN SHERRATT

243 Heard hands over editorship to Viviers

Chief Reporter

OUTGOING editor of the Cape Times Mr Anthony Heard said on his last day in office yesterday he did not wish to indulge in undignified exchanges over his dismissal last Friday by the Times Media Limited (TML) board

In handing over to his successor, Mr J C (Koos) Viviers, former editor-in-chief of Eastern Province Newspapers, Mr Heard told a Cape Times editorial staff meeting

"In due course I may well set out in greater detail my views on this incident and on the broader context in which liberal-minded South Africans are being thinned out in public life, for whatever reason

"Suffice to say I have not been stealing or indulging in improper gymnastics in public, which could be said to have frightened the horses, and therefore led to my swift departure

"I was dismissed presumably with the TML board acting in its judgment and wisdom

"There has been speculation whether there was a deal as to my future conduct I should like to make it clear I have given no undertakings, nor shall I, as to what I may or may not say or write in the future

"So at 49 I am a free man, and I have had 16 wonderful years editing a great newspaper

"Incidentally, I intend to continue writing — in my country, South Africa

"Today I hand over to my successor, Koos Viviers I commend him most warmly to the staff and the public at large as the person who is best qualified by far for this job He comes from a professional mould which is both enlightened and principled"

Mr Viviers said while he was sorry Mr Heard was leaving the newspaper, he was delighted to be in Cape Town, as editor of the Cape Times

He said he would do his best to live up to and maintain its "great tradition and high standards" He paid tribute to Mr Heard's "excellent qualities and high achievements as a journalist and as an editor"

□ Mr Tony Heard was "one of the few editors in South Africa who has earned the respect of our people", the United Democratic Front said

Mr Heard had earned this respect by "trying to cover developments outside the narrow interests of white politics", said a statement issued by the UDF's Western Cape Region

"The UDF has watched with concern the constant movement in all newspapers to suppress news about the events in our country

"We are greatly concerned about the removal of Tony Heard We view it as a further move in the direction of self-censorship by the newspapers"

betha, 33, and the youth, who may not be named, pleaded not guilty to charges of murdering berg hiker Mr Phillip Janse van Rensburg on March 31 this year and attempting to murder Mr Lombard

Mr Lebetla and the youth pleaded not guilty to robbery with aggravating circumstances Mr Mabetha pleaded guilty to the charge

Mr Lombard told the court that he and Mr van Rensburg — who were both doing their National Service — had been pelted with rocks inside their tent, which they had set up about 60m from the edge of the escarpment

As they had run from the tent the men had continued throwing rocks at them Mr Lombard then fell

"Phillip said 'ek kan nie meer nie' I cannot remember any more after that until I woke up at about 12 30am"

Man held after stoning

PRETORIA — A man was arrested in Bongulethu, near Oudtshoorn, after a security force patrol was stoned

According to the police unrest report released here yesterday, the group was dispersed and the man arrested

In other incidents of unrest

□ At Chesterville, a number of shots wounded two men in the legs The wounds were not serious The identity of the gunman is unknown

□ At Claremont, a home was petrol-bombed

□ At Boksburg North, police arrested a man on a criminal charge A large group "gathered and freed the prisoner When the policemen attempted to re-arrest him, they were stoned by the mob Reinforcements arrived and a coloured woman and two black men were arrested" — Sapa

The million rand 'hush money' fired editor Heard turned down

W/Mail 14-20/8/87

By GAYE DAVIS, Cape Town

AXED *Cape Times* editor Tony Heard rejected an offer by Times Media Ltd worth close to R1-million — because it carried a constraint clause which would have effectively muzzled him, sources on the newspaper said this week.

The "package deal" involved Heard remaining on the TML payroll for two years, to write a history of the company to coincide with its 50th anniversary in 1989. But he would be constrained from criticising the company during that period on pain of dismissal, senior *Cape Times* staffers told the *Weekly Mail*. Said one source: "Heard was made a huge offer — but given no choice."

In an interview this week, Heard confirmed his rejection of the offer — in the face of "enormous temptation" — but refused to discuss its details, saying he did not want "an undignified squabble from which no-one will gain." Nor did he want to hurt the *Cape Times* or create difficulties for his successor, Koos Viviers, for whom he has a high regard.

"All I want to say about the terms of the arrangement is that they required me to be inhibited in my future conduct and activities. I would have been muzzled."

Following "heated exchanges" between himself and TML chairman, Stephen Mulholland, his lawyer negotiated a severance payment "which he believes is my due, with no strings attached whatsoever", Heard said.

Heard's dismissal last Friday was greeted with shock but little surprise. Whispers about the security of his position started circulating after the November 1985 publication of his interview with banned African National Congress leader Oliver Tambo, which earned him the Golden Pen of Freedom award from the International Federation of Publishers.

They grew louder as he embarked on a round of international speaking engagements, causing him to be dubbed the "absentee editor". Journalists joked about him being "Heard, but not seen".

One senior *Cape Times* staffer said "Heard was buried many times, but somehow managed to stick

the broader community. Heard's future is as yet undecided. He has been invited to address newspapers and other groups overseas, and might take up a foreign university's offer to spend some time there.

"But I am diffident about spending too much time outside the country. Mulholland has denied suggestions that Heard's dismissal had political motivations.

In a statement this week, he said: "We seek only to meet the practical needs of the newspaper. Anyone who suggests otherwise is wrong."

The appointment of Mr Viviers as editor of the *Cape Times* surely renders absurd suggestions that Mr Heard's departure is in any way politically motivated," he said.

"If my services were regarded as worthwhile, I'd be delighted to associate myself with the broad democratic movement in South Africa, which I happen to believe in. But I am not in a position to impose myself on anyone," Heard said.

In the meantime, he plans to get in some surfing.

some power base to save me." Mulholland — a friend since boyhood when they attended Durban Boys' High School together — would have preferred him "to be the editor he wanted me to be."

"One must look at how TML newspapers are edited these days: Mammon-orientated to maximise profits, very conscious of the strength of the advertising rand and the fears, prejudices and concerns of white South Africans at the expense of the future South Africa which lies, inevitably, around the corner.

"The philosophy is to ensure that a newspaper can afford whatever high principles it chooses to hold. But I believe this could also subvert one of a newspaper's primary functions — giving a lead to public opinion. It has to be balanced against the needs of

meanour, is at least partly a political act because, in South Africa today, it takes place in a politically charged atmosphere — and some editors are more political than others," Heard said.

"South Africa is in a vastly polarising situation and liberals get thinned out. One shouldn't be sentimental about it. I am surprised there are so many liberal institutions left. You can't have illusions about it if you're going to be a liberal in Africa."

"Basically, they felt that after 16 years it was time for a change. And if you discover you no longer have the confidence of the board, who gets fired? Not the board. I was never under the illusion that I could rely on

CAPV Times
14/8/87

CAPV Times 14/8/87

'Unknown persons assaulted De'Ath'

Court Reporter

AN inquest magistrate yesterday found that ITN newsman, Mr George De'Ath, died after he was extensively assaulted by persons unknown to the State when he was attacked during fighting at the KTC squatter camp in June last year

Mr W J P Marais found that an offence had been committed by unknown persons

Mr De'Ath, 34, died of head injuries

In an affidavit, Mr De'Ath's soundman, Mr Andile Fosi, who was also injured in the attack, suggested that a tape taken by the police after the assault had been partially obliterated

The entire tape consisted of a freeze frame — an effect which could only have been obtained by an editing machine, according to Mr Fosi

"If anything calls for an inquiry, this calls for an inquiry," Mr J Gauntlett, for the family of the deceased, said

Clark: Marxist warning to ANC

LUSAKA — The Canadian External Affairs Minister, Mr Joe Clark, yesterday described his talks with Zambia and the African National Congress as "useful and constructive", but said he differed with the ANC over the need for violence to achieve political change in South Africa

He also warned the ANC that the West was worried about communist influence in its organization

Mr Clark said "The government of Canada understands the frustrations leading to violence in South Africa, but it cannot condone violence. Violence begets violence."

He said he had warned the ANC about growing concern about Marxist influence in its ranks

However, Mr Clark said he believed the ANC did not seek violence in its struggle for racial equality in South Africa

Mr Clark is due for talks in SA today

□ Meanwhile a party of 11 Canadians, including four Indian chiefs, arrived in South Africa yesterday for a 10-day visit. They are guests of the South African Tourism Board and will give a press conference in Pretoria this afternoon — Sapa-Reuter-AP

Rhodes says yes to Nusas

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Students at Rhodes University have voted in favour of their Students' Representative Council affiliating to the National Union of South African Students (Nusas)

The pro-affiliation committee won the referendum by a narrow margin of 57 votes

Rhodes was last affiliated to Nusas prior to 1983 when a similar referendum was held

Commenting on the outcome, the leader of the pro-affiliation committee, Mr Ray Hartley, said. "Students want to see their campus being part of the national political arena, and they want to be represented by a strong anti-apartheid body"

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Media Council to probe 'undesirable trends'

Cape Times 18/10/83 243

THE South African Media Council yesterday approved the appointment of a committee to investigate "certain undesirable trends" in the media

These trends, it said, included biased and intimidatory reporting

The committee's investigation would range over the complete media spectrum in South Africa, including non-members of the Media Council, such as the radio and television arms of the SABC

It was also decided to form a pilot committee in the Cape to investigate avenues to help court reporters in presenting all the relevant facts when reporting on trials. A single court reporter could be responsible for three or four courts at a time, and could easily miss vital evidence while moving from court to court

The council also submitted a report on a meeting held on August 3 with the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel

Botha

At the meeting Mr Botha pointed out that the council had to see to it that the media abided by the rules of "honest" and "accurate" journalism. This task included the discipline of its members, he said

The minister wanted to know whether the council had any doubt about its role in this connection

In his reaction the chairman of the council, Mr Justice Louis van Wilsen, said the monitoring of the media for disciplining purposes was impossible for organizational and financial reasons. Such an action had already been abandoned and could not be accepted by the council

Council conciliator Mr Bob Steyn said a total of 400 complaints had been received from November 1, 1983, to July 31 this year. A total of 162 were settled, 10 adjudicated, 84 rejected, 63 withdrawn, 69 lapsed and 12 are pending — Sapa

Botha threatens press crackdown

DD
19/8/87
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Parliamentary Reporter

CAPE TOWN — An angry President P. W. Botha yesterday lashed at the press and the "alternative media" for "negative reporting and 'deliberate, miserable lies' about South Africa.

In a thinly veiled warning of action if the media did not put its house in order, Mr Botha said "As long as this negative force of destruction is abroad we will not be able to deal with our problems

nothing but propaganda," he said, warning that the "entire matter concerning alternative media and alternative news agencies will have to be investigated and dealt with".

"As long as everything the government does is so negatively presented, we will not succeed"

He also attacked the omission of positive events and negative reporting such as the bringing into disrepute of black leaders who did not follow ANC views

He warned that alternative media would be "investigated and dealt with"

Speaking during debate on his budget vote, Mr Botha said that "through their actions, a large part of the press brought South Africa into disrepute"

When he became Prime Minister nine years ago "some tragic evidence of decay was visible in a section of South African political journalism"

"It was as if a devil of political devastation had taken hold of sections of our journalism" he added that this "phenomenon" had been repeating itself in a worse way recently

Before the press curbs in the emergency regulations, press groups last year refused to voluntarily restrict the publication of certain reports

"Rather than assisting the government, some sections of the newspaper industry have continued as if they were out to urge the revolutionary spirit along," Mr Botha said.

He said this was not done through outright lies, but through "blatant distortion and stage setting" which created negative perceptions.

Alternative newspapers and magazines unashamedly supported "leftist radical groups and views" in the country by "practising subtle propaganda to further a revolutionary climate under the pretext of journalism"

Closely related was the sudden increase in "so-called alternative agencies attempting to provide a news service"

"These groups and organisations supply what they call 'news reports' to existing and alternative newspapers, but which in fact amount to

PW vows to deal with 'lying' press.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A FIERY President P W Botha yesterday accused sections of the daily press of spreading "blatant distortion" and "deliberate miserable lies" and vowed to "deal with" alternative media and news agencies.

Rather than assisting the government in combating the "revolutionary onslaught", some sections of the newspaper industry "have continued as if they were out to urge the spirit of revolution along".

Replying to the debate on his budget vote, Mr Botha said that it was as if "a devil of political devastation had taken hold of sections of our journalism" and the actions of certain sections of the newspaper industry had brought a large part of the South African press "into disrepute".

Mr Botha said such practices did not necessarily involve "outright lies".

'Subtle propaganda'

"It is often rather a case of blatant distortion and stage setting. It finds expression in misrepresentation, the creation of negative perceptions."

Speaking after Mr Botha, the PFP nominated MP, Mr Nic Olivier, said, "You cannot have democracy or freedom without the freedom of the press — that is the price of freedom."

Motivating his criticisms, Mr Botha said that most of the "so-called alternative media" unashamedly support the leftist radical groups and view in the country.

He added, "They also use all four of the above techniques in practising subtle propaganda to further a revolutionary climate under the pretext of journalism."

"A related phenomenon was the sudden increase in so-called alternative news agencies" that supplied "what they called news reports to the existing and alternative newspapers, but which in fact amount to nothing but propaganda".

To page 2

From page 1

Mr Botha then warned "The entire matter concerning alternative media and alternative news agencies will have to be investigated and dealt with".

Turning to a series of leader articles on Renamo and the recent Dakar mission in an unnamed daily newspaper, Mr Botha said editorials were on occasion used "in an attempt to subtly violate the truth, and to attempt to propagate a leftist and radical message on an almost continuous basis".

Quoting from the editorials to Parliament, Mr Botha lashed out at what he termed "smears" and "deliberate miserable lies".

Other examples of "disreputable" journalism Mr Botha cited included

• "The conspicuous omitting of positive events, or negative reporting on positive events, such as, for example, bringing into disrepute black leaders and organizations who do not follow and expound ANC views,

• "The repeated use

of old examples and archive material of the most negative examples on record. This is particularly popular on certain foreign television services,

• "The careful selection of news events, statements and photo material which benefit leftist and radical organizations and tends to put them in a positive light, and

• "The selective application of facts that are not incorrect in themselves, but which create an incomplete and distorted image as a result of their selectivity." Mr Botha added that "blatant lies are being advocated from time to time".

He said the remark attributed to him in a publication of the education committee of the Black Sash — "Our education system must train people for war" — was a "deliberate lie".

Mr Botha said there were still "respectable" and "responsible" newspapers in South Africa, "but even they feel the pressure in an environment that is being created by a reckless section of the media".

South Africa would not be able to handle its problems amid such "forces of destruction" and "negativism", he said.

Mr Botha said he had met representatives of the newspaper industry on various occasions to discuss measures to combat the "revolutionary onslaught".

But, he added, the press groups had "refused to voluntarily cooperate with government to avert the threat against the entire community".

How freedom of Press has been curtailed

South Africa began the year in the midst of a State of Emergency (July 21, 1985-March 7, 1986) with restrictions on the media. It drew to an end in the midst of another State of Emergency (declared June 12, 1986) which incorporated the most ferocious curbs on the press that the country has known since the Nationalists came to power in 1948.

These curbs made it difficult, sometimes impossible, to cover the unrest. They prevented photographs of police action during disturbances, required reporters to remove themselves from the scene of unrest, and gave police the power to seize newspapers on the street — and to ban all succeeding issues — if they contained material deemed “subversive” — a term which was widely defined.

The emergency curbs forced newspapers to become heavily reliant on “authorised” versions of events released by a much-enlarged State Bureau of Information, which became the sole official conduit for unrest news.

On June 17, the local printers of Time magazine produced three blank pages in place of coverage of the South African situation. Three days later, the Sowetan, the largest daily for black readers, was war-

This is an extract from the International Press Institute 1986 world press freedom review, referring to South Africa, published in the U. S. Editor and Publisher.

ned by police that publishing blank spaces might be construed as “subversive”.

The emergency restrictions were not taken lying down, although attempts to unite the press in opposition to the curbs failed. The split, broadly, was between Afrikaans-language, government-supporting newspapers and English-language, opposition papers.

English-language newspaper owners combined to challenge the emergency restrictions in the Natal Supreme Court, and they won some victories, enlarging the area of permissible publication but by no means removing all the curbs.

While there were a few shafts of light in the dark situation, official harassment of journalists continued. The lists of incidents involving clashes between the authorities and local and foreign reporters ran to many pages. So many were harried, arrested, assaulted, or otherwise prevented from reporting — particularly in the tense days of June and July — that many incidents were not even mentioned.

Two journalists lost their lives and a number were injured while on duty. Montsho Lucky Kutumela, of the Lebowa Times, died on April 4, shortly after being detained by the security police, and George De'ath, a cameraman for ITN, died on June 14, four days after he was hacked and beaten by Xhosa vigilante groups in the Crossroads/KTC squatter camps near Cape Town.

A number of journalists, the majority black free-lancers, suspected by the state of being actively involved in “subversive movements” were held in detention without trial. In addition, police increasingly threatened use of a law that enables them to force journalists to reveal sources. The effect was to inhibit publication of information that might result in victimisation of informants, and some stories went unreported.

The area where the pressure was greatest was on black newspaper people on all newspapers. Because they were the only reporters with access to the black residential areas, they carried the brunt of the duty of trying to report under censorship.

Black journalists who refrained from committing themselves publicly to a political line were physical targets for both the right and the left, and worked and lived in conditions of extreme danger. At least one faced threats and interrogation from both the police and the “people’s committees”.

On the economic front, forced rationalisation drew the two large English-language press groups together as the smaller South African Associated Newspapers disposed of its tangible assets and handed production and administration to its bigger rival, Argus. The economic base of the opposition press was eroded. Many individual newspapers remained unprofitable, and closure remained a possibility for at least one or two newspapers as the year came to an end.

As the country polarised politically, the role of the press came under increasing criticism — from the government and a majority of whites, who considered the newspapers not loyal or “responsible” enough, and from black radicals, who thought the press was far too neutral and uncommitted.

In the last quarter of the year, the imposition of international sanctions raised the probability of further government restrictions on publication.

Govt will probe alternative Press, warns President

18/8/87

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By David Braun, Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT — President Botha said last night that "alternative" media and news agencies will have to be investigated and dealt with

In a long harangue on the media towards the end of the State President's budget vote debate in the House of Assembly, Mr Botha said he had never feared justified, well-founded criticism from the Press.

"But members will recall my warning that

there are looming acute dangers threatening the relations between the authority and the Press, and between the Press and the public

"My problem was and is that some Press organisations and some Press members disregard their obligations and responsibility to a large degree."

Mr Botha said that since he became Prime Minister nine years ago he had tried to do his share towards creating the best possible relations with all sections of the newspaper industry

Frank discussions were held. There was no shortage of goodwill on the part of the Government

"My viewpoint was, and remains, that the printed word is still the safest and most reliable means of communication between the authority and the people

"The Press is a vital bearer of accurate information, not only from the authority and other public institutions to the people, but also from the people to the authorities and the community leaders

"That which the public has the evident right to know, no authority should keep from it. Secrecy for the sake of secrecy, or to conceal incompetence and corruption, will not be tolerated by the Government"

Mr Botha said that late last year he invited representatives of the newspaper industry to his office

REVOLUTION

Rather than assisting the Government in the spirit of his commitment to increased co-operation, some sections of the newspaper industry had continued as if they were out to urge the spirit of revolution along

The publication of newspapers and magazines that could be classified as so-called alternative media mostly supported unashamedly the leftist radical groups and views

Closely related to the alternative media was the increase in so-called alternative agencies attempting to provide a news service. These groups supplied what they called news reports, but in fact amounted to nothing but propaganda

The matter of alternative media and alternative news agencies would have to be investigated, he said

Media Council gives nod to State measure

The South African Media Council, at its eighth meeting in Cape Town yesterday, approved the appointment of a committee to investigate "certain undesirable trends" in the media, unbalanced or biased reporting, or reporting that sought to exert pressure on certain groups and which could be described as intimidatory.

This committee investigation would include the complete media spectrum in South Africa, including non-members of the Media Council such as the radio and television arms of the SABC.

An executive committee recommendation was accepted which would have the effect of ensuring that any complaints not settled through conciliation within a month of being lodged with the council, would automatically be referred for adjudication.

It was also decided to form a pilot committee in the Cape to investigate avenues to assist court reporters in presenting all the relevant facts when covering trials. A single court reporter could be responsible for three or four courts at a time and could easily miss vital evidence while moving from court to court.

The Council submitted a report on a meeting that was held on August 3 with the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

Mr Botha had thought the method of conciliation had resulted in rectifications not always being effective and noted that the Media Council "no longer advertised its existence".

This was rejected by the council as advertisements were regularly inserted in all South Africa's leading newspapers.

The government was worried about the creation of an atmosphere (*klimaatskepping*) in the so-called alternative media.

The chairman of the Media Council, Mr Louis de V van Winsen, had said the monitoring of the media for disciplining purposes was impossible for organisational and financial reasons.

Mr Botha had said this attitude had discouraged him. It did not accord with the government's expectations of the Media Council. Self-monitoring was the only practical way of calling irresponsible members to account.

The council said it was awaiting an interview with the Minister of Law and Order to discuss possible amendments to Section 27(b) of the Police Act and Section 205 of the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Act.

"The continued application of the emergency regulations remain a matter of great concern to the council. Their existence clearly has a strongly inhibiting effect on the free flow of news and it is to be sincerely hoped that the authorities will see their way clear to dispense with them at the earliest possible opportunity."

Mr Bob Steyn said a total of 400 complaints had been received from 1 November 1983, when the council was established, to 31 July 1987. A total of 162 were settled, 10 adjudicated, 84 rejected, 63 withdrawn, 69 lapsed and 12 were pending, he said. — Sapa.

Heed the message, Mr Botha

WHEN you've been in power for 40 years and your policies have failed, it is all too easy to find scapegoats

When you've been in power for 40 years and find that the vast majority of people still don't support you, you have to find ways to bring them in line

When you've been in power for 40 years, you tend to regard your government as being the State, and your party's interests as those of the country

State President PW Botha's warning in Parliament this week to curb the Press is an old refrain we've heard from his predecessors

There are two differences though. Where the Nationalist governments in the past talked about "pro-communism" elements, the party now talks about "pro-revolutionaries", where once the "verdomde Engels pers" was the scapegoat, now it is the "alternative Press"

Mr Botha's latest warning must be taken seriously, just as those who ridiculed similar threats in the past found that the Nats had the last laugh

For the Nats, unable to win the hearts and minds of the majority, have systematically curbed the Press over an entire generation. In the 1950s, it used the Suppression of Communism Act to stop the papers from quoting banned people

In the 1960s, it introduced the far-ranging Terrorism Act, and more regulations were subsequently introduced, culminating in the excessive curbs under the State Emergency.

It closed down *The World* and *Weekend World* in 1977, it effectively closed down *The World's* successor, *Post Transvaal*, in 1981

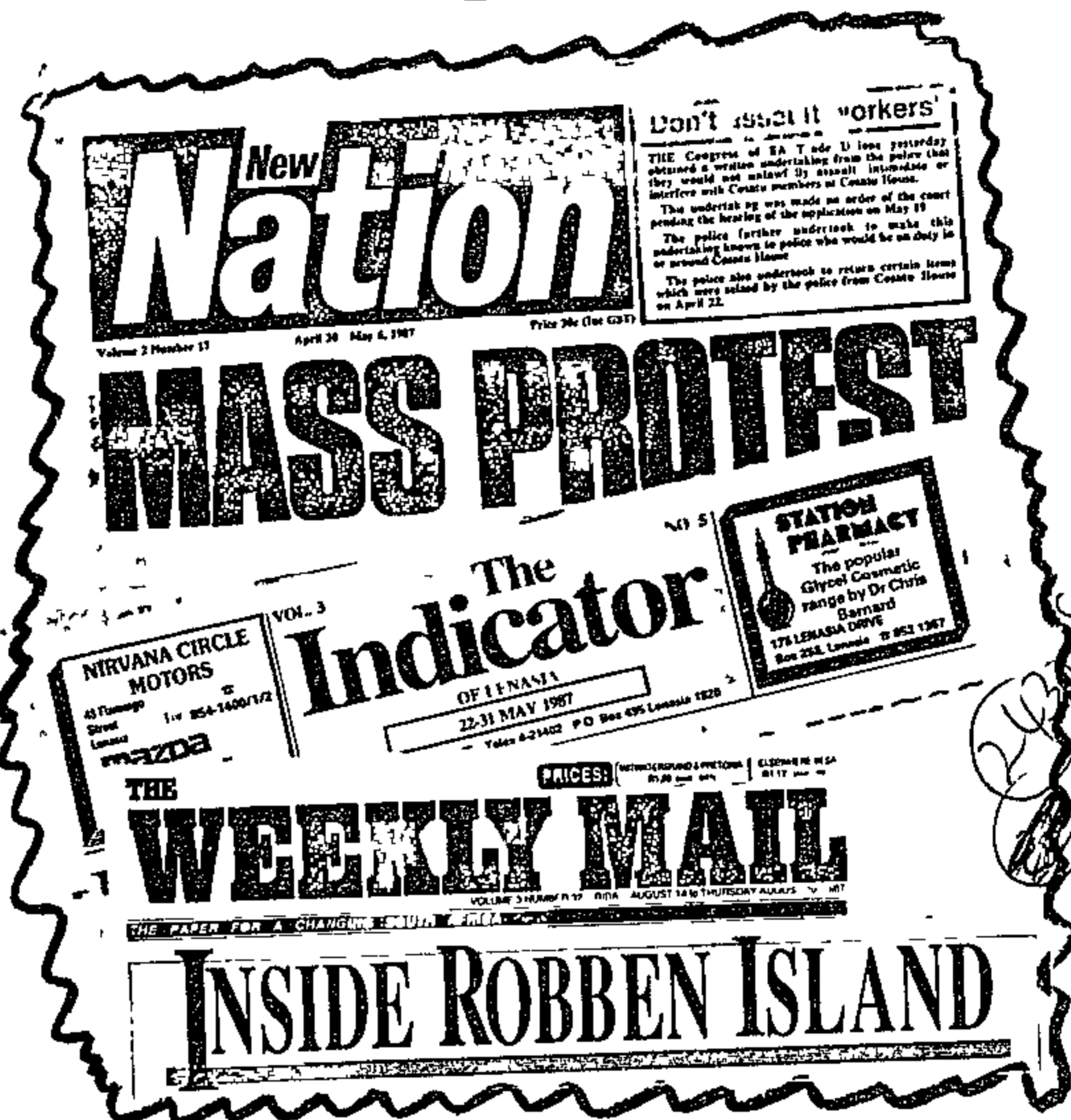
Now, despite the emergency curbs, the Government has found it difficult to bring prosecutions against the "alternative Press"

Why? Because the "alternative Press", like the "mainstream Press", with lawyers advising it, works within the law, knowing that there would be hell to pay if it strays from the narrow legal path

But what is the "alternative Press"? It is wide-ranging, with legally registered newspapers, news agencies and publications put out by special-interest groups such as trade unions

Of the alternative newspapers, the major ones are *New Nation* (whose editor, Zwelakhe Sisulu has been in detention since December), *Weekly Mail* and *The Indicator* (all based in Johannesburg), and *South*, based in Cape Town

All share two things in



Don't shoot the messenger



THE State President, Mr P W Botha, on Monday told Parliament that "alternative" newspapers and news agencies would have to be investigated and dealt with. In this article, the editor of the *The Indicator*, one of the alternative newspapers, AMEEN AKHALWAYA, responds to some of Mr Botha's remarks.

FOCUS

common they are run editorially by experienced professional journalists, and all these journalists are opposed to the National Party's race policies

The alternative Press generally supports legal extra-parliamentary organisations such as the United Democratic Front, it gives preference to events in black areas ahead of foreign news

To counter the news put out by the SABC and the mainstream Press, the emerging Press has been tagged "alternative."

The major way in which it differs from the mainstream Press is the "angle" from which it

reports the news. While the mainstream Press looks at events through white eyes, the alternative Press looks at it through black eyes

Now the Government, having had the backing of some 80 percent of the white electorate, is having a go at critical mainstream newspapers too

Mr Botha told Parliament "through their actions, a large part of the Press brought South Africa into disrepute"

Mr Botha is equating the National Party and its policies with "South Africa"

That the Press is not responsible for the ills of our society — and

apartheid is — was spelled out in the Cilie report on the 1976 Soweto unrest

In fact, had the Government heeded the warnings from papers such as *The World* and the *Rand Daily Mail*, we might have been spared much bloodshed

For whatever accusations of "revolutionaries" are hurled at the alternative Press, the truth is that it acts as a safety valve allowing people to let off steam, to vent their grievances

What Mr Botha and the Nats should be concerned about is that many young black people do not trust even the alternative Press, because they rightly believe it is not telling the whole truth either

If the Government thinks that clobbering the alternative Press will make it like the SABC and *The Citizen* which

was secretly launched with our money), and change black people into supporters of apartheid, then it has been in power far too long to know what most blacks really think

Black journalists have for long been uncomfortable about their roles as they are increasingly forced to withhold information. If they are to be curbed further, they will have to re-examine their positions

If they are to be forced to write the "truth" as the Nationalists see it, they will never be able to look their communities in the face again

To bring about real reform in the country Mr Botha and his colleagues should read the alternative Press and heed the urgent messages it is sending. Otherwise, they won't know what is happening in their own backyards

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Parliament

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — It was clear the current state of emergency media regulations were not adequate to counter the provocative and confrontational newspapers categorized as the so-called "alternative media", which were being used by revolutionaries, Mr Piet Coetzer (NP Springs) said yesterday.

Speaking in Committee Stage debate on the Bureau for Information's budget vote, he said the authorities would have to look at this issue as a matter of urgency.

A second aspect authorities needed to look into was who was financing these papers.

A cursory glance showed that, unlike the commercially based, long-established newspapers, the alternative

Alternative media: Press regulations 'inadequate'

papers had very few paid advertisements.

"I believe the public has a right to know where these papers are getting their finances from," Mr Coetzer said.

Earlier he said the media regulations were not meant to stifle national debate, but rather to keep it within certain norms and to counter the violent aims of revolutionaries.

They were not so much regulations, as guidelines for the established media which, if followed, were unlikely to

lead to a confrontation between the media and the state.

The alternative media, however, were protest-orientated and aimed at promoting certain causes.

Alternative media purposefully went all out to push the regulations to breaking point and undermine the state with one-sided, negative reporting.

Sections of the media in South Africa were practising self-censorship by telling the readers only what they

...ion in schools in Old ... offices established by the Bureau ... Dr Van ... better way ... throughout the coun- ...

CP 6 Times 19/8/87

SA newspaper firms recover — report

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Staff Reporter

SOUTH AFRICAN newspaper companies have made a "remarkable" recovery in the face of adverse trading conditions, says a report of the South African Media Council.

The report, in which developments in the ownership and control of newspapers are reviewed, was adopted by the council at a meeting in Cape Town on Monday and issued yesterday.

The report says factors playing a role in the survival and performance of newspapers include the limited possibilities for the industry to diversify into the electronic media, the weakening of the rand against the currencies of countries from which materials were imported, and the growing popularity of "knock-and-drop" newspapers.

Till a year ago, Media Council reports described newspaper companies as being under siege, but the siege had been lifted, with the appearance of new titles and the emergence of an "alternative press".

Emergency 'a concern'

THE continued application of the emergency regulations remains "a matter of great concern" to the South African Media Council, according to a report issued by the council yesterday.

The report reviews developments restricting the supply of information "of interest and importance".

It says the renewed emergency regulations, adopted on June 11 this year, when the 1986 regulations lapsed, are "in some respects more restrictive" than those they replaced.

"Reporters and photographers are restricted from attendance at a scene of unrest or a restricted gathering or a security action, and from being at any place from which such actions can be observed."

The report also says there is no doubt that these regulations have a strongly inhibiting effect on the

free flow of news, and it expresses the hope that they will be dispensed with "as soon as possible".

Alternative Press probe is ongoing, says bureau chief

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By Chris van Gass, Pretoria Bureau

The Government was busy with an "ongoing" examination of the alternative media in the light of the emergency regulations, said the chief of the Bureau for Information, Mr Dave Steward, yesterday.

"The State President is very concerned by the situation, as evidenced in his speech to Parliament earlier this week. There is definitely concern about the alternative media and the subject is receiving ongoing attention," said Mr Steward, adding that there was no immediate indication of specific action being taken.

Reaction to the announcement of a possible investigation into the alternative media has been widespread, with fears being expressed that it was a further attempt to constrain the alternative media and curb the established media's opposition to the Government.

PFM MP Mrs Helen Suzman said she saw Mr Botha's announcement on alternative media in "a pretty threatening light".

'RIPPLE EFFECT'

She said the investigation "could well have a ripple effect on restraining some of the regular Press from taking too critical a stance against the Government".

Mr Piet Coetzer, NP MP for Springs, said the intention could be to concentrate on "certain" alternative media which had openly rejected the system and was working outside the system, taking, in some cases, a direct and open pro-Marxist line.

"There is no doubt that revolutionaries use the alternative media for their own goals, as the African National Congress had said in 1985 that the 'democratic media' in South Africa had to develop parallel to the armed struggle."

Professor John Dugard, the director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, said the alternative Press played an important role.

"Whereas the Government is able to manipulate and intimidate the so-called commercial Press through the spineless business community, it is unable to exert pressure on the alternative Press."

"Consequently the alternative Press frequently provides news and comment about matters which the commercial Press view as too sensitive and politically dangerous."

(243) DD .

Agencies hit back at Botha on media

EAST LONDON — Journalists were not responsible for the crisis facing South Africa, three independent news agencies said in a statement here.

The three agencies, East Cape News Agency based in Port Elizabeth, the East London News Agency, and Albany News Agency based in Grahamstown, were responding to criticism of the alternative media in Parliament, by the State President, Mr P W Botha

The agencies said it was significant that, for the first time, Mr Botha singled out the independent news agencies for attack, alongside the rest of the alternative media

"It is true there has been an increase in agencies attempting to provide a news service, as Mr Botha said. But there is nothing sinister in this

"The clampdown on the free flow of news, for which his government is responsible, has made our work urgently necessary

"The press has consistently been subjected to harassment and intimidation, and several journalists are being held in detention," the statement said

"We reject outright Mr Botha's allegations that we are disseminating propaganda. The South African public has the right to know what is going on and we see it as our task to keep them informed

"If there is anyone guilty of gross distortions of the truth, as well as consistent attempts to suppress honest reporting, then it is this government

"We pledge to continue to report the news to the best of our ability. A free flow of information is crucial if real solutions to the problems facing our country are to be found. Without a free press, there is little chance of reconciliation in this country," the three agencies said

A co-incidence, (243) say Media Council

By JO-ANN BEKKER

THE Media Council's decision to investigate setting up a committee to inquire into "undesirable trends" in the media came on the day President FW Botha announced the alternative media would be investigated and dealt with.

But the council insists the timing was purely co-incidental, as the issue was tabled for discussion three weeks before Monday's meeting.

Judge Louis de V van Winsen, chairman of the Media Council, said in an interview this week the issue had been under consideration for some time.

"We receive letters from the man on the street asking why newspapers are so one-sided and go to lengths to explain newspapers are entitled to be partisan," he said "But then you have to ask what are the limits of partisanship. It's high time the council draws some kind of guidelines."

The committee is in an embryonic stage. Its eight members — half public and half media representatives from the Media Council — have yet to be appointed by the chairman, in accordance with the constitution.

The committee's brief will be to set the parameters for an investigation into unbalanced, biased or "intimidatory" reporting in all sections of the media.

Should it find an enquiry feasible and should its proposals be accepted by the Media Council, the committee will proceed with the investigation

It will draw up a report on its findings and issue guidelines which will be made public.

But, said Van Winsen, the findings would not be binding on the media; not even Newspaper Press Union members who subscribe to the Media Council's code.

There is no deadline for the establishment of a committee or the completion of the enquiry.

21-27/8/87

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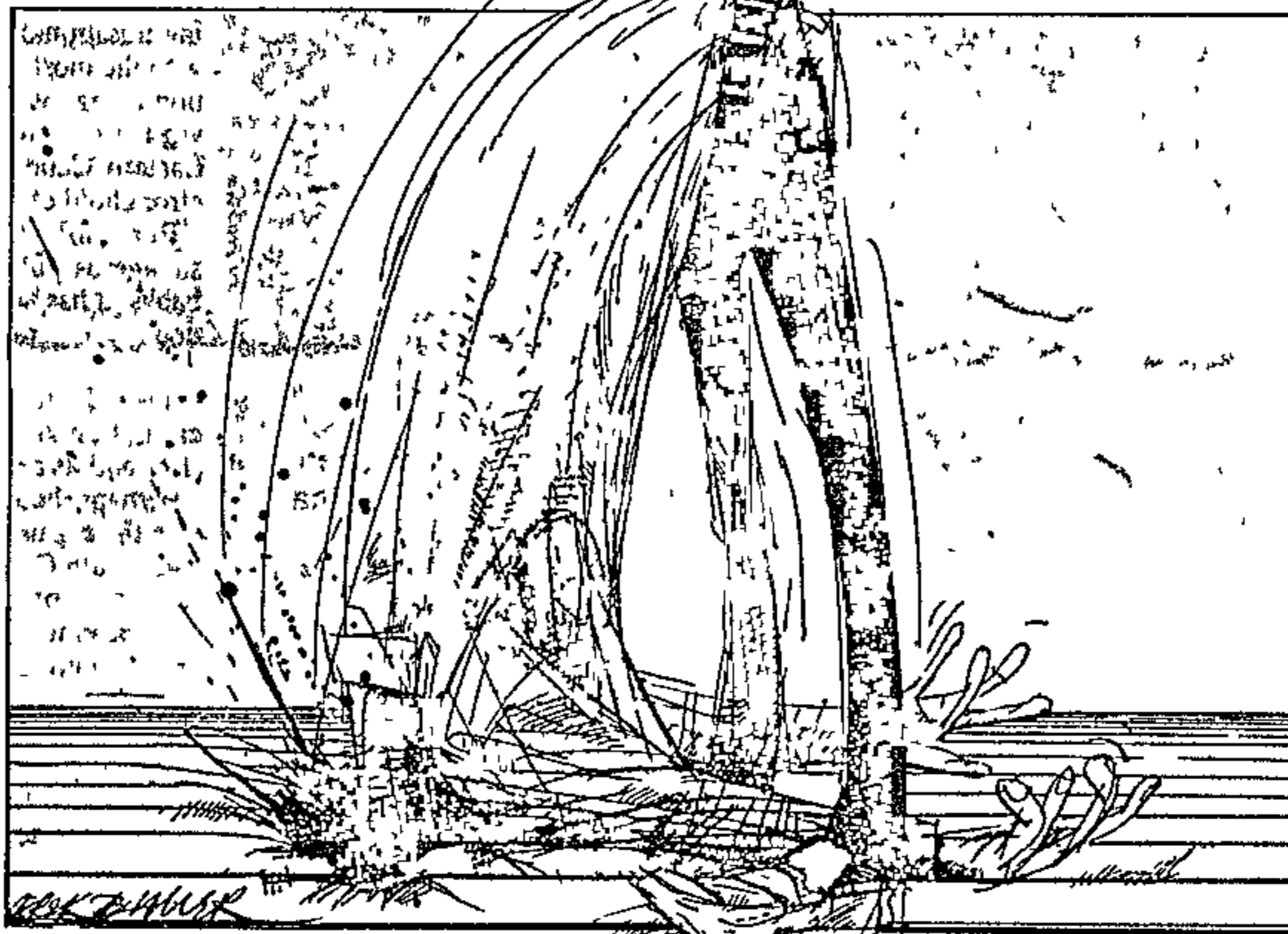
EXCLUSIVE:

The State President's master plan

W/PAUL
2/18-27/87



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to combat the revolutionary onslaught

THE State President has called upon the press to help combat the revolutionary onslaught which threatens the country.

We are happy to oblige:

- By continuing to expose the injustices of apartheid.
- By continuing to report points of view which his government chooses to ignore.
- By continuing to push for democracy instead of minority rule

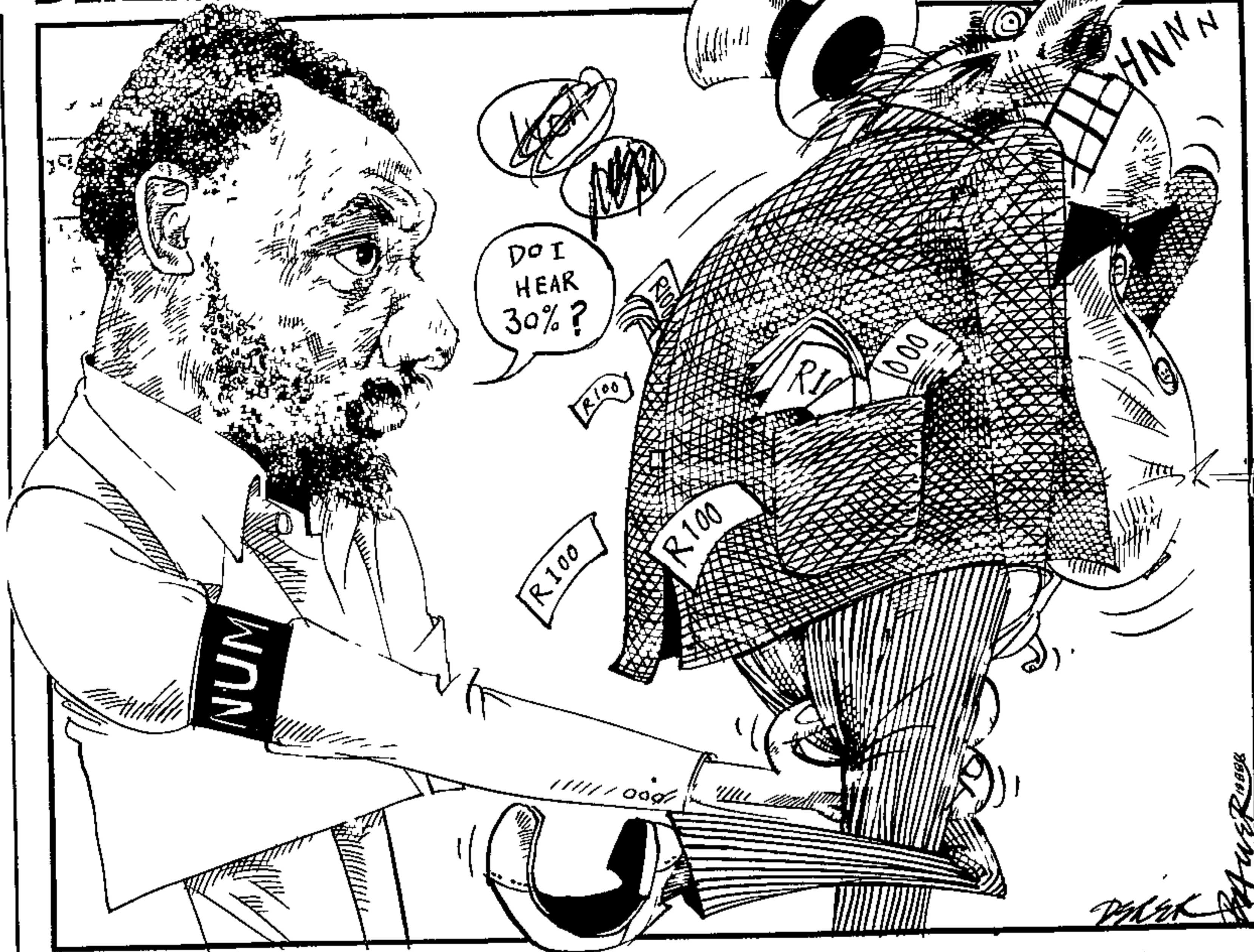
The State President has accused the press of negative reporting

We assure him we are happy to report on his positive actions

Lately, we haven't seen any

DEREK BAUER'S WORLD

w/ Mulholland 21-27/8/87



LETTERS

Mulholland on Heard: This talk of politics is nonsense

21-27/8/87 Mulholland 2.43

IN your issue of August 14-20 you publish a letter from one Ray Capel which suggests that there is a link between support for the Dakar conference by Mr Anthony Heard, and his replacement as editor of the Cape Times. This is a false and libellous statement.

The perception of the need to make changes at the Cape Times arose long before the Dakar conference was even mooted and this perception was based only on the commercial, organisational and circulation needs of the newspaper. The political line and coverage of the Cape Times under Mr Heard was never an issue. And the choice of Mr JC Viviers, a well known fighter against apartheid and an editor of impeccable liberal credentials to succeed Mr Heard, surely gives the lie to those who, in knee jerk fashion, assume that because a liberal editor is replaced this is automatically a political move.

In this same issue you publish a long interview with Mr Heard in which you quote some unnamed sources as making the preposterous suggestion that we offered Mr

Heard R1-million to "muzzle" him. You also run a prominent headline putting this forth as fact. This is simply not true.

As a long serving employee we offered to retain Mr Heard in our employ for almost two years and to allow him to exercise his options on the shares of the company and to cover his medical aid needs until he joined another company. We made it a condition of this offer that he refrain from making hostile statements about the company. When he objected to this condition we removed it but he persisted in his rejection and another, similar arrangement — including our concession on his share options — was then negotiated by his attorney. Let me stress that the profits on the share option come not from the company but from the stock market and are determined not by the company but by the price the market places on the shares.

All of this, of course, could have been yours to publish last week in your news columns had you adhered to the dictum that all sides should be heard. You are guilty of

both discourtesy and unprofessional conduct and the very least you owe us is an apology for not seeking our views. Not to mention, of course, the inaccuracies you have published. — S Mulholland, managing director, Times Media Ltd
 ● We regret not having sought Mr Mulholland's view.

His letter, however, reveals no fundamental difference with us over the facts in our news story. — The Editors

New measures against 'alternative' media, films, on the way?

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W/C ARGUS 22/8/87

PRESS CLAMPDOWN?

Weekend Argus Reporters

THE Government is this week likely to announce new emergency Press clamps which will allow it to stifle publication of any views it dislikes.

The clamps are aimed mainly at the so-called "alternative Press" — but "dissident" theatre and film performances will also be affected

The new regulations will allow the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, to warn and then suspend any publication for as long as the state of emergency stays in effect

There will be no recourse to the courts. The test of what is and what is not acceptable will be a subjective one, made by the Minister

A senior Government source said that publications will be warned at first about the content and overall tone if this falls foul of officialdom

If there is no improvement, in the Minister's view, he may suspend publication for an almost indefinite number of issues

Out of business

This will, in most cases, mean driving publications such as the Weekly Mail out of business

The source said the Government is worried about publications which question the legitimacy of the regime and — in its view — make the maintenance of civil order more difficult and place hurdles in the way of negotiation and reform

The Government is worried about the outcry these measures will cause

"The perception exists, anyway, that there is strong Press censorship in South Africa. You can't kill Press freedom if it is dead already," said the source

There are about 200 "alternative" publications with a regular circulation totalling more than one million. These are scrutinised regularly by officials

Mr Pierre Cronje of the PFP said: "The Government has already created its own revolutionary climate. Now they are trying to get away from it"

He said that leadership figures and certain organisations had been neutralised — and the regulations would make it even more difficult for those in opposition to get their views across in an orderly way. The curbs would cut off a vital flow of news

"It's important that whites begin to understand what is going on in South Africa. Now they will be fed on Government propaganda and they will not be able to make proper decisions

"Won't have a clue"

"They won't have a clue about what is going on"

Mr Botha, whose portfolio includes media matters, would not comment today

He said he would deal with "the whole matter of the media" in Parliament next week during debates in the three Houses on his budget vote

"I will address the issue of the media and also matters raised by the State President"

His budget vote is due to be debated in the House of Delegates on Tuesday, in the House of Assembly on Thursday and in the House of Representatives on Friday

23/8/87
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Botha zooms in on *S/James* 'alternative' Press

MORE harsh curbs on the Press are expected to be announced soon.

Government sources say the target this time is the so-called "alternative Press", which includes publications like the Weekly Mail and New Nation.

Plans for new, more far-reaching restrictions were confirmed yesterday by sources close to President P W Botha.

By **LESTER VENTER**
Political Correspondent

The curbs could be announced as soon as Tuesday, when the Home Affairs Budget is debated in the House of Delegates.

The Home Affairs Minister, Mr Stoffel Botha, yesterday said he would deal with Press matters during the Parliamentary debates.

The moves follow President Botha's attack last Monday on newspapers that spread "deliberate, miserable lies". He said the alternative Press would "be dealt with".

One report yesterday said new powers would enable the Minister of Home Affairs to act against a publication on the strength of its content or its "overall message".

A morning newspaper, The Citizen, said the Minister would be authorised to prohibit publication for up to 12 months after an initial warning.

Observers said that, coinciding with the clampdown, Government could force through reform steps.

Prisoners

These steps could include the creation of a forum on which moderate blacks could participate in negotiating a new dispensation.

Amendments to the Group Areas Act are also expected next month, and there could be a selective release of political prisoners.

Don't blame us, say news agencies

23/8/87
C/Press
JOURNALISTS were not responsible for the crisis facing South Africa, three independent news agencies said this week

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The agencies, East Cape News Agency, based in Port Elizabeth, East London News Agency and Albany News Agency, based in Grahamstown, were responding to President PW Botha's attack on the alternative media in Parliament on Monday

Botha accused the alternative media of "negative reporting" and "deliberate, miserable lies" about South Africa and warned the matter would be investigated and "dealt with"

The agencies said it was significant that the President was, for the first time, singling out the independent news agencies for attack alongside the rest of the alternative media.

The agencies said they had been set up in areas widely neglected by the Press, as they "felt there was a need to report on events taking place in these regions".

"We reject outright Botha's allegations that we are disseminating propaganda. The South African public has the right to know what is going on and it is our task to keep them informed," they said

(243) (initials)

Press: Govt may move this week

Political Staff

MR Stoffel Botha, Natal leader of the National Party and Minister of Home Affairs, is set to become the government's press "watchdog"

He is expected to announce measures this week which will enable him to take action against a newspaper if he believes it is guilty of biased, unfair or incorrect reporting

It appears he will be the sole judge and jury but that action taken by him could be tested in court.

It is not known yet when the

measures will be announced but it will definitely be during one of the debates on his Home Affairs portfolio in Parliament this week.

He will be in the House of Delegates tomorrow, the House of Assembly on Thursday and the House of Representatives on Friday.

Heavy attack

The measures will be aimed more at the so-called "alternative" media following a heavy attack 10 days ago by the State President, Mr P W Botha, who accused the "alternative" media

of deliberate lies and negative reports about South Africa

The "alternative" media also generally supported radical politics and "something" would have to be done about it, he told the House of Assembly

Mr Botha also said that he had appealed for voluntary co-operation from members of the Newspaper Press Union but that this had not been forthcoming

While the measures to be announced this week will be aimed mainly at the "alternative" press, it seems that members of the NPU could also be affected in some way

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

'Alternative' Press under siege

BARRY STREEK

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1/8/87
B/Day

THE SO-CALLED "alternative" Press in SA is vast and varied. It ranges from right-wing newspapers like Die Patriot, Die Afrikaner and Die Stem, to left-wing newspapers like South, Grassroots and New Nation.

There are newspapers linked to trades unions, churches, political bodies and other organisations.

There are also community newspapers, such as The Indicator, published in Lenasia, and The Times, published in Pietersburg and aimed at the northern homelands of Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda.

While the current speculation is that government's threats — which may be clarified this week — are aimed against newspapers like South, New Nation and Weekly Mail, it is the entire independent Press industry, which will be affected by whatever course of action is decided upon.

Moreover, apart from the extensive legal restrictions on all newspapers — both written into law and those imposed in terms of the state of emergency regulations — these newspapers can also be banned by the Publications Control Board.

Indeed, one factor which separates the independent Press from the rest of the newspaper industry

is that they are not members of the Newspaper Press Union (NPU). If they were NPU members they would not be subject to control.

Some of the newspapers are subsidised by their parent body. Ilanga Lase Natal was bought out by Capital Mandla-Mata, a company formed by Inkatha, which provided the capital for the deal. Funds for Die Patriot, the mouthpiece of the Conservative Party, are raised by a trust fund but the newspaper itself is published by Dr Frans van Staden.

Die Afrikaner, the Herstigste Nasionale Party newspaper, is owned by a company, Strydpers (Pty) Ltd, but there are frequent appeals in it for financial support.

New Nation, the weekly with a circulation of more than 60 000, is published and funded by the Southern Africa Catholic Bishops Conference as "a secular newspaper" to "voice the attitudes and feelings of the black community".

South, the Cape Town-based weekly with a circulation under 20 000, is published by South Press Services (Pty) Ltd, which it says is

"an independent company free from the vested interests of big capital". The company is owned by shareholders, all resident in SA. But the biggest shareholder is the Ukwaziswa Trust, which raised support from overseas.

Weekly Mail, now with a circulation of 20 000, is owned by W M Publications (Pty) Ltd. This company, says Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber, is "entirely owned and controlled by the people who started it and who own much of it". It has voting shares, all held by journalists working for it, and non-voting shares, held by people, such as businessmen, who invested in it.

Its board is elected by the voting shareholders. A further two directors are elected by the Weekly Mail staff. Weekly Mail has never declared a dividend, but the funds invested by the shareholders have been sufficient to cover losses.

It has received no overseas funds, apart from salaries covered by an outside body of one or two trainee journalists. "Weekly Mail is a South African newspaper controlled by South Africans," Harber says.

Alternative press fighting for survival

Carb Trip
25/8/87
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By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE so-called alternative press in South Africa is vast and varied — and it ranges from right-wing newspapers like the Patriot, the Afrikaner and the Stem to left-wing newspapers such as South, Grassroots and New Nation

There are newspapers linked to trade unions, churches, political bodies and other organizations

There are also community newspapers, such as The Indicator, which is published in Lenasia, and The Times, published in Pietersburg and aimed at the northern homelands of Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda

While current speculation is that the government's threats — which may be clarified this week — are aimed against newspapers like South, New Nation and Weekly Mail, the entire independent press industry will be affected by whatever course of action is decided upon

Moreover, apart from the extensive legal restrictions on all newspapers, both those written into the law and those imposed in terms of the state of emergency regulations, these newspapers can also be banned by the Publications Control Board

Indeed, one factor which separates the independent or alternative press from the rest of the newspaper industry is that they are not members of the Newspaper Press Union (NPU).

If they were members of the NPU, they would not be subject to control by the censorship authorities.

Another characteristic of the independent press is the considerable financial struggle for survival. Few, if any, make a profit

Some of the newspapers are subsidized by their parent body. Ilanga Lase Natal, for instance, was bought out by Capital Mandla-Mata, a new company formed by Inkatha, which provided the capital for the deal

Seek, the monthly newspaper published by the Anglican Church, and Southern Cross, which is published by the Catholic Church, are funded by the churches.

Funds for the Patriot, the mouthpiece of the Conservative Party, are raised by a trust fund but the newspaper itself is published by Dr Frans van Staden, a former MP.

The Afrikaner, the Herstigte Nasionale Party newspaper, is owned by a company,

Stryders (Pty) Ltd, but there are frequent appeals in it for financial support, emphasizing the costs of publishing, particularly for smaller newspapers

Other independent newspapers are funded by support from other bodies

New Nation, a weekly newspaper with a circulation of over 60 000, is published and funded by the Southern Africa Catholic Bishops Conference as "a secular newspaper" to "voice the attitudes and feelings of the black community".

South, a weekly based in Cape Town with a circulation of under 20 000, is published by South Press Services (Pty) Ltd, which it says is "an independent company free from the vested interests of big capital". The company is owned by shareholders, all resident in South Africa

But the biggest shareholder in South is the Ukwaziwa Trust, which raised support from overseas

South's editor, Rashid Seria, says "Where the Trust gets its money from is not our business but it is the major shareholder"

Weekly Mail, which now has a circulation of about 20 000, is owned by WM Publications (Pty) Ltd.

This company, says the Weekly Mail's editor, Anton Harber, is "entirely controlled by the people who started it and who own much of it". It has voting shares, all held by the journalists working for it, and non-voting shares, held by people such as businessmen who invested in it. It has never declared a dividend but "we have had enough capital to sustain the losses," Harber explained

It has received no overseas funds apart from the salary of one or two trainee journalists whose salaries are covered by an outside body

Both Weekly Mail and South want to become self-supporting, but, as anyone in the newspaper industry knows, this is not easy, particularly for a new paper without substantial capital reserves.

It seems clear that the only common aspect which is "alternative" about the large and varied independent press is that it is not affiliated to the NPU, which on April 1 last year had 30 urban daily and weekly newspaper members, 78 members in the provincial press division and 59 associate newspaper members

But with an establishment publication like Finance Week not listed among the NPU newspapers it is apparent that the alternative label is not defined by NPU membership, but by the political slant of the independent press

Seria says South's job is made extremely difficult by official harassment of its reporters and the denial of official information to the paper.

South does reflect the views of its readers and the position of their organizations. "We don't deny we are the mouthpiece of extra-parliamentary organizations."

However, "they can't find anything legally to point at us"

Even if further clamps were imposed on South or if it was wiped out, this would not change the feelings and aspirations of the people

"We are going to continue publishing these facts as long as things are bad and the police beat up people at meetings. We are going to write about these things"

"The newspaper won't change until the situation changes"

"We see ourselves fulfilling a very important role by bringing out the beliefs and aspirations of the people who constitute the extra-parliamentary organizations in South Africa," Seria says

And it is that message which the government does not want to hear, or, at least, does not want published

trolled animal diseases, two Senior State Veterinarians have recently been seconded to the KwaZulu Government to help combatting those diseases,

* so far this year 91 500 vaccinations against rabies have been undertaken in Natal

(3) No

Mr R W HARDINGHAM Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, has he received reports to the effect that the vaccine that is being used for rabies is not 100% effective? If so, has any action been taken in this regard?

The DEPUTY MINISTER No, Mr Speaker, I have not received any such reports

Kwanevane Township

5 Mr R W HARDINGHAM asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 9 on 28 July 1987, his Department intends allocating funds for the upgrading of Kwanevane Township, near Howick, if not why not, if so, (a) when, (b) what total amount and (c) for what specified projects,

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL PLANNING

(1) Yes

(a) As soon as funds for new projects can be made available from the National Housing Fund in collaboration with the Natal Provincial Administration and the Black Local Authority within the limits of the development priorities of the Natal Provincial Administration

(b) Approximately R1,5 million

(c) Upgrading of roads, sewerage reticulation, water reticulation and electricity reticulation as

well as upgrading of existing dwellings

(2) No

Persons awaiting execution

*6 Mr P C CRONJE asked the Minister of Justice

How many persons were awaiting execution as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER (for the Minister of Justice)

On 25 August 1987, 262 persons were in detention after having been sentenced to death. Nine were awaiting execution while the cases of the rest were still in various stages of the post sentence process the largest group being involved in appeals

Television transmitters

*7 Mr P C CRONJE asked the Minister in the State President's Office entrusted with Administration and Broadcasting Services

(1) Whether he will furnish information on the erection of transmitters for television broadcasts if not, why not if so,

(2) whether a booster transmitter is to be erected in the Greytown area in Natal to improve television reception if so, (a) when and (b) what aspects of television reception is it anticipated will be enhanced by this booster, if not, why not,

(3) whether any representations have been received from persons in the Greytown area regarding television reception, if so, (a) how many and (b) what was the (i) nature of these representations and (ii) response thereto?

The MINISTER IN THE STATE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE ENTRUSTED WITH ADMINISTRATION AND BROADCASTING SERVICES.

(1) Yes

(2) (a) Such a booster transmitter could

possibly be erected when capital and operational funds could be provided for this purpose

(b) TV reception at the town itself would be improved

(3) Yes

(a) From two organisations namely the local Municipality and E. Bolland and Son (Pty) Ltd General Dealers and from one individual a Mr R H Walker

(b) (1) The nature of the representations was for the provision of a TV1 signal for the town by the SABC or otherwise for the installation of a private station

(ii) At the request of the Municipality the SABC approved the installation of a private station for TV2/4

An investigation into problems of TV1 reception was conducted *in loco*. The Municipality was informed that a TV1 booster transmitter would be needed to improve reception. A fixed date for this could not be given, but that the indications were that it would not be within the next 2 years

Mr Walker was given an explanation of the position with regard to problems of reception, and he was provided with details concerning an aerial installation that could possibly resolve the problem

Child detainees: rehabilitation

*8 Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning

(1) Whether a detention centre for the rehabilitation of child detainees is to be built in or near Stutterheim in the Eastern Cape, if so, (a) what is the total estimated cost of construction, (b) what facilities will be provided,

(c) what categories of child detainees will be sent there (d) how many detainees will it be able to accommodate (e) who will be in charge of the centre (f) what is the nature of the rehabilitation programme planned for detainees at the centre, (g) what security arrangements will be made for the centre (h) when is construction due to (i) commence and (ii) be completed and (1) who is to carry out the construction work.

(2) whether any other such detention centres are planned if so, (a) where and (b) when are they to be built, in each case.

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL PLANNING

(1) No (a) up to (h) Fall away

(2) The hon member is referred to the press statement by Minister F W de Klerk in his capacity as Chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Social Matters issued on 15 August 1987 and in respect of which the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning was consulted

(3) No

Eastern Province newspapers

*9 Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology

(1) Whether proposed arrangements to merge the interests of certain newspapers circulating in the Eastern Province and those of an English-language newspaper circulating in East London, particulars of which have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, have been submitted to the Competition Board for approval, if so, (a) when, (b) what was the (i) nature of the arrangements submitted and (ii) decision of the said board and (c) what are the names of the newspapers concerned,

(2) whether there have been any further developments in this regard, if so, what developments?

THE MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND TECHNOLOGY

(1) Yes

(a) Documents dated 2 and 17 April 1987 respectively, which contained particulars of proposed transactions affecting certain newspapers, were submitted to the Competition Board. The documents were submitted for the purpose of consulting with the Competition Board at the request of the parties concerned with a view to obtaining the Board's advice on the likelihood of the existence of circumstances which do not justify the acquisition in the public interest. This procedure is provided for in section 6 (1) (d) of the Maintenance and Promotion of Competition Act, 1979 and several consultations took place during April and May 1987. It may be added that such advice is not binding. If the advice is negative, it does not prevent the parties from proceeding with the transaction.

(b) (1) Particulars of the proposed arrangements are confidential, and in terms of section 17 of the Maintenance and Promotion of Competition Act, 1979, the Board is bound to preserve confidentiality. However, the parties concerned are at liberty to disclose the information.

(ii) The Competition Board may also not disclose the advice which it conveyed promptly to the parties after each consultation.

(c) The legal provision concerning confidentiality also applies in this instance.

(2) In terms of section 10 of the Maintenance and Promotion of Competition

HOA

Act, 1979, the Competition Board may on its own initiative and shall, on the directions of the Minister, make an investigation contemplated in that section. To date I have not given such an instruction nor has the Board initiated an investigation affecting the industry concerned.

Pretoria Portland Cement

*10 Mr K D SWANEPOEL asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development +

(1) Whether any tests have been carried out to ascertain the extent of the deposit of cement dust in Capital Park and other surrounding residential areas from a certain cement factory, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purposes of his reply, if so (a) what is the extent of the deposit, (b) in what residential areas have these tests been carried out and (c) what is the name of the factory.

(2) whether the deposit presents any health hazards to the residents of the residential areas concerned, if so (a) what is the nature of the health hazards and (b) what steps have been taken and/or are envisaged in this connection?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH

(1) Yes

(a) The average concentration of suspended dust in air measured in the area was less than 50 micrograms per cubic metre.

(b) The tests were conducted in Pretoria Gardens.

(c) Pretoria Portland Cement in Hercules.

(2) As the results of the measurements proved that the dust concentration in the area was well below the standard of 150 micrograms per cubic metre for city environment, together with the fact that the dust originating from

HOA

the cement factory does not contain cement as is generally believed, but is very similar to ordinary agricultural lime dust, the dust levels in the area are not considered to present any health hazard. Analysis of the dust collected during the sampling period 7 February 1986 to 7 March 1986 also showed that at no stage did the factory contribute more than 10% to the total dust burden in the environment. The rest was from other sources.

(a) Falls away.

(b) No steps are considered since the cement factory in question is equipped with the most sophisticated abatement equipment available and the management is committed to maintaining dust emissions to a minimum.

Informers: recruitment

*11 Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order

(1) Whether any branch of the South African Police approached and/or recruited a certain person whose name has been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, in or about 1985, in connection with information on student organisations at the University of Cape Town, if so, (a) when, (b) (i) for what purpose was this person approached and/or recruited and (ii) what is his name and (c) (i) what was the total amount spent in this regard and (ii) over what period was it spent.

(2) what is the policy of the South African Police regarding the recruitment of students for the purpose of supplying information on fellow-students, whether he has been approached by any person regarding this incident, if so, (a) by whom, (b) when and (c) what was the outcome in each case.

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

(4) Yes, like all police forces across the

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

HOA

world, the South African Police also use informers to gather information of security interest. I wish to emphasise that such persons are expected to gather information and not to act as agent provocateurs.

The South African Police is not interested in monitoring lawful student activities.

(a) to (c) I wish to refer the hon member to my press statement of 12 August 1987 which I attach for reasons of clarity and which I regard as sufficient.

(2) I refer the hon member to my reply to paragraph 1 and 1 (a) to (c) above.

(3) Yes to (c) I regard these discussions as confidential and am not prepared to comment on the matter beforehand.

(4) No I refer the hon member to my reply to paragraph 1 and 1 (a) to (c) above.

PRESS RELEASE

MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER MR ADRIAAN VLOK 12 AUGUST 1987

RE ALLEGED POLICE SPY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

It would be naive to believe that the South African Police, like all police forces, does not make use of intelligence sources.

In fact, police forces rely heavily on information of all kinds to assist them in the prevention and combating of crime, to curb violence and to obtain information on matters regarding the security of the State.

While it is standard procedure not to divulge the identities of sources or to provide any comment on matters of this nature, I find it in this regard necessary to reveal that Mr Daniel Pretorius is attached to the South African Police.

He was posted at the University of Cape Town for specific reasons. The South African

Handwritten signature

25/8/87

NEW 'CURBS' ON MEDIA MAY BE OUT THIS WEEK

REGULATIONS to clamp down on the media are expected to be announced and introduced shortly by Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

Singled out in the firing line is the so-called alternative media with the international media as a likely second target.

Mr Botha who deals with his budget vote in Parliament this week is expected to give details of the new measures when he speaks in the House of Assembly on Thursday.

He confirmed yesterday that he would be dealing with the issue during his vote in Parliament but declined to give details.

It is understood, however, that Mr Botha intends to introduce regulations and not legislation that will give him additional powers to take action.

The action is likely to be taken under registration of Newspapers Amendment Act.

In the censure vote after the recent white election Mr Botha drew a line of difference between those newspapers which belong to the Newspaper Press Union and those which did not.

He described those which did not belong to the NPU as "pro-revolutionary".

He told Parliament.

SOWETAN Correspondent

that "I want to make it clear that the pro-revolutionary Press must take cognisance that their trouble making will no longer be tolerated. These repulsive practices must be curbed in the interests of South Africa."

And referring to the international media he said they were "seriously abusing the hospitality of this country. In such

circumstances I will not hesitate to act against them."

In his speech Mr Botha stressed "the right to freedom to expression and to information must be exercised in such a manner that it does not jeopardise other basic rights, the public order or national security."

Mr Botha's vote starts in the House of Delegates today, continues in the House of Assembly on Thursday and winds up in the House of Representatives.

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Sowetan
25/8/87

Dispatch Correspondent
PORT ELIZABETH —
The proposed merger
between the Eastern
Cape Division of Times
Media Limited and the
East London Daily Dis-
patch group has been of-
ficially scrapped

From Johannesburg
yesterday, TML an-
nounced that the merger
had been cancelled
after "extensive exami-
nation"

The deputy managing
director of TML, Mr Roy
Paulson, said there were
no plans to rationalise

the division further and
it would remain an inte-
gral part of the group

The main titles in the
division are the Eastern
Province Herald, the
Evening Post and the
Weekend Post

"We are very happy
with the way things are
going and the financial
outlook is looking very
good," Mr Paulson said
"The division is part of
TML and will stay that
way"

213 DD 26/8/87
Newspaper merger off

He said the improved
regional economic con-
ditions and the previous
rationalisation pro-
gramme had helped to
turn around the divi-
sion's trading perform-
ance and there was now
less incentive to get in-
volved in deals

The Daily Dispatch's
Parliamentary Re-
porter, Mr Nico Muller,
reports that the Minister
of Economic Affairs and
Technology, Mr Danie
Steyn, told Parliament

that details about a pro-
posed merger between
Eastern Cape and Bor-
der newspapers were
confidential under the
Maintenance and Pro-
motion of Competition
Act

However, the parties
concerned were at lib-
erty to disclose the in-
formation, he said

He told the MP for
Sandton and PFP media
spokesman, Mr Dave
Dalling, that documents
containing particulars

of proposed arrange-
ments to merge the in-
terests of certain news-
papers circulating in the
Eastern Province, and
those of an English lan-
guage newspaper circu-
lating in East London,
were submitted to the
Competitions Board dur-
ing April this year

This was done to get
the Board's advice on
whether circumstances
existed which did not
justify the acquisition in
the public interest

It was not at the re-
quest of the parties con-
cerned, he said

(243) 6/10/81 26/8/81

TML DROPS CAPE-GROUPS MERGER PLAN

PORT ELIZABETH — The proposed merger between the Eastern Cape Division of Times Media Limited and the East London Daily Dispatch group has been scrapped.

TML announced yesterday that merger ideas had been dropped after "extensive examination".

TML deputy managing director Roy Paulson said there were no plans to rationalise the division further and it would remain an integral part of the group.

The main titles in the division are the Eastern Province Her-

Own Correspondent

ald, Evening Post and Weekend Post.

"We are very happy with the way things are going and the financial outlook is very good," Paulson said.

"The division is part of TML and will stay that way."

He said improved regional economic conditions and the previous rationalisation programme had helped turn around the division's trading performance. There was now less incentive to get involved in deals.

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2 Cape Times, Wednesday, August 26, 1987

Action against 'alternative' press 'planned'

Political Staff

LEGAL ACTION would definitely be taken to combat subversive communications which did not comply with the Media Council's code of conduct, the Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday

These newspapers showed "complete contempt for the hallowed press values established over centuries" and had "no compunction to use immoral and foul methods to further their dubious aims", he said during the debate on his vote in the House of Delegates

Mr Botha did not give any indication of what action was being contemplated against the so-called "alternative" press, nor did he say when the proposed legislation would be introduced

He said it was the government's impression "that the major portion of the organized conventional press adheres to the code of conduct they have set themselves"

However, in a recent times "a completely different type of publication has come into existence

"They appear as newspapers or newsletters fed by their own agencies", Mr Botha said

"It is becoming evident that even the conventional press feels uneasy about this section of the press"

Mr Botha said the Internal Security Act provided for the total ban on a newspaper for the blatant propagation of communism, but its procedures were time-consuming, very expensive to implement and cumbersome and it did not "adequately" deal with the media which operated in the field of subversive propaganda

The Publications Act, he said, lacked the "sophistication to deal effectively with propaganda fuelling a revolutionary climate" and the Media Council had "completely failed to exercise any influence on the section of the press which is now under scrutiny"

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

THE editor of a right-wing publication said he was contacted by an advocate from the State President's office and the security police after he had run an article attacking P W Botha.

PW 'attack raises ire

Die Stem editor Robert van Tonder said yesterday he regarded the visits as part of the threatened clampdown on "alternative media".

He said the officials requested copies of the latest issue of his publication but failed to elaborate on the nature of their investigation.

Van Tonder said he expected government could ban the latest issue of his publication in which the attack on Botha was published under the headline "Government now irrelevant". He said "I wrote P W Botha is responsible for conditions in this country. What I said I am willing to repeat"

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MD denies magazine delay

JOHANNESBURG — The managing director of Nasionale Pers, Mr Tom Vosloo, denied a report yesterday that the company's new magazine, *Insig*, would be issued late because of a clampdown on articles by Afrikaners who had met the African National Congress in Dakar.

"The magazine can hardly be late, when it is coming out for the first

time ever on August 1. I know nothing about orders to remove certain articles," Mr Vosloo said.

The Sunday Star reported that the magazine had received a mysterious order "from above" to remove articles by Dakar delegates

It said speculation was that the order had been issued by the State President, Mr P. W. Bo-

tha, or Mr Vosloo.

But *Insig*'s editor, Mr Piet Muller, said a literary article by the exiled poet, Mr Breyten Breytenbach, who had been a delegate to the talks would appear in the first edition as well as another article by an academic who had also been at Dakar.

"The clampdown article is nonsense," Mr Muller said. — DDC

Press curbs coming

STEPS to curb sections of the media which were generating support for revolutionary organisations, will be announced tomorrow, the Minister of Communications and Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking in his vote of the budget, he said the major portion of the Press adhered to its own code of conduct, but in recent times a completely different type of publication had come into existence

These publications appeared as newspapers or newsletters fed by their own news agencies

They were readily identifiable and showed complete contempt for the hallowed Press values established over centuries.

The actions of this section of the Press had the effect of gaining support for "self confessed externally supported revolutionary action"

He said the Media Council had failed completely to exercise any influence on this

section of the Press and the Government now had to take steps to combat the relevant propaganda and its consequent actions

Mr Botha said these publications supported a particular cause and had no compunction to use dishonest and reprehensible methods to further their dubious aims

They operated in many fields of interest, on the far left and far right of the political spectrum

He referred to them as

the "revolution supportive media"

He said he would give an indication of the measures and procedure that would be followed to curb that particular section of the media tomorrow

The Government considered it necessary to act because the African National Congress had indicated that it would use the media in its efforts to bring about revolution in South Africa

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Minister says new Press curbs backdated to June 11

AR64
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Political Staff

THE Government's new powers to close or censor newspapers are retrospective to June 11, when the emergency was reinstated.

This announcement, made by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, in the House of Representatives today, means the Government can start acting immediately against "offending" newspapers

Mr Botha said the regulations made provision for action to be taken against a publication only after a series of its issues had been found to be a "threat"

He said a series for a daily newspaper meant six issues, for a periodical which appeared every 10 days or less, three issues and for a periodical which appeared at intervals greater than 10 days, two issues

In terms of new powers given to the Minister, which Mr Botha announced in the House of Assembly yesterday, publications can be warned and then closed for periods of up to three months or censors can be appointed

The Minister has also announced that "a comprehensive administrative process is being created"

Public order

A spokesman for his department said details of what appears to be a new censorship bureaucracy are still being worked out

The restrictions appear to be aimed at the alternative media on the "far left" and the "far right", but the mainstream newspapers have not been excluded

To the lengthy list of publishing restrictions already provided for under the emergency regulations would now be added a restriction making it an offence to "stir up feelings of hatred or hostility towards a local authority or security force"

Action may also now be taken against periodicals which publish material containing a threat to the security of the public or the maintenance of public order "or that causes a delay in the termination of the state of emergency"

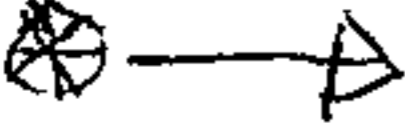
Mr Botha said regulations providing for the new curbs would be published in today's Government Gazette

They were aimed at curbing the flood of revolutionary propaganda, he said

But he warned it was his honest expectation that the measures would be respected by the organised conventional media "in such a way that it would only involve the unconventional revolution-supportive Press"

Mr Botha said the enforcement of the regulations would be aimed at the optimal maintenance of democratic practices

A comprehensive administrative process was being created to warn people concerned in the production, importation, compilation or publishing of a periodical by way of a notice in the Gazette that the publication contained a threat to the security of the public or the maintenance of public order, or that it caused a delay in the termination of the state of emergency

FROM 

If publication of this type of material continued the Minister of Home Affairs would be empowered to ban publication for up to three months at a time unless the material in that publication had been approved by a person appointed by him for that purpose

Berated

The Minister would base his actions in this regard on the basis of his own evaluation of a series of issues of a publication

Earlier in yesterday's Assembly debate Mr Botha delivered a lengthy speech berating sections of the media and referring to the importance of the media to enemies of the State

It was the Government's impression that the major portion

(Turn to Page 3, col 7)

Clampdown backdated

(Continued from page 1)

of the organised conventional Press adhered to the code of conduct it had set itself, he said

In recent times, however, a completely different type of publication had come into existence, appearing as newspapers or newsletters fed by their own news agencies

"They are readily identifiable in that they show complete contempt for the hallowed Press values established over centuries"

Mr Botha said these publications operated in many fields of interest and they were found on the far left and the far right of the political spectrum

"I will refer to this section of the Press as the revolution-supportive media," he said

Subtle forms assumed by revolutionary propaganda were legion, he said The existing order was passed off as deplorable However, nothing derogatory was said of the revolutionaries

PROPAGANDA

"Honourable members may also ask whether the existing measures of the Government are not sufficient to achieve this My answer is No

"Neither the Internal Security Act, nor the Publications Act, nor the Newspaper and Imprint Registration Act grants the Government sufficient authority to effectively act against the revolution-supportive propaganda," he said

It had also been said that the Media Council could have exercised necessary control "I regret, however, to say that the Media Council has failed completely to exercise any influence on this section of the media," Mr Botha said

INTIMIDATE

The Progressive Federal Party spokesman on the media, Mr David Dalling, said the new regulations meant the lights of Press freedom were steadily going out in South Africa

The new regulations were in line with past Government actions to intimidate and coerce journalists to apply self-censorship

The Conservative Party spokesman on Home Affairs, Mr Koos van der Merwe, said the CP welcomed the regulations in principle

See pages 5, 10.

CENSORSHIP POWERS

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The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, on the Press curbs

Stoffel Botha: 'the friendly executioner' of Press freedom

By Tos Wentzel
Political Correspondent

THE soft-spoken Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, speaks highly of the role and value of the Press. He maintains that the Government is aware of the value of a free Press, but that the law must be drawn somewhere when it comes to what is seen as the instigation of revolutionary activities.

Crocodile tears

He again adopted his "more in sorrow than in anger attitude" in the Assembly yesterday when he announced the toughest steps against newspapers that even a Nationalist government has contemplated.

Progressive Federal Party MPs promptly accused him of "crocodile tears" when he speaks about the newspapers.

He was also accused of not giving the Assembly a proper opportunity to discuss the latest curbs.

At the beginning of his Budget vote he spoke about the Press, but said he would announce the new steps only at the end of the debate.

In some Press circles Mr Botha is earning the reputation of "the friendly executioner".

He is very accessible to journalists, and this week he was telling Parliament that overseas newspapermen were never refused permission to stay on until there had been discussions with him and that he did not like the suggestion that such people were kicked out of the country.

Now Mr Botha, as Minister, becomes the "chief censor".

He can prohibit publication for up to three months — and this is renewable — if any of a number of conditions to do with the security situation are not met.



Mr Stoffel Botha

He can do this unless the matter in that publication has been approved by a person (a

censor) appointed by him. This is the first time that the Government has instituted such direct censorship.

A new bureaucracy may arise under Mr Botha. His statement in the Assembly said "A comprehensive administrative process is being created."

A spokesman for his department said that details of this were still being worked out.

Open discussion

Mr Botha said yesterday that all parties could "rest assured" that he and his office would be available for discussions and "would welcome open discussions".

The 57 year-old Mr Botha has been an MP since 1974 and is known as a moderate in politics. He has been Administrator of Natal and is at present Natal leader of the party.

Press slates the new curbs

The Argus Correspondent
Dateline JOHANNESBURG
NEWSPAPER editors and journalists have condemned the new Press restrictions and said a myriad laws already existed to curb what the Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, referred to as "revolutionary propaganda".

The editor of the Weekly Mail, Mr Anton Harber, said he could not imagine to whom the Minister was referring when he spoke of the "revolutionary-supportive" Press.

"It is quite illegal to produce revolutionary propaganda and any publication guilty of this can be prosecuted and prohibited but this hasn't been done," Mr Harber said.

Mr Harber said that an "extremely frightening aspect" of the regulations was the provision for the appointment of a censor. "This is the most disturbing element of what the Minister intends to do," he said.

The editor-in-chief of the Star, Mr Harvey Tyson, said "Nothing I have read has convinced me that argument for further curbs hold water."

South Africa has more legislation, regulations and curbs than any country I can think of in the Western world, including those countries with divided communities or which are in a state of conflict.

"If any of the so-called alternative media are guilty of revolutionary propaganda there exist laws and regulations which can not only curb them but punish them. If freedom means anything it means giving those with whom you disagree the right to express their opinions."

The president of the Southern African Society of Journalists, Ms Pat Sidley, said "We are on a slippery slope to having a Government appointed censor in each newsroom as was the case in the run-up to Zimbabwean independence."

"It is the intention of the Government to ensure an extremely narrow range of opinion and news. It would be far easier and cheaper for it to publish a Government Gazette of what it wanted people to know — because that's what they want us to do."

Mr Richard Steyn, editor of the Natal Witness and the only South African on the executive of the International Press Institute, said "If these regulations are implemented they will render the public and the Government more uninformed than ever."

Professor Gavin Stewart, head of Rhodes University's department of journalism, said the Government was seeking to replace the courts and normal legal processes with courts and processes of its own.

The Minister, he added, needed to be reminded that Die Burger, Transvaaler and Die Vaderland were all at one time alternative or unconventional media propagating the aims of the National Party "and, in the case of Transvaaler before the war, the aims of the Nazi Party".

● The Labour Party has condemned the tough new press curbs, saying that South Africa "already has an overburden of press laws and regulations".

"The existing press laws should be reviewed rather than adding to them."

Minister's statement — the full text

Political Staff

THE full text of the announcement of new media restrictions by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

I wish to announce that regulations will be published in the (Government) Gazette which may curb publications who make themselves guilty of the systematic or repeated publishing of material which, inter alia, has the following effect:

- Promotion of revolution or uprisings in the Republic,
 - Promotion of the breaking down of the public order,
 - The stirring up of feelings of hatred or hostility towards a local authority or security force,
 - Promotion of the public image of unlawful organisations,
 - Promotion of the activities of unlawful structures, and
 - Promotion of boycott actions and acts of civil disobedience.
- During this debate it has also be-

come evident that this regulation is necessary for the curbing of the present flood of revolutionary propaganda.

I wish to draw the attention of honourable members to the fact that the enforcement of the regulations will be aimed at the optimal maintenance of democratic practices.

The rules of natural justice are duly taken into consideration. The audi alteram partem rule is inter alia, respected. A comprehensive administrative process is being created.

This process, inter alia, makes provision for the following:

- Persons who are concerned in the production, importation, compilation or publishing of a periodical may be warned by notice in the Gazette that the material in the publication contains a threat to the security of the public or the maintenance of public order or that it causes a delay in the termination of the state of emergency.
- If in this publication there is a continuation of such material, the Minister of Home Affairs is empowered to prohibit publication for a period, not exceeding three months at a time, un-

less the matter in that publication has been approved by a person appointed by him for that purpose, or to totally prohibit further publication for a period not exceeding three months at a time.

● No warning as referred to above shall be issued and no ban will be ordered unless the publisher or importer has, with mention to the grounds, been informed in writing beforehand, and the opportunity has been given to submit written representations within two weeks.

Any of aforementioned actions shall be based on the evaluation by the Minister of a series of issues of a publication.

I trust and it is my honest expectation that these measures will be respected by the organised conventional media in such a way that it would involve only the unconventional revolutionary-supportive Press.

All parties concerned should rest assured that I, and my office, will be available for discussions about the many matters which may arise from the enforcement of these measures and we will welcome open discussion.

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NEWSPAPERS TO BE CENSORED

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DRASTIC new press curbs allowing for a system of pre-publication censorship and the streamlining of procedures for closing down newspapers will come into force today.

In terms of the regulations — to be published in today's Government Gazette — the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, will "evaluate" the contents of publications. His view will be decisive in whether they are banned for up to three months at a time.

The minister will also be empowered to appoint persons to "approve" matter in affected publications before publication.

The new curbs will apply to all newspapers, but in announcing the measures in Parliament yesterday, Mr Botha said he hoped that they would be "respected by the organized conventional media in such a way that it would only involve the unconventional revolution-supportive media."

Mr Botha said it had become "evident" that the new regulations were necessary for "curbing the present flood of revolutionary propaganda."

The measures were immediately slammed by the PFP's media spokesman, Mr Dave Dalling, as "horrific" and "in line with past government action to intimidate and coerce journalists to apply self-cen-

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

"There is no doubt that these regulations could be applied to the established press as well." The light of press freedom is steadily going out.

The independent MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, said "The repressive steps announced by Minister Botha are the actions of a scared government which is desperately trying to hide from and 'protect' the white electorate from the harsh and frequently ugly reality of South Africa as reflected in the 'alternative' press."

● **Leading article — Page 8**
● **NPU press could be next — Page 12**

In Parliament yesterday, Mr Botha said the new regulations were aimed at "gubbing publications who make themselves guilty of the systematic or repeated publishing of material which, inter alia, has the following effect

● "Promotion of revolution or uprisings in the Republic

● "Promotion of the breaking down of the public order

● "Promotion of the activities of unlawful structures

● "Promotion of boycott actions and acts of civil disobedience."

Mr Botha said the new rules would create a "comprehensive administrative process" which would make provision for the following

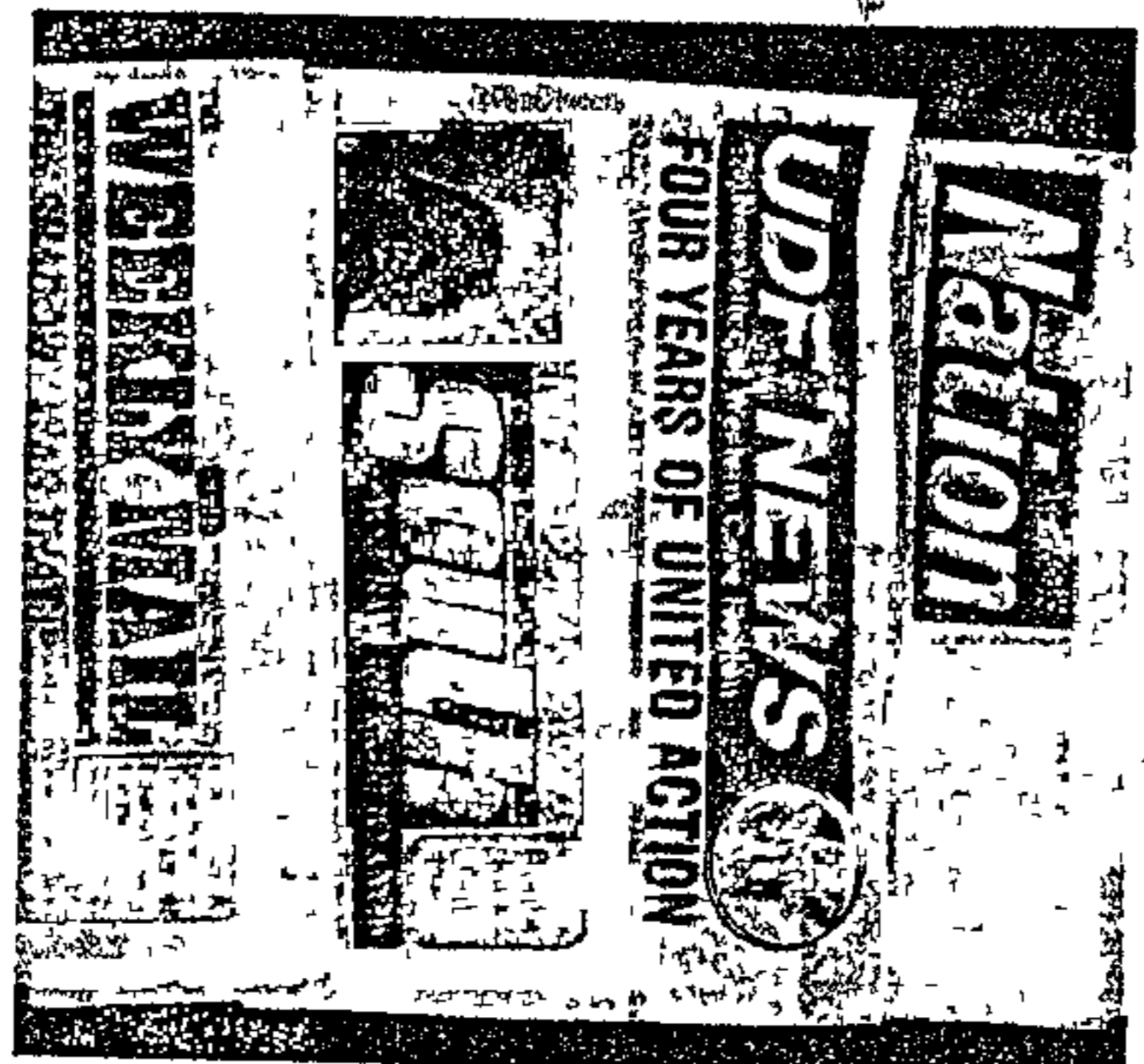
● Persons concerned with the production, importation, compilation or publishing of a periodical may be warned by notice in the Government Gazette that the material in a particular publication contained "a threat to the security of the public or the maintenance of public order or that it causes a delay in the termination of the state of emergency"

● If the publication continued publishing such material the minister would be empowered to either prohibit publication for up to three months at a time, unless the matter in that publication has been approved by a person appointed by the minister for that purpose. Or he can totally prohibit further publication for a period not exceeding three months at a time.

Mr Botha noted that no gazetted warning would be issued or ban ordered unless the publisher or importer had been informed in writing beforehand and the opportunity had been given to submit written representations within two weeks.

Any aforementioned actions shall be based on the evaluation of a minister of a series of issues of a publication.

"All parties concerned should rest assured that I, and my office, will be available



ALTERNATIVE PRESS Some of the newspapers the government curbs are aimed at

THIS IS IT! WINTER

SABC back Eksteen in row

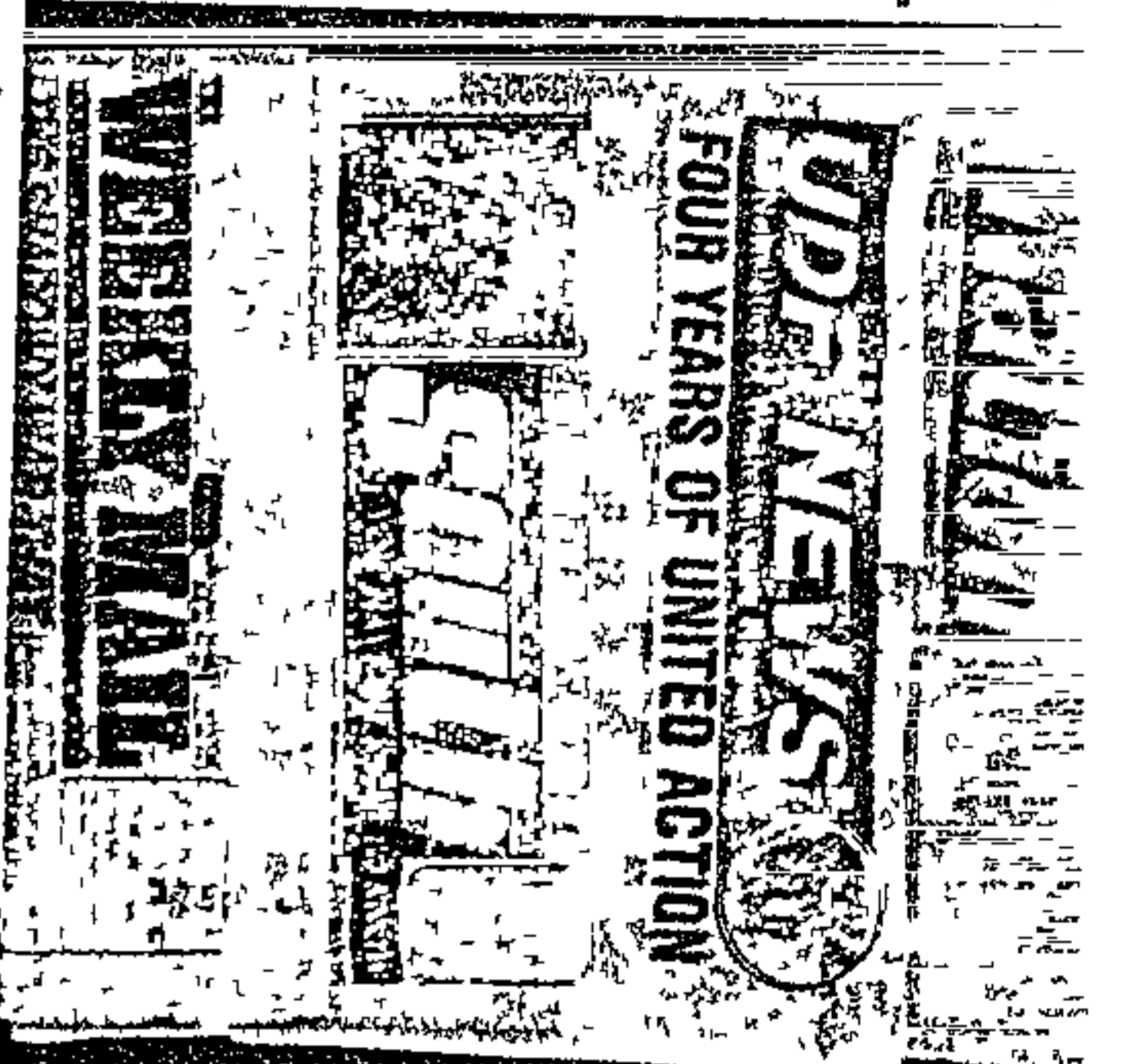
Political Staff
THE SABC Board appears to have backed its director-general, Mr Riaan Eksteen, against the State Preside-

nation of Mr Eksteen's services were on the agenda for Wednesday's board meeting. Yesterday Mr Eksteen told his staff over the in-

More difficult times are coming, which we will also survive. The SABC was "being watched with eagle eyes", he said. Yesterday's statements end three days of intense speculation after reports that Mr Botha wanted Mr Eksteen's head because of

'Vicious' curbs on alternative media

Staff Reporter
ALTERNATIVE-PRESS editors last night reacted defiantly to the new press curbs announced yesterday, describing them as "vicious" and "unprecedented", while academics criticized the cu-



ALTERNATIVE PRESS... Some of the newspapers the government curbs are aimed at.

THIS IS IT! WINTER BARGAINS EVER! in our massive WINTER SELL-OUT



NORMAL PRICE
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R139,95
NOW
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For a system of pre-publication censorship and the streamlining of procedures for closing down newspapers will come into force today.

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- Leading article — Page 8
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- "Promotion of the breaking down of the public order

SABC back Eksteen in row

Political Staff

THE SABC Board appears to have backed its director-general, Mr Riaan Eksteen, against the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Board chairman Mr Brand Fourie said last night that Mr Eksteen would continue his "normal duties."

He said neither a resignation nor the termination

survived. More difficult times are coming, which we will also survive. The SABC was "being watched with eagle eyes," he said.

Yesterday's statements end three days of intense speculation after reports that Mr Botha wanted Mr Eksteen's head because of TV coverage of Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse's resignation from the cabinet.

Mr Alwyn Schlabusch, minister responsible for broadcasting services, is thought to have been the catalyst for the board statement, having said in the House of Delegates on Wednesday that the board had the sole right to hire or dismiss anyone.

The SABC yesterday suddenly replaced the acclaimed Athol Fugard play "A Lesson from Aloys" with a variety programme. SABC spokesmen declined to comment.

Fugard said he was "dissatisfied" at the SABC decision.

'Vicious' curbs on alternative media

Staff Reporter

ALTERNATIVE-PRESS editors last night reacted defiantly to the new press curbs announced yesterday, describing them as "vicious" and "unprecedented", while academics criticized the curbs as "foolish" and "unnecessary".

Mr Rashid Serra, editor of South, said the alternative press rejected the accusation that it was responsible for creating a revolutionary climate — this was created by the policy of apartheid.

"Even if they crush us, they will not stem the tide, which is at a grassroots level."

"This is a vicious new form of censorship — it will make life intolerable for us."

Weekly Mail co-editor Mr Anton Harber said it was noteworthy that Mr Stoffel Botha had never used all the legislation at his disposal.

"Why hasn't he prosecuted revolutionary-supportive media I don't believe that is what he is trying to do. The press is critical of him and he's intolerant of what criticism we are allowed."

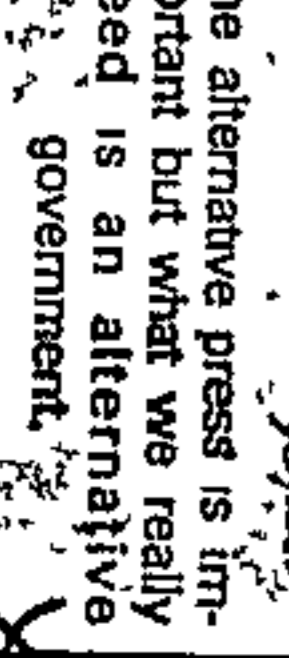
"The really worrying thing is the power he is giving himself to pre-censor. That is unprecedented in this country," he said.

The head of the University of Stellenbosch journalism department, Professor H J Grosskopf, said "The emergency laws are so draconian — I can't think why they need these additional curbs."

Ms Pat Sidley, president of the South African Society of Journalists, said "the entire reading public" would be affected by the restrictions.

Crack of dawn

The alternative press is important but what we really need is an alternative government.



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320

Parliament

By PATRICK CULL
Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — If the government removed the safety valve of the alternative media it would "drive underground those people whose activities are best kept in the open", PFP media spokesman Mr Dave Dalling said yesterday.

But, he said, what was worse was "the political temperature of the community concerned will rise accordingly — subjection will not bring peace"

Speaking during debate on the Home Affairs vote, Mr Dalling said the question which

Dalling: NPU press could be next

needed to be asked was whether new curbs on the alternative media were justifiable in the circumstances

The alternative press expressed views which did no more than reflect the aspirations, feelings, grievances and interests of its public

"The point to remember is that the press do not create

grievances — they merely report and highlight them"

Mr Dalling said that if the newspapers were such a threat to peace, or if they were breaking the law "why has the law not been used against them?"

A vast array of legislation — including the Police Act, Internal Security Act and state of emergency regulations — existed, but had not been applied

to any alternative publications in the past year.

"If these papers are promoting revolution then surely the existing law is sufficient to deal with them."

Mr Dalling warned that though established NPU newspapers appeared not to be affected, "they should not bluff themselves — they could be next"

It was clear the government was bypassing the courts "allowing a politically motivated subjective ministerial opinion to hold the power of life and death over the press in a manner in total conflict with natural justice".



MP: Govt 'paranoia' over press

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — A political paranoia was prevailing in government about any kind of criticism of it in the media, Mr Tiaan van der Merwe (PFP Green Point) said yesterday

Speaking in response to the announcement by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, that the "revolution-supportive media" would be curbed, Mr Van der Merwe said "There are dangerous signs that the president (Mr P W Botha) can't take any kind of criticism"

The minister had shown contempt of Parliament by not releasing details of the measures he intended instituting at the beginning of his vote so that members could debate the matter

"I reject with contempt the government's commitments to press freedom these are hogwash," Mr Van der Merwe said — Sapa

Some media 'idolising' revolutionary symbols

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Elements of the media were generating support for revolutionary organizations "through idolising and propagating their symbols", the Minister of Communications and Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday in announcing steps to curb what he termed "revolution-supportive media"

This section of the press was generating support for "self-confessed externally-supported revolutionary action", Mr Botha said in his vote of the budget

He said the major portion of the press adhered to its own code of conduct.

But in recent times a different type of publication — appearing as newspapers or newsletters and fed by their own news agencies — had come into existence

He claimed these publications showed complete contempt for hallowed press values established over centuries

The Media Council had failed to influence this section of the press and the government had to combat their propaganda and actions flowing from it

Mr Botha said these publications supported a particular cause and had no compunction in using dishonest and reprehensible methods

They operated in many fields of interest, on the far left and far right of the political spectrum

He referred to them as the "revolution-supportive media" The government deemed it nec-

essary to act because the African National Congress had indicated it would use media in its efforts to bring about revolution

Quoting from the ANC mouth-piece "Sechaba", he said the ANC's attitude was "The press is one of those weapons we are using in the struggle against apartheid"

"We can also, through the press, mobilise the international community we feel that the press is as important as the gun

"The one who is wielding the gun is playing the same role as the one who is holding the pen"

Mr Botha "The critical point in the promotion of revolution lies

Mr Stoffel Botha: Even the emergency regulations could not curb propaganda.

in the building of support for the revolutionaries by way of praising its leaders, its flag and other symbols

"Our enemy expects support from the media for its organization through these actions of mobilisation"

He said certain elements of the media were assisting the enemy and the result would be that their violence could be employed more readily

People would be inclined to say "but the media do not plant bombs"

"But in order to to be successful on the violent level, revolutionaries rely on the media,

among others, to mobilise the masses"

The process whereby the masses were being led to perceive that revolutionary violence was just and that they should support the "terrorist", was unfolding in the country

"Elements of the media are generating support for the revolutionary organizations through idolising and propagating their symbols

"These organizations openly condone violence and their symbols are those of revolution"

The government would not allow the section of the media that furthered the revolution — by its seemingly non-violent support-building actions — to continue unchecked

The type of reporting practised by them amounted to enlisting support and building the image of the violent movement

He said the government had no intention of curtailing press freedom or the free flow of information beyond the ambit of ensuring the safety of the public, the maintenance of law and order, and the earliest possible termination of the state of emergency

Existing measures such as the Internal Security Act, the Publications Act and the Imprint Registration Act did not grant the government sufficient authority to effectively act against the revolution-supportive media

Even the emergency regulations could not curb propaganda — Sapa

AKGAS 28/8/77 (243) (27)

House 'kept in dark' over new Press curbs

By DALE LAUTENBACH,
Parliamentary Staff

THERE was strong criticism that the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, did not reveal the far-reaching, new Press curbs until the very end of the debate in the House of Assembly on the budget vote for his department.

Mr Tian van der Merwe, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on Home Affairs, said "It is an example of the contempt in which the Minister holds this Parliament and parliamentary procedure

"By failing to tell us what the new restrictions will be, Mr Botha has denied us the right to debate them and illustrated that contempt for Parliament he shares with President Botha and the Minister of Defence"

He was speaking just after the start of the House of Assembly debate yesterday which Mr Botha opened by saying he would be announcing measures to combat what he called the "revolution-supportive media" at the end of the debate

"Isn't this a junior-school debating trick?" asked the PFP's Mr Dave Dalling "It's a disgrace"

Mr Botha announced that the regulations would be published in the Government Gazette today and that he would discuss them further when his vote was debated in the House of Representatives, also today

Details of curbs

The details he gave yesterday were that the new regulations "may curb publications who make themselves guilty of the systematic or repeated publishing of, in summary, the "promotion" of "revolution or uprisings in the Republic", "breaking down public order", "stirring up feelings of hatred or hostility towards a local authority or security force", "the public image of unlawful organisations", "activities of unlawful structures" and "boycott actions and acts of civil disobedience".

"These measures were necessary to curb the present flood of revolutionary propaganda", he said

Provisions included that anyone guilty of promoting anything on this

list would be warned in the Government Gazette

If this warning was not heeded, the Minister of Home Affairs was empowered to prohibit publication for no more than three months "at a time" unless material to be published received ministerial approval, or, totally prohibit publication for no more than three months

There would be no gazette warnings or bans until the publisher had received written notice from the Minister and had had two weeks in which to make written representations

Rejects with contempt

Mr Botha said he and his Government "valued" the "responsible" Press and that enforcement of the new regulations would aim at "optimal maintenance of democratic processes"

Mr van der Merwe said earlier in the debate "I don't want to be crude, but I reject with contempt the commitment Mr Botha and his Government say they have to a free Press.

"It's just so much hogwash and when they talk about the loss of Press freedom they shed crocodile tears

"There is a political paranoia prevailing in the minds of this Government in respect of any criticism. The State President has reached a dangerous point where he obviously cannot take or tolerate any criticism whatsoever"

Mr Dalling said the so-called alternative Press, rooted in the particular community it served, was a "very real safety valve in the rising temperature of its readership

"Remove that safety valve and you drive underground those people whose activities are best kept out in the open," he warned. "The political temperature will rise accordingly. Subjection will not bring peace"

He said that although the Newspaper Press Union newspapers would apparently not be affected they "should not bluff themselves"

Criticising the move to introduce new Press curbs from a different perspective, Mr Koos van der Merwe, official Opposition spokesman on Home Affairs, questioned why existing legislation was not enough to curb the media

Legislation which could be used against publications included the Police Act, the Internal Security Act, the Newspaper Print and Registration Act and all existing regulations in terms of the state of emergency

"But the Government must stop talking and act," he said



Mr Tian van der Merwe

Provision for censors; 3-month closures

New Press curbs condemned widely

Star 28/8/87

Political Correspondent and Staff Reporters

There was widespread reaction as the Government took powers today to put censors in newspaper offices as it added new restrictions to curb the media.

Newspaper editors, journalists, academics and politicians condemned the move last night.

The restrictions appear to be aimed at the alternative media on the far Left and far Right — but mainstream newspapers have not been excluded.

Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha announced in the House of Assembly yesterday that publications could now be warned that, in his opinion, they were carrying certain undesirable material.

If they continued to do so he could either close them down for periods of up to three months, or he could appoint a censor to approve their material beforehand.

To the lengthy list of publishing restrictions already provided for under the emergency regulations, would now be added a restriction making it an offence to stir up feelings of hatred or hostility towards a local authority or security force.

Mr Botha said regulations providing for the new curbs would be published in today's Government Gazette.

They were aimed at curbing the present flood of revolutionary propaganda, he said. But he warned he expected that measures to be respected by the organised conventional media "in such a way that it would only involve the unconventional revolution-supportive Press".

He said a comprehensive administrative process would warn those concerned by way of a notice in the Government Gazette.

Mr Dave Dalling, MP, the PFP's media spokesman, said the regulations were "in line with past government action to intimidate and coerce the Press to apply self-censorship".

"We must remember these measures could readily be applied to the establishment Press."

More legislation

Editor-in-Chief of The Star, Mr Harvey Tyson, said: "Nothing I have read has convinced me the argument for further curbs holds water."

"South Africa has more legislation, regulations and curbs than any country I can think of in the Western world, including those countries with divided communities or which are in a state of conflict."

The editor of the *Weekly Mail*, Mr Anton Harber, said "It is illegal to produce revolutionary propaganda and any publication guilty of this can be prosecuted and prohibited, but this hasn't been done."

Mr Koos van der Merwe, MP, the CP's spokesman on home affairs, said the party favoured the principle of this sort of action against revolutionaries, but the party would study the measures before reacting fully.

President of the Southern African Society of Journalists Miss Pat Sidley said "We are on the slippery slope to having a government-appointed censor in each newsroom — as occurred in the run-up to Zimbabwean independence."

● See Pages 4 and 5.

PRESS REACTION

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Progressive Federal Party has condemned the Government's drastic new anti-Press measures as "intimidating and coercive"

The Conservative Party accepted the moves in principle but feared the measures might be used against right-wing publications

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, refused to comment

Asked if he had agreed to the measures in the Cabinet, Mr Rajbansi said he could not say what was discussed in the Cabinet

Mr Dave Dalling, MP, the PFP's media spokesman, said the regulations were "in line with past government action to intimidate and coerce the Press to apply self-censorship"

"We must remember these measures could readily be applied to the establishment Press.

"The lights of press freedom, are steadily going out. Once they are extinguished it could take decades for them to be rekindled"

Mr Dalling said that, on the face of it, the objectives set out by the

PFP dubs media curbs 'intimidating and coercive'

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Star
28/8/81

Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, were "not all that exceptionable"

"No one wants the public to be allowed to promote uprising or revolution"

"What is bad is that it is the evaluation of a politically appointed Minister which will be decisive"

"Once again executive action is being planned to close newspapers without those newspapers having the right to redress from the courts"

Mr Koos van der Merwe, MP, the CP's spokesman on home affairs, said the party favoured the principle of this sort of action against revolutionaries

But the party would study the measures before reacting fully

Mr Stoffel Botha told Parliament yesterday that the "revolution-supportive" newspapers against which the measures were aimed were found on the far Left and the far Right

Reacting to this Mr Koos van der Merwe asked where the CP fitted in

Mr Botha said he would reply to that later but had not done so by the end of the day's session

Dr JN Reddy, Leader of the Opposition in the House of Delegates, said he could not comment on the regulations until he had studied them

Mr Allan Hendrickse, Labour Party leader and chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, was not available for comment

Crackdown on Press widely condemned

By Zenaide Vendeiro and Martin Challenor

Newspaper editors and journalists last night condemned the new Press restrictions

They pointed out a myriad laws already existed to curb what Minister of Home Affairs and Communications Mr Stoffel Botha called "revolutionary propoganda"

Editor of *Weekly Mail* Mr Anton Harber, said he could not imagine to whom the Minister was referring when he spoke of the "revolutionary-supportive" Press

He added "It is illegal to produce revolutionary propaganda and any publication guilty of this can be prosecuted and prohibited, but this hasn't been done"

Editor-in-Chief of *The Star*, Mr Harvey Tyson, said "Nothing I have read has convinced me the argument for further curbs holds water

"South Africa has more legislation, regulations and curbs than any country I can think of in the Western world, including those countries with divided communities or which are in a state of conflict"

Mr Peter Reynolds, *The Star's* lawyer, said last night, without having fully studied regulations,

that the following was clear from the Minister's statement

● The new regulations would apply equally to all newspapers and magazines (whether daily, weekly or monthly) and whether they were members of the Newspaper Press Union or not, and also to pamphlets, brochures and posters

● They would not, however, apply to the SABC, SABC-TV and the so-called wire services

● They would, in effect, create a form of official censor, who would be empowered to approve articles to be published in newspapers and magazines which had been made subject to a prohibition order

● One new area which the regulations sought to prohibit was the publication of matter which promoted feelings of hatred or hostility towards a local authority (presumably this includes municipal police) or members of the South African Police and Defence Force

Yesterday alternative Press editors reacted defiantly, calling planned curbs vicious and unprecedented

Academics criticised the curbs as foolish and unnecessary

Mr Rashid Seria, editor

of the weekly tabloid *South*, said the alternative Press rejected the accusation that it was creating a revolutionary climate — this was created by the Government's policy of apartheid

Head of Stellenbosch University journalism department, Professor H J Grosskopf said "Emergency laws are so draconian, I can't think why they need these additional curbs."

Professor Keyan Tomaselli, director of Natal University's Contemporary Cultural Studies Unit, said the measures seemed to be aimed at commercial weeklies like *Weekly Mail* and *South* rather than community or church papers

He said the alternative Press would be totally suppressed only if photocopiers were banned.

WEEKEND
Update
WHO'S AT
THE TOP
OF THE
POP CHARTS?
See UPDATE, in
SATURDAY STAR

CAPE TOWN — Government has streamlined procedures for closing down newspapers — for three months — and introduced regulations to appoint censors to control the “alternative” media.

However, the measures revealed in Parliament yesterday by Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha apply equally to the conventional commercial media

Botha said they were necessary because certain elements of the media were “assisting the enemy” and government would not allow the furthering of revolution to go unchecked

Announcing the measures, which will be published in full in the Government Gazette this morning, Botha said “I trust, and it is my honest expectation, these measures will be respected by the organised conventional media in such a way that it would only involve the unconventional revolution-supportive Press”

Addressing the House of Assembly at the start of the budget debate on his

New media laws today

28/8/87 B/Day 243

Political Staff

department, Botha laid heavy stress on the need to control members of what he described as the “unconventional” media, commonly referred to as the “alternative” media

However, observers in Cape Town pointed out that earlier this month President P W Botha attacked the Press and took strong exception to three newspaper editorials, which it later emerged had been printed in the Cape Times. So it would appear hard-hitting editorials in the conventional Press will also be under surveillance.

Botha said the regulations would be to

● To Page 2 →

New laws to muzzle papers

28/8/87 B/Day 243

curb publications guilty of “systematic or repeated publishing of material which, inter alia, has the following effect

- Promotion of revolution or uprising,
- Promotion of the breaking down of public order,
- The stirring up of feelings of hatred or hostility towards a local authority or security force,
- Promotion of the activities of unlawful structures, and
- Promotion of boycott actions and acts of civil disobedience.”

He said rules of natural justice had been taken into consideration and that the *audi alterem partem* rule would be respected

He said “This process makes provision for the following

- Persons who are concerned in the production, importation, compilation or publishing of a periodical may be warned by notice in the Gazette that the material in the publication contains a threat to the security of the public or the maintenance of public order, or that it causes a delay in the termination of the state of emergency

- If in this publication there is a continuation of such material, the Minister of Home Affairs is empowered to prohibit

publication for a period of not exceeding three months at a time, unless the matter in that publication has been approved by a person appointed by him for that purpose, or, to totally prohibit further publication for a period not exceeding three months at a time

- No warning as referred to shall be issued and no ban will be ordered unless the publisher or importer has, with mention to the grounds, been informed in writing beforehand and the opportunity has been given to submit written representations within two weeks”

Botha said action would be based on evaluation of a series of issues of a publication by the Minister

PFP media spokesman and MP for Sandton Dave Dalling said yesterday the regulations did not go further than powers government already had

“It already has the power to close publications, but the procedure is complicated and what it has done now is to simplify this procedure,” he said.

“We also have a situation where a political decision against a political opponent will be taken solely by the Minister”

← ● From Page 1

Banned on the Island: Our Island series

POLITICAL prisoners on Robben Island are being prevented from reading the Weekly Mail's series about life in the prison.

Relatives who have visited the prisoners say that warders have censored the relevant pages from the newspaper, leaving only the "teasers" on the front page.

Asked to confirm this yesterday, a Prisons Service liaison officer said: "The head of every prison is responsible for the maintenance of the security and good order of the prison under his command. The Prisons Act and the regulations promulgated thereunder provide for a variety of measures that the head of the prison may utilise."

"Therefore as in the case with all written/typed/printed material that is brought into prisons, newspapers are also subject to censorship for reasons of security or the maintenance of order."

25/8-3/9/87 See PAGE 13

Tough measures against 'erring' media

The press: Be censored or be damned!

w/ Mail 28/8 - 3/9/87

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Weekly Mail Reporter,
Cape Town

FOR the first time, the government has given itself the power to approve — or censor — the contents of a newspaper before publication.

A provision paving the way for the appointment of press censors is among sweeping new regulations which are to be gazetted today, setting up a quicker procedure for the banning of newspapers

Up to now, editors have themselves decided what could legally be published on the basis of lawyers' advice on the media regulations.

Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha said in parliament yesterday the new measures were necessary to curb "the present flood of revolutionary propaganda.

"We have great appreciation and respect for the role of the press and its role as educator and channel of information.

"What we are dealing with here is propaganda and that cannot be dealt with by way of present legislation."

The independent MP for Claremont, Jan van Eck, said the repressive steps

HENDRICKSE'S
LAST COUP
For once, PW found himself outmanoeuvred
PAGE 3

were "the actions of a scared government which is desperately trying to hide from and 'protect' the white electorate from the harsh and frequently ugly realities of South Africa, as reflected in the alternative press."

A media lawyer yesterday commented. "The minister already had most of these powers under the existing media regulations. The ominous new aspect would appear to be the contemplation of the appointment of a censor to approve material prior to publication.

"Although it does not appear that there will be any absolute obligation to submit material, newspapers that have been named in the gazette are going to be presented with Hobson's choice, whether to submit or to publish and be damned"

The regulations, Botha said, would curb publications which systematically or repeatedly published material which had the effect of:

- the promotion of revolution or uprisings in the Republic;
- the promotion of the breaking down of the public order,
- the stirring up of feelings of hatred or hostility towards a local au-

●To PAGE 3

Pre-censorship looms for media

thority or security force,

●the promotion of the public image of unlawful organisations,

●the promotion of the activities of unlawful structures, and

●the promotion of boycott actions and acts of civil disobedience"

Botha said the "rules of natural justice are duly taken into consideration. The *audi alteram partem* (let both sides be heard) rule is *inter alia* respected"

A "comprehensive" administrative process was being created

People responsible for a publication

●From PAGE 1

could be warned by a notice in the *Government Gazette* that material in it contained a threat to security or caused a delay in the termination of the State of Emergency. If the publication continued publishing the material objected to, the minister of home affairs was empowered to prohibit publication for three months "unless the matter in that publication has been approved by a person appointed by him for that purpose" or to prohibit publication totally for a period not exceeding three months

w/ Mail 28/8 - 3/9/87

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CA Times 29/8/87 243/198
Heard: group concerned

THE Anti-Censorship Action Group (ACAG) has expressed its "deep concern" about the dismissal of former Cape Times editor Mr Anthony Heard in an open letter to him

ACAG, which was formed in September last year, by individuals and organizations concerned about the effects of all forms of censorship in South Africa, aims to educate, monitor and embark on joint action to end censorship

Executive members of ACAG include Achmat Dangor, Nadine Gordimer, Anton Harber, Mthobe Mutloatse, David Philip, Mewa Ramgobin, Michael Rice, Pat Sidley, Glenda Webster and Dorothy Wheeler

TWO editions of city paper banned

Mr. Tard

29/8/87

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Staff Reporter

SOUTH, the weekly newspaper, has had two of its last three editions banned.

The paper, which first appeared on the streets in March, was listed in yesterday's banned publications issued by the Directorate of Publications. The ban on the July 30-August 5 and August 16-22 editions of the newspaper appeared in yesterday's Government Gazette.

The current edition of the newspaper has not been banned.

Mr Moegsten Williams, South's news editor, said the newspaper's lawyers were investigating the reasons for the bannings and would appeal.

'Many laws for press'

"We feel these bans are part of an attempt to justify actions against us in terms of the latest press clamps announced this week by the government,"

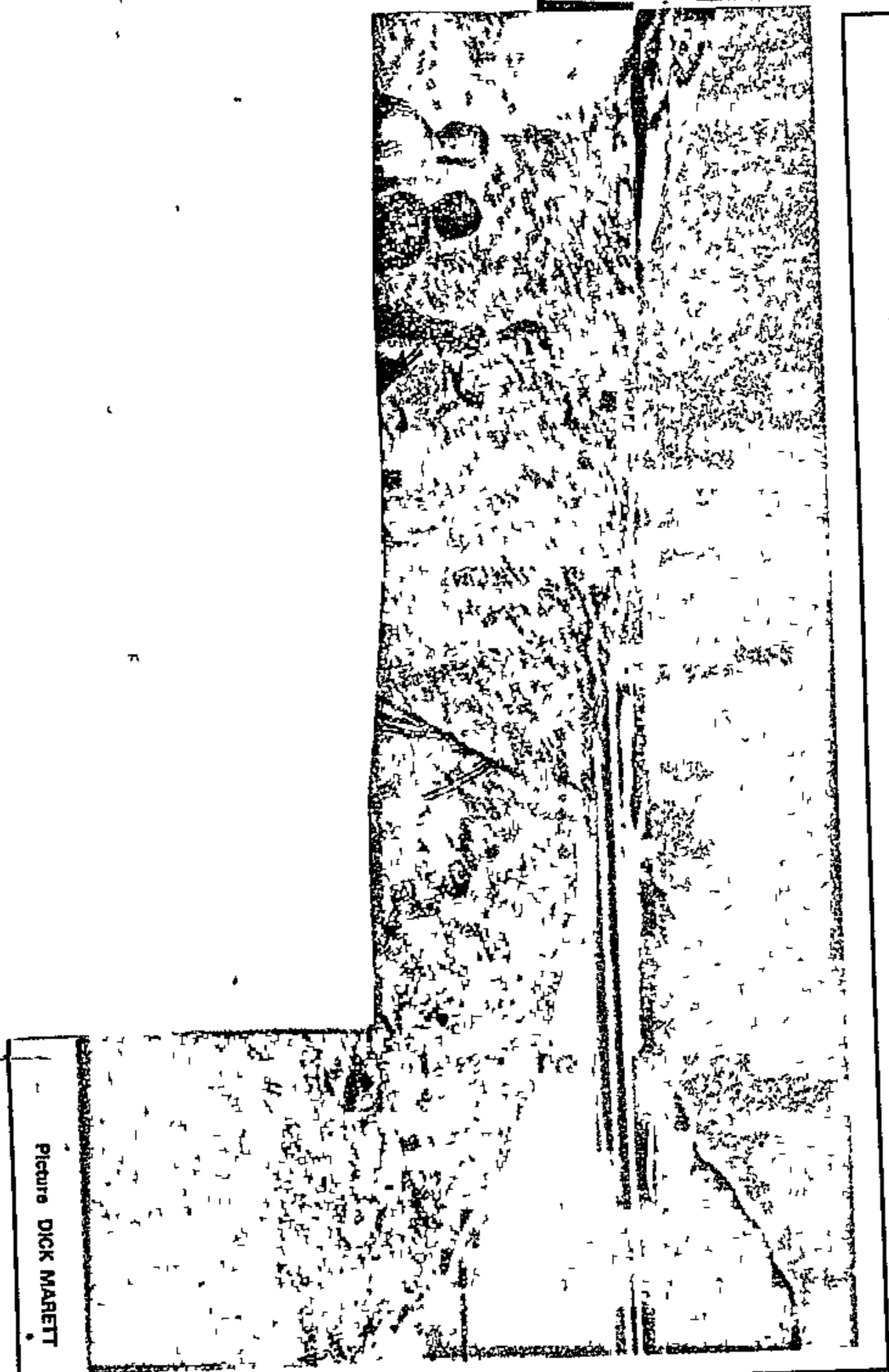
he said.

"The two editions concerned were banned in terms of the Publications Control Act, which is just one of many laws available to the government to deal with the press."

Mr S F du Toit, assistant director of the Publications Directorate, said yesterday that the directorate was in a position to say why the two editions of the newspaper had been banned, "but only to those with a direct financial interest in the publication."

He declined to comment on allegations by the editor of South, Mr Rashid Serra, that the bannings may have been politically motivated or undertaken as a prelude to further action against South in terms of the new press curbs.

● Banned list — Page 5



Picture: DICK MARETT

Gazetted press

Cape Times 29/8/77

curbs widely

condemned

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government's sweeping new powers to close down or censor newspapers were widely condemned yesterday as taking South Africa further down the road to "dictatorship", "totalitarianism" and "repression"

Details of the clampdown — which empowers the Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, to appoint a government censor at any newspaper and impose a financially crippling ban on newspapers for renewable periods of up to three months — were published in the Government Gazette

And Mr Botha announced in Parliament that the curbs, invoked in terms of the 14-month state of emergency, would be backdated to June 11, enabling the government to move immediately against newspapers deemed to be guilty of publishing suspect material

Mr Botha told the House of Representatives that steps would be taken against publications once, in his view, a "series of issues" was considered to be "part of the devil's onslaught" or "subtle propaganda" against the state

This meant the "evaluation" period for daily newspapers was six issues, for periodicals appearing every 10 days or less, three issues, and for publications appearing at intervals of greater than 10 days, two issues

The minister noted that the new regulations would also empower him to order publishers or importers of periodicals to supply free copies to the Director-General of Home Affairs within three days of their publication. Failure to comply could result in a R500 fine

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● Sapa-Reuter reports that the Reagan administration expressed distress and sadness at the curbs and said the action further removed South Africa from the sphere of Western nations

The statement, said "Restricting the media is not merely a punishment for journalists — its end result is to rob citizens of their right to be informed"

● The British Foreign Office made it clear they were waiting to see precisely what action the government took. Once this was clear, they would "take a position on this matter", the spokesman said

He added "We have made clear our concern at the state of emergency and the various regulations promulgated under it"

● PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin described the regulations as "naked press censorship by a desperate and bankrupt Nationalist government"

"It takes South Africa one step nearer to totalitarianism — and one step further from a peaceful solution to our problems"

"The regulations are bad enough, but to rub salt into the wound, they are going to be backdated — and then the government says it wants to 'broaden democracy'"

"The tragedy is that while the situation in South Africa cries out for fundamental political change, the government proceeds to tighten the screws of state authority," Mr Eglin said

● The Labour Party's media spokesman, Mr Sam Louw, said the curbs showed that the government had chosen the path of repression instead of reform and negotiation

The government already had over 100 laws as well as the emergency regulations which virtually "paralysed" the media

"It is clear that if the new measures are implemented, South Africa will

have the most sophisticated government-controlled press in the world"

He said the alternative media was an important form of communication for the grievances in the black communities

If this medium was cut off, it would give the security forces free reign to destroy the National Party's democratic opposition

● The chairman of the South African Media Council, Mr L de V van Winsen, said the "stringent and far-reaching" nature of the regulations applicable to all the South African press would, together with the previously promulgated emergency regulations, make deep inroads on press freedom in South Africa

● The Anti-Censorship Action Group (ACAG) said it is not clear what Mr Botha regarded as "revolutionary-supporting media" and why, if these publications existed, had he not previously prosecuted them under the many laws and regulations he already had to prevent such media

● The Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference said it was "deeply concerned" by the promulgation of the latest regulations since these "take South Africa further down the road to dictatorship"

● The University of Cape Town's Students' Representative Council and UCT Radio yesterday rejected the new press gags in the "strongest possible terms"

In a statement the SRC said it believed that "all the people in our land should have unhindered access to information. Totalitarian regulations of this nature in no way address the real crisis facing this country"

The End Censorship Campaign yesterday condemned the "new and draconian" press curbs which it said further restricted "an already-gagged press"

OPINION

"When the press is free and every man able to read, all is safe"

— Thomas Jefferson, 1799

"Let the people know the facts, and the country will be safe"

— Abraham Lincoln, 1858

"A free press is the unsleeping guardian of every other right that free men prize; it is the most dangerous foe of tyranny"

— Winston Churchill, 1949

"Enforcement of the (press censorship) regulations will be aimed at the optimal maintenance of democratic practices"

— Stoffel Botha, 1987

The issue of press freedom is universal

The problem of the South African Nationalist Government is peculiar

No one in Government appears to grasp fully the basic essentials of the freedom of information debate. Nor does anyone appear capable of recognising the fact that freedom is indivisible. But those are common faults.

What is peculiar about our government is its belief that every action of mankind needs a statute to control it.

If it moves — pass a law against it. If it doesn't move — pass a law enforcing it to move. This quaint but dangerous philosophy applies not only to people of every size and hue, but to park benches, dried beans and bananas.

And talking of bananas, it is this strange legal obsession that gave birth to apartheid — and to the terrible, insufferable mess into which our country has been forced.

For almost 40 years, the Nationalist Government has compulsively passed an average 100 statutes a year.

A blind eye and a lost vision

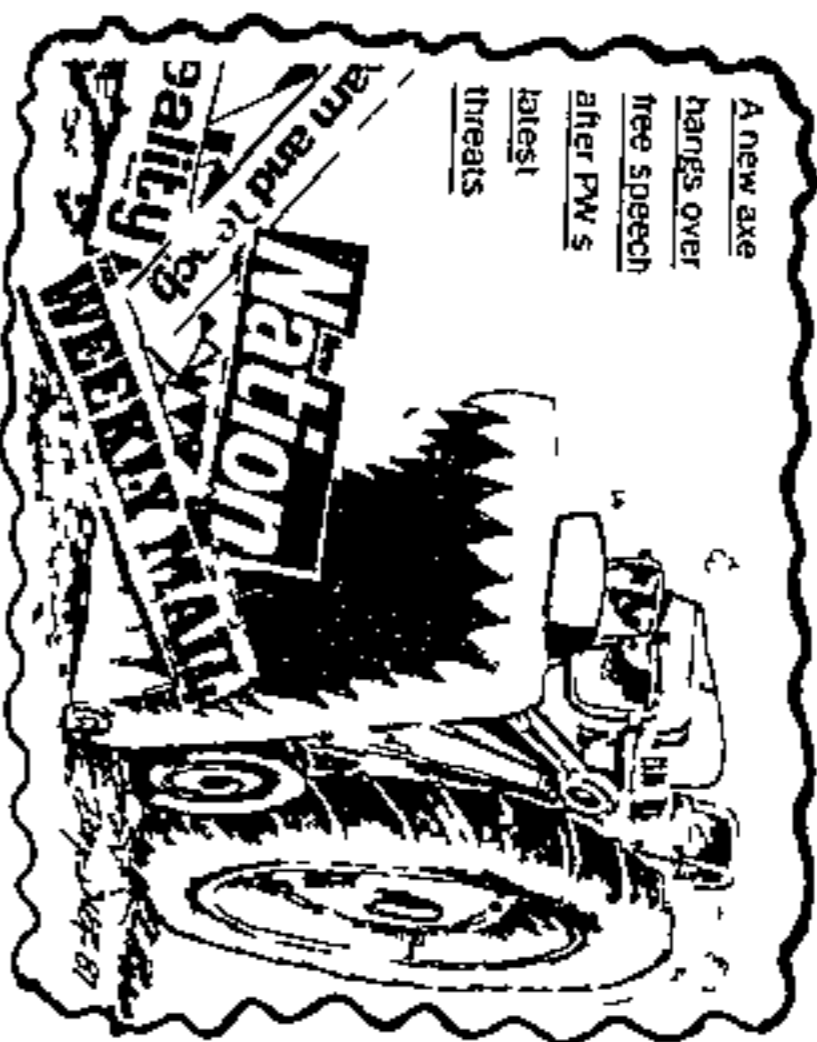
UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS HARVEY TYSON



Some of these are amendments to badly framed, hastily drawn up amendments. Others are amendments to amendments of amendments.

And that is only the start. New statutes (with amendments etc) empower the proliferation of regulations. Tens, hundreds, thousands of them. I believe we have more laws — bad laws — than any single citizen is aware of, or could comprehend.

We certainly have more laws attempting to control speech, thought, print and imagery than any other four countries I can think of — all for the sake of freedom and democracy, of course. But it required only a single legal clause to close down *The World* and *The Post* — without review, warning or explanation.



One man is to have unchecked power to judge the press. Yet he misjudged this cartoon in *The Sunday Star* this week. (See below).

Yet how we have more laws to curb the "undemocratic enemy press" (the "cause" journals such as the National Party supported with such fervour before it came to power) We also now have an impossible law "preventing propaganda".

All of which would be a joke if it were not such a tragedy for South Africa. Particularly hilarious is the solemn statement that no such law will apply to SABC propaganda. The SABC will be dealt with behind closed doors, and ways and means will be found to ensure that it *increases* its propaganda.

You can laugh at such solemn, incompetent, propagandistic government. You should. But you should also take a hard look at yourself and your fellow citizens. For it is we, the people, who have permitted or turned a blind eye to four decades of this dangerous stupidity.

"Stop going on about it," readers tell me. But I must. Because, by ignoring it, you are cutting off your tongue

and putting out your own eyes.

People forget that a free press provides their greatest personal safety. That applies even for those who are part of the Government. Let's take the hypothetical case of a director-general — of the SABC, say.

An increasingly despotic regime decides to fire him. The word goes out "Get rid of him, he displeases me." If the director-general were a Cabinet Minister, or an aspirant State President, he might simply be sacked or packed off to a distant embassy.

It is different for a director-general of a body like the SABC, for he is protected constitutionally by a board. So he can be saved, simply if someone leaks the facts to the press. The official gains almost all of his protection simply by being in the public spotlight.

And that is how every citizen — whether he be leader of the CP or lowly prisoner in a cell — is protected by having access to a *free and independent* press.

But the voters have given away their freedom — and the CP supporters will soon become, belatedly, the first to regret it.

Now we have a single Minister in charge of controlling propaganda and suppressing the enemy press. He alone will judge.

This is how he judged the cartoon (above) in a statement in Parliament this week. (I quote from an observer in the House who actually believed the Minister's statement that *The Sunday Star* was attacking the "alternative" media.)

"It is becoming evident that even the conventional press feels uneasy about this section of the press. In its latest issue *The Sunday Star*, perhaps unintentionally, pictorially labels some of them in the manner they deserve. They are depicted as trash — as a cause for jaws."

Neat. But misleading.

Ministers should remember, for instance, that when houses are bulldozed, it does not suggest they are trash.

RACY

The courage of SA's black journalists: a view from America

IS there any country in the world in which outsiders have played quite so important a role in reporting contemporary developments as South Africa?

I am thinking of the illumination which many thousands of people in the outside world — and not a few in South Africa — received in the 1950s from books such as Trevor Huddleston's *Naught for Your Comfort* or Anthony Sampson's *Drum*



by **ROBIN HALLETT**

Chit Trips 29/8/87
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or over the last few years from Simon Jenkins's special reports for the *Economist*, the researches of Heribert Adam or Joseph Lelyveld's *Move Your Shadow*

To this small band of highly perceptive outsiders must now be added the name of William Finnegan. Finnegan is a young American who spent a year in 1980 teaching at a "coloured" school on the Cape Flats and later wrote in *Crossing the Line* a marvelously sensitive and humane account of his encounters with a very wide range of South Africans. In 1986 he returned to South Africa for a mere six weeks. Few visitors can have used so short a time to such good effect. Finnegan had conceived a plan which was imaginative, daring and courageous. He would attach himself to a group of black journalists working on the Johannesburg *Star*, accompany them as often as possible on their assignments and do his best to understand the multifarious pressures under which they worked.

Natural writer

Finnegan's account of his experiences has now been published in *The New Yorker* in two long articles (July 13 and 20), each running to close on 20 000 words. *The New Yorker* is a journal much envied by writers for the amount of space it allows to individual correspondents. This generosity can — and indeed sometimes does — lead to prolixity and turgidness. But Finnegan is a natural writer with the

been in jail for over a year

"I wanted," Finnegan explains, "to spend time with black reporters on a white liberal newspaper because their position seemed to me extraordinarily complex, placing them, as it does, among so many conflicting forces: the police, their editors, the paper's owners, and, above all, the black community, which, in the continuing revolutionary turmoil, is itself an extremely complex network of competing political and economic forces."

Courage

So, working in a highly informal manner, Finnegan spent his days with the *Star's* small group of black reporters and photographers, chatting with them in the newsroom, going out with them on some of their assignments — including two stomach-turning trips, one to KwaNdebele, the other to a funeral in a black township, accepting invitations to spend an evening with them in their homes in Soweto. As a result of such intimate experiences, he is able to present a deeply sympathetic picture of a group of men and one woman, passionately devoted to the craft of journalism, operating in circumstances of constant strain and frequent danger.

"We are trying to do a good job in a bad time," Jon Qwelane, the *Star's* senior black reporter, remarked to Finnegan, "but the truth of the matter is that we are thoroughly intimidated." Yet in their words and actions Qwelane and his colleagues certainly do

regional and world affairs, in stark, simplistic tones of black and white, to the nuanced, complex and rather more sophisticated analyses of the Department of International Affairs.

Under this kind of presidency, the independence and autonomy of the counter-institutions — Parliament, the press, the universities, the Supreme Court — have been steadily undermined by legislation, propaganda, behind-the-scenes manipulation and by the cancer of economic stagnation.

Accountability has gone by the board. Shadowy killers lurk in the background and nobody knows to what purpose and at whose behest they are slaughtering their victims.

There is nothing more calculated than the maintenance of a representative system of government than a steady and systematic growth of the power of the executive. The legislature is increasingly expected to vote funds and to relinquish its right to insist on account for the way in which the money is spent. Iran is a case in point, which is saprophytic to American confidence and in its traditional democratic institutions.

There is to be any hope of reform, it is better, surely, to acknowledge frankly what is happening. It does no good to look the other way. If the country's free institutions are seriously to be undermined, only an empty shell remaining, it will in time pay a heavy price. If the free institutions will be missed when black nationalism comes into its own in the government of the country.

At least there is a chance that the Rev. Frank Hendrickse and the Labour Party will have the nerve and flair to take an effective rear-guard action against retrogressive authoritarianism.

that the DFB and the Labour

envied by writers for the amount of space it allows to individual correspondents. This generosity can — and indeed sometimes does — lead to prolixity and turgidness. But Finnegan is a natural writer with the sovereign gift, acquired through the practice and discipline of precise observation, of compulsive readability. His articles convey with unusual vividness and depth a certain aspect of South Africa in 1986.

In 1980 Finnegan had witnessed at close quarters a long-drawn-out school boycott in Cape Town, so he reckoned that he knew "something about resistance and conflict in South Africa." But he was "unprepared for the level of violence, the rage, the radicalization" which he found in 1986 after five years away. "The white suburbs, tranquil in their insularity, seemed little changed, but the lives of millions of black people had been turned upside down.

"In the strange and terrible revolution that convulses South Africa," Finnegan writes, "black journalists play a crucial role. Their beat is the war zone, the black townships and the rural black 'self-governing' states. It is virtually impossible for white reporters to cover the fighting in black South Africa. They don't speak the six or seven languages that are essential for getting around, the complexities of black politics and black society — not to mention the intricacies of township geography — are really comprehensible only to those who live among them; and, finally, simply being white in a black township today is dangerous.

"As a result, local black reporters are often the only source of accurate news about the conflict in South Africa." Aware of this, the Pretoria government spends much time and energy harassing black journalists. "At least five black journalists are being held without charges right now" — Finnegan is writing in July 1987 — "three of them have

good job in a bad time," Jon Qwelane, the Star's senior black reporter, remarked to Finnegan, "but the truth of the matter is that we are thoroughly intimidated." Yet in their words and actions Qwelane and his colleagues certainly do not show many signs of intimidation. Their "continuing courage" struck Finnegan as their most remarkable quality — and their ability to feel a never-staunched sense of outrage at the terrible things they saw happening.

Crusading

Their situation was made the more difficult by the knowledge that most activists in the townships dismissed the paper for which they worked, along with the rest of the white-owned press, as "irrelevant." Yet the same activists would be quick to denounce any reporter who seemed by critical reporting of some act of township violence to be playing into the hands of the authorities.

In fact there could be no doubt which side the black journalists were on. "We started saying in the seventies and it is truer now than ever," Qwelane told Finnegan, "that we are black before we are journalists. Facts are sacred — we certainly have no need to exaggerate the situation, but the only journalism worth doing in our situation is crusading journalism, work that will help to advance our struggle."

I hope that Finnegan's articles will be carefully read by all those involved in producing newspapers in South Africa. They provide the sort of illumination of which we can never have too much. Indeed I could not help wishing as I read then that the same sort of illumination could be projected in a very different direction — into the offices of the Burger, the Transvaler, Beeld and Rapport. It would be an instructive exposure to the outside world — and indeed to most South Africans — those bastions of Afrikanerdom are still very mysterious places.

100 Years Ago

From the Cape Times August 29 1887:

PERPETUAL Motion An exhibition of the Working of Mr Carl Cordes' model of a perpetual motion machine will take place at the Drill-Hall, Loop Street. Admission 5s. Tickets may be obtained at the Hansa, Royal and Albion hotels, and at the doors.

5 Times 30/8/87

Press curbs in court test

By NORMAN WEST
THE GOVERNMENT's latest Press curbs could soon face a challenge in the Supreme Court.
The management of the Cape-based newspaper South confirmed yesterday the newspaper would try to test

the new Government powers in the Supreme Court.
The appeal will be part of an urgent interdict they are seeking against the Government for the banning of two editions of their newspaper announced on Friday. The editions were banned by the

Publications Control Board and not in terms of the latest emergency powers.

Mr Rashid Seria, the editor of the newspaper, said yesterday his newspaper would challenge the measures.

● See pages 15 and 24.

Vaal news blackout

By STAN MHLONGO

CITY Press was this week banned from attending meetings of the the Lekoa City Council.

The banning follows a recent article about the activities of the council and its mayor, Esau Mahlatsi.

Councillor Solly Mofokeng said **City Press** would not be allowed to attend council meetings "unless you apologise for the things you wrote about this council recently".

The council was apparently incensed by an article which appeared on April 12

claiming that while the council was plunged in debt following the three-year-long rent boycott, "it is understood that Mayor Mahlatsi has acquired enough wealth to qualify as a multi-millionaire".

It was also claimed that Mahlatsi had enormous powers over council police.

The investigation further revealed that Mahlatsi, who owns the Lenthana company, with his family, controlled at least 20 bottle stores spread throughout the Vaal.

Another Johannesburg-based daily has also been banned.



Esau Mahlatsi

30/8/87 City Press

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Getting to grips with the 'alternative Press'

THE Sword of Damocles hanging over the heads of the SA Press slipped lower this week with the announcement of yet more Government curbs — and the banning of editions of two publications

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, insists the measures — which include first steps at putting censors in offices of newspapers — are aimed at the "alternative media" and those the Government believes are engaged in encouraging a revolution

But, rejoin editors and civil libertarians, freedom of the Press is indivisible, and the media as a whole are threatened by the Government

Two publications, the left-wing, South, and the far-right Die Stem both had editions banned by the Directorate of Publications this week — a move not specifically related to the latest curbs

What is the "alternative media"? Whom do they speak for and to whom?

It is all a matter of opinion, but Government officials say there are "thousands" of publications that fall into the category

A senior bureaucrat said the Government estimated the total readership of the alternative Press as greater than that of the mainstream Press

While many publications now threatened reflect extremist views, appear sporadically and are not distributed through conventional channels, Law and Order bureaucrats also have their sights on more widely known and conventionally distributed newspapers, such as Weekly Mail, New Nation, Sowetan and South

A feature of recent Government

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

verbal assaults on the alternative media has been the inclusion of white right-wing publications — which no doubt accounts for the Conservative Party's rather surprising condemnation of the latest curbs

Up to now the Government used the Publications Control Act to inhibit publications that are not, as are establishment newspapers, members of the Newspaper Press Union — a statutory body that has its own control mechanisms

Between January and June, 190 publications of a political nature were banned or restricted under conventional publications laws

But the procedure of banning is lengthy and makes provision for the right to appeal. This made the law inadequate for preventing the publication of newspapers

Bishops

Some alternative publications are

Weekly Mail Published in Johannesburg, it has a circulation of about 20 000 and is popular among left-wing (mainly white) academics and intellectuals. It is owned as a co-operative by former Rand Daily Mail journalists, who founded it, and local investors

South Published in Cape Town, it is rapidly building a circulation among mainly coloured and Indian midmarket and upmarket readers. Its biggest shareholder is the Ukwaziswa Trust, said to have canvassed some of its funds overseas

New Nation With a circulation of 60 000, it is the largest of the alternative newspapers. Published in Jo-

hannesburg, it devotes much attention to workers' issues and is popular mainly among blacks. It was founded and is funded by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference

Sowetan and **City Press** are owned by white-controlled establishment media companies. Inasmuch as they reflect many of the realities and grievances of life in black communities, they have been mentioned by Government officials as part of the alternative media

Churches publish several news-sheets dealing with racial and political matters. Most important among these are **South African Outlook**, **Seek** and **Southern Cross**

A number of publications focus on education — and, according to Government officials, "alternative" education. One of the most notable among these is **Upbeat**, published in Johannesburg by the SA Council for Higher Education

Reality proclaims itself to be a "journal of radical and liberal opinion". Its somewhat sombre contents are aimed at intellectuals

Another serious publication is **Work In Progress** — the sort of trade magazine of the extra-parliamentary left and widely read by political analysts

Frank Talk is the mouthpiece of Azapo reflecting black consciousness philosophy

South Africa's two rightwing parties each have newspapers

Patriot is the mouthpiece of the CP and **Die Afrikaner** that of the HNP. Both are exclusively political and launch strident attacks on the NP Government

Die Stem is to the right of even these two and reflects the views of the AWB and Boerebevrydingsbeweging

Cleaning up the media image

By MANDY JEAN WOODS

"If the Press didn't tell us, who would?"

That's the theme of a successful campaign launched in the US in June this year to make the public aware of the value of a free Press, and to show how the Press protects the rights of citizens

At a time when the South African Government is acting to curb the Press, United States media are going all out to improve their image among a population which, according to surveys, is one third negatively inclined towards the Press and by a majority suspicious of US Press values

Nationally acclaimed US television evening news anchorman Tom Brokaw says "A free Press provides a nation with an honest portrait of the world in which they live. It provides them with the truth as best it can be determined. It alerts people of day-to-day change and warns them of impending danger"

"It provides them with the information needed to make decisions about their lives and our society"

If the press didn't tell us, who would?

From the recent campaign to find Press acceptance in America

The hard-hitting ads spotlight situations and events that might have gone undisclosed were it not for the efforts of a free Press

The ads, created as a public service, highlight

□ Prior to the Challenger disaster in 1986, Nasa was warned that the O rings on the space shuttle could not withstand freezing temperature.

Disaster

□ The "ascent" of Kurt Waldheim, from high-level German intelligence officer in the Second World War to UN Secretary General from 1972 to 1982 and then to President of Austria in 1986

□ The disaster at Chernobyl, downplayed initially by the Soviet Union, was immediately described as "catastrophic" by the US media.

□ How a six-part series in a Pitts-

burg newspaper dealing with "kidneys for sale" prompted major revisions in the field of organ transplants

The campaign was initiated by the Society of Professional Journalists — because research had identified increasing public apathy and a lack of appreciation of the role of a free Press among American audiences and readers

A Roper Poll shows that one in five Americans would remove freedom of the Press from the First Amendment (constitutional clause guaranteeing a free Press) if they could, and would favour some restrictions on the Press

A Times Mirror/Gallup Poll indicates that one in three Americans are negatively oriented towards the Press, and that the majority are critical of its value

THE WEEKLY MAIL

The press: Be censored or be damned!

We were forced down claim papers on strike below ground

WEEKLY MAIL Popular with leftwing academics

WORK IN PROGRESS

Reflects extra parliamentary left

SOCIALISM Means

WORK IN PROGRESS Reflects extra parliamentary left

DIE STEM

Rightwing edition banned

DIE WENSPAN!

BOERESTAT MOONTLIK IN 1989

DIE STEM Rightwing edition banned

NEW NATION Largest of the alternative papers

SOUTH

Jobs rip-off!

SOUTH Another banning casualty

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Media curbs might 'be too vague'

PATRICK BULGER

GOVERNMENT's latest media curbs duplicated certain provisions of the Internal Security Act, but they might be too vague to be enforced, said a media lawyer who has studied them.

The regulations empower Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha to order the closure of any publication for three months if it promotes revolution, furthers the aims of banned organisations, or promotes hostility towards police or local authorities.

The lawyer says the new regulations could be challenged in court on the grounds that they are too vague, or that the Minister has been given powers that fall outside the scope of the Public Safety Act.

Closures of publications could also be challenged on the basis that the Minister had not acted in good faith. The lawyer said the Minister would have to act on the basis of what had actually appeared in the publication, rather than on information he might choose not to disclose.

The courts could quite possibly differ from the Minister's understanding of what constituted promoting revolution.

● See Comment Page 6

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Sowetan 3/8/87

SOWETAN, Mon

ARGUS TAKES THE LEAD

AN AGREEMENT has been concluded between *Leadership* magazine and the Argus Company, in terms of which a new company is to be formed to produce *Leadership* and its affiliated publications.

The new company will come into being on September 1. The present publisher of *Leadership*, Mr Hugh Murray, and the Argus, are joint partners in the new venture.

Asked to comment, Mr Murray disclosed that he had, in the recent past, been approached by other publishing companies to acquire either part, or whole, of the *Leadership* operation. As sole shareholder of *Leadership*, he had not been attracted by any approach other than that made by the Argus Company a month ago.

Mr Murray said "The concept of partnership with the Argus Company has great appeal, particularly when one considers its impeccable record in arrangements of this kind.

"The group's reputation for publishing professionalism and its commitment to upholding the highest principles of a free Press, will undoubtedly help to consolidate our publications and their standing in the community.

"In addition, Argus'

financial and administrative skills will ensure constructive continuation of the spectacular growth enjoyed by *Leadership* since its

launch in 1981." *Leadership* will continue to be published in Cape Town under Mr Murray's editorship and the independent editorial

advisory board will be maintained. Mr Murray and Mr Fred Collings, general manager of the Argus, Cape Town, have been appointed joint

managing directors. Mr Peter McLean, managing director, Newspaper Division, of the Argus Company, has been appointed chairman.

Lawful material could be declared undesirable

'More to media clamp than meets the eye'

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Star
3/18/67

By Chris van Gass, Pretoria Bureau

The Government's latest clamp-down on the media, published in a Government Gazette on Friday, goes much further than merely curbing the activities of the so-called "alternative media", a legal expert has said

The new regulations extend the powers of the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, to allow him to ban a publication even if it has not committed an offence

The major implication is that, if the Minister holds the view that even "lawful" ma-

terial is undesirable, he can act against a newspaper

The Minister already has powers under the present media regulations to ban a publication if it carries without permission a subversive statement or matter which is subject to publication control

The regulations were described as "really far-reaching" and include daily newspapers and their various editions. The fact that no daily "alternative media" publication exists in South Africa indicates the net of the regulations has now been cast over the established press

"There is no question that the regula-

tions apply to the entire published media in South Africa," said Mr Paul Jenkins, a media lawyer

"The dividing line is really going to be the manner in which the Minister in his subjective view considers that the regulations should be applied. The regulations will allow the Minister to examine a series of publications and formulate his view as to whether that series of publications has the effect of, for example, promoting or fanning revolution or uprising or sparking unrest

"In the case of The Star, these regulations can be applied by the Minister if any particular report which he did not care for was published in all six editions of The Star on any one day or consecutive days.

"It certainly gives him the powers to take action against the established press," he said

One of the clauses has obviously been included to prevent all material, such as advertisements, which called for the unbanning of the ANC from being published again.

In terms of this clause any publication which promotes the public image or esteem of any organisation declared unlawful in terms of the Internal Security Act can be closed down for three months, or will have to have their publications cleared by a censor.

Publications will also have to deposit copies with the Director-General of Home Affairs if ordered to do so by the Minister

In terms of the Gazette, provision is made to study various editions of publications, as the Minister sees fit.

"It may be some small comfort that the regulations contain provisions for warning a publication that the Minister is considering acting against it and giving it the opportunity of making written representations as to why action should not be taken," said Mr Jenkins.

CAP Town 3/1/87

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Cape paper to challenge press curbs

JOHANNESBURG — The government's latest press curbs may be challenged in the Supreme Court

The management of the Cape Town newspaper South said on Saturday that the newspaper would try to test the new government powers in the Supreme Court

The appeal would be part of an urgent interdict sought against the banning of two editions of their newspaper on Friday by the Publications Control Board and not in terms of the latest emergency powers

South's editor, Mr Rashid Seria, said the newspaper would challenge the measures

● According to a media lawyer, interviewed by our Johannesburg correspondent, the government's curbs duplicated certain provisions of the Internal Security Act but they may be too vague to be enforced

The regulations empower the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, to order the closure of any publication for three months if it promotes revolution, furthers the aims of banned organizations, or promotes hostility towards police or local authorities

A team of government censors will

look at publications for their revolutionary content

The lawyer said the new regulations could be challenged in court on the grounds that they were too vague, or that the minister had been given powers that fall outside the scope of the Public Safety Act

Closures of publications could also be challenged on the basis that the minister had not acted in good faith. The lawyer said the minister would have to act on the basis of what had actually appeared in the publication, rather than on information he may choose not to disclose

The courts could quite possibly differ from the minister's understanding of what constituted promoting revolution

Earlier curbs on the media were set aside in the Natal Supreme Court in April because the judges found they were too vague

● The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, said yesterday that the "harsh censorship" was a sign of "weakness and insecurity"

He also condemned the detentions of people in Namibia — Own Correspondent and Sapa

- not made available to Mr Wheeler beforehand
- (d) Mr T F Wheeler during lunch
- (2) (a) and (b) As it later appeared Mr Thabo Mbeki was present at the lunch

(3) Mr Wheeler attended the lunch as guest of honour of the US Council on International Business where he addressed the Council's "Fifth Annual Congress on South Africa" on new developments in the RSA as only speaker. He left immediately after his address. Mr Wheeler acted in the best interests of the country by stating our case on an important occasion.

†Dr J J VILONEL Mr Speaker arising from the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister I want to ask him whether he is of opinion that this type of question in the South African Parliament and also the spirit resulting from it, firstly promotes South Africa's case abroad and secondly, whether it assists South Africa's representatives abroad to carry out their task [Interjections]

†The DEPUTY MINISTER Mr Speaker, I think this is a rhetorical question. The reply is obvious [Interjections]

†Mr F J LE ROUX It is a stupid question! [Interjections]

†Dr J J VILONEL You are undermining our case

†Mr F J LE ROUX On a point of order Mr Speaker. Is it in order for an hon member to say that we are undermining their case? [Interjections]

†The SPEAKER Order! I shall decide on this matter. What did the hon member for Langlaagte say?

†Dr J J VILONEL Mr Speaker, I said you are undermining our case

†The SPEAKER Order! I think the hon member should rather withdraw that I do not think it is parliamentary.

†Dr J J VILONEL With great respect Mr Speaker, I want to say I am sure of my point when I make it

HOA

†The SPEAKER Order! I request the hon member to withdraw it

†Dr J J VILONEL I withdraw it, Mr Speaker

Rent and services project

†Mr P G SOAL asked the Deputy Minister of Information

(1) (a) What is the purpose of the rent and services project referred to in his reply to Question No 3 on 18 August 1987, (b) when (1) was it implemented and (ii) is it expected to be concluded, (c) what specified items are included in the amount of R4 345 145 spent on this project and (d) at what group or community was this project directed,

(2) whether the effectiveness of this project has been evaluated, if so, (a) by whom (b) what procedure was followed and (c) what were the findings?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION

(a) The project was an educational campaign to create a better understanding within the target market concerning the supply of electricity, transport, housing and water with a view to promoting payment of rent and services

(b) (i) November 1986

(ii) Most elements of the campaign were completed by 31 March 1987. According to current plans all elements will be completed by March 1988 although this decision could be affected by circumstances at that time

(c) Production and media costs (TV radio, press, posters and outdoor advertising)

(d) Black community

(2) Yes

(a) Bureau for Information and market research organisations

(b) The analysis of patterns of payment of rent and services, market research, standard procedures and the comparison of market research results

(c) At the height of the campaign a noticeable improvement could be discerned in the pattern of payment of rent and service charges, compared to the normal cyclical patterns

Research into the effectiveness of the campaign showed that the campaign had reached a majority of Black people and a majority of this group indicated that they reacted positively to the message of the campaign

Wider market research has shown that attitudes in the Black community towards the payment of rent changed from being preponderantly negative to being preponderantly positive in the period September 1986 to May 1987

Times Media: agreement

*9 Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Transport Affairs

Whether with reference to his reply to Question No 11 on 18 August 1987, the South African Airways has entered or intends entering into an agreement with Times Media similar to the one entered into with Perskor (Pty) Ltd of South Africa, if so, (a) with effect from what date and (b) what are the terms of the agreement with Times Media, if not (i) why not and (ii) when was the decision taken in this regard?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS

No

(a) and (b) Fall away

(i) The decision not to enter into an agreement was taken by Times Media

(ii) Unknown

Mr D J DALLING Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, may I ask him whether the terms offered for this contract to Times Media were the same as the terms offered to Perskor?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER Mr Speaker, I cannot tell the hon member whether the details are exactly the same, but I think the hon member will be reminded of the replies given to him previously, viz that as long as it is to the commercial advantage of SAA, it is prepared to enter into agreements with any other publishing company

Mr D J DALLING Mr Speaker, arising further out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, may I ask him then why the SAA continues with the contract with Perskor when that contract for the airways is running at a loss?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER Mr Speaker the hon member may put that question on the Question Paper [Interjections]

Booklet, "Face to Face with the ANC"

*10 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order

(1) Whether the South African Police have carried out an investigation to ascertain who (a) published and (b) printed a certain booklet the title of which has been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply and which was produced in Cape Town in or about September 1986 if not why not, if so what is the title of this booklet.

(2) whether this investigation has been completed, if not (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that it will be completed, if so, when was it completed

(3) whether the Police have ascertained who was responsible for (a) writing, (b) publishing and (c) printing the booklet, if so who in each case

(4) whether any charges have been investigated against any persons in connection with this booklet if not, why not, if so, (a) what charges and (b) with what result

HOA

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19/87 Howard

19/87 Howard

Press curbs:

UDF reacts

JOHANNESBURG —
The media should not be lulled into thinking that the latest press restrictions announced last week are "just an attack on the small alternative press," the United Democratic Front said in a statement yesterday.

"Today it is the alternative press tomorrow the commercial press. The line that the government expects newspapers to toe will be drawn shorter and shorter we will be saddled with government censors in every newsroom censoring the news as it comes out," the statement said.

The UDF called on the commercial press, television and radio to come to the defence of the alternative media and the organisation also asked the international community to bring pressure on the government to "abandon its disastrous course".

The UDF accused the government of having a "total disregard for freedom of the press, speech, and association".

The claims by the Minister of Communication, Mr Stoffel Botha, that some publications showed "complete contempt for the hallowed press values established over centuries" must stick in the throats of those journalists who had struggled over the years against National Party censorship, the statement said.

It added that it was "the progressive forces" that the newly introduced regulations were trying to crush. The refusal of sections of the media to apply self-censorship meant "the velvet glove is being totally stripped from the iron fist" —
Sapa

The so-called "alternative" press in South Africa is vast and varied and it ranges from right-wing newspapers like Die Patriot, Die Afrika-ner and Die Stem to left-wing newspapers like South, Grassroots and New Nation

There are newspapers linked to trade unions, churches, political bodies and other organisations

There are also community newspapers, such as The Indicator, which is published in Lenasia and The Times, which is published in Pietersburg and is aimed at the northern homelands of Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda

While the current speculation is that the government's threats are aimed against newspapers like South, New Nation and Weekly Mail, it is the entire independent press industry which will be affected by whatever course of action is decided upon

Moreover, apart from the extensive legal restrictions on all newspapers, both those written into the law and those imposed in terms of the state of emergency regulations, these newspapers can also be banned by the Publications Control Board

Indeed, one factor which separates the independent or alternative press from the rest of the newspaper industry is that they are not members of the News-Paper Press Union (NPPU) If they were members of the NPPU, they would not be sub-

Struggle for survival of alternative Press

BARRY STREK: Cape Town

ject to control by the censorship authorities

Another characteristic of the "alternative" press is the considerable financial struggle for survival Few, if any, make a profit

Some of the newspapers are subsidised by their parent body Ilanga Lase Natal, for instance, was bought out by Capital Mandla-Mata, a new company formed by Inkatha, which provided the capital for the deal

Seek, the monthly newspaper published by the Anglican Church, and Southern Cross, which is published by the Catholic Church, are funded by the churches

Funds for Die Patriot, the mouthpiece of the Conservative Party, are raised by a trust fund but the newspaper itself is published by Dr Frans van Staden, a former MP

Die Afrikaner, the Herstigte Nasionale Party newspaper, is owned by a company, Strydders (Pty) Ltd, but there are frequent appeals in it for financial support, emphasising the costs of publishing, particularly for smaller newspapers

Other independent newspapers are funded by support from other

bodies New Nation, the weekly newspaper with a circulation of over 60 000, is published and funded by the Southern Africa Catholic Bishops Conference as "a secular newspaper" to "voice the attitudes and feelings of the black community"

South, the weekly newspaper based in Cape Town with a circulation of under 20 000, is published by South Press Services (Pty) Ltd, which it says is "an independent company free from the vested interests of big capital" The company is owned by shareholders, all of whom are resident in South Africa

But the biggest shareholder in South is the Ukwaziswa Trust, which raised support from overseas

South's editor, Rashid Seria, says "Where the Trust get its money from is not our business but it is the major shareholder"

Weekly Mail, which now has a circulation of about 20 000, is owned by W M Publications (Pty) Ltd

This company, says the Weekly Mail's editor, Anton Harber, is

"entirely owned and controlled by the people who started it and who own much of it" It has voting shares, which are all held by the journalists working for it, and non-voting shares, which are held by people such as businessmen who invested in it

The newspaper was started by the journalists after their newspapers were closed down "by management who weren't sympathetic to them," Harber says

Its board of directors is elected by the voting shareholders A further two directors are elected by the Weekly Mail staff

Weekly Mail has never declared a dividend but the funds invested by the shareholders have been sufficient to cover losses "We have had enough capital to sustain the losses," Harber explained

It has received no overseas funds apart from the salary of one or two trainee journalists whose salaries are covered by an outside body

"Weekly Mail is a South African newspaper controlled by

South Africans," Harber says

Both Weekly Mail, which charges a high cover price, and South want to become self-supporting, but, as anyone in the newspaper industry knows, this is not easy, particularly for a new paper without substantial capital reserves

It seems clear that the only common aspect which is "alternative" about the large and varied independent press is that it is not affiliated to the NPPU, which on April 1 last year had 30 urban daily and weekly newspaper members, 78 members in the provincial press division and 59 associate newspaper members

But with an establishment publication like Finance Week not listed among the NPPU newspapers it is apparent that the "alternative" label is not defined by NPPU membership, but by the political slant of the independent press

Seria says South's job is made extremely difficult by official harassment of its reporters and the denial of official information to the newspaper

South does reflect the views of its readers and the position of their organisations "We don't

deny we are the mouth piece of extra-parliamentary organisations

"However, they can't find anything legally to point at us Even if further clamps were imposed on South or if it was wiped out, it would not change the feelings and aspirations of the people The newspaper won't change until the situation changes

"We see ourselves fulfilling a very important role by bringing out the beliefs and aspirations of the people who constitute the extra-parliamentary organisations in South Africa," Seria says

And it is that message which the government does not want to hear, or, at least, does not want published

The controversial Steyn commission into the press a few years ago said an example in which "the messenger" got blamed through the "transportation-of-blame-technique" was the reporting of the statement by the former Minister Health and Social Welfare, Dr Lapa Munnik, that pensioners could live on R20 a month diets

In 1987, the "messenger" of black aspirations, sections of the independent press, is getting blamed through the same "transportation-of-blame" technique The government seems to determined to block out that message, and the whole of the independent press could suffer as a result

78/8/92
28

243
2/9/82
Structure

Warning on new curbs

THE media should not be lulled into thinking that the latest Press restrictions announced last week are "just an attack on the small alternative Press", the United Democratic Front said in a statement yesterday.

"Today it is the alternative Press tomorrow the commercial Press. The line that the Government expects newspapers to toe will be drawn shorter and shorter. . . we will be saddled with Government censors in every newsroom censoring the news as it comes

out," the statement said.

The UDF called on the commercial Press, television and radio to come to the defence of the alternative media. The organisation also asked the international community to bring pressure on the Government to "abandon its disastrous course"

Freedom

The UDF accused the Government of having a "total disregard for freedom of the Press, speech and association"

The claims by the Minister of Communication, Mr Stoffel Botha, that

some publications showed "complete contempt for the hallowed Press values established over centuries" must stick in the throats of those journalists who have struggled over the years against National Party censorship, the statement said

It added that it was "the progressive forces" that the newly introduced regulations were trying to crush. The refusal of sections of the media to apply self-censorship meant "the velvet glove is being totally stripped from the iron fist" — Sapa

'Time to pick up marbles and go home' — US TV executive

ARC 45 2/9/87

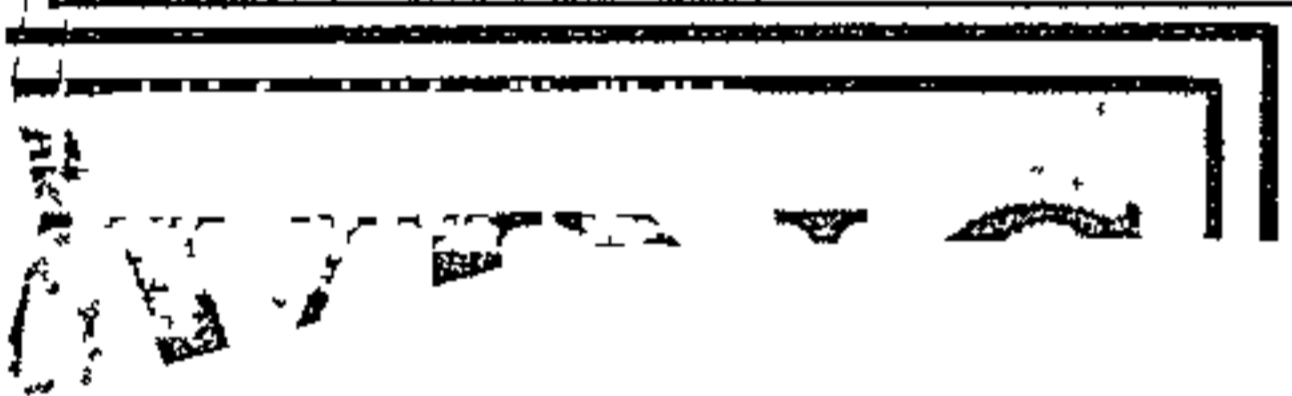
2103

AN executive of American network television news has proposed that US news agencies leave South Africa, which he said was "winning the war of images" through censorship

Mr Richard Cohen, a senior producer of foreign news for the CBS Evening News, said "Perhaps the time has come for western news organisations, specifically American network news operations, to say "enough" to the government in Pretoria and to pick up our marbles and go home"

He wrote in the New York Times that US news organisations should not make more deals with the South African government. He proposed smuggling video tapes out of the country instead

Mr Cohen's article, illustrated with a graphic of a perspiring, hard-hatted black miner surrounded by a camera and a nest of rifle barrels pointed at



The Argus Foreign Service

Dateline: WASHINGTON

him, was headlined "To reporters Quit South Africa"

However, a CBS News spokesman said the article was written by an individual "expressing his own opinion" It did not necessarily reflect trends in CBS thinking

Mr Cohen said television could not broadcast or even film unrest. It could not show security forces "trying to keep the peace". Cameras were not supposed to be within telescopic range of such events. "The point is not what the media cannot do, it is what the public no longer sees," he said

Routine labour story

"So the recent strike by black miners against the gold and diamond industries is reported almost as a routine labour story. Never mind that workers have been herded out of company-owned housing and sent away. Never mind that miners have been shot and killed by authorities under mysterious circumstances," he said

"Because we cannot see pictures of these incidents, it is harder to comprehend what is going on"

American consciousness about South Africa was created and maintained by constant television images of brutal repression, he argued — "the image of the padded, faceless policeman, club raised, the image of a black youth with fear covering every inch of his face as he throws a rock"

"These were constant and common images and now they are missing," he said

Fear of expulsion

Images like these were no longer on American television because networks could not broadcast them for fear of being expelled from South Africa. "We play an insidious game of video appeasement with the government. Walk up to the line. Don't cross it. Show as much as you can get away with, never more"

Mr Cohen said he wondered if Americans would not be better served by networks being thrown out of South Africa, or if they just left on their own. American television could then get pictures "from every cowboy with a camera"

"The gloves would be off. No more deals with the government. We smuggle pictures out of the wilderness of Afghanistan. We could do the same in South Africa"

"Pretoria knows that. Perhaps that's why we're still there"

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IPI opposition to govt's pre-censorship

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — President P W Botha's new system of "pre-censorship" of the media in South Africa was condemned yesterday by the International Press Institute (IPI) as a "total violation of human rights".

In a cable to Mr Botha yesterday, IPI director Mr Peter Galliner said the new restrictions were a slap in the face to all who had hoped that freedom of the press would be restored, and asked that "these new and unacceptable regulations" be repealed.

And in Johannesburg, Sapa reports that Cosatu condemned the stricter censorship being imposed on the "alternative press" as a "further step down the road to conflict".

Cosatu information officer Mr Frank Meintjies said in statement yesterday: "The government has always been preoccupied with censorship to hide the scope of opposition to the system, as well as the truth about the effects of their policies.

"Cosatu believes the further clamps on the media will not reduce the tide of opposition to the flawed policies of the state. The attack on the alternative press promotes polarization and conflict."

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Journalists back from Zimbabwe

By Montshiwa Moroke

Twelve black journalists arrived in Johannesburg yesterday after spending a week in Zimbabwe where they attended a journalism and trade unionism workshop

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The workshop, which was opened by Zimbabwe's Director of Information, Mr Ezekiel Makunike on behalf of the Minister of Information, was organised jointly by the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) and the Zimbabwe Union of Journalists (ZUJ)

Subjects dealt with at the workshop included interpretive writing, the new information order, the establishment of

news contacts and trade union structures

The climax of the workshop was a panel discussion on "The role of the media in the liberation struggle in the colonial and post-colonial era"

Participants in the discussion were two Zimbabwean editors who shared the platform with two South African editors

They were Mr Tommy Sithole of the *Herald*, Mr Wilf Mbanga of the Zimbabwean News Agency, Mr Ameen Akhalwaya, editor of *The Indicator*, and Mr Joe Thloloe, assistant editor of the *Sowetan*

Government denies regulations are bid to stifle criticism

Storm over new press gag

The new Government-appointed directorate which will subjectively "police" newspapers has been strongly condemned by editors, media lawyers, journalist organisations and opposition politicians as a further erosion of freedom of speech and the press.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, announced yesterday that the Government had set up a Directorate of Media Relations to evaluate whether newspapers were obeying the new emergency regulations issued last week.

When the Government first announced the new regulations, it said they were aimed at stopping the "alternative press" from fomenting revolution. However, the Government has made it clear the new curbs, and the new directorate, will also apply to main-stream newspapers.

Mr Raymond Louw, a member of the International Press Institute, said today the appointment of the new directorate was the "worst thing that has ever happened to the South African press".

Mr Louw said the Government had now reached the ultimate in control of the press which over-ruled any concept of the rule of law. "The press has reached its own Persian Gulf war. Newspapers will be put on trial by a panel of faceless people on charges which will be thought up afterwards."

Mr Joe Latakomo, Editor of *The Sowetan* said "The Government's intention must be seen for what it is a sinister plot, involving faceless people accountable to no one, prescribing to people what they can read in newspapers and what they cannot. The element of secrecy is nothing new in the Government's onslaught against those who dare to disagree with them. It is the final nail in the coffin of press freedom in this country."

Mrs Helen Suzman, MP for Howick, said the curbs would narrow down still further the public's knowledge of what was happening in South Africa.

A spokesman for the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) said it was clear the Government would once more be policeman, prosecutor and judge under the curbs.

Handwritten notes and scribbles in the right margin.

Court protection unlikely

A Johannesburg media lawyer has said the new curbs will make the task of the newspaper editor even more difficult than before.

"The editor must now, it appears, also be a political scientist and perhaps even a seer to fathom the mind of the Minister and his panel of unknown advisers. There is no doubt that the likelihood of the protection of the courts is remote," the lawyer said.

The president of the South African Society of Journalists, Ms Pat Sidley, said the new curbs were "very dangerous and ominous".

Mr Stoffel Botha, who made the announcement in Cape Town after his first briefing with editors, agreed that judgment by the directorate would be "subjective" — but said they would "not be fly-by-night and prejudiced experts".

The new powers enable Mr Botha, after a series of land-down procedures, to suspend publication of offending newspapers for up to three months at a time or to appoint censors to vet material prepared by "offending" newspapers.

The purpose of the new powers, he said, was to set up machinery which could act against newspapers which fostered and promoted a "climate" of violent overthrow of the State.

Mr Botha strongly denied that the purpose of the new powers was to stifle criticism of the Government. But it was a "science to determine if criticism furthered democracy or revolution and would be 'reviewable' by the courts under common law."

Right-wing reaction to the new directorate was that it had been established because of the "ineffectiveness" of the Media Council.

Faceless committee to scrutinise press

by NICO MULLER
Parliamentary Reporter

CAPE TOWN — Newspapers would, under the new media censorship regulations, be scrutinised by a faceless committee that would include unnamed former journalists, legal experts and social scientists, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday

At a media conference where he gave newspaper editors and journalists details of the comprehensive machinery being set up under the new regulations, the minister said the social scientists would not be identified, as "they will not be made suspect again"

Existing media monitoring machinery of various government departments like Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Law and Order and the Bureau for Information would be merged into a "broad co-ordinating committee" that would "analyse and evaluate" articles for consideration by the new Directorate of Media Relations in Mr Botha's department

This directorate would be headed by Mr Andries Engelbrecht who has a special interest in "motivational communications". He has been a chief director in Home Affairs for some time and wrote his MA thesis at the University of Pretoria on human motivation

Mr Engelbrecht would be assisted by a panel of "experts" from disciplines such as law, communications, psychology, sociology, political science and journalism. "Private sector academics" would also be used from time to time

The aim was to get as close as possible to a "scientific approach", Mr Botha said, although he rejected demands to have the tools of these "scientists" made open to public scrutiny when it was pointed out to him that there was no consensus among social science academics

Mr Botha said he

would take action against newspapers that consistently promoted the violent overthrow of the existing order in South Africa, based on the assessment of the directorate

In reply to questions, Mr Botha said the courts would not be allowed to decide whether or not he had made a correct decision, because, in terms of executive law, the minister's discretion was not subject to review by the courts

Mr Botha could not give details of how censors would operate besides saying that they would evaluate articles — and not whole publications

The new Directorate of Media Relations would form part of the parliamentary team of the Director General, Mr Gerrie van Zyl, so to form a "short line" to the ministry as "we do not want to frustrate our customers (the press) with delays", Mr Botha said

Mr Engelbrecht and his staff would be available 24 hours and would "lean over backwards" to assist the press

However, no "free legal advice" would be given

The new censorship measures did not stop reform — which would continue "in a climate of law and order", he added

Govt's Press panel to stay secret

CAPE TOWN — Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha told newspaper editors here yesterday that neither the law nor the Media Council was adequate to deal with "revolution-mongering propaganda".

Therefore he would apply his own subjective judgment in applying the media regulations published in the Government Gazette on Friday which permit him to close publications. The courts would be confined to establishing on review that he had acted in good faith within the regulations.

To assist him in exercising his "subjective discretion" he would call on the advice of an anonymous panel of experts in a variety of intellectual disciplines — psychology, sociology, law, communications, political science and journalism. He refused to identify the panel, saying he would not expose them to ridicule. They should not be viewed as a faceless "Mafia", but as contributing to a just

● To Page 2

Press panel to stay secret

application of the regulations.

The new regulations give the Minister the power to warn newspapers or periodicals if, in his opinion, they systematically or repeatedly publish material that fanned revolution, uprisings, unrest or the breakdown of order, or that foments hostility towards local authorities or security forces, or promotes the image or esteem of unlawful organisations.

If, in his opinion, the publication ignores the warning, the Minister can shut it down for up to three months at a time.

Botha explained that publications would be monitored by a "broad co-ordinating committee" which would refer questionable articles to a new section of his department, the directorate of media relations, which would in turn advise him.

The debate on the limits of Press freedom, he said in the course of a two-hour briefing, had "developed into a political science" and he undertook to give the editors a reading list to assist them in understanding his intentions. While the law did not provide a means to determine all possible human actions, there were various sciences that could assist in doing so.

He pointed out that the director of media relations, Andries Engelbrecht, had received a master's degree for his studies in human motivation and that his field of interest was "motivational communication".

"It's not so difficult to determine if a publication oversteps the limits of criticism or not," he said. Later, under questioning, he conceded that the distinctions might sometimes be subtle and "not easy" to distinguish, and that was why he was getting outside expert help.

Still later he refused to answer hypothetical questions. He refused to concede, too, that it was impossible for editors to know what subjective judgments he might make, saying they were welcome to discuss the question with him.

Botha explained that revolution was a "multi-faceted process" to which the media might make an important contribution by "breaking down" or ridiculing the authorities while at the same time praising alternative structures, such as street committees, which were committed to violence.

"If the facts are right, criticism (of government) can be published. But the moment you, at the same time, praise the existence of extra-parliamentary committees and say they do a better job, and praise an illegal committee which is part of a revolutionary process, you will be in hot water."

He put great emphasis on repeated publication of such material.

Botha at one stage drew a distinction between those newspapers that subscribed to the Media Council code of conduct and those that did not, but later he said the regulations applied equally to both. The Media Council was "not geared to quick action".

"We have a field here where the executive authority must operate. It must be put against the general well-being of the community, and for that reason we cannot follow the normal procedure which is envisaged by the courts. We need to deal with the matter on a day to day basis.

"We cannot allow the free flow of revolution-mongering propaganda — there the executive must be trusted."

Directorate formed to vet the Press

1/16/65 3/9/87 (243)

By DEON DU PLESSIS
The Argus Deputy Editor

A SYSTEM of "scientific evaluation" of whether newspapers were promoting violent revolution or not was outlined to South African editors by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, in Cape Town yesterday

Mr Botha, as the Cabinet minister charged with the administration of media curbs under the state of emergency, was holding his first briefing for editors on the latest measures which he announced in Parliament last week

Thirty-one editors and other senior staffers of newspapers around the country attended the two-hour event. Editors of the so-called "alternative Press" — at whom, it became clear at the briefing, the new measures are most specifically aimed — also attended the proceedings.

Suspension

The new powers enable Mr Botha, after a series of laid-down procedures, to suspend publication of offending newspapers for up to three months at a time or to appoint an official who will vet material prepared by transgressing newspapers before publication.

Mr Botha, whose tone was affable and conciliatory throughout, strove to dispel the image of outright State censorship. His door, and those of his senior officials, was open to editors and much could be settled by discussion, he stressed.

The purpose of the new powers, he said, was to set up machinery which could act against newspapers which fostered and promoted a "climate" of violent overthrow of the State.

To co-ordinate this task a Directorate, Media Relations has been set up by the Ministry of Home Affairs. It is headed by the chief director of the Department, Mr Andries Engelbrecht who holds



Mr Stoffel Botha

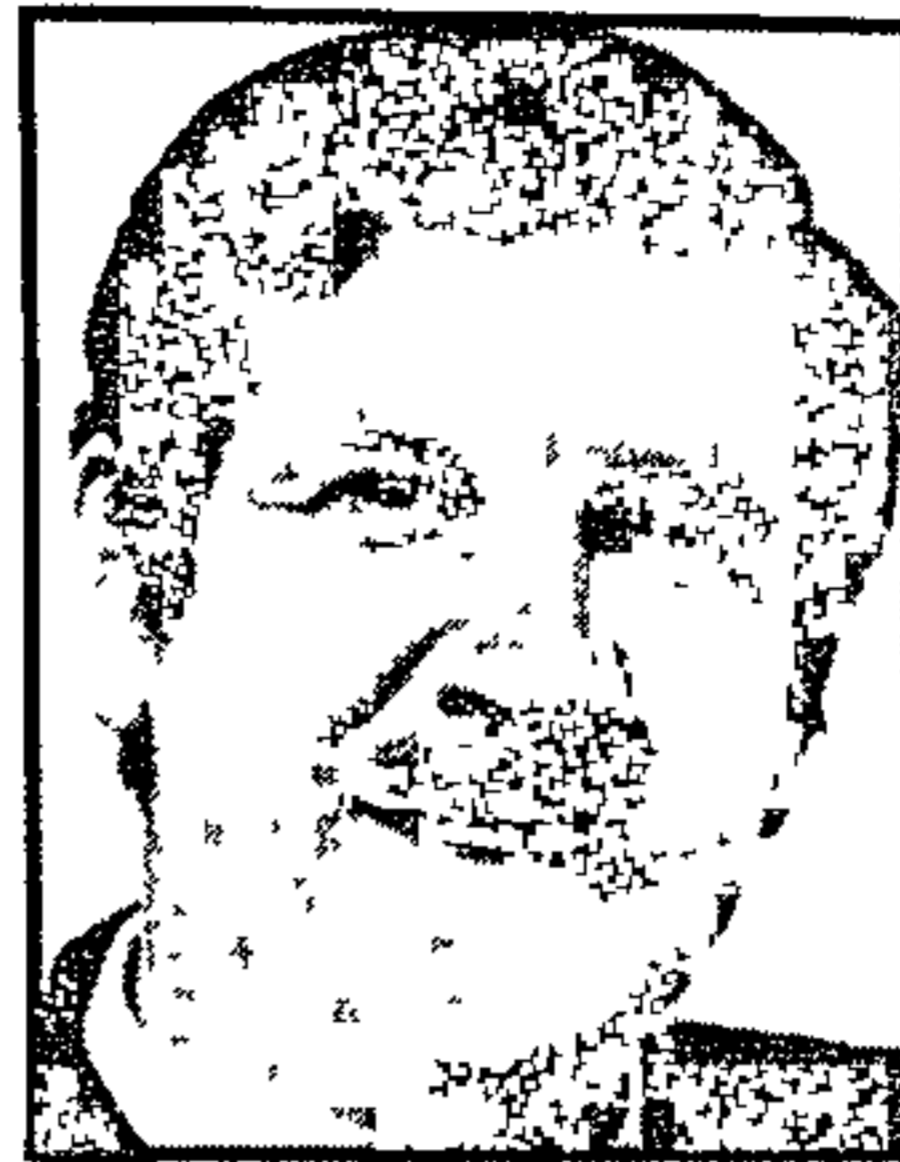
a University of Pretoria MA degree specialising in "human motivation". Others manning the new Directorate will include Mr Attie Tredoux, the Ministry's chief legal advisor and Advocate Koos de Vries, a state legal advisor

In order to make its "scientific evaluations" this Directorate will be advised by a panel of experts including political scientists, psychologists, sociologists, journalists and lawyers — drawn from such institutions as universities and research organisations. Mr Botha was not prepared to name any of the experts who would be helping.

He agreed that in the final instance judgments made by himself and his panel would be subjective ones but he took pains to stress that they would be as objective in their approach as possible. "They will not be fly-by-night and pre-iced experts", Mr Botha said. The government had taken "vast powers" here and he realised that decisions would have to be made with compassion.

Mr Botha defended himself against arguments that the Government already had sufficient powers to deal with the Press. None of the laws available gave the Government the power to deal with the sort of "propaganda" it now had in mind.

Mr Botha strongly denied that the purpose of the new



Mr Andries Engelbrecht

powers was to stifle criticism of the Government. But it was a science to determine if criticism furthered democracy or revolution. There were "fine distinctions" to be made in this field, Mr Botha said.

Action would only be taken after he and his advisors had studied a series of copies of the newspaper in question and had satisfied themselves that the publication was, as a general policy, promoting violent revolution.

Action taken by himself and his experts would be "reviewable" by the courts under common law, Mr Botha said, and, presumably, could be overturned if a court was satisfied that he had acted in bad faith or if he had subverted the procedures laid down.

Mr Botha said action could be taken against any newspaper, but he "confidently expected" that this would not be necessary against newspapers which actively subscribed to the code of conduct laid down by the Media Council. The Government had high regard for this code, Mr Botha said.

He "strongly recommended" that "alternative newspapers" become subscribers to the code of conduct.

It became clear that the Government has not worked out the practical details of the new dispensation yet and, indeed, Mr Botha said he was willing to take advice from

editors on how the system of pre-publication vetting — as an alternative to closing newspapers down — should work. But, at least, at one point he said "What we will not do is have a censor in your offices, most certainly not."

He was also unable to offer editors specific guidelines on what sort of material would be considered by the new panel to be "promoting violent revolution."

He agreed, for example, that a newspaper article which offered a dispassionate examination of both the merits and the demerits of violence would probably not fall foul of the new rulings.

"Anything which in its whole context does not propagate the violent overthrow of the State" was one of Mr Botha's definitions of the sort of material which would still be acceptable.

Aims

He said the Government's aim was still to bring the state of emergency to an end as soon as it could and said that the new media dispensation should not be taken to mean that "reform" was at an end. Reform would continue, but the Government's concern was that it did so amidst acceptable circumstances.

Answering questions Mr Botha promised that the new regulations would be enforced as much against newspapers of the radical rightwing as of the left. He agreed that under present circumstances in South Africa the new powers could specifically be used to stifle the views of "extra-Parliamentary" organisations — but not all them.

The Zulu organisation Inkatha, was a case in point. Mr Botha said True, it was an extra-Parliamentary group, but it did not condone violent revolution as did such bodies as the ANC and the PAC. Violence, it became clear at Mr Botha's briefing, lay at the core of the Government's concern.

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SABC ordered to re-instate retrenched Mwasas members

The SABC has been ordered by the Industrial Court to re-instate 36 members of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) who were retrenched in December and January.

Mwasa's regional chairman, Mr Sam Mabe, said the re-instatement order, signed on August 21, was delivered to the union's lawyers only yesterday and that the retrenched workers were given 14 days to report for duty.

"This means that our members have today and tomorrow to report for duty, failing which they may not be considered for re-instatement. We have very strong feelings about the manner in which this matter was handled, but we will cross that river when we reach it," he said.

Most of the workers lost their jobs when the Commissioner Street departments of the SABC moved to Auckland Park.

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Censors will use 'scientific' procedures — Minister

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A system of "scientific evaluation" of whether newspapers were promoting violent revolution was outlined to South African editors by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, in Cape Town yesterday

Mr Botha, as the Cabinet Minister charged with the administration of media curbs under the state of emergency, was holding his first briefing for editors on the latest measures which he announced in Parliament last week

Thirty-one editors and other senior staffers of newspapers around the country attended the two-hour event. Editors of the so-called "alternative press" — at whom, it became clear at the briefing, the new measures are most specifically aimed — also attended

The new powers enable Mr Botha, after a series of laid-down procedures, to suspend publication of offending newspapers for up to three months at a time or to appoint an official who will vet material prepared by transgressing newspapers before publication

Mr Botha attempted to dispel the image of outright State censorship by saying his door was open to editors and much could be settled by discussion

Panel of 'experts'

The purpose of the new powers, he said, was to set up machinery which could act against newspapers which fostered and promoted a "climate" of violent overthrow of the State

To co-ordinate this task, a directorate of media relations had been set up by the Ministry of Home Affairs. It is headed by the chief director of the same department, Mr Andries Engelbrecht, who holds a University of Pretoria MA degree specialising in "human motivation"

Others in the new directorate will include Mr Attie Tredoux, the Minister's chief legal adviser and Mr Koos de Vries, a state legal adviser

In order to make its "scientific evaluations" the directorate will be advised by a panel of experts including political scientists, psychologists, sociologists, journalists and lawyers — drawn from universities and research organisations. Mr Botha was not prepared to name any of the experts

He agreed that, in the final instance, judgments made by himself and his panel would be subjective but he said they would be as objective in their approach as possible

"They will not be fly-by-night and prejudiced experts", Mr Botha said. The Government had taken "vast powers" and decisions would have to be made with compassion

Mr Botha defended himself against charges that the Government had sufficient powers to control the press, saying these laws did not allow the Government to deal with the sort of "propaganda" it had in mind

Mr Botha denied the purpose of the new powers was to stifle criticism of the Government. He said it was a science to determine if criticism furthered democracy or revolution and there were "fine distinctions" to be made

Action would only be taken after he and his advisers had studied a series of copies of the newspaper in question and had satisfied themselves that the publication was, as a general policy, promoting "violent revolution"

Mr Botha said action taken by himself and his experts would be reviewable by the courts under common law and, presumably, could be overturned if a court was satisfied that he had acted in bad faith or if he had subverted the procedures laid down

Mr Botha said action could be taken against any newspaper, but he "confidently expected" that this would not be necessary against newspapers which actively subscribed to the code laid down by the Media Council. He recommended that "alternative newspapers" become subscribers to the code

Mr Botha said he was willing to take advice from editors on how the system of pre-publication vetting — as an alternative to closing newspapers down — should work. He was unable to offer specific guidelines on what sort of material would be considered to be "promoting violent revolution"

CAD. TMS 3/9/87

Press censorship methods revealed

267 (307) By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

DECISIONS on whether to close down or censor newspapers will be based on the "subjective discretion" of a government minister, helped by a team of largely unidentified "experts" using undisclosed evaluative techniques

The Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, yesterday partly lifted the wraps on the methods the government intends using against newspapers it regarded as using "sophisticated methods of propaganda to fuel the revolutionary climate"

Mr Botha told a meeting of editors and senior journalists that the more than 100 statutes affecting the press and the previously enacted emergency regulations were not sufficient to curb newspapers intent on "fanning revolution" as these laws dealt with "definitive infringements and not propaganda"

Mr Botha said it was not possible to pinpoint or describe all human action in law and it was accordingly necessary to resort to social scientific techniques and "subjective approval" in determining infringements by the media

The minister said he had the "greatest respect" for South Africa's courts but executive actions were necessary to deal with "revolution-mongering propaganda" under the current political climate

Mr Botha said he was a "firm believer" in the free flow of information and free expression, but these had to be measured against the security and well-being of the community "and for that reason we

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cannot follow the normal procedure envisaged by the courts" which were too "time-consuming"

Mr Botha indicated that his opinion would prevail even if the courts believed it was unreasonable or wrong "I have the subjective approval. There is no other way of determining it"

The minister said he had a "high regard" for the Media Council and its code of conduct but action taken by this body against the press was "so slow"

"We obviously would prefer that the Media Council should become a strong, virile body that can act quickly but I don't think they want to take on this unpopular task of playing the watchdog — they want to leave it to me," Mr Botha said

The Department of Home Affairs had accordingly set up a Directorate of Media Relations to monitor South African newspapers to see whether they contravened the latest emergency regulations and to reply to press queries on a 24-hour-a-day basis

A department official who is a University of Pretoria graduate specializing in "human motivation", Mr Andries Engelbrecht, will be the chief director. He will be helped by "experts" in the fields of law, communications, psychology, sociology, political science and journalism

Mr Botha said he was not prepared to disclose the identities of the "experts" his department would be relying on as he did not want them to be made "suspect"

Mr Botha also declined to disclose details of the "scientific" methods of analysis the experts would be using to evaluate the contents of newspapers

The minister insisted that the "panel of experts" were not a "faceless Mafia" but would use "scientific" methods in arriving at their judgments

However, he was "fully aware" of the fact that "even academics make mistakes"

Mr Botha said the code of conduct of the Media Council set out "admirable principles with which the government has no qualms"

But the application of those principles was not accepted by all the media and it was clear some newspapers were not prepared to subscribe to them and others had openly expressed their unwillingness to do so

Hot seat,
but he'll
try to get
on well
with press

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Mr Engelbrecht headed the Bureau of National and International Information after the Info scandal but, he hastens to add "I had nothing to do with the department under Rhodie".

He wound down the department after the Info fiasco and helped to transfer the information function into the Department of Foreign Affairs

Mr Engelbrecht said his new job was "definitely a hot seat", but he would try to establish the best possible relations with the press.

His directorate would move between Cape Town and Pretoria with Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha

In Cape Town the directorate would open offices in the Revenue building opposite Parliament. In Pretoria it would be in Citas building

It would start off with a staff of five to 10 people but could develop Mr Engelbrecht said it would also take in other professional people from time to time as consultants

Most of the staff would be legal people, but there would also be sociologists, psychologists and communications and journalism specialists.

"The whole idea is to give as objective a view as possible."

The decisions would rely heavily on the principles of administrative law where discretion was unavoidable, he said

"But wherever discretion comes in, the decision will unfortunately be seen as subjective Discretion is the difference between administrative and penal law, which demands exact facts

A good example was the Registrar of Patents who eventually had to use his own discretion to decide whether or not one brand name was close enough to another to constitute an infringement of patent

The Minister would be in the same position in relation to possible infringements of new press regulations

Mr Engelbrecht has a masters degree in psychology where he specialised in motivating people in the workplace and was once director of public service training in the Commission for Administration.

In 1981 he joined the then Department of the Interior and took over the Immigration section as chief director

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Media relations man: I'm not a censor

By Chris van Gass, Pretoria Bureau

The new chief director of media relations of the Department of Home Affairs, Mr Andries Engelbrecht, does not see himself as a "super censor".

Mr Engelbrecht whose appointment was announced by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, yesterday to administer the new media regulations said if a censor was to be appointed for a publication it would be someone else.

MANAGEMENT EXPERT

"I definitely do not see myself as a super censor. My job basically revolves around establishing good media relations," said Mr Engelbrecht.

A management expert with a degree in the human sciences from the University of Pretoria, Mr Engelbrecht (55) said the part of his job which deals with the media regulations "will merely be to administer them".

"I will ensure that the research is done and opinions are obtained I will then put it together and make the presentation and recommenda-

tions to the Minister," he said
Born in Maclear in the Eastern Cape Mr Engelbrecht took over the running of the then Department of National and International Communication following the collapse of the Department of Information after the Info Scandal

When rationalisation plans were announced by the Government this department was swallowed up by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Mr Engelbrecht joined Foreign Affairs
He was later transferred to the Department of Home Affairs where he was in charge of immigration and visas. Later his responsibilities were extended to administration, public relations, information and security matters.

He joined the civil service in 1960 and served for many years in the Public Service Commission, now the Commission for Administration, in a training capacity.

"I see my present task covering everything which has to do with media, such as contact with the Directorate of Publications, the appeal board of the Directorate of Publications, and administering the new media regulations," he added.

Mr Andries Engelbrecht says his main function is to promote good media relations and not to censor the press.

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A 'scientific' test for SA newspapers

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By DEON DU PLESSIS
in Cape Town

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Affable

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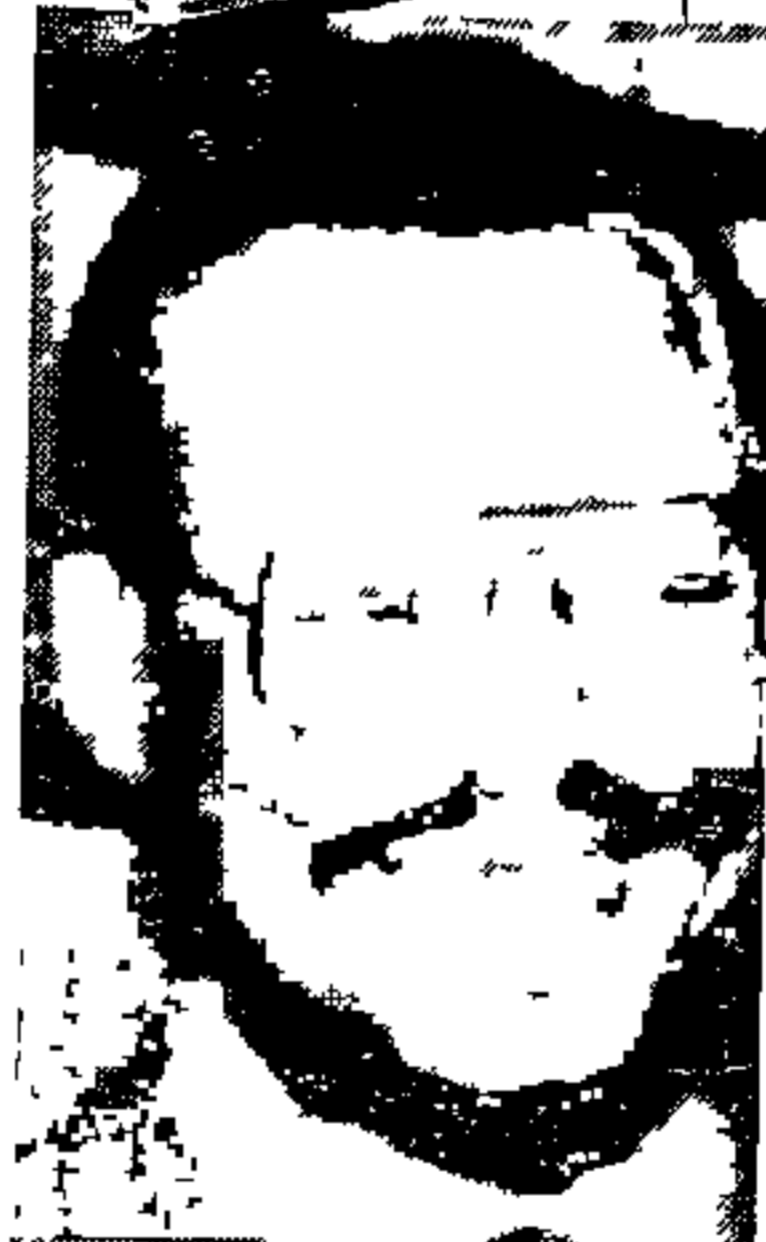
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FOCUS



CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi

would be as objective in their approach as possible.

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Mr Botha defended himself against arguments that the Government already had

and had satisfied themselves that the publication was, as a general policy, promoting violent revolution.

Action taken by himself and his experts would be "reviewable" by the courts under common law, Mr Botha said, and, presumably, could be overturned if a court was satisfied that he had acted in bad faith or if he had subverted the procedures laid down.

Mr Botha said action could be taken against any newspaper, but he "confidently expected" that this would not be necessary against newspapers which actively subscribed to the code of conduct laid down by the Media Council. The Government had high regard for this code, Mr Botha said.

He "strongly recommended" that "alternative newspapers" become subscribers to the code of conduct.

"Anything, which in its whole context does not propagate the violent overthrow of the state", was one of Mr Botha's definitions of the sort of material which would still be acceptable.

He said the Government's aim was still to bring the state of emergency to an end as soon as it could and said that the new media dispensation should not be taken to mean that "reform" was at an end. Reform would continue, but the Government's concern was that it did so amid acceptable circumstances.

Radical

Answering questions Mr Botha promised that the new regulations would be enforced as much against newspapers of the radical right wing as of the left.

He agreed that under present circumstances in South Africa the new powers could specifically be used to stifle the views of "extra-parliamentary" organisations — but not all of them. The Zulu organisation Inkatha, was a case in point, Mr Botha said. True, it was an extra-parliamentary group but it did not condone violent revolution as did such bodies as the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

Violence, it became clear at Mr Botha's briefing, lay at the core of the Government's concern.

Details

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LADIES' MATERNITY

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WAS 39.99

DENIM JEANS

emme

Ronald Sassoon

No papers warned yet, says new watchdog

Media Council code is a 'good guideline'

243 p/day 4/9/87

THE Media Council's code of conduct was "beautiful" and if newspapers adhered to it there should be few problems, the government's new media watchdog, Andries Engelbrecht, said yesterday.

He also said he intended "to keep as good as relations with the media as possible"

Engelbrecht, 55, the chief director of media relations in the Department of Home Affairs, revealed that no warnings in terms of the new regulations had yet been issued to any newspapers.

The new measures "do not deal with normal criticism of the government" but with "revolutionary supportive" media.

"That is a very strong term. If the people stick to the Media Council's code we should not have any problems," he said.

Engelbrecht stressed that any action taken in terms of the regulations would be done after assessment of "a series of issues" of a

Own Correspondent

particular publication "That is a pointer to what will happen"

In terms of the regulations, a notice would have to be issued to the publisher or importer of a publication.

"In other words, it is a fair warning and it will state the grounds for the proposed warning."

None of the experts who would give advice to the minister had been appointed yet

It was quite possible that people who were not white would be appointed to advise the minister.

Asked if they would be government supporters, Engelbrecht replied: "That wouldn't be fair. Then we might as well not have them at all."

"It is expertise we want. It does not matter which party they support, which church they go to or what colour they are"

However, "the final decision will be the minister's."

He said the regulations would not mean the end of the black Press or of any Press.

"We can't say it is the end of the Press. The Press that adheres to the code of conduct should not have any problems"

He said he did not like the term "alternative Press" as "the vast majority of our community newspapers are doing a very good job"

However, the government had a duty to protect security and counter revolutionary propaganda.

The potential for propaganda was "endless".

The grounds which would be used would be judged within the context of the security regulations.

Asked if he was nervous about his new job, Engelbrecht said: "No, I am not the nervous type."

He had a "huge" job to do "but I thrive on these things"

Engelbrecht was the national coordinator of the 1971 Republic Festival. "That was a huge job," he said

Press told to adhere to code

CAPE TOWN — The Media Council's code of conduct was "beautiful" and if newspapers adhered to it there should be few problems, the government's new media watchdog, Mr Andries Engelbrecht, said yesterday

He also said he intended "to keep relations with the media as good as possible"

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The new measures "do not deal with normal criticism of the government" but with "revolutionary supportive" media

"That is a strong term," he said

"If the people stick to the Media Council's code we should not have any problems," he said

Mr Engelbrecht, who was born in Maclear in the Eastern Cape in 1932, stressed that any action taken in terms of the regulations would be done after assessment of "a series of issues" of a particular publication

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The government's new media watchdog is the chief director of media relations in the Department of Home Affairs, Mr Andries Engelbrecht.

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"The press that adheres to the code of conduct should not have any problems"

He said he did not like the term alternative press because it did not convey the correct picture

"The vast majority of our community newspapers are doing a very good job"

However, the government had a duty to protect security and counter revolutionary propaganda, he added

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He had a "huge" job to do "but I thrive on these things"

See Editorial opinion P12

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Stoffel hands the editors some homework

THE Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Botha, has promised editors a reading list to help them understand how he will "scientifically" determine which reports fall foul of the new Emergency media regulations.

Botha held a two-hour briefing on the new regulations in Cape Town this week. It was the first time he had invited editors of newspapers outside the Newspaper Press Union to such a meeting.

Botha told editors he would distinguish between "criticism which is justified, criticism against the existing order, which I must allow and not contain" and criticism which entails an overthrow of the existing order by way of violence.

It was acceptable to promote the overthrow of the existing order by

lawful means. But editors would be "in hot water" if they combined this with praise for extra-parliamentary alternatives.

Botha later said he did not rule out coverage of all extra-parliamentary organisations, only "organisations that are part of the revolutionary process".

"It is not difficult to know which reports go over the bounds of strong and acceptable criticism. This is a business that has been analysed and much-written about. It has developed into a political science," he said.

Although he had discretion to make subjective decisions on what was acceptable, he would try to make this as "scientific" as possible. To assist him, he would use a panel of experts "legal experts and experts in commu-

Weekly Mail Reporter

lication, psychology, sociology, political science and journalism".

He declined to name his panel but appealed to editors not to picture it as "a faceless mafia". He said he would not rely on "fly-by-night experts or prejudiced experts".

The panel will be part of the new Directorate Media Relations that had been created in his department. The directorate will co-ordinate the monitoring of media currently being done by a number of different government departments.

It will be headed by Andries Engelbrecht, a chief director in Home Affairs who, editors were told, had an MA degree for work on "Human Motivation".

To illustrate which reports were unacceptable, Botha said one would be allowed to publish criticism of local authorities, "that they are bad, ineffective, undemocratic or their actions are fraudulent, if your facts are correct".

However, "if at the same time you praise the existence of an extra-parliamentary committee, say they are doing a good job and are better, if you praise the illegal organisation that is part of the revolutionary process, then you are in hot water".

Later Botha conceded it was difficult to determine the "fine distinction between general democratic criticism and that which is subtly part of the revolutionary process".

He would take into consideration whether a newspaper gave both sides

of the story. "If there is a balanced view, this must obviously make a very favourable impression."

Botha said the regulations applied to all newspapers and there was no guarantee that NPU members would not fall foul of them. The regulations would not be necessary if all journalists subscribed to the Media Council's code of conduct, he said.

Contrary to recent speculation about the imminent closure of newspapers, Botha made it clear that there was "nothing on the table yet". In fact, implementation of the regulations would involve a lengthy and complex administrative process.

It would involve a number of warnings, consultations and representations. His team would be available 24 hours a day to discuss the matter.

Hot-seat media man warns 'those who traffic in propaganda'

The new chief director of media relations of the Department of Home Affairs admits he is in "the hot seat" but he is willing to take the challenge

Mr Andries Engelbrecht said he had had fair warning of what was about to befall him about a week ago

"Being an old horse in the game I accepted it and felt honoured," he said But his wife had mixed feelings

"It will take me out of the house and I will have to be available 24 hours a day," says Mr Engelbrecht (55) "But it should not affect my family life too much My children — two daughters and a son — are all out of the house I have two small granddaughters in Natal"

His post will require his moving to Cape Town, as he will be attached to the parliamentary division

GOVT'S MEDIA MAN: 'honoured by the appointment'

"I have lived in Pretoria since 1953 but I am accustomed to moving around In 1971 I organised single-handedly the National Republic Festival in Cape Town, which involved over a year and a half's preparations, so I am used to travelling and I am used to working long hours"

The Saturday Star spoke to him yesterday in Pretoria shortly before his departure for Cape Town

"For the past few days I have been moving from hotel to hotel and in Cape Town I hope to find a suitably furnished flat"

His wife is holidaying in Natal at present and Mr Engelbrecht hopes she will join him in Cape Town in October

Mr Engelbrecht believes good relations with the media are of the utmost importance "My relationship with the press has always been cordial and I have a lot of friends

Personality

ANDRIES ENGELBRECHT

Interviewed by: SARA MARTIN

in the high echelons of the media"

He seemed a trifle put out when it was put to him that his appointment — announced on Thursday by the Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha — was looked on by many as that of "chief censor"

"You must read the new press regulations carefully," he said. "My job will be to supply the Minister with scientific analysis, not to censor If a censor were to be appointed it would not be me"

He hinted that the Government would take a strong stand against

"revolutionary-supportive media" — the "alternate media that does not operate on a commercial level"

"Community papers which also fall under the alternative media group need not fear, we are only interested in the revolutionary supporters who traffic in propaganda"

Born in the Eastern Cape, Mr Engelbrecht has had vast experience in the media and management. He obtained his BA Honours at Pretoria University and then his Masters in human sciences His thesis was on motivation, with special emphasis on work motivation

Mr Engelbrecht joined the civil service in 1960 and served for many years in the Public Service Commission, now the Commission for Administration, in a training capacity

He then took over the running of the Department of National and In-

ternational Communication, after the collapse of the Department of Information

When rationalisation plans were announced by the Government, this department was swallowed up by the Foreign Affairs Department, which Mr Engelbrecht joined

His present post covers all aspects of the media, including the Publications Act and the Appellate Publications Board

Mr Engelbrecht will have his own media division

He is a former provincial rugby player, having represented Border and the Buffaloes Club, and believes in relaxing from the job when he can and is a great Blue Bulls fan It's perhaps the one tiny regret he has about the job — living and working in Cape Town he'll have to content himself with watching Western Province more often than Northern Transvaal

Ex-editor warns PW on 'closed society'

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DR. WILLEM DE KLERK, former editor of Rapport, has slammed the Government's latest Press moves and warned about a growing dictatorship directed at the media.

At the same time he condemned the handling of the "Riaan Eksteen debacle" and said the SABC's credibility had been severely damaged by the row in which President Botha sought to dismiss the director general.

Dr de Klerk's attack came in an address to the annual congress of the South African Communications Association this week.

It adds further weight to the condemnation of the lat-

Sunday Times Reporter

est curbs which allow the Minister of Home Affairs, assisted by unnamed "experts", to order the suspension of newspapers which he believes are encouraging a revolutionary climate.

"The measures were a further step in the direction of a totalitarian and closed society," said Dr de Klerk.

Chief aspects of the new curbs, he said, were:

- State interference in the freedom to exchange opinions and views.
- The driving of publications underground where

they would not be subject to controls but would still have a powerful impact.

● Arbitrary power given to a Minister and clerks at the exclusion of the courts

Dr de Klerk said the SABC statements in the wake of the row with President Botha amounted to an admission of guilt and a promise of even more subjection to prescriptions by the Government

All media were now suspect by the Government, and the credibility of political journalism was becoming tattered through the style and content of the dictatorship which was becoming ever more entrenched, he added.

S/MC 8/9/87

World's top media personalities will be at Star's conference

An international conference involving many of the top media personalities in the world will take place in South Africa next month.

The conference, the biggest of its kind ever held in this country, is to be staged in Johannesburg from October 7 to 9

Editors, publishers and TV network news chiefs from five continents will debate with local leaders and opinion-makers the role of the media in a divided society.

The debate will not be one-sided or a didactic presentation on freedom of the press

The press and international TV will take a hard look at their problems and the state of freedom everywhere... but especially where communities are in conflict with themselves

Editors and publishers with experience of divided communities in India, Sri Lanka, Ireland and Israel as well as southern Africa will attend

The conference, entitled "Conflict and the Press" is convened by The Star on the eve of its 100th birthday

Speakers include Katharine Graham, chairman of Newsweek and The Washington Post

Lord McGregor of Durris, chairman of the British Advertising Standards Authority, chairman of the third Royal Commission on the Press, trustee of Reuters and former member of Independent Television's Advisory Board, will be in Johannesburg to address the conference

Cushrow Irani, managing director of The Statesman, Calcutta, intends leading a delegation from the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers, which represents newspaper organisations in 29 countries

Ted Koppel, one of the leading TV-network news commentators in America intends joining other international TV personalities on one of our panels

Other international organisations which will be represented include

- The International Press Institute, representing 2 000 newspaper people around the world,
- The American Newspaper Publishers' Association,
- The International Federation of Newspaper publishers based in Paris,
- The American Society of Newspaper Editors (representing about 1 600 dailies in America), and
- The World Press Freedom Committee, a body representing 32 journalist organisations on five continents which has fought Unesco and Eastern bloc attempts to control journalists through a new "world information order".

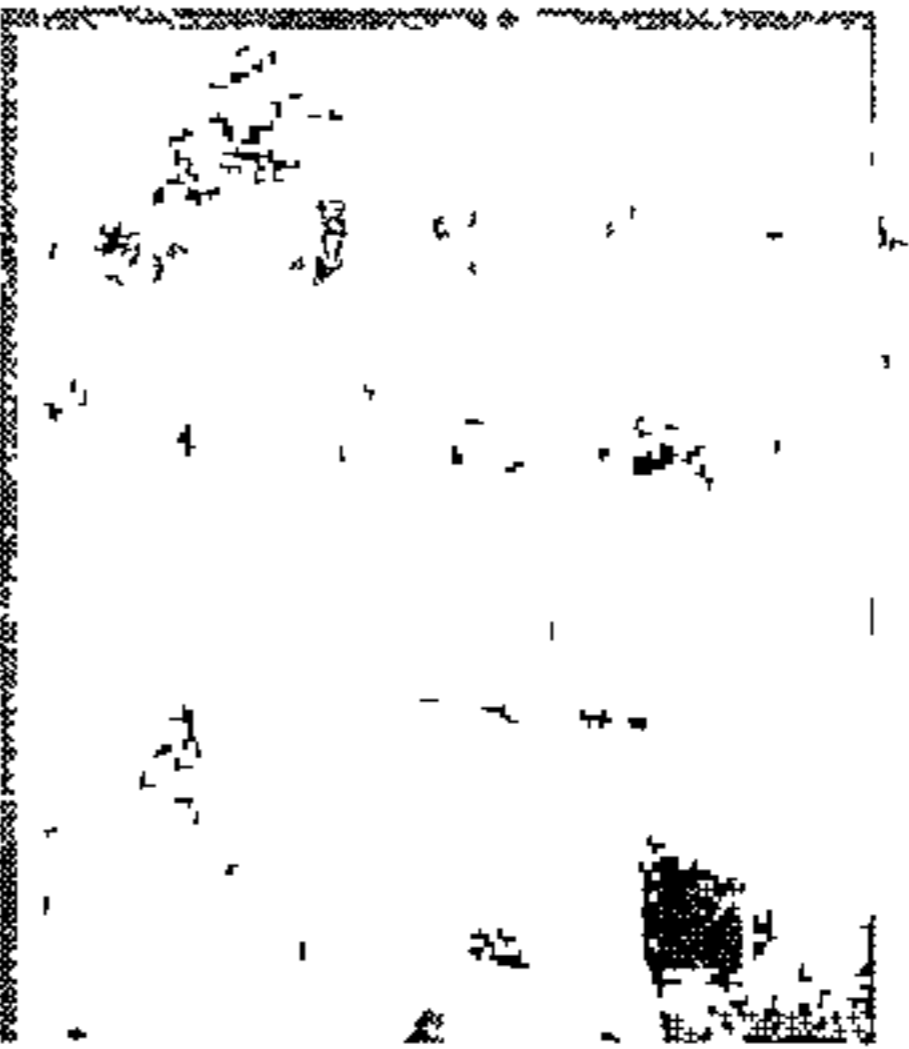
Also coming are international news agencies and editors from



Katharine Graham



Cushrow Irani



Lord McGregor

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German hostage freed
 London I may be back here myself before too long" - Sapa-Reuter
 WEST BEIRUT - West German engineer Alfred
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Why we were banned

TWO committees of the Publications Control Board differed in their findings on three editions of SOUTH.

THE following are verbatim reports on reasons for the banning of two editions, July 30 to August 5 and August 6 to August 12 as undesirable under Section 47(2)(e) of the Act

Ed July 30 to Aug 5

Motivation From the content of the publication it is clear that it is primarily aimed at the coloured community in the Western and Southern Cape

The readership will then also consist of relatively large numbers of people in this community Because the publication deals with events and conditions which these persons know very well and which affect them directly or indirectly, this newspaper will interest especially the less sophisticated members of this community

The language and presentation of the content are done in such a way that it can be easily read and understood, even by the less intellectual and culturally sophisticated members of this community

Very critical

If one looks at this publication as a whole, it is clear that it is not only very critical of the existing social, economic and political order in this land Subtly, though clearly understandable, is the

The censors can't agree!



message that the existing order must be "replaced" with another one

Taking into consideration how much attention is given to events directly related to the ANC, and how sympathetic the publication is towards the ANC, it does not take much imagination to realise that the "other" system is the one promoted by the ANC

Notable is with how much sympathy ANC "guerillas" are treated in this publication

These reports will in all probability relatively easily "convince" the less sophisticated readers of this publication that these people and their actions should not be condemned, but that one is rather dealing with heroes and heroic actions

It is more than just possible that the message to readers of this publication will influence them in such a way that they will form perceptions of, and build interpretations of conditions and events (with which the readers are acquainted to a greater or lesser degree, or which affect them directly or indirectly) which will break down support for the existing order and build up support for the revolutionary movement (in this case the ANC)

Briefly, this publication will judge on a balance of probabilities, help to create or promote a revolutionary spirit among other readers

Finally, it is clear in this publication that it not only launches attacks on the policy of the government of the day or argues for it to be reformed Rather, the existing order is condemned and portrayed as something which cannot be reformed, while at the same time an alternative is suggested, namely the one for which the ANC strives

Conveyed

Because one is dealing with a periodic publication, one can rightly assume that the editorial policy followed, and the message conveyed to readers, would have

been the same in the past and will be the same in the future

The revolutionary climate created by this periodical publication among its readers will be -- and is -- detrimental to the general well being of the good order and peace as well as security of the State

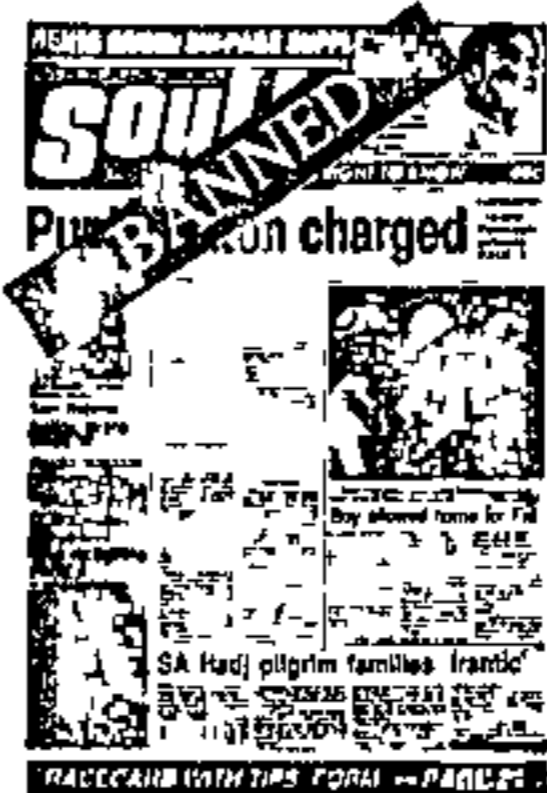
Ed Aug 6 to 12

South August 6 to August 12 1987

Undesirable under Section 47(2)(e) of the Act

Motivation From the content general nature and aim of this publication it is clear that it is aimed at a readership in the Western and Southern Cape This readership will in all probability consist of large numbers of coloureds within the said area

This publication is of such a nature that it deals with events and conditions of which the said persons are intimately aware As a result this publication will also be read and



"understood by people who are intellectually and culturally less sophisticated

It can thus be expected that this publication will be read by workers, pupils and students in the coloured community

If the content of the publication is viewed as a whole, it is very clear that it is relatively militant-critically disposed towards the existing economical, social and political order in the Republic of South Africa

Notably, there are not many, or direct, criticisms of specific actions of the government of the day The approach is much more anti regime than anti government

It is very clear that this publication is attempting to politicise the economic and social problems of the under privileged Every incident, event or condition reported in this publication is given a political colour

Briefly bad economic and social conditions are simply placed at the door of the system

The deduction which the less sophisticated reader can make very easily is that another system will necessarily lead to these conditions improving

In a subtle way this other "system" is also brought to the attention of readers The hero worshipping of Mandela the glorifying of the Freedom Charter, and sympathetic reference to ANC guerillas, etc leave the less sophisticated reader -- especially one who is socially and politically naive (label) -- little room to come to any conclusion other than that the ANC and its policy have or will replace the other system

Sam Nujoma

In the article on page 17, which is in the form of an interview with Sam Nujoma, one finds a thinly-veiled call to terrorism and violence

In this article, Nujoma clearly states that the oppressed (not only in Namibia, but also in the Republic of South Africa - that is the clear

implication) must actively concern themselves with the guerilla struggle, support it and participate in it

If this publication's content is viewed as a whole, the following message can be deduced Non whites in the Republic of South Africa suffer under unbearable social and economic conditions which have only been brought about by the existing (staats) social and economic order in the Republic of South Africa

Things can only improve if the existing order is replaced with another order (namely one which is spelt out in the Freedom Charter)

Sabotage

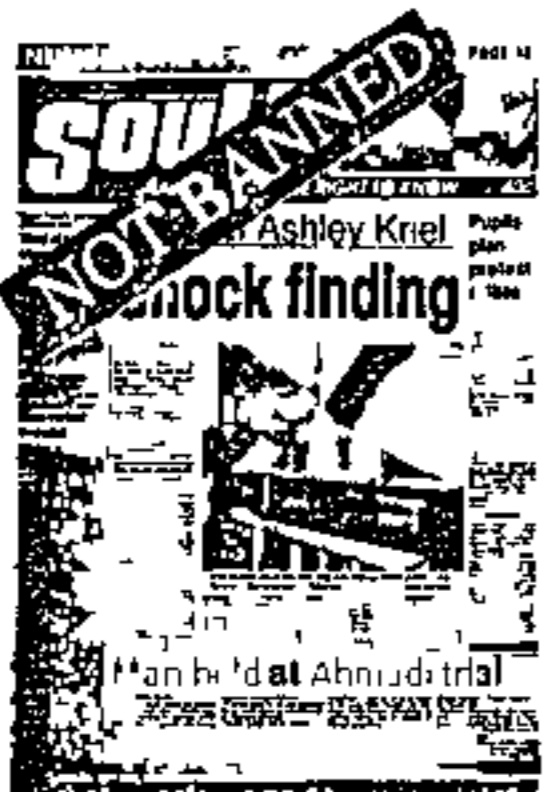
This 'replacement' will only be brought about by active action and by actions such as those of Swapo and the ANC, namely terrorism sabotage etc

Also taking into consideration that this is a periodic publication which has probably expressed the same editorial approach in the past, and will probably express it in future (considering its message and its readers), it needs hardly be argued that this publication will in the long run result in such perceptions and interpretations of conditions and events among its readers which will not only endanger the general well being peace and good order, but also the existence of the State as such

(SOUTH has lodged appeals against both bannings)

Why we were not banned

A COMMITTEE of the Publications Control Board found the July 23 to July 29 edition of SOUTH not undesirable after a complaint was lodged The following is a verbatim report on the committees findings



South is a Cape Town newspaper (koerantje) which is considered to be a so-called "community paper" The paper addresses subjects which have become the pattern of life for its mainly "non white target group, but also the broad mass which is critical of government policy

South reports on the political, economical, social and sporting events of the day Although these reports are carried by all the other newspapers, South can be seen as one of the few existing exponents of the so-called "alternative" newspaper-types press

In this respect, South is a special newspaper which has the interests of a certain group of people at heart. Because this group does not always have outlets of expression at their disposal -- and South sees to this need -- the newspaper has a special responsibility to

deliver a community service The interests of a politically-frustrated target group must be represented against the background of strict security legislation as well as publication control

The issue in question was published at the height of problematic and emotional national and international news events

Traumatic

On Pages 1 and 13, the traumatic events around the death of Ashley Kriel is reported on Though emotions run high around this issue, the reports do not threaten the interests of Section 47(2)

There is no clear, unequivocal incitement and call to violence present in the reports

On Page 5 there is a report from London on the so called Dakar visit. The

reference to the ANC in paragraph five (5) of this report is basically a factual report of a news event which was exposed and criticised by the SABC and other media, continuously and ad nauseum

The report on Cosatu on pages 10 and 11 create - in contrast to what is normally portrayed by the media -- a reasonably moderate image of the union organisation

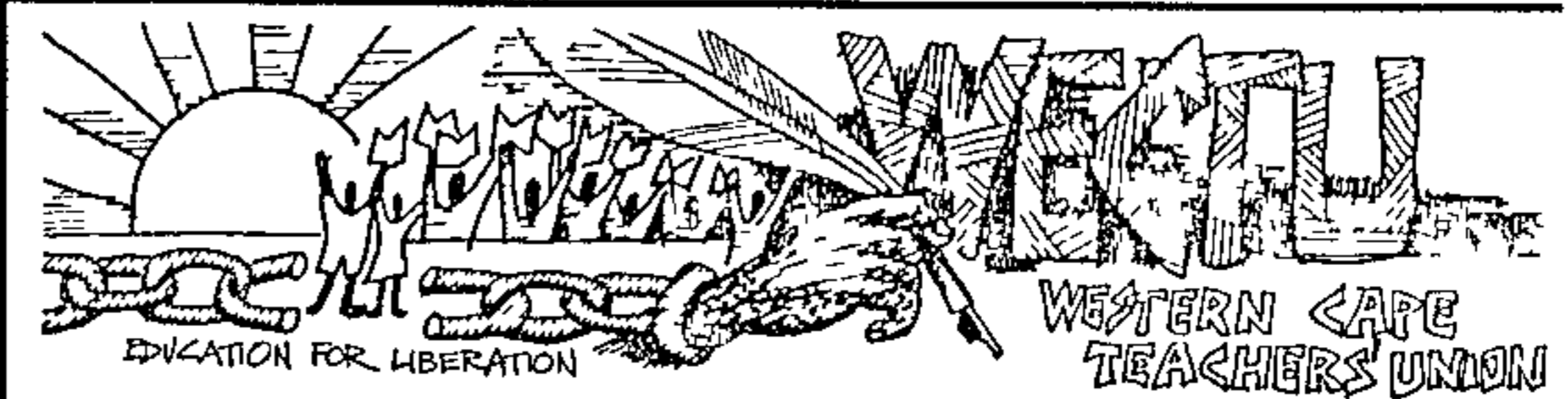
Not undesirable

South of 23 July to 29 July is declared not undesirable in terms of Section 47(2) It cannot be said with certainty that the issue will incite readers to contravene the interests of Section 47(2)

Allowance should be made for political criticism, especially against the context of this newspaper

Violence is not glorified and the content -- though critical -- cannot be declared undesirable because the State security, general welfare or peace and good order are not directly threatened It is definitely not "absolutely necessary" that this paper should be declared undesirable

(The complainant has lodged an appeal against the committee's findings and the matter will be heard in Pretoria next month)



A WECTU VICTORY

After 18 months the House of Representatives has finally given in to the demands of Wectu and the community to drop charges against the 73 teachers who refused to administer the anti-educational exams of 1985.

* TO THE TEACHERS WHO TOOK THIS STAND -- WE SALUTE YOUR COURAGE AND INTEGRITY

* TO THE ORGANISATIONS -- WORKER, POLITICAL, SPORTS, RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL -- THAT SUPPORTED OUR VICTORY, WE SAY OUR VICTORY IS YOUR VICTORY

* TO THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE WE SAY -- WECTU IS HERE TO STAY. YEARS OF PATERNALISM AND ADMINISTRATIVE INCOMPETENCE; YEARS OF ARROGANCE AND INTIMIDATION HAVE PRODUCED A FIERCE MILITANCY IN MANY TEACHERS YOUR SILENCE WHEN PUPILS WERE WHIPPED AND BEATEN BY THE POLICE IN CLASSROOMS AND CORRIDORS ADDED TO THEIR ANGER.

WECTU RENEWS ITS COMMITMENT TO FIGHT ALL THAT IS SEXIST, RACIST AND ANTI-DEMOCRATIC IN EDUCATION WECTU COMMITS ITSELF TO A FUTURE IN WHICH THE PEOPLE MUST HAVE CONTROL OVER EDUCATION

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL!

South

243

'Act of desperation'

THE Government's new powers to suspend publications and censor newspapers have been condemned by a wide range of organisations

The ban of two editions of SOUTH by the Publications Control Board has also come under attack

United Democratic Front publicity secretary Ms Hilda Ndude said the press curbs were "a gross interference with the right of our people to know and read the truth"

"Its purpose is clear. It is an act of violence directed against the minds of the oppressed people. The Government wants people to read only those things which it will allow and only its version on what is the ANC, who is Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and others

"The Government is interfering with the right of our people to make up their own minds as to what is the truth and what is not the truth

"To the UDF, this is totally unacceptable. Nobody shall dictate to our people what they must think. This is part of the battle for the minds of our people. It is a battle which we intend to win," Ndude said

The Western Cape executive committee of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) said the latest curbs "once



Frank van der Horst

Randall van den Heever

Hilda Ndude

again confirm that we are being ruled by a dictatorship".

"The Government must realise that they have failed to silence our people. We call on Botha to immediately lift these restrictions and to lift the ban on two editions of SOUTH," the NECC said.

Frank van der Horst, president of the South African Council on Sport (Sacos), said the curbs were "an obvious move of panic on the part of the racist capitalists to suppress the truth that apartheid is violent, immoral, vicious and indefensible".

"They want to clamp down on newspapers which are merely reporting on the vulgar practices of apartheid. The truth will never be stopped. Apartheid and all its racist structures must go so that we can build a new non-racial society where non-racial sport can be played

"Sacos condemns these measures to muzzle the democratic press in an attempt to make them slaves of apartheid capitalism"

Kassiem Allie, president-elect of the Western Cape Traders Association, said the gagging of the press "shows the fear in the

minds of the authorities that the truth must not reach the masses of our country"

"A drowning government will even try to hold onto a straw to save itself. This gagging may stall the tide for a while but history is on the side of the freedom-loving people. The gags will fail and in time a democratic South Africa will come into being"

Nic Henwood, regional secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), said the Government wanted to act against some newspapers which were "reflecting what is happening on the ground in this country".

"The silencing of these papers will not solve the conflict. It will only fuel the conflict and place a few more people in ignorance."

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said the curbs were "an act of desperation which, far from suppressing conflict, will sow the seeds of more intensified violence."

"The Government's action is a sign of weakness and insecurity. A government frightened enough to ban news which it does not like is one which, in its heart, is not sure whether it is in control"

Lawyers Organisation, said the curbs were "an act of utmost stupidity"

"This is an authoritarian attempt to keep the South African society in darkness. They already have all these powers under the State of Emergency which curb the press

"The real problem is that the Government does not have the support of the people so they have to make all these laws to keep themselves in power," Sonn said.

ness of those who have brought suffering, pain and disruption into the lives of all the people of this country on a scale that continues to defy description"

"The Unity Movement condemns in the strongest terms the harassment of SOUTH and the threats issued against the democratic press opposed to the ruling class policies"

"The reasons given for the new regulations are a mockery of reason and justice," Dudley said.

Mr Randall van der Heever, deputy-president of the Cape Teachers Professional Association (CTPA) said.

"In its latest attack on the freedom of the press, the Government has confirmed that it has merely become more reactionary and verkrant in its latest thrust towards so-called reform."

"Despite having the control of the Afrikaans press and the SABC, the Government must now even try to destroy the alternative press. This smacks of fascism of the highest order. I utterly condemn the latest press curbs as a cold-blooded assault on democratic principles

"It merely adds impetus to the raging polarisation in our country and is not in the interest of a resolution of the bloody conflict," Van der Heever said.

Plea to workers ^{Soweto} (243)

MEMBERS of the Media Workers Association of South Africa who were reinstated by Industrial Court order following retrenchments at the SABC have until Thursday to return to their posts, the union has said.

Mr. [unclear] said in an urgent appeal to its members that they should report for duty at the SABC, Auckland Park, before 4pm on Thursday, September 10.

This follows the August 21 Industrial Court ruling which reinstated the workers who should report for duty within 14 days of the

decision. 9/9/87

The court order only reached Mwasa's attorneys on September 2 — two days before the expiry date.

Mwasa launched another urgent court application to have the SABC extend its deadline after the latter had

initially refused. The order for an extension was granted and served on the SABC on Sunday night.

The reinstatement comes after lengthy negotiations between Mwasa and the SABC which led to the Industrial Court hearing.

Why

By RYLAND FISHER
SOUTH lives in spite of two bans and a new set of regulations to curb the critical independent weeklies
Now a third edition of this newspaper may be banned by the censors later this month

we

South
3-7/9/87
(scribble)
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The banning of our July 30 to August 5 and August 6 to 12 editions by the Publications Control Board came on the eve of the Government's strict new regulations to control the press

SOUTH now has more banning orders than any other independent weekly, including the Weekly Mail and New Nation

Outlining the reasons for the bannings, the Publications Control Board said the overall effect of SOUTH was "critical of the existing order" and wanted to "build up support for the revolutionary movement (in this case the ANC)"

In a contradictory ruling on why our July 23 to 29 edition was not banned, the Board said SOUTH was "a special newspaper" with a "special responsibility to deliver a community service".

were

An appeal against the committee's decision will be heard in Pretoria this month

SOUTH has appealed against the bannings and has also asked for an interim measure that the bans be lifted pending the outcome of our appeals

See Pages 5 and 9

banned

International Press figures for conference

19/9/82

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East

JOHANNESBURG — An international conference involving many of the top media personalities in the world will take place in South Africa next month

The conference, the biggest of its kind held here, is to be staged in Johannesburg from October 7 to 9

Titled "Conflict and the Press", the conference has been convened by The Star on the eve of its 100th birthday.

Editors, publishers and TV network news chiefs from five continents will debate with local leaders and opinion-makers the role of the media in a divided society

Editors and publishers with experience of divided communities in India, Sri Lanka, Ireland and Israel as well as Southern Africa will attend

Speakers include Katharine Graham, chairman of Newsweek and The Washington Post

Lord McGregor of Durris, chairman of the British Advertising Standards Authority, chairman of the third Royal Commission on the Press, trustee of Reuters and former member of Independent Television's Advisory Board, will be in Johannesburg to address the conference

Cushrow Irani, managing director of The Statesman, Calcutta, intends leading a delegation from the International Feder-

ation of Newspaper Publishers, which represents newspaper organisations in 29 countries

Ted Koppel, one of the leading TV-network news commentators in America, intends joining other international TV personalities on one panel

Other international organisations which will be represented include

- The International Press Institute, representing 2 000 newspaper people around the world

- The American Newspaper Publishers' Association

- The International Federation of Newspaper Publishers, based in Paris

- The American

Society of Newspaper Editors, representing about 1 600 dailies in America

- The World Press Freedom Committee.

Also coming are international news agencies and editors from many big cities. A single city — Toronto — will be represented by the publisher of a Canadian newspaper chain, and the editors of The Toronto Star, The Toronto Globe and Mail, and the Toronto Sun

South African delegates, representing the local media, politicians and opinion-makers of all views, leading businessmen and labour representatives, and the legal and other professions, are now being invited — Sapa

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prime objective would be bridge-building between groups in both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics

Cape Town

SABC editor to vet political news?

ARGUS 10/9/87
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THE SABC has created a top political news post in an apparent effort to avoid further friction and clashes with the Government on its political coverage

Mr Johan Pretorius, editor-in-chief of news and public affairs, TV, has been appointed editor-in-chief, politics

It seems Mr Pretorius's main task will be to vet political coverage and to try to avoid clashes with the Government

Mr Christo Kritzinger will replace Mr Pretorius in an acting capacity

Mr Kieran Maree will act in

the place of Mr Kritzinger as editor, news and public affairs (TV) Mr Ferdie Hand has been appointed acting editor (TV 2 and 3 news)

SABC director-general Mr Riaan Eksteen also announced that Mr Hendrik de Bruyn, production chief, magazine programmes and religion (TV 1), had been appointed head of sports programmes in the new directorate of sports and sponsorships

Mr Pretorius's new appointment follows the recent confrontation between President Botha and the SABC on its coverage of the resignation from the Cabinet of the Rev Allan Hendrickse

In the process Mr Botha de-

manded the dismissal of Mr Eksteen. But the corporation's board stood by him

Although the chairman of the board, Mr Brand Fourie, announced afterwards that the matter was now "closed" it remained clear that some formula would have to be found to mollify the Government

While the SABC has been criticised by opposition parties for its one-sidedness there is also dissatisfaction in Government circles about its political coverage

Some Nationalist politicians feel too much attention is given to the Government's opponents — Political Correspondent and Sapa

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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Why we were banned

The censors can't agree!

TWO committees of the Publications Control Board differed in their findings on three editions of SOUTH

THE following are verbatim reports on reasons for the banning of two editions, July 30 to August 5 and August 6 to August 12 as undesirable under Section 47(2)(e) of the Act

Ed July 30 to Aug 5

Motivation From the content of the publication it is clear that it is primarily aimed at the coloured community in the Western and Southern Cape

The readership will then also consist of relatively large numbers of people in this community Because the publication deals with events and conditions which these persons know very well and which affect them directly or indirectly, this newspaper will interest especially the less sophisticated members of this community.

The language and presentation of the content are done in such a way that it can be easily read and understood, even by the less intellectual and culturally sophisticated members of this community.

Very critical

If one looks at this publication as a whole, it is clear that it is not only very critical of the existing social, economic and political order in this land Subtly, though clearly understandable, is the



message that the existing order must be "replaced" with another one

Taking into consideration how much attention is given to events directly related to the ANC, and how sympathetic the publication is towards the ANC, it does not take much imagination to realise that the "other" system is the one promoted by the ANC

Notable is with how much sympathy ANC "guerillas" are treated in this publication

These reports will in all probability relatively easily "convince" the less sophisticated readers of this publication that these people and their actions should not be condemned, but that one is rather dealing with heroes and heroic actions

It is more than just possible that the message to readers of this publication will influence them in such a way that they will form perceptions of, and build interpretations of, conditions and events (with which the readers are acquainted to a greater or lesser degree, or which affect them directly or indirectly) which will break down support for the existing order and build up support for the revolutionary movement (in this case the ANC)

Briefly, this publication will, judged on a balance of probabilities, help to create or promote a revolutionary spirit among other readers

Finally, it is clear in this publication that it not only launches attacks on the policy of the government of the day, or argues for it to be reformed. Rather, the existing order is condemned and portrayed as something which cannot be reformed, while at the same time an alternative is suggested, namely the one for which the ANC strives

Conveyed

Because one is dealing with a periodic publication, one can rightly assume that the editorial policy followed, and the message conveyed to readers, would have

been the same in the past and will be the same in the future

The revolutionary climate created by this periodical publication among its readers, will be — and is — detrimental to the general well-being, the good order and peace as well as security of the State

Ed Aug 6 to 12

South August 6 to August 12 1987

Undesirable under Section 47(2)(e) of the Act

Motivation From the content, general nature and aim of this publication it is clear that it is aimed at a readership in the Western and Southern Cape This readership will in all probability consist of large numbers of coloureds within the said area.

This publication is of such a nature that it deals with events and conditions of which the said persons are intimately aware As a result this publication will also be read and



"understood" by people who are intellectually and culturally less sophisticated.

It can thus be expected that this publication will be read by workers, pupil and students in the coloured community

If the content of the publication is viewed as a whole, it is very clear that it is relatively militant, critically disposed towards the existing economical, social and political order in the Republic of South Africa.



Why we were not banned

A COMMITTEE of the Publications Control Board found the July 23 to July 29 edition of SOUTH not undesirable after a complaint was lodged. The following is a verbatim report on the committee's findings

South is a Cape Town newspaper (koerantjie) which is considered to be a so-called "community paper" The paper addresses subjects which have become the pattern of life for its mainly "non white target group, but also the broad mass which is critical of government policy.

South reports on the political, economical, social and sporting events of the day Although these reports are carried by all the other newspapers, South can be seen as one of the few existing exponents of the so-called "alternative" newspaper-type press.

In this respect, South is a special newspaper which has the interests of a certain group of people at heart

Because this group does not always have outlets of expression at their disposal -- and South sees to this need -- the newspaper has a special responsibility to



deliver a community service

The interests of a politically-frustrated target group must be represented against the background of strict security legislation as well as publication control

The issue in question was published at the height of problematic and emotional national and international news events

Traumatic

On Pages 1 and 13, the traumatic events around the death of Ashley Kriel is reported on Though emotions run high around this issue, the reports do not threaten the interests of Section 47(2)

There is no clear, unequivocal incitement and call to violence present in the reports

On Page 5 there is a report from London on the so-called Dakar visit The

reference to the ANC in paragraph five (5) of this report is basically a factual report of a news event which was exposed and criticised by the SABC and other media, continuously and ad nauseum

The report on Cosatu on pages 10 and 11 create -- in contrast to what is normally portrayed by the media -- a reasonably moderate image of the union organisation

Not undesirable

South of 23 July to 29 July is declared not undesirable in terms of Section 47(2) It cannot be said with certainty that the issue will incite readers to contravene the interests of Section 47(2)

Allowance should be made for political criticism, especially against the context of this newspaper

Violence is not glorified and the content -- though critical -- cannot be declared undesirable because the State security, general welfare or peace and good order are not directly threatened It is definitely not "absolutely necessary" that this paper should be declared undesirable

(The complainant has lodged an appeal against the committee's findings and the matter will be heard in Pretoria next month)

A WECTU

After 18 months the House of Rep the demands of Wectu and the cc 73 teachers who refused to admir 1985.

* TO THE TEACHERS WHO TOOK YOUR COURAGE AND INTEGRITY

* TO THE ORGANISATIONS — RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL VICTORY, WE SAY OUR VICTORY

* TO THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION — WECTU IS HERE TO STAY. YOUR ADMINISTRATIVE INCOMPETENCE AND INTIMIDATION HAVE PRODUCED WEAK TEACHERS. YOUR SILENCE WILL BE BEATEN BY THE POLICE IN CHARGE. WE WILL BE ADDED TO THEIR ANGER.

WECTU RENEWS ITS COMMITMENT TO AN END TO SEXIST, RACIST AND ANTI-DEMOCRATIC POLICY. WECTU COMMITS ITSELF TO ; MUST HAVE CONTROL OVER

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

Cape Times 12/9/87

Church-state clash over Tutu looming

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Political Staff

A CHURCH-STATE confrontation is looming, following what appears to be an attempt by the SABC to place itself in a position to censor Archbishop Desmond Tutu, head of the Church of the Province of South Africa.

Currently, while the Afrikaans church services on Radio Suid-Afrika are pre-recorded, those on the English service of Radio South Africa are not, and the services have been broadcast live for many years.

That, however, is to change.

An edict has gone out from Auckland Park that from October 1, English church services will be pre-recorded, except on major feast days, and the first recording sessions are already under way.

Decision

And almost the first church affected is St George's Cathedral, in Cape Town, from where morning service was due to have been relayed on October 11, when Archbishop Tutu was due to preach.

The celebrant is the Rev Dallas le Page.

Archbishop Tutu is currently in Namibia, and it is understood that no decision on whether the service will be pre-recorded will be taken till after the Dean of the Cathedral, the Very Rev Ted King, has consulted him.

Dean King has, however, already been informed he has to pre-record, but the SABC is expecting that Archbishop Tutu will demand that the service be live.

The assault on press freedom

Putting together an international media conference in even the most democratic of countries is never an easy task — both from an organisational point of view and because most governments and Unesco for that matter, believe that the press has a touch too much freedom anyway

When such a conference is attempted in South Africa, in a new era of burgeoning press gags that could quite easily lead to fully-fledged censorship, the task becomes doubly difficult

The Star's "Conflict and the Press" conference, which will be staged in Johannesburg from October 7 to 9, has taken more than a year to organise in an atmosphere of negative pressure from both left and right

Given the touchy nature of the relationship between the media and government, right now the

conference might not exactly be top of the popularity stakes as far as the authorities are concerned. And with the country blacklisted in virtually every arena there was naturally some initial hesitation among foreign champions of press freedom over the prospect of being involved in a South African conference

However, the argument that won the day was based on the simple premise that if one believes in such freedom and is prepared to speak out, it matters not a jot where the platform is geographically situated. It would make further sense and indeed a lot more impact if this platform was in a country, like South Africa, where a long history of press freedom was being systematically eroded

The result of this argument has been that some of the top media

personalities in the world have agreed to come to Johannesburg next month, not to take part in a one-sided or didactic presentation on press freedom but to take a hard look at media problems and the state of freedom the world over

Speakers at "Conflict and the Press" convened by The Star on the eve of its 100th birthday, include Katharine Graham, the chairman of *Newsweek* and the *Washington Post*; Lord McGregor of Durriss, who is chairman of the British Advertising Standards Authority and the third Royal Commission on the Press; Cushrow Irani, managing director of *The Statesman*, Calcutta and Ted Koppel, one of America's leading network TV news commentators

International organisations represented will include The Inter-

national Press Institute, the American Newspaper Publishers Association, The International Federation of Newspaper Publishers, the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the World Press Freedom Committee.

Additional impact has been given to the conference by revelations this week by the New York-based Freedom House that press freedom had suffered on every continent last year. Nineteen journalists were killed, including two in South Africa, 13 kidnapped, 178 arrested and 40 expelled. In addition there were 214 instances of harassment in 40 countries and more than 40 publications were shut down

And, according to Freedom House, South Africa, the USSR and Chile are usually mentioned in one breath by critics and those who monitor the worst offenders

MY FRIEND,
YOU WILL BE
HAPPY TO KNOW THAT
WITH THE HELP OF OUR
PANEL OF OBJECTIVE
EXPERTS, EVERYTHING
IS BEING DONE IN AS
SCIENTIFIC A MANNER
AS POSSIBLE....

ZAFIRO 7787



The Friendly Executioner

'Let Tambo be Heard'

THE new media curbs, the bannings of two editions of SOUTH, the threats to muzzle the so-called alternative press can all be narrowed down to one line: The ANC and its so-called "friends" must not be heard.

Differently stated, the Government, despite its huge tap of resources, is losing the battle for the hearts and mind of the people.

If anything, the discussions between Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha, his censor-in-chief Andries Engelbrecht and editors of South African papers, unprinted this on my mind.

Tambo

At issue now is whether editors and newspapers will knuckle under or fight for "Tambo to be Heard" — to use the words of the graffitiist who so aptly summed up the publication by ex-Cape Times editor Tony Heard of his interview with ANC leader Oliver Tambo

Stripped of its frills and niceties, Stoffel Botha is adamant certain papers are being used by the ANC and the "many friendly organisations around it" to promote revolution by violent means

Criticism is okay. But once it is goes with promotion of alternative structures — committed to overthrowing the Government, by



violence — it "will land you in hot water"

There are no guidelines on revolutionary or non-revolutionary, no list of the organisations or alternative structures or ANC "friends" committed to violence

New regulations

Nothing besides a very incomprehensive list of criteria in the new regulations which include the promotion of unlawful organisations, boycotts, civil disobedience, stay-aways, illegal strikes, alternative structures, alternative courts etc

Ironically, many editors at the meeting were pleading for help to make their task of self-censorship easier — yet Botha could not assist.

Botha is convinced that existing laws and the media council — watchdog of the major commercial papers — are not sufficient to curb the media

THE Editor of SOUTH, Rashid Seria, attended the recent briefing by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha and his censor-in-chief, Mr Andries Engelbrecht, for editors of South African papers on new regulations to curb the flow of information in this country. Here are his impressions of the discussions.

He has now effectively armed himself with enough fire power to keep this country in the dark on all information labelled "extra parliamentary"

Already, monitoring of all media is taking place on a co-ordinated basis.

Paranoid

So we are not paranoid when we say that the banning of two editions of our paper was not the isolated workings of a local committee somewhere in Cape Town, but a co-ordinated action

It could be to the disadvantage of a paper if it reaches the so called unsophisticated masses, especially the youth, who, Botha feels, are easily influenced. Thus the target market of a paper will certainly be taken into consideration by the unnamed panel of "experts" who will advise the Minister

Vague and unclear as it might sound, the above are the guidelines on which the Minister will issue warnings — and then take a newspaper off the streets for three months, a move which could effectively close it down.

Revolution

We disagree with Botha that certain papers are promoting revolution or a revolutionary climate. Apartheid and exploitation are at the root of the problems in this country. And as long as the racism, repression and exploitation persists, the truth will always be painful for the Nats to swallow

As much as we disagree with the new curbs and bans on our paper, there are some issues on which we, in fact, agree with Botha.

It's true there is a revolutionary onslaught against the State. It's true this onslaught is led by the ANC. But a

news black out will not wish away the revolutionary onslaught, nor will it wish away the ANC

Onslaught

In spite of being outlawed for 27 years, the ANC has grown in popularity

Botha's bottom line was revolution and violence.

We are serious about an end to violence. We are serious about peace. But we have no illusions that there will ever be peace in this country as long as the ANC is excluded

It's immaterial whether we like the ANC or not, or whether we agree with the ANC's "armed struggle" strategy or not

What is material is that the ANC exists, they are not aliens but fellow South Africans. What is material is that besides the Nats, the ANC constitutes the most important participant for the resolution of this country's problems

Viewpoints

What is material is the importance for media to be able to publish differing viewpoints. Suppression will only lead to a suspicious and misinformed public

What is material is whether newspapers and editors are going to give up the fight to let Tambo be Heard.

YOU WILL BE
HAPPY TO KNOW

South

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10-16/9/87

Bans suspended

THE bannings on two editions of SOUTH, Cape Town's only independent weekly newspaper, have been suspended pending the appeal hearing in November

Two weeks ago the Publications Control Board banned the SOUTH editions, July 30 to August 5 and the August 6 to 12

According to the board, SOUTH's overall effect was "critical of the existing order and wanted to build support for the revolutionary movement (in this case the ANC) "

In an appeal, SOUTH argued that the committee's reasons were extremely vague and somewhat contrived

"The committee's reasons appear to be a construction of their own making which bear little if any relation to the contents of SOUTH," the appeal said

"If the readership of SOUTH is indeed as unsophisticated as the committee argues, it is most unlikely that they would be able to discover the contorted connections which the committee finds between the publication, the ANC and replacement of the existing order."

The appeal will heard in November

2/13

2/13

South

10-16/9/87

Censorship obstructs the first step to peace

Suppressing news is always dangerous, sometimes fatal. Even when it is done with the best of intentions and in "the public interest"

I have never forgotten the example tragically played out in Sydney, Australia, some years ago

The New South Wales Minister of Transport asked the press not to publish the fact that the seats in 250 double-decker rail carriages were fire hazards. The authorities discovered that if a light was deliberately held against the seat covers they would burst into flames. They decided to hush up the problem and to put plainclothes police on the trains to watch for vandals while the seats were being re-covered over a period

But during that period, a probable danger turned into a certainty. About 150 000 passengers travelled daily in these fire-risk trains, and one day a train was derailed. In the fire, 80 people died. Only during the inquiries later did the facts about the fire-hazard seats — and the media's voluntary silence — come to light

Need for vigilance

A newspaper has no right to "play God", no right to suppress news except in very special well known circumstances involving legal issues and private lives. The press has no right deliberately to paint the facts, whether to beautify or to distort the true picture

Yet that is exactly what censorship does

And that is why sensible people who love democracy fight unnecessary censorship wherever and whenever they find it. Unfortunately, censorship exists wherever there is officialdom, even in the United States, and quite strongly in Britain. Every authority finds many reasons for demanding censorship. That is why free men have to be constantly vigilant

How do you identify unnecessary censorship? Where do you find it?

In much of the world the State owns all the media, and censorship is virtually total. In Africa it is not only practised everywhere, but there are insidious arguments to justify it. Unesco and the Eastern bloc seek international controls on journalists in order, they say, "to protect them". Or "protect" standards. This was the very argument used by the British Labour Party last week — and by our own government many times recently

The Robert Godlonton Lecture is delivered annually to the Technikon Pretoria in memory of one of the founders of a free press in South Africa. These are extracts from the 1987 lecture, given yesterday by the editor of The Star, Harvey Tyson.

But there also exists in Latin America, the Philippines and elsewhere, what reporters call "the ultimate censorship" — assassination of newspaper people. Nineteen journalists were killed this year

The editor of a Mexico newspaper described the danger of "ultimate censorship" most ironically to the World Conference on Censorship in London this year

"The greatest challenge for a Mexican", he said solemnly, "is to address a conference like this after lunch. I was awakened from my siesta to hear the chairman introducing me as one of the most courageous editors in Mexico. If he talks like that I could be bravest editor in the cemetery"

But while it is possible to joke at death, it is silly to joke about censorship in our own country where we are in danger of losing a centuries-old civilised heritage. The crime of State censorship is worse in South Africa because we HAVE western standards. The argument that our media require censorship because of circumstances which only the Government can judge is, to my mind, rubbish. And attempts are made to justify this rubbish by adding that our press is independent and more free than anywhere else on this continent

Even this claim may no longer be true. Independent newspapers, yes, but State censorship and SABC self-censorship have made it impossible to tell people many things they need

to know if they are to guard their safety and plan their future properly

Most dangerous of all is the denial of publicity to those arrested in the dark on political charges. Only publicity can protect the innocent and provide adequate control measures for the police. Once rule of law is put aside, it tends to get lost for decades — as happened to the detriment of Rhodesians, because Zimbabwe retains the Rhodesian draconian regulations, as happened in Israel where British emergency regulations still exist after nearly half a century

We are told there is a communist threat, we are told we are "at war" yet the fact is that terrorists have had remarkably little success so far. Certainly the threat is the size of an ant when compared with the security problems which Israel faces — and Israel does not gag the mainstream media or attempt to blindfold the people, despite the vast powers it inherited from occupying Britain

In any case, censorship does not work. If it manages to be effective for a while, all it succeeds in doing is create an underground information network, usually a hugely inaccurate and distorted one

Did it ever occur to you why there are so few "underground" newspapers in this country, and so few wild rumours? It is because, up until recently, the press had been

able to print the news. The independent press managed to maintain credibility among the whole population, from far right to far left

In seeking communication, good intentions are not enough. You have to live with your message

Communication means understanding the other person's perspective as well as his demands. It means listening, preferably before you talk

All want freedom

We have to communicate, right across the growing divide. All kinds of people — black conservatives and Indian leftists, white radicals and coloured verkrampies — have to be heard

It is pointless telling the world to leave us alone to solve our own problems if we cannot even speak to each other as South Africans

If we manage to communicate we are likely to find that everyone wants freedom (though some of us have given it away rather than share it). Nobody wants to live in other people's pockets. Nobody wants to be told by ANY government what he or she must do

So the first step to permanent peace in our country is to communicate

It's not easy

100 Years Ago

From The Eastern Star

"The Natal Mercury" states that a battery of four Krupp guns were last week cleared through the Custom House for conveyance to the Transvaal, having arrived by a recent steamer

★ ★ ★

The labourers on the railway line from Delagoa Bay are suffering from fever, and deaths are frequent

Anger over Press curbs

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Sumetun
-16/9/87

A NUMBER of publications have been instructed to send copies of all their issues to the director general of Home Affairs free of charge.

The latest step was confirmed yesterday by the chief of the Directorate of Media Relations in the department, Mr Andries Engelbrecht.

He said that notices had been sent to a large number of publications but he declined to give names at this stage.

The International Federation of Journalists, based in Brussels, has recorded its "anger" at the SA Government's decision to have several publications referred to the Directorate of Media Relations before appearance of their next issues.

A statement issued in Johannesburg on behalf of the federation by Southern Africa representative, Mr Thami Mazwai, said the director of Media Relations was "nothing else but the Government's chief censor"

"No doubt, the day is not very far away when Government censors will be stationed in all newsrooms in the country," he added.

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Govt's *claves* 'censor' is slated ^{20/9/87}

THE International Federation of Journalists, based in Brussels, has recorded its "anger" at the SA government's decision to have several publications referred to the Directorate of Media Relations before the appearance of their next issues.

A statement issued in Johannesburg on behalf of the federation by its Africa representative, Thami Mazwai, said the director of Media Relations was "nothing but the government's chief censor."

"No doubt the day is not very far away when government censors will be stationed in all newsrooms in the country

"We wonder when the government will realise that no amount of censorship will deter the truth from being known - Sapa.

Acquitted newsman may sue police for malicious prosecution

By SYBRAND MOSTERT

20/9/87
THE POLICE took a newspaperman to court because they said his published report on township violence was untrue

The newspaperman was acquitted but the police could now land up in the dock themselves

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The about-face took place this week when a magistrate heard witnesses describe how a shoot-out between policemen and seven alleged ANC terrorists in a township outside Cape Town had turned to slaughter

Witnesses to the shootings including a busload of handicapped children — told the magistrate that they had seen policemen shoot two of the alleged terrorists in the head at point blank range as they were lying on the ground

One man, who had raised his hands above his head in surrender, had also been gunned down, they said

These facts emerged in court when Mr Tony Weaver, the deputy news editor of the Cape Times, was charged with making false statements to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) about police activities

Mr Weaver was charged under the controversial Sec-

tion 27(b) of the Police Act which makes it an offence to publish untrue matter about the police

After Mr Weaver's acquittal, the Attorney-General of the Cape, Mr Neil Rossouw, called for a full transcript of the case to investigate "all the questions raised"

Mr Weaver said he is considering suing the Minister of Police, the former Minister of Police Mr Louis le Grange, and former Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, for malicious prosecution

Bizarre

In a bizarre twist to the incident, a busload of handicapped children stumbled onto the scene to witness the shootings which took place in Guguletu on March 3 last year

The bus was full of young children from the Astra School for the Disabled

The bus driver, Mr Ronald Benting, said he saw a man in uniform shoot another man

"at point blank range in the head," a few metres from the bus

"It happened in front of our very eyes," he told the court

Mr Benting said that he had approached the intersection on his rounds and saw a number of policemen standing around a mini-bus

A man was lying in the road and he stopped the bus

"A white man wearing something like that," he said, pointing at the court orderly's uniform, "approached the man and shot him at point blank range

"He put the gun close to his head and shot twice

"I saw blood come out of his head and run onto his cheek"

Mr Benting was then approached by the police and asked what he was doing there

A 15-year-old pupil with a "learning disability" said that he saw "a black man lift his hands in the air and then they shot him He fell"

Mrs Patricia Smith, a house-mother at the school, said that she had been in a "terrible state of shock" after the incident

She had seen "a man lying on the road A white man had fired downwards at the man with a short gun," she said

Police witnesses said in court — and at the earlier inquest held into the death of the seven — that they had received information that a police vehicle which passed a certain corner in Guguletu every morning would be ambushed

Grenade

A stolen mini-bus would be used by the attackers, and the police had set up a trap

Members of the Western Cape Unrest Unit and the Murder and Robbery Squad were involved in the shoot-out

In the confrontation which followed, police said that they had been fired on and a hand grenade had been thrown at them They had fired at their attackers from a distance in self-defence, they said Russian weapons had later been seized after the shoot-out

But the court was told by two forensic experts that six

of the seven had been shot at "very close range"

And both doctors said that forensic evidence on the death of three of the seven supported the eyewitness accounts more than that of the police

Another witness, Mr General Sibaca, had described how police had grabbed a man, taken a pistol from his belt and then kned him to the ground

A policeman in the distance had then shouted "shoot him", and three shots were fired as the man lay on the ground

Mr Weaver said after the trial that "he was glad that a long period of strain and disruption is past"

He asked whether the inquest into the deaths of the seven would be opened again, as at the first hearing the magistrate had refused to hear oral evidence, and cross-examination of police witnesses had not been allowed

"The expert medical and forensic evidence led in my trial shows conclusively that these police witnesses lied," he said

Judgment puts media regulations in balance

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S/MC
23/9/87

MARITZBURG — The validity of the latest emergency regulations affecting news coverage of "unrest-related" events has again been put in the balance with a Supreme Court order yesterday declaring various provisions of the media regulations to be of "no force or effect in law"

The attorneys for one of the applicants said the regulations in question, including the "incredible" provision that the Commissioner of Police could by notice in the Government Gazette identify a "subversive statement", had, in effect, been "struck down".

Judgment was handed down by Mr Justice J A Howard with Mr Justice J J Broome in a case contesting the validity of the state of emergency, alternatively, five regulations affecting the media

It was brought by the Release Mandela Campaign, national organiser Mr Dundubela Mokoena and W M Publications (Pty) Ltd, publishers of *Weekly Mail*

The judges ruled that the State President had acted within his jurisdiction in declaring the second state of emergency

In deciding, however, on the validity of the media regulations in question, the judgment in the case brought by the United Democratic Front and the Release Mandela Campaign in April this year was "binding"

The judges found to be of no force or effect

- The definition of a "subversive statement" as meaning one in which the public is incited to attend any restricted gathering, or to commit any act or omission identified by the Commissioner of Police as threatening public safety or the maintenance of order

- The publication of any security action described in the regulations set out in proclamation R224 of 1986, as amended, which occurred between December 11 last year and June 11 this year

- The right of the Commissioner to prohibit any publication or recording containing news, comment or advertisement

— Sapa

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summar 23/9/87

REPORTER SUES VLOK

'Minister must pay R115 000 to Weaver'

LEGAL counsel for Mr Tony Weaver, deputy news editor of the *Cape Times*, served notice yesterday on the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, for R115 000 in damages for "wrongful and malicious" prosecution.

Mr Weaver was acquitted last week by a regional court magistrate on a charge of making untrue statements to the BBC about a shootout in which seven alleged African National Congress guerillas were shot dead by police.

He was acquitted 18 months after the shootout and the trial lasted five months. The day before the hearing began, three other Police Act charges against him were dropped without explanation.

The magistrate, Mr J M Lemmer, found that even if the court had found that the matter about the police was false, Mr Weaver had clearly stated that he had reasonable grounds for believing what he had been told to be true.

Mr Weaver's lawyers said in the notice served on Mr Vlok that "notwithstanding the submission by Mr Weaver of a full affidavit setting out his defence... three charges were dropped after substantial legal costs had already been incurred."

Mr Vlok's office has been given a month's notice to pay or face a court summons. — Sapa.

them at state expense with the aid of the Department of Public Works and Land Affairs, and against payment by them for the duration of their stay

- (b) Official quarters Hostel Private rooms Private homes
- (c) Official quarters on Prisons Terrain, Cape Town Hostel and private rooms at Guguletu and Khayelitsha Private houses at Nyanga East

- (3) Yes Travel facilities are provided for official journeys undertaken during the Parliamentary session in the same way as if they were at their headquarters. Exception for the following journeys, travel assistance is not given by the State for private journeys

A maximum of 2 private journeys, where the employee's whole household moves to Cape Town, and 4 journeys where the whole household is not thus moved can be paid out of State funds. The journeys can be undertaken to and from their headquarters or any other place, to enable them to attend to their interests

- (4) Yes
- (a) Falls away

- (b) The State is responsible for the relevant journeys referred to in (3) above. In addition, the State transports the employees to Cape Town at the beginning of the session and for the final journey back to their headquarters. The employees travel via the most economical means of transport which in the discretion of the head of department is the most practical and efficient means

†Mr S S VAN DER MERWE, Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I want to know whether no arrangements are made for assistance to these persons for journeys from and to work on a daily basis, while they are in Cape Town. I ask this question as a result of the fact that

Khayelitsha, for example, is very far from Cape Town. Is there any assistance or are there special arrangements in that regard?

†The MINISTER, Mr Chairman, I will have to furnish those particulars to the hon member later, or he will have to put an additional question on the Question Paper. I am not prepared for that.

Philadelphia Hospital: person disappeared

*3 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order

- (1) Whether a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, was removed from the Philadelphia Hospital in Dentition by the Police in early August 1987, if so, (a) on what date, (b) why, (c) where is he being held and (d) what is his name, if not,

- (2) whether the Police have been approached by any persons regarding the disappearance of this person from the above-mentioned hospital, if so, (a) when and (b) what action have they taken as a result,

- (3) whether the Police are investigating the disappearance of this person from this hospital, if not, why not, if so, with what result?

†The MINISTER OF JUSTICE (for the Minister of Law and Order)

- (1) No
- (a) to (d) Fall away
- (2) No
- (a) and (b) Fall away

- (3) No. The person had been detained since 16 May 1987 by the KwaNdebele Police in terms of the Emergency Regulations. On 13 June 1987, members of that Police Force took him to the Philadelphia Hospital for treatment of an illness. He was guarded for the duration of his stay in hospital and was discharged from hospital on 13 August 1987. After he had been detained at the Dentition police station for one night, he was

transferred to the Nylostroom Prison, where he is still being detained. The relatives of the detainee were informed of his discharge from the hospital. They are aware of the fact that he is again being detained in the Nylostroom Prison and they, as well as the detainee's attorney, have visited him there on several occasions since 13 August 1987.

Executions

*4 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Justice

How many persons had been executed in the Republic since 1 January 1987 as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

†The MINISTER OF JUSTICE

From 1 January 1987 to 9 September 1987 111 persons were executed

Media regulations

*5 Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Home Affairs

- (1) Whether he has appointed any persons to serve on a committee or committeees to advise him on the implementation of the most recently published regulations relating to the media, if so, what are the (a) names and (b) qualifications of these persons,

- (2) whether the persons so appointed will receive financial compensation for performing their duties, if so, what compensation?

†The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

- (1) No

However, in applying the regulations the responsible Minister must on examination of a series of issues of a periodical, decide whether a systematic or repeated publishing of matters has, or is calculated to have the effects stipulated in the regulations. The provisions of regulation 7A confer upon me the discretion to decide

and the decision is mine alone. In reaching that decision I have to apply my mind and act without *male fides*, failing which my decision can be challenged in Court. In the process of applying my mind I intend to *inter alia* avail myself of and weigh the full spectrum of relevant issues and facts.

Should I, therefore, deem it necessary in a particular case, I shall make use of the opinions and advice of social scientists, academics, lawyers and media experts. Each individual situation will determine my course of action. I might find the matter before me so clear-cut that I do not consult anyone.

For the proper functioning of the system I do not consider it advisable to divulge the names of the people consulted by me. I do not wish to involve them publicly in a decision which, in the end, is mine. However, if they take it upon themselves to let it be known, I have no objection thereto.

Compensation

Compensation is a matter that varies from case to case. I intend to consult experts directly by telephone, or through correspondence. The question of compensation might not arise at all in many cases, depending on the circumstances and the persons consulted.

Passenger coaches: sequence

*6 Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Transport Affairs

Whether any passenger trains travelling between Johannesburg and Cape Town have the sequence of the passenger coaches changed during the journey, if so, (a) why, (b) what changes are effected in the sequence of the coaches and (c) (i) where and (ii) at what stage of the journey are these changes effected?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS

Under normal circumstances the sequence

Reporter free as spotlight turns to police

By GAYE DAVIS,
Cape Town

THE acquittal of journalist Tony Weaver under the Police Act yesterday has turned the spotlight back onto the police and the incident in which seven alleged guerrillas were shot in Guguletu, Cape Town, last year.

Weaver, the *Cape Times* deputy news editor, was yesterday acquitted on charges of contravening Section 27 (b) of the Police Act.

He had been accused of publishing untrue matter about the deaths of the seven alleged ANC cadres in a BBC interview the day after the shootings. In it he cited eye-witnesses' claims that some of the men were shot dead in cold blood and said families of the dead men felt Russian-made weapons had been planted on their bodies to justify their being shot.

Finding Weaver not guilty, magistrate J M Lemmer said the "true facts" were not put before the court by the State. He had no reason not to believe the medical evidence — unchallenged by the State — which contradicted police testimony on how six of the seven died, and evidence by three eye-witnesses called by the defence could therefore also not be rejected.

Lemmer added that even if he had found that Weaver had published false matter, the evidence was that he had reasonable grounds for believing it was true.

Weaver said this week he believed his acquittal was not the end of the matter.

He wished to know whether the Attorney General would re-open the inquest into the deaths of the seven alleged guerrillas.

Weaver said that at an inquest hearing, the presiding magistrate refused to allow oral evidence or the cross-examination of police witnesses. Yet the medical evidence showed conclusively that some of the police witnesses lied and that several of the men were shot at point-blank range.

He also wanted to know:

- Whether the "inexplicable" disappearance of part of the court exhibit and alterations made to a police register had yet been investigated.

- The reason why three other charges, relating to *Cape Times* reports of the same incident, were suddenly dropped at the start of the trial.

COMMODITY prices are beginning to show some real strength after a decade of glut which shoved prices to their lowest real level since the thirties. Key metals and certain raw materials are leading the way.

The general view is that we have seen an all-round bottoming out of commodity prices. Based on technical analysis, copper and aluminium prices have revealed an impressive uptrend on the chart points.

On the fundamentals (i.e. demand and supply) the future of certain key commodities is also looking promising although excess production capacity of nearly all the important commodities will tend to temper price rises.

Historically commodity prices have tended to react in line with inflation. The reaction or overreaction of precious metal prices to inflation and inflationary fears has been noticeable once again recently. This has occurred with the realisation across markets that world inflation has bottomed out and an uptick in world prices is expected.

Traditionally the outlook for inflation has been largely bound up in the outlook for the cost of energy. The instability in the Gulf with a resultant fluctuating oil price way above the 10 dollar a barrel days of last year provides a strong impetus to inflationary fears. This is encouraging investors to hedge themselves.

The fundamentals (i.e. demand and supply for oil) point to an oil-glut and a possible downward trend in the oil price which we should witness by the year end.

Should the price of oil

Economic prospects 'not rosy'

FOCUS

This week economist LYNN PIKHOLZ looks at commodities and how they affect the economy.

fall, the higher oil price of today is still significant with respect to inflation as many countries will be tied into contracts at firmer oil prices. The cost push inflationary effects will certainly filter through into overall prices in these countries.

In the precious metals market gold has performed extremely well rising steadily since 1984. This upward trend is firmly in place and extends across other precious metal markets such as platinum and silver.

Bullish

The bullish outlook for precious metals is being entrenched by increasing concerns over fundamental problems in the money markets (e.g. the US trade deficit and the Japanese and German surpluses).

These imbalances which persistently exist between the economies of the major countries are a destabilising force on world markets. The fact that the dollar is widely expected to depreciate against other major currencies is also making investors anxious about dollar investment and they are thus more willing to put their money into alternative assets.

Moreover, as most

commodities are denominated in dollars, a depreciating dollar broadly means an increase in commodity prices. Investors are diversifying their portfolios to incorporate a wider spread of commodities.

Their rising demand for commodities is in turn pushing up prices and it is this trend we have been seeing lately despite downward corrections due to profit-taking.

Not all commodity prices have been rising equally. Base metals and industrial agricultural raw materials have fared far better than foodstuffs. Base metals depend mainly on industrial consumption rather than the whims of investors and speculators.

Low inventories, falling interest rates, a depreciating dollar and accelerating inflation laid the foundation for the boom in base metals. Since the beginning of the year the price of nickel has surged 49 percent, aluminium 41 percent and copper 35 percent. This compares to a 15 percent increase in the gold price. The low stock levels are ensuring that the market will be volatile on its upward trend. Prices of some foodstuffs are still at their lowest level in 50 years despite a noticeable improvement in others.

Prices of many commodities outside the precious metals are still falling in real terms or at best holding their own.

Commodities sometimes follow their own cycles despite general commodity movements

Sugar has been especially hard hit in recent years.

Excessive overstocking for many consecutive years by the European Community in order to protect farmers has distorted markets and created an irreversible glut, at least in the short term.

The potential for sugar to be used as a source of fuel (by extracting ethanol) may change this picture. Copper production, on the other hand, was cut drastically in recent years due to slack industrial demand. Stocks are now so low that renewed industrial demand is driving prices up again.

Prices

On the agricultural front, products such as rubber and cocoa have seen a turnaround in their prices — albeit a modest increase. Rubber has risen approximately 5 percent and cocoa 6.5 percent in the past eight months. Cotton prices have been seeing a recovery since August last year. Wool prices have also risen strongly.

This trend has not been echoed in the coffee market as Brazil, expecting a huge coffee crop, is exporting coffee at prices far below the recommended market price.

In South Africa commodities form an essential part of our economy as we are primarily dependent on the primary sector (i.e. mining, quarrying and agriculture). Rising commodity prices thus have strong implications.

The scenario with respect to commodities on the precious metal

side is far more favourable than of agriculture where we are faced with increasing sanctions abroad and market distortions locally.

Our agricultural sector, like most others in the world, is bound up in bureaucracy. Government loans, grants and subsidies to farmers distort markets and encourage overproduction. We have been exporting maize at a loss for many years.

The government is finally trying to rectify the situation and is attempting to "buy out" the farmers in order to persuade them to reduce the number of hectares used in maize production.

Although there has been a strong uptick in commodity prices, when one excludes the precious metals, the long-run prospects do not seem all that rosy. It is unlikely that developing countries dependent on commodity exports will see a turnaround in their terms of trade.

It would be fair to say that we have probably witnessed the end of the "big bear" in commodity markets. We must however, temper our joy as there are massive surpluses and potential production capacity in most commodities world-wide which ensures that "little bears" will be running around for some time to come — but then on the bright side again Goldilocks is also here to stay.

Uncovered: Second state committee monitoring press

By JO-ANN BEKKER

ALTHOUGH the new Directorate Media Relations is under the spotlight at present, there is another covert government committee actively monitoring the press.

Weekly Mail first learnt of the recent activities of the Interdepartmental Monitoring Committee when investigations were launched into a possible contravention of the Emergency regulations by the *Mail*. The committee had initiated the investigations.

Andries Engelbrecht, chief of the Directorate Media Relations, confirmed the existence of the monitoring group in an interview this week. But he refused to disclose the names of the people sitting on the committee, describing it as an "ad hoc group".

Like the directorate, the monitoring committee falls under minister Stoffel Botha's Department of Home Affairs.

However, the directorate's brief is clearly defined. It is concerned only with the most recent Emergency press regulations directed at publications which the minister believes "fan revolution" or stir up feelings of hatred towards local authorities or the security forces.

The Interdepartmental Monitoring Committee, on the other hand, predates the Emergencies and has a wider function. Its original role was to ensure the media obeyed the 100-odd laws prescribing what they might or might not publish.

Initially, according to Engelbrecht, the group drew together "all state departments with monitoring functions". Thus it would scrutinise newspapers for contraventions of the Prisons Act or Police Act, which lay down strict rules for reporting on prison conditions and police actions respectively. However, while the group co-ordinates the monitoring of different departments, it does not prevent individual departments from pursuing their own investigations.

He said the monitoring group "evolved over the years". When the successive Emergencies and press curbs were introduced from 1985 onwards, the committee was also entrusted with ensuring newspapers did not contravene these regulations.

The Interdepartmental Media Monitoring Committee — which Engelbrecht described as a system of "sifting" — can refer queried stories to several bodies.

●The Media Council, set up by the Newspaper Press Union in 1982. One of its tasks is to respond to com-

plaints from the state and public about reports perceived to be unbalanced and inaccurate. Offending newspapers, which subscribe to the council's code of conduct, can be fined or NPU newspapers can be ordered to print corrections or restrictions.

●The Publications Control Board, which can ban offending publications.

●The police, if the monitoring committee believes there are sufficient grounds to investigate a contravention of the law.

In the weeks since the August 28 press curbs were introduced, three incidents have occurred to newspapers bracketed under the label of "alternative media".

Firstly, the Publications Control Board has banned issues of two newspapers.

The young Cape Town newspaper *South* has been banned twice — although the bans have been lifted pending appeal. A third issue was not banned by the local Publications Control Board, but the national board appealed against the decision and the result of this appeal is expected this week.

A recent issue of *New Nation*, which is published by the SA Catholic Bishop's Conference, was also banned. Acting editor Gabu Tugwana said he would appeal against the action as he had two previous banings.

Secondly, *Weekly Mail* was advised this week that police were investigating two alleged contraventions of the Emergency regulations.

The first relates to an insert placed by the End Conscription Campaign in June in which the organisation stated it was countering "disinformation and smear campaigns" against the organisation.

The other stems from an article published in February. It was headed "Detainee 'barred from seeing psychologist'" and concerned the psychiatric treatment of Emson Banda, a detainee held in Port Elizabeth.

Another development in the policing of the press was the government's insistence — provided for in the latest press legislation — that the directorate be provided with issues of publications free of charge. *South*, *Work in Progress*, *Weekly Mail*, *Learn and Teach* and *Upbeat* have all been instructed to supply copies.

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The court clips the commissioner's media powers

THE judgement in the *Weekly Mail* Release Mandela Campaign challenge to the Emergency, handed down this week, has resulted in the overthrow of several media restrictions which, according to legal experts, could have important immediate and long-term effects

In particular it curbs the power of the commissioner of police to extend the definition of "a subversive statement" and thus increase the list of what may not be published.

The full bench of judges, Allan Howard and John Broome, sitting in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court, held they were bound by an earlier judgement of a Natal full bench which ruled on various restrictions, including the ones under attack.

"Until such time as that judgement is altered on appeal (an appeal is pending) it is binding on this court, because it is not clear to us that it is wrong in any material respect."

They therefore struck down those media restrictions challenged by the applicants, the most important of which took from the commissioner of police the right to add new definitions of a subversive statement and to pro-

CARMEL RICKARD reports

on the outcome of the courts challenge to the Emergency regulations, by, among others, the *Weekly Mail*

hibit the publication of certain kinds of news and advertisements.

As far as the broader challenge to the validity of the Emergency itself is concerned, the focus for civil rights watchers now moves again to the Appeal Court where several contentious issues are awaiting a final decision.

The attitude of that court was, however, spelt out in a key Emergency decision, given by the Appeal Court in July, and quoted by Judges Howard and Broome.

They cited part of this decision at the start of their judgement "The power (given to the state president) is a most extensive one (It) is not open to a court, when considering regulations, to substitute its assessment of what would be necessary and to hold that the regulation is invalid because the state president could, in its judgement, have dealt

JUST when it seemed no more legal ground could be gained against the Emergency, the results of the *Weekly Mail* case have brought some relief to hard-pressed newspapers

One media lawyer commented that the judgement fits a discernable "trend" — in which the courts have been upholding the right of the state president to do virtually as he likes while, on the other hand, they have curtailed the power of lesser officials

He added that although the judgement as a whole was "disappointing" for civil liberties, the value of the findings on the media restrictions should not be underplayed. A number of media restrictions were struck down and the powers of the commissioner of police were severely curtailed

In their decision the two judges de-

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- Commissioner's power to gazette a new subversive statement — 1(a)(x)
- Ban on encouraging attendance at a restricted gathering — 1 (a)(v)
- Ban on the publication of news comment or photographs of security action prior to June 11 — 3 (1) (a)
- Ban on disclosing the time, date and place of a restricted gathering
- Commissioner's power to prohibit the publication of any newspaper, sound or film recording

WHAT STAYS ...

- The new definitions of unrest and security action

with the matter in issue in another, less harsh way."

Judge Howard, who wrote the judgement, then added that the Public Safety Act "likewise (conferred) upon the state president an unfettered discretion to decide whether the circumstances in the country are such that a State of Emergency should be declared."

These remarks in a sense set the scene for the decision

Moving to the first grounds of the challenge, Judge Howard said the applicants argued it was a precondition

An expert on press law said: "A pattern seems to be developing in which the courts feel bound to acknowledge the virtually limitless powers of the state president, but fortunately, every time the regulation drafters try to delegate similar powers to the commissioner they get knocked out by the court."

He said it was important that the judges decided they were bound to follow the ruling given earlier this year by a full bench of Natal judges.

"If they had ruled the other way on the media restrictions, and found they were not bound to follow the previous Natal decision, the effect on newspapers would have been to restrict them even more."

"The role of the commissioner has been very significant. ... It is the commissioner who can

really cause trouble for papers through his powers of seizure

for a declaration of Emergency to be valid that there should not already be an Emergency existing in that area. It would serve no purpose to declare an Emergency in an area where an existing proclamation was still in force. The legislature could not have "contemplated anything so irrational and did not intend that the state president should have the power to do so".

Dismissing this argument, Judge Howard said the legislature obviously foresaw the possibility that the conditions necessitating an Emergency could last longer than 12 months and that a "fresh proclamation would have to be issued".

Senior legal academic, Natal University's Tony Matthews, said the judgement was telling in how much it indicated about the political attitudes of the judges concerned.

"One sign is found where the judges refer to non-Emergency legislation as the 'ordinary law of the land'.

"To describe the laws of this country, even those not being invoked during the Emergency, as 'ordinary law' is really a very stretched usage.

"Nowhere else in the world would such repressive legislation be thought of as 'ordinary'. Even outside the laws directly used to declare an Emergency, the rest of the legislation is so repressive that the country is in effect in a permanent State of Emergency."

Each party was ordered to pay its own costs.

DISAPPOINTMENTS, BUT SEVERAL MEDIA RESTRICTIONS GO OUT

The judge said from the speeches made during this period he gained the impression that "if the amendments had been approved in time the government would probably have resorted to (them) rather than to the Public Safety Act to deal with the situation on June 12, 1986".

Judge Howard then adds, "But that is beside the point", and he goes on to say that extracts from speeches made at the time confirmed that the amendments were "designed to deal with sporadic and short-lived outbreaks of violence or unrest, not country-wide States of Emergency".

Moreover, there was no reason to doubt the state president when he said in court papers that he believed the ordinary law of the land was "inadequate in the prevailing circumstances" to allow the government to maintain law and order.

Each party was ordered to pay its own costs.

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By S'BU MNGADI

CERTAIN sections of the emergency regulations were this week set aside by the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court, but newspapers are still gagged on reports on unrest on security force action.

Judges Howard and Broome rejected an application by the Release Mandela Campaign, its national co-ordinator Aubrey Mokoena and the *Weekly Mail* for an order declaring the current state of emergency and key sections of the emergency regulations to be invalid.

However, the court set aside sections of four regu-

Court sets aside a few rules but the media gag is still on

lations on the grounds that similar regulations had been declared invalid in a previous judgement by a full bench.

An appeal to the Appellate Division in connection with that case is still pending.

The judges ruled that State President PW Botha,

had acted within his jurisdiction when he declared the state of emergency, but they ruled that some regulations affecting the media of no force or effect.

Those regulations are: part of the definition of a "subversive statement"; publication of reports on any security action between

December 11 last year and June 11 this year; the right of the commissioner of police to prohibit any publication or recording containing news, comment or advertisement on any matter specified in the order and the publication of the time, date and purpose of any restricted gathering before

it takes place.

Justice Howard said the applicants had failed on every issue, save those which in the light of the previous judgement by the full bench.

He rejected an argument by counsel for the *Weekly Mail* and RMC, Ismail Mahomed, SC, that the declaration of the state of emergency on June 11 this year was invalid.

Professor Tony Mathews, a specialist on security legislation, said that the media regulations overturned were not very important and the judgement's effect on the reporting of unrest was minimal.

Lord MacGregor would like to import America's First Amendment and Bill of Rights

LONDON — If Lord MacGregor had his way, he would import America's First Amendment and Bill of Rights to Britain to defend free speech.

Because, in Britain today, Lord MacGregor believes there is the threat of an insidious assault on free expression both by establishment traditionalists and agitating reformists on the minority fringe.

He deploys his argument with equal fervour against campaigning feminists on the Left, and Britain's highest legal authorities, the Law Lords, on the Right.

And it is clear his admiration for America's enshrinement of free speech is not an eccentric excess. A man who has pursued careers in farming, academia, politics, and now, as chairman of the country's Advertising Standards Authority (ASA), in setting the delicate balance between censorship and offence, Lord MacGregor's conviction that the holiest of freedoms is that of expression, is unshakable.

A year ago, this peer's colleagues were probably alarmed to read press reports of his confession (to angry feminists) that he had a fantasy of "strapping a diamond to a beautiful girl's thigh".

But Lord MacGregor of Durris had not lost his senses. He had wished to make clear the distinction between fantasy

Crusader for a free press, Lord Oliver Ross MacGregor — chairman of the independent trustees of the global Reuters news service, and chairman of Britain's Advertising Standards Authority — will be in Johannesburg next week to take part in The Star's international centennial conference, "Conflict and The Press".

For three years in the 1970s he headed a Royal Commission on the press, and found the evidence of the threat to free expression disturbing. MICHAEL MORRIS of The Star Bureau in London reports.

and sexual offence to buttress his case that careless tampering with the imagery of advertising ran perilously close to censorship. "Taste, he warned, was subjective."

He agrees that "using a naked girl sitting on a fork lift truck" is irrelevant and says the authority has "most emphatically upheld complaints against such advertisements".

But he goes on "What we have to do, is balance the right of women not to be offended against the right of the public at large to the maintenance of self expression. Free expression is the cement that binds the whole democratic enter-

prise together — and advertising and the press are Siamese twins".

Lord MacGregor had a limited knowledge of the modern press until he was appointed chairman of a Royal Commission on the press in 1975. It sat for three years.

"I came to recognise newspapers were of fundamental importance in democratic societies, in providing the means by which the electorate can make rational choices, because they are informed."

"And I also learned with shock — in a way one is shocked when one is innocent — the attitude of politicians

and civil servants to newspapers. It quickly bore itself upon me that all politicians announce their devotion to the free press (but say) in private that they would shackle it if they could."

"My view is that it is essential in a democracy that the government should have no connection with the press, it should not legislate about it and should not intervene in it. The situation of journalists should be the same as for ordinary citizens, there should be no special laws and no special arrangements."

"I also developed an admiration for the government of the

USA, which I had previously lacked completely. There can be all sorts of criticisms made of America, but what will save it against pretty well everything is that it does have open government, because it has a free press. And it has a free press because of the First Amendment."

While Lord MacGregor has visited South Africa many times, he does not believe he knows enough about its press to discuss it in detail. He does, however, regard with admiration the "courage" of newspapers which have consistently fought for free expression in the country.

Lord MacGregor was born in Kincairdineshire, in Scotland in 1920, but his farmer father moved the family south, to England, when he was six.

"I have very few, fortuitously scattered, recollections of my early life," he chuckled and even had some difficulty putting his finger on the date of his marriage.

But it is reasonable to assume he reserves his mental energy for his wide-ranging interests in farming, history, economics, law reform, sociology, women's rights, and, latterly, newspapers, censorship and advertising.

Indeed, it might seem from the list that Lord MacGregor has spent his life darting from one area of study to another. "No, not at all," he protests gently. "As a matter of fact, it's a highly consistent story. It all sprang from turnips, really."

"Trained as an economic historian, he was interested, perhaps naturally as a farmer's son, in the economic history of farming. And he discovered through his research that the system of land tenure of the 18th and 19th centuries was a key influence on Britain's family and social structures, attitudes and even sexual behaviour. One thing led to another, he explained.

When the State 'protects' free speech, it dies — peer

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He kept the farm for some time after his father's death, but eventually "threw in my hand" to concentrate on a university career. Lord MacGregor took early retirement two years ago from his long-held post of professor of social institutions at the University of London.

Married, with three children, he has lived in London for "donkey's years", though his fondness for the city has waned. "It exhibits exactly the famous line 'private wealth and public squalor'," he grieves.

But he feels his personal library of some 12,000 volumes will prevent him from ever leaving his Hampstead home.

He may have considered using Hampstead as his title when he was awarded a life peerage in 1977, but the mices of heraldry demanded that since he was born in Scotland Scottish his title had to be Scotch. He chose his home town of Durris.

"The heralds, Arundel Herald Extraordinary in London and Lord Lyon King of Arms in Edinburgh, took it all very seriously. And there I was getting it sorted out in an office next to the Thames, listening to telephone conversations that began "Good morning Lyon this is Arundel."

"It was absolutely absurd," he beamed.

Board no political instrument

Competition Act

CMC Tasks
30/9/87 (243)

applicable to newspapers — Naudé

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Financial Editor

IT is vital for the Competition Board to retain its credibility and not to be seen as a political instrument or susceptible to the influence of any vested interest, its chairman, Sef Naudé, told members of the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) yesterday.

He said at the NPU conference in Cape Town that the Maintenance and Promotion of Competition Act, 1979, "and hence competition policy, are fully applicable to newspapers."

"In contrast to the relevant laws of several other countries, our Act contains no provisions specifically designed for newspapers."

General policy

"This means that in terms of general policy the aim is to promote effective competition by taking action, where justified, against any restrictive practice, monopoly situation, or acquisition in the newspaper industry."

Naudé said it also implied that, in principle, resale price maintenance, horizontal collusion on prices, horizontal collusion on conditions of supply, horizontal collusion on market sharing, and collusive tenders were illegal.

However, he went on, it was always important to understand the basics of any industry to which competition policy was being applied.

"This is probably exceptionally true in regard to the newspaper business, which is often regarded as a special case because of the importance of 'many and diverse voices stating facts and expressing opinions'."

Characteristics

The fact was that the newspaper industry had unique structural and behavioural characteristics which distinguished it from other industries, Naudé continued.

"A newspaper does not make its profits from selling newspapers. The price of a newspaper rarely covers the total cost-of production."

"Advertising is the main source of revenue, and advertising rates are tied to circulation. Hence there is an interdependence of circulation and advertising rates. This will tend to keep the retail price of each newspaper low enough to attract as many readers as possible."

"The newspaper industry lacks a basic similarity of interest between manufacturer and dealer, which usually exists in the common goal of maximizing sales revenue. The number of subscribers is more important to a newspaper than its sales revenues."

"While a newspaper would prefer to sell 500 newspapers for 10c each, a carrier would make the same profit, with less effort, by selling 50 newspapers for R1 each."

"A newspaper is more willing than an independent dealer to ensure availability of the paper in areas that entail high distribution costs."

"At the same time, the newspaper faces the brunt of customer dissatisfaction about a price increase because most subscribers do not understand that the carrier who has raised his price is not a newspaper employee."

"Properly viewed a newspaper is not a manufactured commodity sold for its physical embodiments in paper, ink and type. A newspaper is rather a package of services in a printed medium," said Naudé.

Pointing out that a newspaper was "an extremely perishable product," he said that since they could not be stockpiled for sale later their efficient marketing was essential for economic survival. Deadlines and daily press runs add unique burdens to costs.

Revenues

"Every daily newspaper is a small town or metropolitan area serves its community emphasizing local news, local issues and local advertising. In all but the largest cities the population can probably hardly support two independent competing local newspapers."

"Due to the interrelation of quality, circulation, and advertising funds, newspapers face a threat of rapid loss in revenues that can probably be triggered by a small price change."

Emphasizing that there was widespread concern about the concentration of the media including newspapers into fewer hands, Naudé said SA's competition law was flexible enough to take the realities of any particular industry, including newspapers, into account.

The only actual investigation of a takeover in the newspaper industry carried out by the Competition Board in this country concerned the acquisition by Argus of The Natal Mercury.

"The board concluded that competition was indeed restricted by the regrettable loss of its independence by an independently owned newspaper."

"However, it applied the 'failing company' principle recognized by all developed systems of competition law, saying that 'it would be extremely shortsighted to prevent the acquisition of a failing company where it is clear from the surrounding circumstances that it will in any case disappear as a competitor in the market'."

Naudé added "Proposed newspaper acquisitions which have not been proceeded with after confidential consultations with the board, can clearly not be disclosed."

Naudé said publishers of newspapers and magazines had been granted a special exemption allowing resale price maintenance, which operated vertically. But horizontal collusion — agreement between themselves to charge a certain price — would not be allowed.

Discussing the franchise agreement under which newspapers keep to their authorized hours, Naudé said this was a market sharing arrangement but it seemed to him that, since it was linked to hours and days, the prohibition was not applicable.

"But this, of course, is not necessarily the end of the story," he warned. "If it is a practice restricting competition it is still vulnerable — and the crucial question will then be whether peculiarities of the industry or other circumstances justify it in the public interest."

SA imported no newsprint for 3 years

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA imported no newsprint the past three years, the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology, Danie Steyn, said yesterday.

In a written reply to a question tabled in the House last week by the Conservative Party MP for Witbank, Wynand van Wyk, the minister said there were only two local manufacturers of newsprint, Sappi (Ltd) and Mondi Paper Company (Ltd).

Both supplied newsprint direct to members of the Newspaper Press Union — as well as supplying a small volume used for other purposes than the printing of newspapers.

World's top editors for SA conference

Opinion leaders from five continents will attend The Star's conference on the media, to be held in Johannesburg next week

Almost half of them will be the editors of leading newspapers in the Western world

They include Andreas Whittam-Smith, editor and chief executive of *The Independent*, the new quality daily selected as Britain's "Newspaper of the Year" within months of its launch. Others include Donald Treford, editor of *The Observer*, one of the world's best known quality Sunday newspapers, Bill Kovach, editor of the *Atlanta Journal & Constitution* and former Washington bureau chief of *The New York Times*, Creighton Burns, editor of *The Age* in Melbourne, and Richard Harwood of the *Washington Post*, representing the American Society of Newspaper Editors

Many more who will be in Johannesburg next week

"Conflict and the Press" is a conference marking the centenary of *The Star*.

South African editors, and local delegates representing a broad spectrum of views and interests, will join overseas delegates in a debate on the role of the media in divided societies

Government spokesmen as well as those from the militant anti-Establishment have been invited to this international forum which could create an awareness of the necessity for the free flow of information as a basic safeguard for human rights.

The Star sees the occasion as its contribution to better communication globally as well as locally on the essential area of press freedom

"We hope to create a greater awareness of the press's problems and how to solve them," The Star's editor, Mr Harvey Tyson, said today "And of course we hope the conference will provide a better understanding of how important freedom of information is to any society"

He said he was pleased to see that South Africans of divergent political persuasions were responding to the opportunity to put their views on an international platform.

"We have to listen to what others are saying, especially to those with whom we disagree," Mr Tyson said, "or real communication cannot take place"

The conference will be opened next Thursday by Mrs Katharine Graham, owner of newspapers and magazines, and radio, television and cable stations in Washington.

On Wednesday night Lord McGregor of Durrus, chairman of the British Advertising Standards Authority and of the Reuters' Trust, will address a pre-convention banquet

‘Conflict
and the
Press’
delegates
roll in



International delegates who have begun arriving for The Star's centennial conference on "Conflict and the Press" are looking forward to debating crucial problems facing the media in South Africa and around the world.

The conference, the largest held in any country where a state of emergency exists and the most representative ever convened in Africa, begins on Wednesday in Johannesburg.

Among the first to arrive yesterday were Mr Stephen Claypole, editor of the BBC's external services, and Mr Chris Cramer, news editor of BBC television.

Mr Claypole, who will talk on television coverage in conflict situations, told The Star he was looking forward to discussing common problems with delegates.

"It's obviously a conference that is taking place at a very interesting time, bringing together people from many parts of the world to discuss central issues like censorship — a world-wide problem for journalists," he said.

ROLE OF TV

Mr Claypole, who recently transferred from the BBC's TV service to the external service, said the impact that TV coverage had on conflict would be thoroughly debated.

Mr Cramer said the conference was a valuable opportunity for "a lot of people to get together with different ideas".

He said it was appropriate that such a conference should take place in South Africa.

Another delegate who has already arrived in Johannesburg is Mr Simo Nortamo, editor-in-chief of Finland's biggest newspaper.

REGULATIONS

Mr Nortamo said. "This conference gives foreign participants a rare opportunity to share in problems in South Africa from a public platform. From a professional point of view, I am clearly aware of the jungle of regulations directed against the media here and I am interested in hearing first hand reports of this," he said.

Other delegates expected to arrive today include Mr Bob White, editor of the *Mexico Ledger* in Mexico, Missouri, who represents the American Newspapers Publishers Association and who is a director of the World Press Freedom Committee, Mr Paddy Sherman, president of the Southam Newspaper Group in Toronto, Canada, Mr Joe Hall, foreign editor of the *Toronto Star*, Mr Ray Timson, managing editor of the *Toronto Star*, Mr John Downing, editor of *The Toronto Sun*, Mr Hans Albert, editor of Second German Television and Mr Martin Sommer, Africa editor of *De Volksrant* in Amsterdam.

The conference begins on Wednesday night with a gala banquet and an address by Lord McGregor of Durris.

We can't afford absolute press freedom yet, says new censor

I did not bargain for this job. But as a professional administrator I tackled this job with humility but at the same time I am tackling it with all that I've got.

If we look at the (media) curbs, they are poor in the Western sense, where the free flow of information is considered most important in furthering democracy.

We also know that a true democracy calls for a wide spectrum of informed and enlightened people. Democracy can only succeed when we have that society.

If anybody thinks that South Africa has developed to that extent of intellectual development whereby we can say the majority of people in South Africa are so informed that we can afford the luxury of absolute freedom of the press, then they should look again at the realities.

South Africa is a country where you have a very small input of Western values, but by and large the Third World is with us. They are among us and live with us.

Let me explain what I am not. I am not a politician, so let us not enter into extra-parliamentary debate on the merits of the emergency regulations. That's been done in Parliament.

I am not a lawyer so please don't ask me for legal opinion.

I am not an academic so do not expect education.

The Government and the press could have and should both have the object of achieving a better future for all people. The difference is how we set about it.

Also, I am not a practising journalist but I have empathy with the professional journalist dedicated to truthful, accurate and objective reporting, dedicated to presentation in the correct context and in a ba-

Mr Andries Engelbrecht (right), addressed journalists recently on how he intends doing his job. He is chief of the new Directorate of Media Relations, which will monitor newspaper compliance with the latest emergency regulations, and will be able to advise the Minister of Home Affairs to take action against offending publications. This is an edited version of his written speech and includes some of his off-the-cuff comments.

utory control, not only on account of the state of emergency but also on account of the hijackers of the journalistic profession or the newspaper method for their partisan objectives, the protagonists of subversive propaganda, the manipulators of copy, headings, captions and camera material, the instigators and promoters of a revolutionary climate by publicising acts of terrorism, intimidations by stage managing if they can't get their material any other way, biased highlighting and misinformation, by bias and band wagoning — in short the abuse of communication in order to further their own digressive views or the views of their misguided mentors.

The abuse of freedom of the press and the outcomes of the publicity of unrest, intimidation and terrorism has caused the SA Government to reluctantly impose the new control measures. If I read of intimidation I feel intimidated as well.

The steps were taken only after a direct appeal was made to the organised press leaders to impose

self-control and it was turned down. And after the Media Council in its present form proved incapable of adequately dealing with the subversive revolution-supportive periodicals, many of which are funded very far from the South African scene. These sprang up like toadstools after reform came into being.

No government can be expected to accept that freedom of speech goes that far that freedom of speech be totally ruined by the misuse of freedom of speech.

The emergency regulations pertaining to the media enacted on June 1 1987 proved to be insufficient to curtail the subversive propaganda and publicity of subversive acts and elements. It did not cater for propaganda. The question is why?

The answer is simply in the diversity and scope of the manifestations of relevant printed propaganda and publicity and the frequency of volume of same.

Propaganda and publicity *per se* cannot be adequately dealt with in terms of definitive criminal law and criminal law procedures during a

state of emergency. This is a bold and somewhat oversimplified statement but by and large it outlines a dilemma that has to be dealt with if we intend to reverse the revolutionary trends, the unrest and the senseless loss of lives and property, in as much as the contributions of the media are concerned.

After considering alternatives the Government decided on a new set of regulations in order to control the manipulations of the minds of people and to curb the systematic or repeated publishing of subversive propaganda.

The normal process of democratic inputs which includes the criticism of the present system, criticism based on fact, is welcomed, without that you won't have democratic process.

It's a very important aspect of open comment in an open society. But in the state of emergency, something had to be done.

In the Directorate Media Relations, we look at publications as objectively and urgently as possible. If the report concerns a defined contravention, it is referred to the SA Police.

If it concerns contraventions of the Publications Act, it is referred to the Publications Control Board.

If it concerns regulation 7A, it is examined from various perspectives and then we inform the Minister.

The Minister can then get further opinions about the content of the publications.

Finally it is his decision, and his decision alone. If the Minister decides to take action, it is done in the prescribed manner.

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fanned manner, without intentional departure from the facts, without distortion of the facts, without exaggeration, misrepresentation, material omission or dishonest summarisation.

In other words, I can empathise with journalists dedicated to the high ideals set out in the SA Media Code of Conduct.

Those dedicated to and qualified for their mission and profession now have to suffer a measure of stat-

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Talk to UDF, editor tells businessmen

Staff Reporter

THE editor of the influential British Sunday newspaper The Observer has suggested big business in South Africa should be talking to the United Democratic Front

Addressing a luncheon organised by the South Africa Britain Trade Association, Mr Donald Trelford said members of the business community who held talks with the African National Congress had played an important role in altering overseas perceptions about the business sector's commitment to change

"If it were possible to meet the ANC in exile, why is it not possible to talk to the UDF inside the country?"

He also questioned whether business was doing enough to promote education

On the subject of media curbs, Mr Trelford said he believed the business community should "bring more pressure to bear on the Government" to relax restrictions

"As members of a business community, you are entitled to know what's going on in your country"

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'Censorship resistance augurs well for future'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The strong resistance to censorship among certain sections of the media and the legal profession augured well for the future of South Africa, according to Mr George Theiner, editor of the London-based magazine, Index on Censorship.

"There's so much resistance to censorship here — in the Press, among lawyers. While you have that machinery, there's hope for the future," he said yesterday.

Mr Theiner, born in Czechoslovakia, is in South Africa to attend the Johannesburg Star's centennial conference on "Conflict and the Press", which begins in Johannesburg tonight.

The magazine monitors and highlights the plight of writers around the world and publishes works which writers cannot publish in their own countries.

Mr Theiner said it was significant that the media conference was taking place in South Africa.

"It is very important that something like this should be happening here. It will help focus attention on the media." The authorities should also be

commended for allowing all delegates into the country.

Censorship, he said, was a mistake.

"It's so short-sighted. Why this fear of discussion? Sometimes you should know what your enemy is saying. If more people had read *Mein Kampf* in the 1930s maybe they would have awakened sooner to the threat of nazism. The same goes for the communists. Unless you know what they are saying, how can you fight them?"

Most repressive regimes, including South Africa, were sensitive to what the rest of the world thought of them. "The Government will claim they don't care, but thank God their actions speak differently."

Mr Theiner said it was very difficult to describe South African censorship or to slot it in some category. While on one hand there were draconian laws which prevented newspapers from publishing certain information, there were also loopholes which newspapers had been able to exploit. The existence of a vigorous alternative media in South Africa attested to that fact.



MR MARTIN Sommer of the Dutch newspaper *De Volkskrant* is in South Africa to attend the conference.

Delegates
arrive
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Sanctum
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7/10/87

INTERNATIONAL delegates who have begun arriving in Johannesburg for *The Star's* centennial conference on "conflict and the Press" say they are looking forward to debating crucial problems facing the media in South Africa and around the world.

The conference, the largest held in any country where a state of emergency exists and most representative ever convened in Africa, begins today.

Among the first to arrive on Monday were Mr Stephen Claypole, editor of the BBC's external services, and Mr Chris Cramer, news editor of BBC television.

Mr Claypole, who will talk on television coverage in conflict situations, told *The Star* he was looking forward to discussing common problems with delegates.

Mr Cramer said the conference was a valuable opportunity for "a lot of people to get together with different ideas."

He said it was appropriate that such a conference should take place in South Africa.

Another delegate who has already arrived in Johannesburg is Mr Simo Nortamo, editor-in-chief of Finland's biggest newspaper - Sapa.

International press body congratulates The Star

(243) S.M.C. 7/10/87
The International Press Institute (IPI) has sent a message of congratulations to The Star on its 100th birthday this month, and has expressed support for its centennial conference — "Conflict and the Press" — which starts tonight

In a telex to The Star the director of the IPI, Mr Peter Galliner, applauded The Star for its "courageous stand" in holding the conference at a time when the press is under restriction in South Africa

The message read. "The IPI sends congratulations to The Star on the occasion of its centenary. The Star has shown outstanding courage over many decades in its defence of Press freedom and it is a mark of its quality that, despite increasing violence, political conflict and pressures from many sources, it

continues to hold its ground and retain political independence"

The conference, which runs until Friday, will provide a forum for leading foreign and local media personalities and other interest groups to debate the many problems of reporting on societies in conflict

Mr Bob White, who is representing the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, said "Our hope is that this conference will help to show anew the importance of a free press to a free society. We also believe that whoever serves the cause of freedom anywhere, in the end is serving his own"

Mr White is the editor of the *Mexico Ledger* and is also a director and representative of the World Press Freedom Committee

● See Pages 14 and 15.

Govt acts against New Nation

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JOHANNESBURG. — The New Nation has become the first newspaper targeted for direct government action in terms of new press censorship powers invoked last month, an editor said yesterday.

New Nation could be closed down or subjected to direct government censorship

Mr Andries Engelbrecht, chief director of media relations in the government's Department of Home Affairs, said he had ordered a newspaper to justify within 14 days the publication of reports seen to be supporting revolution.

He said it was the first direct action taken in terms of the new state of emergency censorship powers

Mr Engelbrecht declined to name the newspaper, but Mr Gabu Tugwana, acting editor of the New Nation, confirmed that he had been summoned to respond within 14 days to a notice of intent to take action against his newspaper.

He said the letter invited him to respond to criticism of a specific series of articles.

"I don't want to make any statement about it at this time," he said. "We are consulting our lawyers and want to avoid saying anything that could be provocative or antagonistic"

Mr Engelbrecht said that if the newspaper failed to give a satisfactory explanation of its coverage, it could be closed down or subjected to the direct control of a government-appointed censor. — UPI

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Mandela 'got more from press than UDF'

Pretoria Correspondent

The national press gave jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela's refusal to renounce violence more publicity than the United Democratic Front could possibly have done

This was said yesterday in the Pretoria Supreme Court by Mr. Patrick "Terror" Lekota (39), one of 19 high-ranking members of the UDF, Azapo and local civic authorities who have pleaded not guilty to treason, and alternative charges ranging from terrorism to murder

HIGH PROFILE

He was denying allegations by the State that the UDF had tried to give Mandela's statement a high profile at a meeting held to commemorate Archbishop Desmond Tutu winning the Nobel Peace Prize in 1985

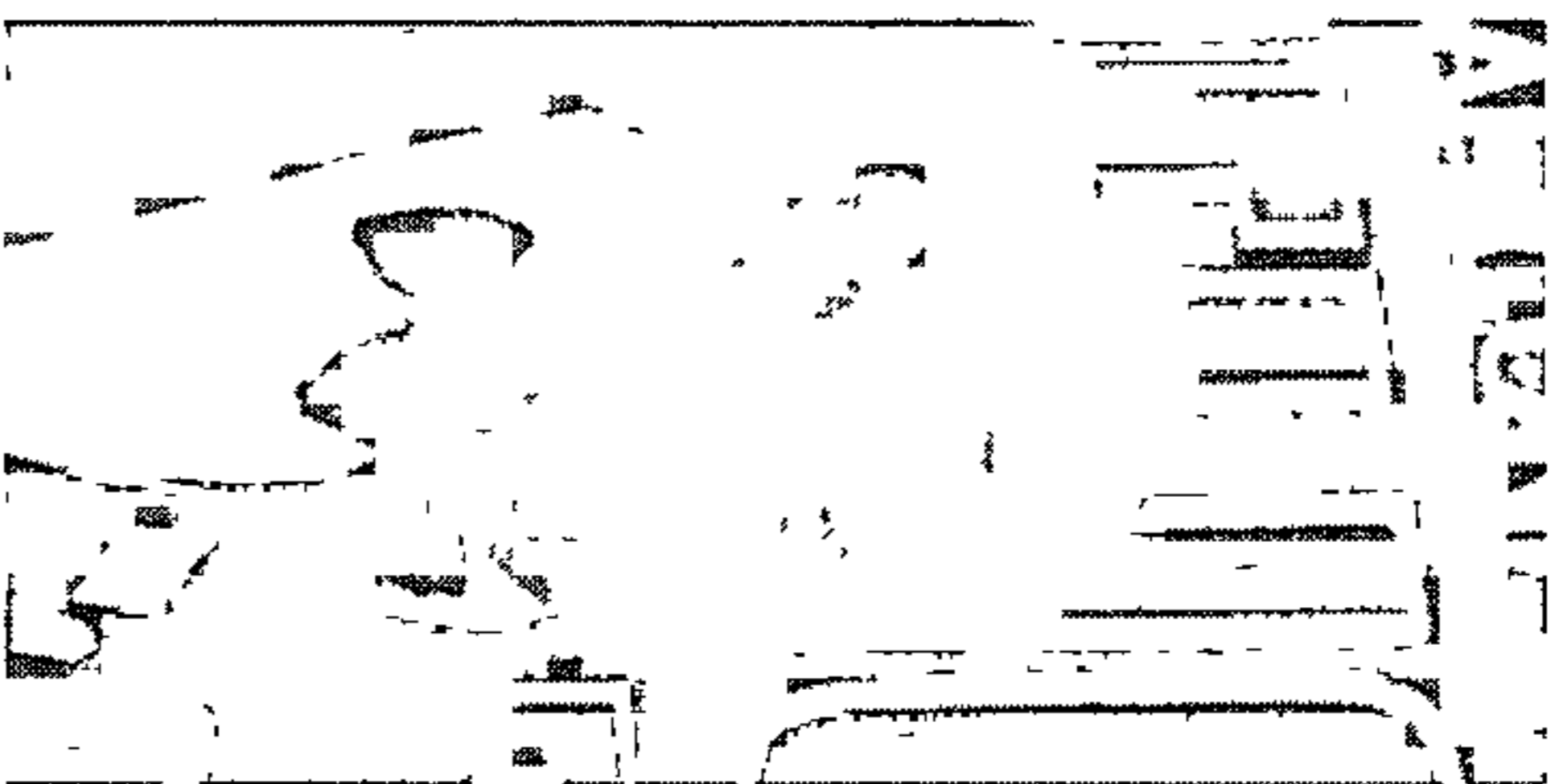
He said many newspapers had published Mandela's statement.

Cross-examination of Mr. Lekota, who has been testifying before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst and his assessor for over a month, ended yesterday.

Mr. Lekota denied that Mr Solomon Mahlangu had written in a June 16 pamphlet "The blood of our martyr will water the tree of liberation"

He said the statement was made by a historical figure, Giuseppe Mazzini, in connection with the unification of Italy.

The hearing continues



Mr Harvey Tyson

The Rule of Law was the essential foundation to any freedom in any society, no matter how docile or how volatile, how united or divided the community might be, Mr Harvey Tyson, Editor-in-Chief of The Star, said in Johannesburg this morning.

At The Star's Centennial Conference on "Conflict and the Press", Mr Tyson said, "Rule of Law is the bottom line; the base on which all freedoms flourish"

He said that both sides in the South African conflict would have a convincing case if they would place Rule of Law at the top of their agendas.

He cautioned newspapers actively to avoid portraying black militants as bloodthirsty terrorists, prone to necklacing their black opponents, and white South Africans as being uncaring evil racists. Such stereotypes, which opposing forces encouraged in

Rule of Law is the base on which all freedoms flourish, says Tyson

any divided society, were often far from reality.

While there were some militants who fitted the bill, most had shown "astounding tolerance and patience. And, among the older ones, goodwill remains".

It was also true there were whites who were racists.

"Many write to newspapers like mine and expose their racism. But the majority of whites are well-meaning, if frightened, people."

Mr Tyson said the problem in divided societies was not about the people whom everyone tried to classify into opposing camps, thus feeding division and violence.

"The problem is power," he said.

The media on both sides of divided societies should be fighting for the restoration and guarantee of the Rule of Law, no matter who had the power.

Mr Tyson said that, when the same party had been in power for 40 years with the same bureaucratic hierarchy (or possibly their offspring) absolutely entrenched at the top, an unhealthy fascination grew concerning the power of administrative regulation.

"One has to ask: Why is it necessary to have more and more regulations governing the press when the State long ago had the power to close a major

daily paper without notice and without giving reasons? Long before the myriad of regulations existed, newspapers in my own group (*The World and The Post*) were closed for good.

"We have reached a point where I cannot believe any individual, within government or without, knows how to handle the mare's nest of rules on a rational, efficient basis.

"But we also live in the knowledge that there are so many regulations that, if anyone takes them literally, no real newspaper could publish a normal edition without facing prosecution. Several of us came to the conclusion some time ago, therefore, that the

only way to conduct a proper newspaper today is to ignore the mare's nest and do what you have to do.

"You publish knowing that you have met your own standards and the more obvious laws - and then hope for the best. You hope that all those subpoenas and police inquiries will disappear before they reach court."

What was required in South Africa was the freedom to report independently, without government handouts, what was happening in jails, actions of policemen who wielded extraordinary powers, and all views opposed to the State.

Mr Tyson said South Africa's

problem was that the two forces were so far apart that there was no middle ground.

"Where the middle ground ought to be there is fast developing a deep hole between two cliffs. The two opposing groups are trying to force the entire community to choose one of their sides.

"You must choose Security, or take up violence in the name of Freedom.

"You must side with Oppression in the name of law and order; or you must side with Revolution.

"You must choose Co-optive Democracy; or People's Democracy... when both, in historical experience, are as far from democracy as you can imagine.

"Those who choose to cling to the fast disappearing middle ground must grip firmly the principles of Rule of Law and free speech, as well as freedom of information."

Govt hungry for the 'main course'

The press in South Africa is subject to far more restrictions now than it was when the country was formally at war with Nazi Germany and faced a white rebellion, the deputy-editor-in-chief of The Star, Mr Rex Gibson, said today.

Addressing The Star's conference on "Conflict and the Press", Mr Gibson said the case that was brought against the press was that it was irresponsible.

"The Government argues that unstable conditions demand more and more restrictions because newspapers simply won't discipline themselves enough.

"Yet it can also be argued - more cogently, I believe - that increasing restrictions have accelerated the descent into crisis."

He said that governments which dabbled in democracy often spoke warmly of press freedom - and then increased media restrictions.

"When a country is in crisis, the process speeds up and the commitment to press freedom is sometimes issued simultaneously with the new assaults upon it.

DRACONIAN POWERS

"The introduction last month of new and draconian powers to close down newspapers that offend a Cabinet Minister was accompanied by reassurances that the Minister himself was really very fond of press freedom. Only this week the first newspaper, *New Nation*, received its first formal warning. It has, in effect, been advised to knuckle under - or go under," he said.

Listing the numerous controls on the media, from laws to emergency regulations, he said these ranged from "the ferocious to the ludicrous". "We are prohibited from leaving blank spaces to indicate what we may not say."

Minister: SA has high potential for conflict

The affinity of the media for conflict was a natural phenomenon, the Deputy Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said today.

He was one of the first speakers at The Star's conference in Johannesburg on Conflict and the Media.

In a text of his speech released by his Ministry in Cape Town, Dr van der Merwe said Government as an institution was essentially a mechanism for the management of the potential conflict inherent in society.

Conflict, which could be either a productive force (such as in the form of civilised competition) or a destructive force, had within itself the potential for drama because it changed things.

"Conflict can topple grants from high places. It can create traumatic scenes - tears, pain and even death. All of these change the lives of people and

'The people bestow on the government certain powers - not the other way round'

It can't be suppressed for ever

We have gathered at a critical period in the course of South African history to examine conflict and the press, an issue that affects journalists, governments and people around the world.

The roster of participants at this conference leads me to conclude that the people in this room hold many different, even contradictory, opinions about media's rights and responsibilities.

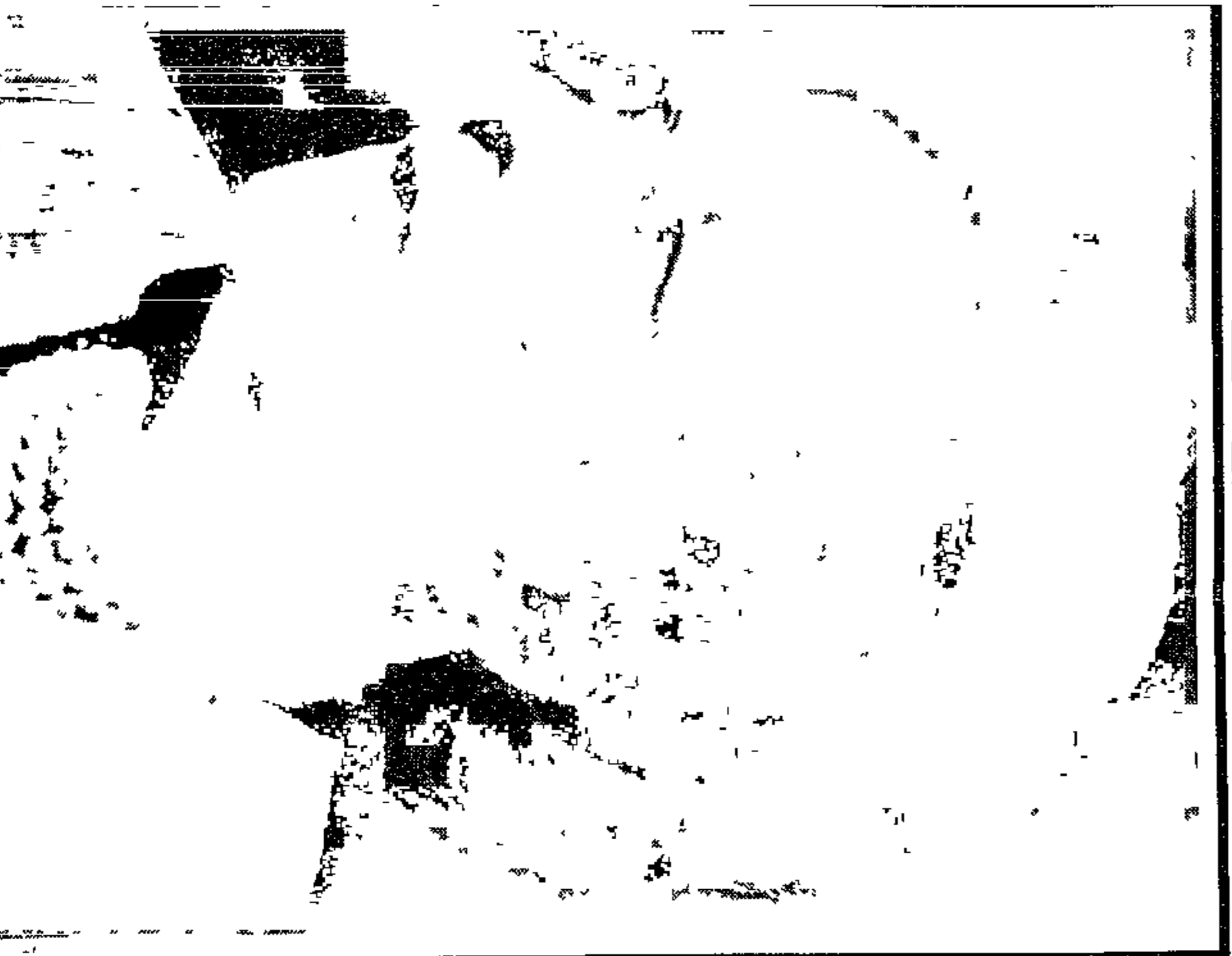
My own view, the policies and practices of the publications I represent, and the guiding principles of American journalism are not exactly unknown. I speak to you as a flat-out libertarian on this question, a passionate advocate of the broadest possible freedom for the press.

The American press is the most unfettered in the world. Anyone with a copying machine can publish just about anything in our country short of libel, narrowly defined. Journalists are subject to no clearly defined - and certainly no officially enforced - professional standards, no code of ethics, no licensing requirements.

Our extraordinary liberties derive from certain fundamental concepts that lie at the core of our democratic society. First, we believe that all rights - including the right of free expression - belong to the people. It is the people who bestow on the government certain powers in order that society may function, not the other way round. As a result, the press and the people resist all governmental attempts to limit access to news and information.

Second, the press in the United States is able to exercise its freedom because of our capitalist, free enterprise system. Capitalism permits financial independence, and financial independence liberates the press to do its job with all the vigour and aggressiveness it can muster. A financially dependent press cannot be truly free.

Third, the press in the United States exists, under the first amendment to our constitution, to be an unfettered and unrightened commentator on all institutions and events in our society - and especially on government activity. We do not subscribe to the notion that the press serves the people best when it is an arm or voice of the government. Our founding fathers recognised that the free flow of informa-



As a result, the people we had been covering began to disappear and the events we had been covering started not happening. For the moment, I am told, the Government's strategy has lowered blacks' expectations, reduced the revolutionary climate and brought peace to the townships by taking out of circulation the revolutionary newsmakers.

The second point now needs to be made. The Government has changed the political reality and put journalists on a shorter leash. Nonetheless, our reporters have managed to report what is taking place.

The lesson is clear. The flow of information cannot be suppressed for ever even in the most repressive societies. That raises a third point where do our real journalistic responsibilities lie?

Some Americans have argued we should withdraw from South Africa because of the press restrictions and to demonstrate our disapproval of apartheid. I can't agree. By that logic we should get out of the Soviet Union, China and every other repressive country. Instead, I believe we should pursue the opposite strategy. We must do all we can to report more, to dig deeper, to comment even more fully about the events unfolding here - in other words, to bring this story to our people and the world with all the depth and accuracy it deserves.

This brings me to a fourth and final conflict. It's a conflict that arises not only in South Africa, but in my own country as well, in societies everywhere. It's the conflict that occurs when the press, by reporting the news, gives exposure, weight and even credence to views that are unpopular, challenge the status quo, and threaten the prevailing point of view of the government, or the majority of people.

Press coverage of the civil rights struggle in the United States, including the urban riots of the 1960s, is a prime example of what I'm talking about.

Let me say here that, of course, there are many important differences between the civil rights movement in the United States and what is occurring in South Africa. Still, our experience and our



Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe

hold the seeds of eventual destruction. These are the elements of drama," Dr van der Merwe said.

"These consequences of conflict make it highly newsworthy. If things change in a dramatic way, people want to know about it."

"And if people want to know about it, it creates the opportunity for the media to do their work."

He said the potential for conflict held the expectation of impending drama and was therefore equally attractive.

South Africa, with its variety of cultures, its compelling value systems, and its reduced stability due to an accelerated pace of change, had a high potential for conflict and drama.

Defending the Government's motives and reform programme, Dr van der Merwe said there had been undeniable movement towards more participation in governmental institutions, not less participation.

DUMMY

Some people could argue that the institutions created were dummy institutions and not really an extension of democracy.

But if people could choose representatives freely who were in a position where they could voice their opinions under circumstances of parliamentary privilege and who were in a position to influence and even block government decisions, then surely these were elements of democracy and not of oppression.

The two games of extending democracy and promoting violent revolution were being played at the same time and on the same field in South Africa.

It was part of the known and accepted doctrine of revolutionaries to use and abuse the instruments of democracy, such as the freedom of speech and due process of law, in order to undermine and eventually overthrow the existing system.

"If one side has to play the game according to the Queenberry rules while the other side plays according to the philosophy of 'no holds barred', it becomes a rather one-sided affair."

"This has been the death of more than one democracy or emerging democracy in history," Dr van der Merwe said.

ment activity are essential to democracy. In the American system, the media are the most important means we have for accomplishing this task. In our society it is the press that has the responsibility to ask questions and to probe for real answers.

Because of these obligations — which we relish trying to fulfil, I wouldn't want you to think otherwise — the press in the United States often operates in a state of conflict with the government and with the other institutions and people on whom we report.

Today I'd like to examine four major areas where that conflict becomes particularly serious and open to debate. The confrontations I'll describe show that, even through our press has great freedom, fulfilling our responsibilities is often difficult, testing both our resources and our resolve.

"The press in the US is able to exercise its freedom because of our capitalist system. Capitalism permits financial independence and... independence liberates the press to do its job with all the vigour and aggressiveness it can muster."

The first area of conflict is that between national security interests and the public's need to know.

All governments prefer to operate in secrecy — even in a democracy.

And governments are willing to use the excuse of national security to prevent access to legitimate news and are willing to go to court to keep it from the public.

I don't pretend these decisions are easy. We do make mistakes. However, a disaster like the recent Iran-Contra affair makes clear the high price of secrecy — and the need for the media to be vigilant and aggressive, which we plainly were not until the story broke in Beirut.

As a result, our citizens think it is better to err on the side of openness. In those cases where some secrecy is necessary — troop movements during war, for example — the press controls are carefully reviewed and accepted for only the shortest possible time.

The second example of conflict I'd like to talk about carries us to the other end of the spectrum from the lofty issues of national security. It is the fundamental conflict between the public's interest in knowing and the individual's interest in privacy.

Academic questions secrecy about SA's latest incursion into Angola

Every government has a right to be secretive about matters of state security, but the real stability of a country is threatened when most of the people believe that the curbs are being used to protect a particular system. Professor Heinrich Grosskopf, head of the Department of Journalism at the University of Stellenbosch, said today.

Addressing The Star's conference on "Conflict and the Press", Professor Grosskopf said that a government that is not believed by a large portion of its population "is not very secure".

"Since it controls the powers of the State, the internal acceptability and the real security of the State are diminished," he said.

Professor Grosskopf said that governments bent on reform did themselves great harm by being excessively secretive.

BUTTRESS THE STATE

"Such a government will weaken itself, and will weaken the very institutions that should buttress the state in a time of change, which is by definition a time of danger."

He said that every government had the right to have military secrets. "But does that include the right to hide the fact from your people that you — and therefore they — are engaged in war?"

ITS PARTNER THE PRESS, THE WASHINGTON POST COMPANY AND NEWSWEEK, DELIVERED THE THEME ADDRESS TODAY AT THE STAR'S CENTENAL CONFERENCE ON "CONFLICT AND THE PRESS".

I'll tell you something I've learned. When government officials claim they are acting, not out of their own self-interest, or concern, but out of respect for a larger issue, I start to get worried. In particular, when governments or their leaders try to persuade people they are suppressing information in the interests of the people themselves, I tend to believe that's precisely the information the people need most to know.

A third major area where conflict arises is when American journalists attempt to ply their trade in foreign countries where the game is played by different rules.

Such countries control or harass and they sometimes expel foreign journalists and prevent distribution of international publications whose views they find objectionable. Some black African countries are among the most repressive.

Reporting the news can be difficult in democracies, too. Here in South Africa which, in the past, has had a tradition of press freedom, relatively speaking, reporters are now subject to one of the most severe systems of censorship. Some of the rules, such as forbidding quotations from banned persons, are so obvious it's hard even to be polite about condemning them not to mention the detention of journalists. The edicts that prevent the courts from exercising their power to limit or abrogate press restrictions have been particularly damaging.

Among all the things that could be said about press control here, I believe three points are the most important. First, let's admit it, the system has had some success in suppressing the flow of news. The devastating images of security police whipping black protesters have diminished from television screens around the world.

The newest regulations are especially effective because they go beyond simply controlling the press. They also curb freedom of speech and dissent. Not only do they censor any non-official news of violence, unlawful gatherings, strikes, boycotts or organised dissent, they effectively reach out and clamp down on the actions of ordinary South African citizens as well. Black leaders have been jailed.

"Surely not yet that is what happened a week or so ago and is apparently still happening. What little we know of the latest incursion into Angola we were first told by the Sunday Telegraph of London."

"Almost a week after the Sunday Telegraph's report, it was finally confirmed by the Government."

MILITARY MATTERS

"Had the Sunday Telegraph not broken the story, we would probably never have known officially. Our Defence Act in effect bans all reporting on military matters except in specific cases sanctioned by the military establishment," said Professor Grosskopf.

He said that in countries where power was highly centralised, such as in South Africa or in Great Britain, it was fairly easy to keep information hidden.

"The more power a government has, the easier it can enforce its own will to keep something secret. Lesser mortals can then only wonder whether it is indeed national security or only the ruling party's political interests that would be endangered," he added.

First, we have learned that press coverage can stimulate passions, spark the fires of change and even turn the tides of history. A second truth we learned is that covering domestic conflict responsibly means adhering to the highest journalistic standards. We learned that it was easy to give false impressions of what was actually happening.

We learned that our own ignorance — the ignorance of white reporters and editors about black attitudes and affairs led us to make mistakes in judgment. We learned that concentrated reporting on breaking news could not make up for years of neglect in covering the black community, nor for the relative absence of black reporters and editors in our newsrooms.

"All governments prefer to operate in secrecy... The record of history shows that left to its own devices, our government classifies too much, including newspaper articles, many of which turn up in government files stamped — 'top secret'."

Finally, we learned that our failure to report adequately about blacks and the black experience did not deter violence. It may instead have encouraged it by preventing whites from understanding the inhuman cruelty of a system long taken for granted, the depths of black despair and the passionate hunger for change.

In short, ignorance deprived whites and blacks of an opportunity to work together for peaceful progress. For when you deny the people knowledge of what is going on, you multiply the chance of wrong responses.

And that perhaps is the most important lesson of all. It's certain that our only hope for continued progress is through an open dialogue, deeper knowledge of the facts, and a clearer understanding of the hopes and fears of blacks and whites that a free press, perhaps more than any other institution, can provide.

And it is that lesson that provides the great challenge, the great opportunity and the great hope for South Africa as well. For when blacks and whites know and understand each other, as they surely can, they will know that their individual goals are best served by common efforts. And there is no limit to what can be accomplished together.

Papers 'face two-sided pressure to tailor news'

The South African media faced pressure from the Government on one side and from "at least part of the liberal democratic emergent opposition" on the other to tailor news to suit their purposes, the chairman of the Argus Company, Mr Hal Miller, said in Johannesburg last night.

Speaking at a banquet to open The Star's conference on "Conflict and the Press", Mr Miller said "in response we should continue to record facts as comprehensively and accurately as possible."

News had to be conveyed as quickly as possible to the South African audience and it should be interpreted as objectively as possible in a "volantle South African scene".

He said Government restrictions on information left the public misinformed on vital issues of the day. "But we face another danger from within our own ranks; from some journalists and writers who would practise advocacy journalism, not just to report news but to make news;

thing that someone else may regard as enhancing the image of a banned organisation. There are people we mustn't quote, and funeral orations we mustn't print.

FRIGHTENED

Press freedom really meant the "right of ordinary people to know what is happening, to express opinions about it — and to know there are effective vehicles for that to happen."

"The opposite has been happening in our society. A frightened government, sensing the power of ideas whose time has come, is trying to defuse passions by frantically fostering the pretence that all is well. To this end, state television and radio have already been enlisted. Efforts are being redoubled to co-opt the press, one way or another."

Referring to the latest curbs on the media, and the introduction of the media directorate, which will pounce on newspapers suspected of encouraging revolution, Mr Gibson said the Government had attempted to drive a wedge between the elements of the press.

MAIN COURSE

"Only the most foolhardy or naive publisher or editor will believe that when the crocodile has made a snack of the alternative press it will not come after the establishment press for a main course. There have been too many indications over too many years that the Government has little love for conventional opposition newspapers. They have been threatened so often that there can be no doubt their turn will come."

Mr Gibson said there were still "honourable, fighting newspapers which have not bowed their heads, though they have been diminished by the death of the Rand Daily Mail, which was cruelly abandoned by some of its backers."

"There are ways around some of the more perverse regulations and edicts. A competent journalist with a firm will, can still dance rings around plodding bureaucrats with their little secrets, their clumsy edicts and their disdain for the right of people to know what is being done in their name."



The Star

Merits, and perils, of a free press

"PUBLISH and be damned" may sound like blind defiance of law or authority, but it is the guiding maxim of newspapers dedicated to upholding all those freedoms that make a country a true democracy. Lord McGregor repeated it last night as a war cry in his keynote speech for The Star's centennial conference, "Conflict and the Press".

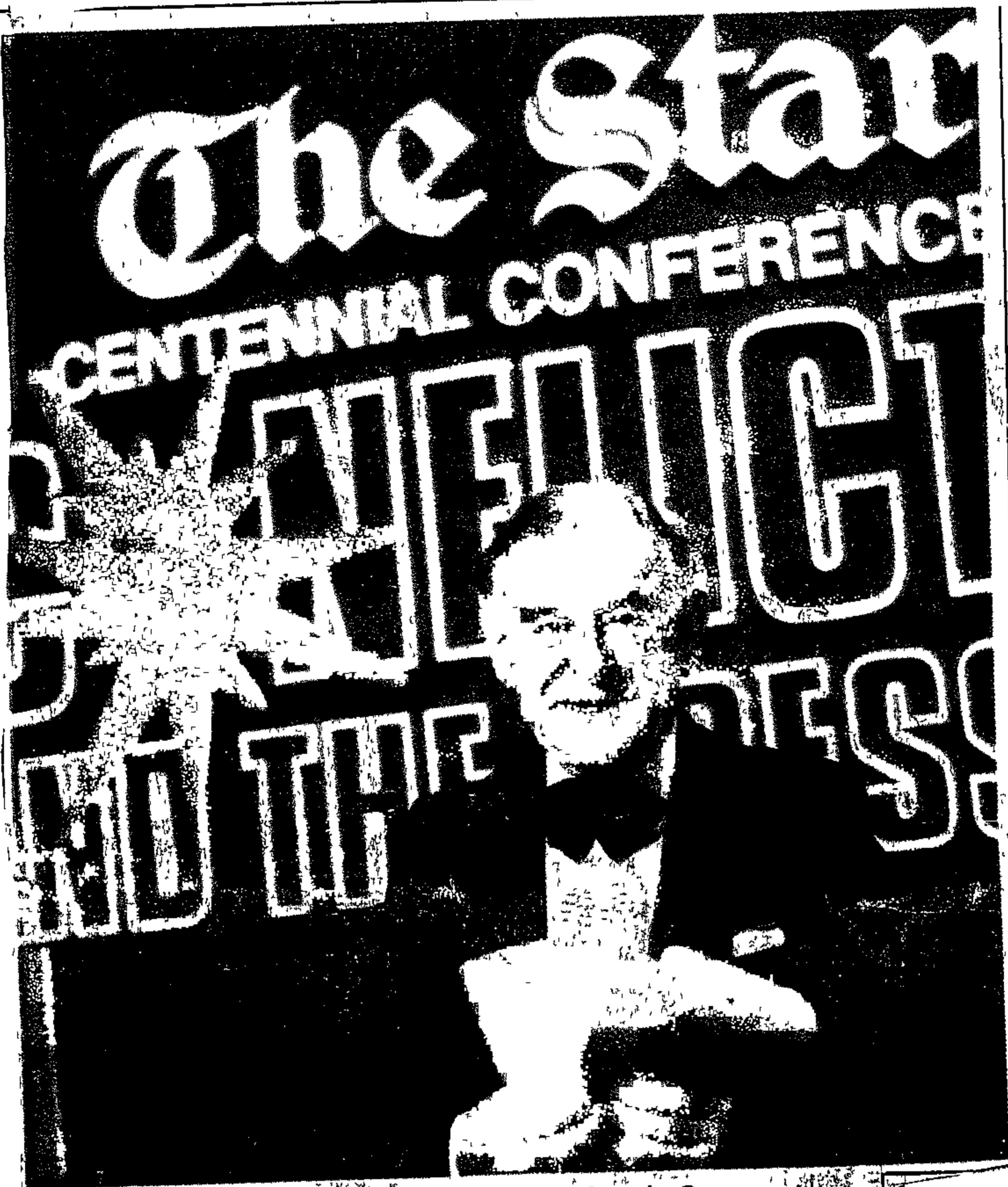
As an influential executive in news and advertising and a student of the historical role of the press, Lord McGregor is thoroughly familiar with the "unique" reasons which governments claim for trying to gag the mouthpiece of the populace. He gave examples where several Far Eastern countries seeking to exercise authoritarian control cited the same "unique" circumstances.

By contrast, the freedom of speech and press guaranteed by the US Constitution has maintained the most open government in the world. As Lord McGregor stressed, State and press are not expected to walk cosily hand-in-hand. It is better that they should be at loggerheads, "suspicious and fretful". Governments should be aware that the press — that is the

people — will call them to account if they step out of line, either into moral or political corruption. Press people, as Lord McGregor pointed out, are not saints: they are afflicted with all the weaknesses — and, we hope, most of the virtues — of the people for whom they speak. And it is this claim to be representative of the populace that is newspapers' greatest strength and at the same time puts them at the mercy of would-be tyrants.

It is a truism, a bitterly ironic one, that extremists of both left and right seek to censor or discipline a dissenting press with equal force. A tragic but inspiring example was Nicaragua's *La Prensa*, crushed by right-wing tyrants. It rose again, to be brutally stamped out by the new communist regime. *La Prensa* stood neither for revolution against the right nor for revolt against the left, but for democracy and good government.

It published and it was damned — but it had won a resounding victory for moral incorruptibility. It has risen again from its martyrdom; persecution can only have redoubled its credibility.



Lord McGregor ... no free press with interference from the Government!

Free press is the right of all, says Lord McGregor

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

Many countries claimed there were unique reasons for restraints on freedom of expression — but all people everywhere had the right to this freedom, Lord McGregor of Durrus said last night.

In his address at a banquet in Johannesburg at the start of The Star's centennial conference on "Conflict and the Press", Lord McGregor, chairman of the British Advertising Standards Authority, said. "How a sovereign state treats its own citizens is no longer a matter for its own exclusive determination, but a matter of legitimate concern for all other states and their inhabitants."

Freedom of expression and of the press "rests upon the right of all citizens to speak, write and publish whatever they wish provided that they do not thereby infringe the rights of others", he said.

TIGHTER DISCIPLINE

"Some five months ago, the Minister of Home Affairs and of Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, urged in the House of Assembly that the South African Media Council should exercise tighter discipline over the press and especially over what he described as the irresponsible alternative press."

The Minister then affirmed that the Government subscribed to a free press providing it did not jeopardise other basic rights, the public order or national security, he said, adding he was "gratified" that the Mr Botha had quoted from the Report of a British Royal Commission on the Press which sat 10 years ago under his chairmanship "Nevertheless, I regretted that he had not read far enough into the report to appreciate its recurring theme that a free press is not compatible with any kind of governmental intervention in the press."

● See Pages 13, 14 and 15.

SA press 'still able to report'

The chairman of the *Washington Post Company*, Mrs Katharine Graham said today that although the South African Government had put journalists on a shorter leash, they were still managing to report what was taking place

Giving the theme address at The Star's centennial conference on "Conflict and the Press", Mrs Graham said she had to admit that the new media curbs "had some success in suppressing the flow of news".

"As a result, the people we had been covering began to disappear, and the events we had been covering started not happening

"For the moment, I am told, the Government's strategy has lowered blacks' expectations, reduced the revolutionary climate and brought peace to the townships by taking out of circulation the revolutionary newsmakers," she said

"Nonetheless, our reporters have managed to report what is taking place."

Mrs Graham said that all governments, including democratic ones, preferred to operate in secrecy.

"In particular, when governments or their leaders try to persuade people they are suppressing information in the interests of the people themselves, I tend to believe that's precisely the information the people need most to know."

may be restricted

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8/10/87

Liberty 'founded on rule of law'

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JOHANNESBURG — The rule of law was the essential foundation to any freedom in any society, no matter how docile or how volatile, how united or divided the community might be, Mr Harvey Tyson, editor-in-chief of The Star, said in Johannesburg today

Addressing The Star's centennial conference on *Conflict and the Press*, Mr Tyson said "Rule of law is the 'bottom line', the base on which all freedoms flourish"

Both sides in the South African conflict would have a convincing case if they would place rule of law at the top of their agenda

He cautioned newspapers to actively avoid portraying black militants as bloodthirsty terrorists, prone to necklacing their black opponents, and white South Africans as being uncaring, evil racists

"Goodwill remains"

Such stereotypes, which opposing forces encouraged in any divided society, were often far from reality

While there were some militants who fitted the bill, most had shown "astonishing tolerance and patience. And among the older ones goodwill remains"

It was also true there were whites who were racists "Many write to newspapers like mine and expose their racism. But the majority of whites are well-meaning, if frightened, people"

Mr Tyson said the problem in divided societies was not about the people who everyone tried to classify into opposing camps, thus feeding division and violence

"The problem is power", he added

The media on both sides of divided societies should be fighting for the restoration and guarantee of the rule of law, no matter who had the power

Unhealthy

When the same party had been in power for 40 years, with the same bureaucratic hierarchy (or possibly their offspring) absolutely entrenched at the top, an unhealthy fascination grew concerning the power of administrative regulation

"One has to ask Why is it necessary to have more and more regulations governing the Press when the State long ago had the power to close down a major daily paper without notice and without giving reasons? Long before the myriad of regulations existed newspapers in my own group (The World and The Post) were closed down for good"

Mr Tyson said laws which were used more often in the 24 months after June 1976 were now smothered under reams of emergency regulations

"We have reached a point where I cannot believe any individual, within Government or without, knows how to handle the mare's nest of rules on a rational, efficient basis. The only certainty for newspapers is that if they do nothing to upset the Government they will be safe"

"But we also live in the knowledge that there are so many regulations that if anyone takes them literally no newspaper could publish a normal edition without facing prosecution. Several of us came to the conclusion some time ago, therefore, that the only way to conduct a proper newspaper today is to ignore the mare's nest and do what you have to do"

"You publish knowing that you have met your own standards and the more obvious laws — and then hope for the best. You hope that all those subpoenas and police inquiries will disappear before they reach court"

Petty bureaucrats

Smaller publications, unprotected by the Newspaper Press Union, were vulnerable to the prejudices of petty bureaucrats, he said

What was required in South Africa was the freedom to report independently, without Government hand-outs, what was happening in jails, actions of policemen who wielded extraordinary powers and all views opposed to the State

Mr Tyson said South Africa's problem was that the two forces were so far apart that there was no middle ground left

"Where the middle ground ought to be there is fast developing a deep hole between two cliffs. The two opposing groups are trying to force the entire community to choose sides"

"Choose security or take up violence in the name of freedom"

"Side with oppression in the name of law and order, or side with revolution"

"Choose co-optive democracy or people's democracy — when both, in historical experience, are as far from democracy as you can imagine"

"What role has the Press to play in such a society? What happens to those of us who refuse to choose between the options I have so starkly separated?"



Mr Hal Miller

Mr Harvey Tyson

Media 'under pressure to tailor news'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The South African media faced pressure from the Government on one side and from "at least part of the liberal democratic emergent opposition" on the other to tailor news to suit their purposes, the chairman of the Argus Company, Mr Hal Miller, said

"In response we should continue to record facts as comprehensively and accurately as possible," Mr Miller said at the conference last night

News had to be conveyed as quickly as possible to the public and needed to be interpreted as objectively as possible in a "volatile South African scene"

PUBLIC MISINFORMED

He said Government restrictions on information left the public misinformed on vital issues

"But we face another danger from within our own ranks. From some journalists and writers who would practise advocacy journalism, not just to report news but to make news, not to report what was said but what should have been said"

"Having said that, let me add as emphatically as I can that if some newspapers practise committed advocacy journalism, that does not mean that the Government should close them down because it disagrees with the views expressed, any more than the government of the day closed down the Transvaler during the last war"

Freedom of speech 'a right'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Many countries claimed there were unique reasons for restraints on freedom of expression — but people everywhere had the right to this freedom

Lord McGregor of Durris, chairman of the British Advertising Standards Authority, was addressing delegates at the conference

Freedom of expression and of the Press "rests upon the right of all citizens to speak, write and publish whatever they wish provided that they do not thereby infringe the rights of others", he said

Recently, the Minister of Home Affairs and of Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, speaking in Parliament, said the Media Council should exercise tighter discipline over the Press

Mr Botha had said the Government subscribed to a free Press providing it did not jeopardise others' basic rights, order or security

Lord McGregor said he was "gratified" that Mr Botha had quoted from the report of a British Royal Commission on the Press which sat 10 years ago under his chairmanship

UNDER CONSTANT CHECK

"Nevertheless, I regretted that he had not read far enough into the report to appreciate its recurring theme that a free Press is not compatible with any kind of governmental intervention in the Press"

"Unless held under constant check, government tends always to tyranny. The democratic form possesses no magic to make it different in this respect from any other system"

"Also, a free society which expects responsible conduct from a free Press must go on tolerating some, often shocking, irresponsibility as the price of liberty"

CONFLICT AND THE PRESS

ARCUS 8/10/87

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Affinity for conflict 'natural'

Political Staff

THE affinity of the media for conflict was a natural phenomenon, the Deputy Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said today

He was one of the first speakers at the conference in Johannesburg on Conflict and the Media organised by the Star, sister newspaper to The Argus.

In a text of his speech released by his ministry in Cape Town, Dr van der Merwe said that government as an institution was essentially a mechanism for the management of the potential conflict inherent in society

Conflict, which could be either a productive force (such as in the form of civilised competition) or a destructive force, had within itself the potential for drama because it changed things

ELEMENTS OF DRAMA

Dr van der Merwe said "Conflict can topple giants from high places. It can create traumatic scenes — tears, pain and even death. All these change the lives of people and hold the seeds of eventual destruction. These are the elements of drama

"These consequences of conflict make it highly newsworthy. If things change in a dramatic way people want to know about it

"And if people want to know about it, it creates the opportunity for the media to do their work and to make their money

"The affinity of the media for conflict is therefore a natural phenomenon

"The potential for conflict holds the expectation of impending drama and is therefore equally attractive"

South Africa, with its variety of cultures, its competing value systems and its reduced stability due to an accelerated pace of change, had a high potential for conflict and drama, Dr van der Merwe said

Defending the Government's motives and reform programme, Dr van der Merwe said there had been undeniable movement towards more, not less, participation in governmental institutions

Some people could argue that the institutions that had been created were dummy institutions and not really an extension of democracy

But if people could choose representatives freely who were in a position where they could voice their opinions under circumstances of parliamentary privilege and who were in a position to influence and even block Government decisions, then surely these were elements of democracy and not of oppression

There was also no doubt that there were people and organisations active in South Africa today that officially promoted violent revolution

Govts 'weakened by being too secretive'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Governments had a right to be secretive about matters of State security, but stability was threatened when most people believed the curbs were there to protect a system

Professor Heinrich Grosskopf, head of the Department of Journalism at the University of Stellenbosch, said governments bent on reform did themselves harm by being excessively secretive. Such a government would weaken itself

Governments had the right to have military secrets "But does that include the right to hide the fact from your people that you, and therefore they, are engaged in war?"

"Surely not. Yet that is what happened a week or so ago and is apparently still happening. What little we know of the latest incursion into Angola we were first told by the Sunday Telegraph of London"

(243) 3/day 9/10/87

Increased efforts to report on SA urged

'The urge to withhold news'

MANDY JEAN WOODS

THE US press should do all it can to report and comment more on events in SA, says Washington Post CEO Katharine Graham

Graham gave the keynote speech for The Star's Conflict and the Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday

"Some Americans have argued that we should withdraw from SA because of the press restrictions and to demonstrate our disapproval of apartheid I can't agree. By that logic, we should get out of the Soviet Union, China and every other repressive country"

She said the US press risks making the wrong decisions about how to relate to SA if it gives up the struggle to know and understand the extremely complex situation in SA

"So we will continue to do all we can to report this story"

Commenting on the effects of the emergency regulations, she said the system had some success in suppressing the flow of news. Devastating images of security police whip-



● GRAHAM 'I can't agree to withdraw'

ping black protesters had diminished from television screens around the world

"The newest regulations are especially effective because they go beyond simply controlling the press. They also curb freedom of speech

and dissent

"Not only do they censor any non-official news of violence, unlawful gatherings, strikes, boycotts or organised dissent, they effectively reach out and clamp down on the actions of ordinary SA citizens as well. Black leaders have been jailed"

She said that as a result, the people the press were covering began to disappear and the events it had been covering "started not happening"

"For the moment, I am told, the government's strategy has lowered blacks' expectations, reduced the revolutionary climate and brought peace to the townships by taking revolutionary newsmakers out of circulation"

Nevertheless, the flow of information cannot be suppressed forever, even in the most repressive societies, Graham said

"The government has changed the political reality and put journalists on a shorter leash. But our reporters have still managed to report what is taking place. The basic news itself has come through"

NO NATION, even the most enlightened, is entirely free of efforts to control the Press and freedom of expression, says Bill Kovach, Editor of Atlanta Journal and Constitution in the US

Speaking at The Star's centennial conference on Conflict and the Press, Kovach said arguments would always be found to wield power in secret

"From the Alien and Sedition Acts, passed in the first decade of the government of the US, to the current prosecution of Samuel Loring Morrison under a claim of national security, there is an irresistible urge of those in power to withhold information from the people

"And it is true above all other things in modern society that unless the people possess enough information to control government, government will control the people

"While my personal experience with censorship is limited, there have been cases when stories in which I was involved forced me to confront the question of self-censorship and to examine the implications of those decisions

"In each case, the decision was to seek and to publish, and subsequent events have proven each of those decisions right

"Government never seems to anticipate, or see the costs of censorship as they mount, but the costs can be enormous"

Kovach said the most obvious result of a sceptical Press was the Watergate Scandal and the first resignation of a president in American history

"For authoritarian governments the costs are even higher. If modern history shows anything it is that the survival of repressive government is limited

"The only question is how violent the collapse when it comes. Experience gives the answer: the violence attendant to a change in government is in inverse proportion to the level of free expression the government is permitted"

He pointed out that new methods of manipulation of speech and modern communications techniques made possible a modern form of dictatorship

"Hitler and Mussolini came to power through censorship and propaganda. Stalin obscured massive crimes against his own people behind a screen of propaganda" — Sapa

Press 'duty' to comment

IT WAS the duty of the Press not only to report conflict and crisis, but to comment on it, criticise and "so conduct itself as to help in the process of reconciliation when the battle is won"

This was the message from celebrated Indian newsmans Cushrow Inani in congratulating The Star Editor-in-Chief Harvey Tyson on hosting the paper's conference on "Conflict and the Press"

Inani said governments had to remember the Press did not create conflict and crisis. It was, however, its duty to report it.

Inani was unable to attend because India does not allow its nationals to travel to SA. He said he had been told "quite clearly" no exception could be made

"It has been said that I'm too prominent an Indian to be allowed to go and they have a fear that there will be acrimonious exchanges with representatives of the South African government

"Why should we shy away from honest debate and a full exchange of views? Patriotism is defined too narrowly these days for my liking, or indeed for my acceptance" — Sapa

Maintenance and 9% compared with boiler which is at a cost of \$500,000 installed early in the year

Three the sulphur a significant 10% of the domestic

the Natref refinery financing producer in the contribution to put was more than that the net profit of last year

al position of the stating competition fertilizer division was diminishing demand

fertilizers in a loss action and was implemented

cial year. Despite confident that the prices increases

that the Sasol approach not only guarantees better work results but also leads to better relations with employee organisations

Financial results

Adverse developments in the second half of the year, the continued volatility and uncertainty concerning crude-oil prices and exchange rates and the high rate of inflation dictate that prudence should be exercised with the utilisation of the equalisation reserve and the retained income of Sasol Three. It was therefore decided not to transfer any amount from the equalisation reserve this year and to limit the dividends declared by Sasol Three

The earnings attributable to shareholders amount to R525.9 million (93.5 cents per share) compared with R575.4 million (102.3 cents per share) for the previous year, a reduction of 8.6%

A final dividend of 25 cents per share was declared, bringing the total for the year to 47.5 cents per share, an increase of 5.6% compared with 1985/86

As anticipated Sasol Three being less

(243) November 9/10/87

Lessons of a free Press

FOCUS

WE have gathered at a critical period in the course of South African history to examine conflict and the Press, an issue that affects journalists, governments and people around the world

My own view, the policies and practices of the publications I represent, and the guiding principles of American journalism are not exactly unknown I speak to you as a flat-out libertarian on this question, a passionate advocate of the broadest possible freedom for the Press

The American Press is the most unfettered in the world Anyone with a copying machine can publish just about anything in our country short of libel, narrowly defined

Journalists are subject to no clearly defined — and certainly no officially enforced — professional standards, no code of ethics, no licensing requirements

Our extraordinary liberties derive from certain fundamental concepts that lie at the core of our democratic society

First, we believe that all rights — including the right of free expression — belong to the people It is the people who bestow on the government certain powers in order that society may function, not the other way round

Freedom

Second, the Press in the United States is able to exercise its freedom because of our capitalist, free enterprise system Capitalism permits financial independence, and financial independence liberates the Press to do its job with all the vigour and aggressiveness it can muster

Third, the Press in the United States exists, under the first amendment to our constitution, to be an unfettered and unflinching commentator on all institutions and events in our society — and especially on government activity We do not subscribe to the notion that the Press serves the people best when it is an arm or voice of the government

Our founding fathers

recognised that the free flow of information, the competition of ideas and the constant scrutiny of government activity are essential to democracy

In the American system, the media are the most important means we have for accomplishing this task In our society it is the Press that has the responsibility to ask questions and to probe for real answers

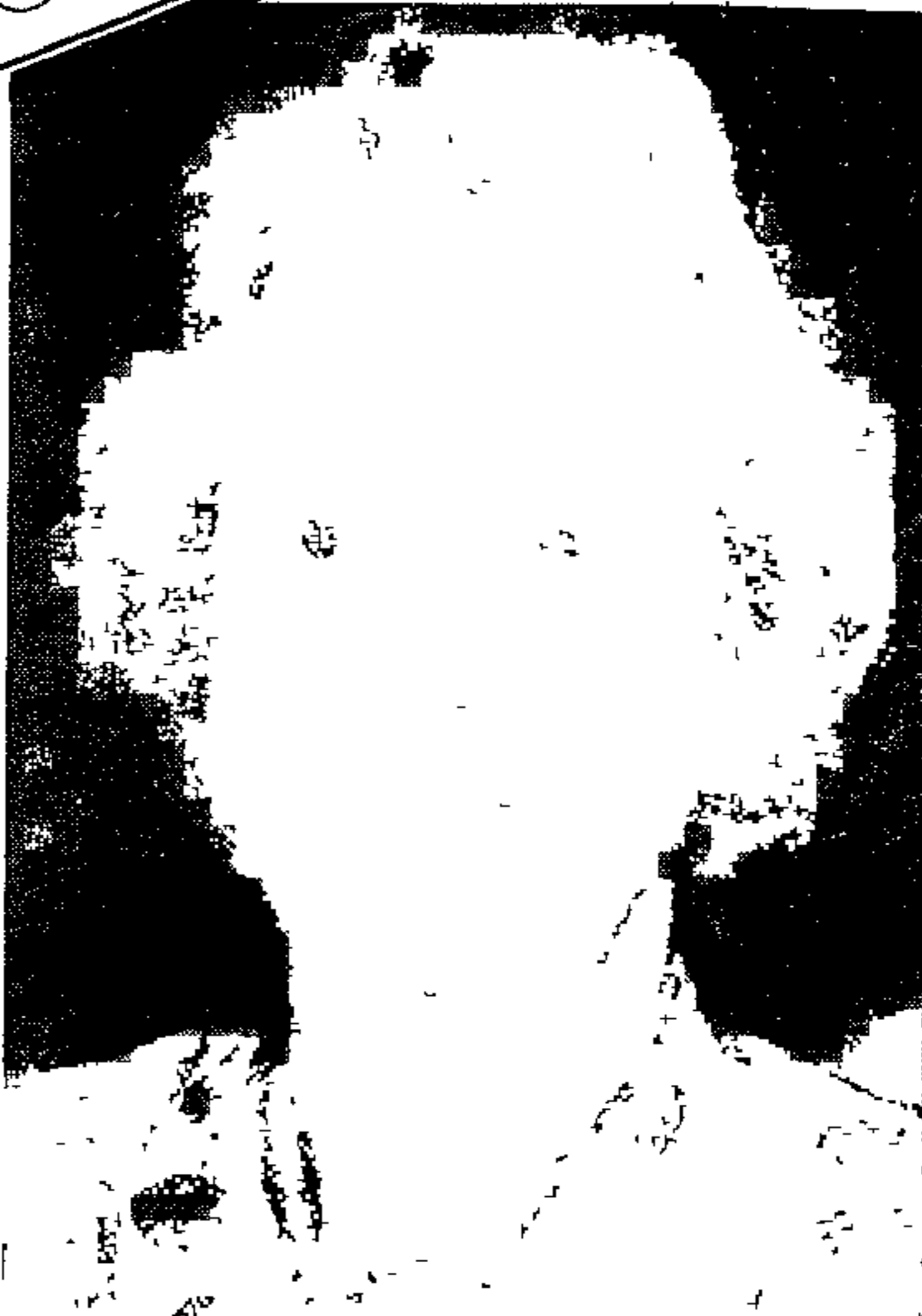
Because of these obligations — which we relish trying to fulfil, I wouldn't want you to think otherwise — the Press in the United States of conflict with the government and with the other institutions and people on whom we report

The first area of conflict is that between national security interests and the public's need to know

All governments prefer to operate in secrecy — even in a democracy

And governments are willing to use the excuse of national security to prevent access to legitimate news and are willing to go to court to keep it from the public

I don't pretend these decisions are easy We do make mistakes How-



MRS Katherine Graham, chairman of *The Washington Post Company* and *Newsweek*, delivered the theme address yesterday at *The Star's* Centennial Conference on "Conflict and the Press". This is an edited version of her speech.

ever, a disaster like the recent Iran-Contra affair makes clear the high price of secrecy — and the need for the media to be vigilant and aggressive, which we plainly were not until the story broke in Beirut

As a result, our citizens think it is better to err on the side of openness In those cases where some secrecy is necessary — troop movements during war, for example — the Press controls are carefully reviewed and accepted for only the shortest possible time

The second example of

conflict I'd like to talk about carries us to the other end of the spectrum from the lofty issues of national security It is the fundamental conflict between the public's interest in knowing and the individual's interest in privacy

When government officials claim they are acting, not out of their own self-interest, or concern, but out of respect for a larger issue, I start to get worried In particular, when governments or their leaders try to persuade people they are suppressing informa-

tion in the interests of the people themselves, I tend to believe that's precisely the information the people need most to know

A third major area where conflict arises is when American journalists attempt to ply their trade in foreign countries where the game is played by different rules

Censorship

Here in South Africa which, in the past, has had a tradition of Press freedom, relatively speaking, reporters are now subject to one of the most severe systems of censorship Some of the rules, such as forbidding quotations from banned persons, are so odious it's hard even to be polite about condemning them not to mention the detention of journalists The edicts that prevent the courts from exercising their power to limit or abrogate Press restrictions have been particularly damaging

Among all the things that could be said about Press control here, I believe three points are the most important

First, let's admit it, the system has had some success in suppressing the flow of news The devastating images of security police whipping black protesters have diminished from television screens around the world

The newest regulations are especially effective because they go beyond simply controlling the Press They also curb freedom of speech and dissent

As a result, the people we had been covering

Why Press must be free

From Page 8

began to disappear and the events we had been covering started not happening. For the moment, I am told, the Government's strategy has lowered blacks' expectations, reduced the revolutionary climate and brought peace to the townships by taking out of circulation the revolutionary newsmakers.

The second point now needs to be made. The Government has changed the political reality and put journalists on a shorter leash. Nonetheless our reporters have managed to report what is taking place.

The lesson is clear. The flow of information cannot be suppressed for ever even in the most repressive societies.

That raises a third point where do our real journalistic responsibilities lie?

Some Americans have argued we should withdraw from South Africa because of the Press restrictions and to demonstrate our disapproval of apartheid. I can't agree.

Instead, I believe we should pursue the opposite strategy. We must do all we can to report more, to dig deeper, to comment even more fully about the events unfolding here — in other words, to bring this story to our people and the world with all the depth and accuracy it

deserves.

This brings me to a fourth and final conflict. It's a conflict that arises not only in South Africa, but in my own country as well, in societies everywhere. It's the conflict that occurs when the Press, by reporting the news, gives exposure, weight and even credence to views that are unpopular, challenge the status quo, and threaten the prevailing point of view of the government, or the majority of people.

Press coverage of the civil rights struggle in the United States, including the urban riots of the 1960s, is a prime example of what I'm talking about.

Passions

Let me say here that, of course, there are many important differences between the civil rights movement in the United States and what is occurring in South Africa. Still, our experience and our mistakes are not totally irrelevant.

What have we learned? First, we have learned that Press coverage can stimulate passions, spark the fires of change and even turn the tides of history.

A second truth we learned is that covering domestic conflict responsibly means adhering to the highest journalistic standards. We learned that it was easy to give false impressions of what was actually happening.

We learned that our

own ignorance — the ignorance of white reporters and editors about black attitudes and affairs led us to make mistakes in judgment. We learned that concentrated reporting on breaking news could not make up for years of neglect in covering the black community, nor for the relative absence of black reporters and editors in our newsrooms.

Finally, we learned that our failure to report adequately about blacks and the black experience did not deter violence. It may instead have encouraged it by preventing whites from understanding the inhuman cruelty of a system long taken for granted, the depths of black despair and the passionate hunger for change.

In short, ignorance deprived whites and blacks of an opportunity to work together for peaceful progress. For when you deny the people knowledge of what is going on, you multiply the chance of wrong responses.

And that perhaps is the most important lesson of all.

It's certain that our only hope for continued progress is through an open dialogue, deeper knowledge of the facts, and a clearer understanding of the hopes and fears of blacks and whites that a free Press, perhaps more than any other institution, can provide.

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Curbs 'not designed to gag critics'

The Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, came under fire from South African and international delegates at The Star's Media Conference in Johannesburg yesterday

Mr van der Merwe was one of the speakers on press censorship versus the public's right to information at the conference on "Conflict and the Press". He argued that the media curbs were not designed to stop all criticism of the Government but were an attempt to stop the promotion of revolution.

Mr Bo Stromstedt, editor of the *Expressen*, Stockholm, challenged the Deputy Minister to explain the reasons for the detention of the editor of the *New Nation*, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu.

Mr van der Merwe said he could not comment on reasons for detention, but if the Government jailed people simply because they were strong critics of the system, then many of the people attending The Star's conference would be in jail.

Mr Mewa Ramgobin, an executive member of the Anti-Censorship Action Group, said the Government claimed it was censoring the news to promote democracy.

"The Minister and the Government can't talk about conflict resolution when the Government is the source of all conflict in South Africa," he said.

Mr Timothy Balding, director of the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (FIE) asked the Deputy Minister if he felt comfortable with the Government's use of totalitarian measures in the name of promoting democracy.

Mr van der Merwe said he was not comfortable with the measures but added that the South African Government was engaged in limited struggle with revolutionaries and therefore had to have limited restrictions on the media.



The Deputy Minister of Information Mr Stoffel van der Merwe emphasises a point during a panel discussion yesterday at The Star's conference, "Conflict and the Press", in Johannesburg

Myburgh urges resistance to licensing of journalists

The licensing of journalists was the most pernicious way of trying to control newsmen and the free flow of information and should therefore be resisted vigorously, Mr Tertius Myburgh, editor of *The Sunday Times*, told The Star's conference on "Conflict and the Press" yesterday.

Mr Myburgh, who was convenor of a workshop on press regulations, told the conference that the whole concept of licensing journalists implied a code of conduct which would eventually lead to conformity.

Licensed journalists, he said, were fettered and frightened journalists because they lived with the knowledge that those who issued the licences also had the power to take them away.

Licensing could also be used by journalists themselves to create closed shops, thereby shutting others out of the profession.

The workshop included Mr Klaus von Lieres, Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand and member of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the media which recommended the licensing of journalists, Mr Justice Louis van Winsen, chairman of the Media Council, and Mr Mervyn King, former judge, now a businessman.

Mr Myburgh said Mr von Lieres had explained to the workshop that journalists generally lacked professionalism and were poorly qualified. Licensing would raise standards and help self-regulation which would decrease Government pressure.

Mr Myburgh said there was a clear majority feeling that journalism, unlike medicine, law etc was not a profession, but a craft which could be practised only by those who had the gift to do it.

The alternative to licensing would be to leave it to the forces of supply and demand.

Govt won't allow press to be used as 'tool of war'

Report the 'real news', says actor John Kani

There was no line to be drawn between government interest and public interest when the Government acted to ensure the State's existence for the common good, Minister of Home Affairs and of Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, said today.

He was addressing The Star's conference on "Conflict and the Press" in Johannesburg.

Mr Botha said the purpose of government was to secure and promote the welfare of the people — to promote development and to rule according to a set of fundamental principles within a given system and given parameters. The press should have the right to act as watchdog and to focus on government actions, but its role was qualified.

It must watch how the government governed, but in doing so, it must accept government's right to govern in the first place.

Mr Botha said South Africa had to deal with a deliberate attempt by declared aggressors to overthrow the present system, including the government, by violent means.

He said "In this country, freedom in general and press freedom in particular must be looked at in the context of an attempted revolution by such violent organisations as the ANC and its mentor, the South African Communist Party.

"When the leaders of these organisations themselves blatantly admit that they collaborate with the mass media to further their

violent struggle for the take-over of South Africa, it should be clear to everyone that the role of sections of the local and international Press in this revolutionary process is no flight of the imagination on the part of the Government."

Mr Botha said the Government would not allow the press to be used as a tool of war in the hands of foreign or other aggressors.

"Freedom of expression will not be allowed to such an extent that it fosters chaos, murder, confusion and revolt in South Africa.

"But even in trying circumstances we will endeavour to maintain civilised values."

Mr Botha told the delegates he had put to them the standpoint of the Government on the issues.

The extent to which they meant anything to them individually, as prominent representatives of the media worldwide, would depend upon their individual interpretations of and commitment to journalistic principles for which they stood, principles of factuality and honesty, of their willingness to judge issues objectively and with a fair sense of balance — in other words, their professional integrity.

"That is up to you. But whatever your reaction may be to what I have said I must, in all frankness, add that if I have failed to convey to you a perception of there being substance in South Africa's case, that will not deviate me from my course and my obligation to my country."

Actor John Kani yesterday accused the press in South Africa of self-censorship and appealed to the media to report the "real news".

Speaking at The Star's conference on "Conflict and the Press", Mr Kani said the press was needed to "create a bridge between people".

"When I read the newspaper, I say sometimes I should not have bought it, I should have rather bought food for my child. There's no news (being reported) in South Africa. There's a conspiracy of silence," he said.

He realised the media was subject to enormous restrictions, but it had a duty to report the people's suffering.

An example of how the media ignore blacks was the SABC's coverage of the Natal floods.

NO BLACKS

"I watched TV every night, but no blacks were mentioned. I asked the question, did the newsmen deliberately miss the townships, or is the editor to blame? Is the film lying on its floor?"

Mr Kani reminded delegates that there were thousands of people in detention.

"Let me read from today's *Svetan* which reminds us, lest we forget, that Zvelakhe Sisulu, editor of the *New Nation*, has been in detention under the emergency regulations for 282 days, that Mxhisi Jackson Fuzile of the Veritas News Agency has been detained for 72 days, Phil Ngqunba, Veritas News Agency, 41 days, Brian Sokutu, 46 days.

"These are the lucky ones whosomeone knows who they are."

'Control is everywhere'

No nation, even the most enlightened, is entirely free of efforts to control the press and freedom of expression, says Mr Bill Kovach, editor of *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*.

At The Star's centennial conference on "Conflict and the Press", Mr Kovach said arguments would always be found to wield power in secret.

"From the Alien and Sedition Acts, which were passed in the first decade of the government of the United States, to the current prosecution of Samuel Loring Morison under a claim of national security, there is an irresistible urge for those in power to withhold information from the people.

"And it is true, above all other things in modern society, that unless the people possess enough information to control government, government will control the people.

"While my personal experience with censorship is limited, there have been cases when stories in which I was involved forced me to confront the question of self-censorship and to ex-

amine the implications of those decisions.

"In each case the decision was to seek and to publish and subsequent events have proved each of those decisions right.

"Government never seems to anticipate, or see, the costs of censorship as they mount — but the costs can be enormous.

"In my own country we're still paying the price of instability after two decades. The most notable has been more scepticism of the claims of our leaders and a great vigilance on the

part of the judicial system and the press."

He pointed out that new methods of manipulation of speech and modern communications techniques made possible a modern form of dictatorship.

"Hitler and Mussolini came to power through censorship and propaganda. Stalin obscured massive crimes against his own people behind a screen of propaganda."

Mr Kovach said he believed every avenue of pressure must be pursued in the struggle for

freedom of expression.

"Every line of communication opened must be treated for what it is — a precious link which is maintained only by constant, energetic use. It is precious because it is so hard to win, so hard to keep.

"Recently Jimmy Carter and I met a Soviet refusenik in Moscow to help him inaugurate the first edition of a weekly paper named *Glasnost* which he is publishing without government consent.

"It would have been a tiny event in the US but, in Moscow, it was an act of promise and courage.

"But it was a moment of painful and ironic contrast, too, because the week the first edition appeared in Moscow was the week of June 12 — the beginning here of the second year of the Emergency Acts which put into effect a carefully designed and effective programme of government control of information.

"The kind of control which, in an industrialised state, breaks the connection free expression can generate," Mr Kovach said.



Deputy Editor of The Star Mr Rex Gibson and the Editor of the Sowetan, Mr Joe Latakgomo, at a workshop during yesterday's session of The Star's conference.

'Journalists need courage to survive'

The high level of freedom of expression in Spain allowed even newspapers sympathetic to violent organisations to operate in the country, Mr Vincente Verdu, assistant editor of *El Pais*, Spain's leading daily, said yesterday.

Addressing The Star's centennial conference on "Conflict and the Press" on the Spanish Press, Mr Verdu said newspaper's representing radical nationalist views, such as Basque separatists and ETA, were circulating freely and even justifying violent actions.

"The nationalists... are out and out political organs in which the leaders write their policy to establish the party line. The radical newspaper also acts as ETA's official organ of communication, and publishes all the terrorist organisation's communiqués, giving explanations about its attacks and kidnappings," he said.

Mr Verdu said editors of the radical newspaper

had appeared in court on more than one occasion, accused of justifying terrorism. "This has not stopped the paper being published, nor has it impeded them from printing communiques such as the one in which the organisation explained the attack which cost the lives of nearly 20 people in a Barcelona supermarket."

INCREASING POLITICAL INHIBITION

In the wider Spanish society, Mr Verdu said, the nationalist militant sector was aggressive, very self-confident and to a certain extent pro-Khomeini, while the Conservatives, the Liberals and non-nationalist Socialists were incapable of delivering an aggressive, vindictory speech. The fear of dissent, and the accusation of being anti-Basque, which was made automatically by any Nationalist creed, had led to an increasing level of political inhibition in widespread sectors of non-nationalist Basque society.

"The press is no exception. There have been only a

few cases where journalists have dared to confront the nationalist block and openly criticise the political use which moderate sectors make from the social and political violence waged by the radicals towards their adversaries."

The commercial press limited itself to publishing views from the entire political spectrum.

Mr Verdu said the threat by the Spanish Government to close down radical newspaper had met with stiff opposition from the publishing group in charge of independent newspapers.

"Only intellectual honesty and personal courage allow a journalist to survive under these social and political conditions. As journalists, we know that freedom does not exist just because it is protected by law, but that it has to be won, day by day, by means of reporting current developments without political or national constraints; a difficult situation which unfortunately is not exclusive to the Basque country."

SA 'paradise
for media'

CM- Trib 9/10/77
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JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa had become a potential paradise for the media because of the high potential for conflict and drama brought about by reduced stability and cultural differences, the Deputy Minister of Information and of Constitutional Planning, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said yesterday.

Addressing The Star's centennial conference on "Conflict and the Press", he said the affinity of the media for conflict was a natural phenomenon, and that potential for conflict held the expectation of impending drama.

Speaking at the same conference, Mr Harvey Tyson, editor-in-chief of The Star, said the rule of law was the essential foundation to any freedom in any society, no matter how docile or how volatile, how united or divided the community might be.

Mr Tyson cautioned newspapers actively to avoid portraying black militants as bloodthirsty terrorists, prone to necklacing their black opponents, and white South Africans as being uncaring, evil racists

Such stereotypes, which opposing forces encouraged in any divided society, were often far from reality.

While there were some militants who fitted the bill, most had shown "astonishing tolerance and patience. And among the older ones goodwill remains".

He also said laws which were used more often in the 24 months after June 1976 were now smothered under reams of emergency regulations.

"We have reached a point where I cannot believe any individual, within government or without, knows how to handle the mare's nest of rules on a rational, efficient basis. The only certainty for newspapers is that, if they do nothing to upset the government, they will be safe.

"But we also live in the knowledge that there are so many regulations that, if anyone takes them literally, no real newspaper could publish a normal edition without facing prosecution. Several of us came to the conclusion some time ago, therefore, that the only way to conduct a proper newspaper today was to ignore the mare's nest, and do what you have to do." — Sapa

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9/10/87 (243) STNR
Flow of information 'silenced'

Delegates to The Star's conference on "Conflict and the Press" should remember that most of those who should participate in any debate on the free flow of information have been silenced by a Government which would have the world believe it is on the road to reform, Mi Mewa Ramgobin said last night

Mr Ramgobin, a spokesman for the Anti-Censorship Action Group (Acag), addressed a function organised by the group to which foreign delegates to the conference and local representatives from the mainstream and "alternative" press, as well as from community organisations, were invited

The Editor-in-Chief of The Star, Mr Harvey Tyson, a member of Acag, also attended the function held in Khotso House, Johannesburg

Mr Ramgobin said two journalists had died, six, and maybe more, were in detention —

some of them for over a year — and the editor of *New Nation*, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulū, had spent more than half of the time of his newspaper's existence in detention

"With breathtaking disregard for the presence of the world's leading journalists attending the conference, the Government chose to take the first steps towards pre-publication censorship of *New Nation*," he said.

Mr Ramgobin said the journalist population in detention had almost doubled in the last two weeks with the re-arrest of Mr Mbulelo Grootboom, who had already spent 13 months in detention, and that of a journalist of the South African Broadcasting Corporation Other journalists known to be detained were Brian Soku-tu, M J Fuzile and Phila Ngqumba

Free debate in South Africa was impossible, said Mr Ramgobin ● See Pages 12 and 13.

Freedom of SA press comes under spotlight

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9/10/87

JOHANNESBURG — The rule of law was the essential foundation to any freedom in any society, no matter how docile or how volatile, how united or divided the community might be, the editor-in-chief of The Star, Mr Harvey Tyson, said at the newspaper's centennial conference here yesterday.

Addressing the conference on Conflict and the Press, Mr Tyson said "Rule of law is the bottom line, — the base on which all freedoms flourish"

He cautioned newspapers to actively avoid portraying black militants as bloodthirsty terrorists, prone to necklacing their black opponents, and white South Africans as being uncaring evil racists

The media on both sides of divided societies should be fighting for the restoration and guarantee of the rule of law, no matter who had the power

He said the only certainty for newspapers was that, if they did nothing to upset the government, they would be safe

"But we also live in the knowledge that there are so many regulations that, if anyone takes them literally, no real newspaper could publish a normal edition without facing prosecution

The chairman of the Argus Company, Mr Hal Miller, said the South African media faced pressure from the gov-

ernment on one side and from "at least part of the liberal democratic emergent opposition" on the other to tailor news to suit their purposes

He said government restrictions often left the public misinformed on vital issues

The editor of Atlanta Journal and Constitution in the United States, Mr Bill Kovach, said no nation, even the most enlightened, was entirely free of efforts to control the press and freedom of expression

Mr Kovach said the most obvious result of a sceptical press was the Watergate Scandal and the first resignation of an American president

The publisher of Die Zeit in Hamburg, Countess Marion Donhoff, said it was ironic that at a time when communist countries were easing censorship of the press, the South African Government was introducing greater restrictions

She said it was a ridiculous situation that she had friends in the Soviet Union and South Africa who had to "tune to the BBC or the Voice of America to find out what is going on in their

own country"

She said the problems encountered by journalists in South Africa were the most difficult because the country was partly highly developed, but partly a third world country

The head of the Department of Journalism at the University of Stellenbosch, Professor Heinrich Grosskopf, said every government had a right to be secretive about matters of state security

But, he said, the real stability of a country was threatened when most of the people believed that the curbs were being used to protect a particular system

Prof Grosskopf said governments bent on reform did themselves great harm by being excessively secretive

"Such a government will weaken itself, and will weaken the very institutions that should buttress the state in a time of change, which is by definition a time of danger"

He said every government had the right to have military secrets

"But does that include the right to hide the fact

from your people that you, and therefore they, are engaged in war"

"Yet that is what happened a week or so ago and is apparently still happening. What little we know of the latest incursion into Angola we were first told by the Sunday Telegraph of London

"Almost a week after the Sunday Telegraph's report, it was finally confirmed by the government. Had the Sunday Telegraph not broken the story, we would probably never have known officially," he said

The chairman of The Washington Post Company and Newsweek, Mrs Katharine Graham, said that in South Africa reporters were subject to one of the most severe systems of censorship

"The system has had some success in suppressing the flow of news

"The devastating images of security police whipping black protesters have diminished from television screens around the world

"The newest regulations are especially effective because they go beyond simply controlling the press," she said

"They also curb freedom of speech and dissent"

The deputy-editor-in-

chief of The Star, Mr Rex Gibson, said the press in South Africa was subject to far more restrictions now than it was when the country was formally at war with Nazi Germany and faced a white rebellion

He said in a society of transition, when no-one could guarantee a peaceful process, free speech "remains the only potential antidote to violence"

Referring to the latest curbs on the media, and the introduction of a media directorate, which will pounce on newspapers suspected of encouraging revolution, he said the government had attempted to drive a wedge between the elements of the press

Mr Gibson said there were still "honourable, fighting newspapers which have not bowed their heads, though they have been diminished by the death of the Rand Daily Mail, which was cruelly abandoned by some of its backers"

The Deputy Minister of Information and of Constitutional Planning, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said South Africa had become a potential paradise for the media because of the high potential for conflict and drama brought about by reduced stability and cultural differences — Sapa

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NATIONAL/INTL

Directorate bans issue of Windhoek paper

AN ISSUE of *The Windhoek Observer* has been banned.

The Directorate of Publications announced today that the September 12 1987 (No 492) issue of the South West African newspaper, which is produced by Mr Hannes Smith, has been banned for distribution.

Possession of *Fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist Theory and Tactics of Revolutionary Parties*, produced by Progress Publishers, Moscow, and *Suid Afrika... Die Land Oorkant Die Riviere Van Kus (Ethiopie)*, produced by Robert Hayes, Planton, has also been prohibited.

It is in the interest of persons who possess copies of these publications to destroy

them immediately unless they possess them under an exemption issued in terms of the Publications Act, a committee of the Directorate said.

The September 5 1987 (vol 8 no 20) issue of *Camera Weekly*, produced by Haymarket Publishing, Tedington, Middlesex, and the August 13 1987 issue of *Stern Heft* (no 34), by Gruner and Jahr AG and Co, Hamburg, as well as *Venus And Tamnhauser* by Aubrey Beardsley were declared not undesirable.

These publications may, however, not be displayed with any of the pages open for purposes of distribution.

The August 29 1987 (vol 8 no 18) issue of *Camera Weekly*

was also declared not undesirable provided it is not displayed in public for purposes of distribution.

Men-On-Men, Best New Gay Fiction by George Stambolian was declared not undesirable subject to certain conditions. It may not be sold, hired or lent out by libraries to children under 18 and may only be distributed by bookshops and book distributors.

From today it will be an offence to import and/or distribute the following publications/objects (name of author/producer in brackets):

An object showing an artificial penis with a cover in the shape of a cucumber (not stated), a record cover titled *Kaya* by Bob Marley and the Wailers showing printed

dagga leaves and a burning dagga pipe on the back cover (not stated); *A Calendar Girls '88* (Foto: GPA Munchen); *Gek No 44* (Sonskyn Uitgewers, Johannesburg); *Amandla For Mellanstadiet* (not stated), two pamphlets — *Azanian People's Manifesto* and *BCM Azania* (not stated); *The African Dawn 10 Jahre Soweto, Tournee 86* (not stated); *The Spear News-letter of RAYSO* (vol 1 no 1) August 1987 (RAYSO, Ravensmead); *Resister* (no 51 Aug/Sept 1987) (COSAWR, London). — Sapa.

Sowetan 9/10/87

Govt's clamp on media flayed

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THE Government's recently imposed media restrictions — promulgated in terms of the state of emergency — and their threat to press freedom came under fire at the *Star* centennial conference on *Conflict and the Press* in Johannesburg this week

The conference coincides with the *Star* newspapers' centenary celebrations which is said to be the biggest held in Africa

Under attack was the Deputy Minister of Information and Constitutional Planning Dr Stoffel van der Merwe. In his speech he said the South African (conflict) situation was a paradise of the media. He accused the press of promotive journalism instead of being informative. Defending the Government's "reform programme" he said the Government was committed to power sharing with all people, blacks included, and up to the "highest level of governments"

In reply to the question by the editor-in-chief of *Expression*, a Swedish newspaper Mr Bo Stromstedt on detained editor of the *New Nation* Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, Mr Van der Merwe said, "If you believe that there is anybody presently in detention for solely criticising the Government, many people in this conference would be in detention"



JOE Latakgomo

In evading a question on jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela Dr van der Merwe said the issue was "sensitive and emotional" in South Africa

The editor of the *Sowetan* Mr Joe Latakgomo, in his speech, recalled the banning of the *World* newspaper on October 19, 1977. He said that was a traumatic experience

Mr Latakgomo said the restriction of the press and its possible death would be the destruction of democracy

The freedom of the press "is democracy in itself," he said. Mr Latakgomo also said black readers thought the press, which they regarded as the champion of the voiceless was not doing its job because of the restrictions

WIM 15/10/81
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Stoffel uses his new media powers with first 'warning'

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THE sweeping new Emergency press curbs gazetted six weeks ago have been used for the first time

The "alternative" weekly *New Nation* has been sent a letter by Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha advising that articles, pictures and advertisements in three issues contravene the new media regulations — and that an official warning may appear in the Government Gazette

Ironically, announcement of the warning came yesterday, one day before Botha was scheduled to address an international audience at a conference on "Conflict and the Press", hosted by *The Star*

Shortly after his address, planned for this morning, conference delegates are scheduled to discuss the "alternative" press

New Nation has been given 14 days to make representations before the minister gazettes an official warning

Under the new media regulations, the process — which could end in an eventual prohibition from publication for up to three months — may begin if the minister believes stories in the newspaper are calculated to or have the effect of

- Promoting or fanning revolution.
- Promoting the breaking down of law and order
- Stirring up hostility towards the security forces, or towards members of the Afrikaans population
- Promoting the esteem of the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

This is not the first state action against *New Nation*, but the present action is different in that under new amendments the minister may prohibit publication for a period of three months, without warning, should he any future issue to be a "threat to public order"

Three editions of the newspaper were banned last month by the Directorate of Publications, but appeals have since been lodged.

Indications that the government was geared to take action against *New Nation* came last year after the detention of the paper's editor, Zwelakhe Sisulu

Sisulu has been detained under Emergency regulations since December 1986. He is a prominent member of the National Education Crisis Committee. This is his third detention. He has never been charged.

New Nation is not the only independent paper or news agency to suffer harassment.

At *Saamstaan*, a small community newspaper in Oudtshoorn, almost all the staff, contributors and associates, have at some time or another been detained.

Saamstaan is a project which includes advice offices and a community newsletter.

A letter written by a *Saamstaan* worker to the Southern African Society of Journalists explains what the

By SEFAKO NYAKA and PAT SIDLEY

newspaper stands for

"Only after the coming of *Saamstaan* in (these rural) areas did people start to organise themselves. From the start of the newspaper the state tried every trick in and out of the book to get the newspaper to shut down or to intimidate, harass and to detain people so that they must be afraid to associate themselves with the paper.

"As so often (happens), the state was not totally successful in their efforts. The people became more aware of who their real enemies are and how to go about solving their problems.

"Because of some of the reasons mentioned here we are quite sure that most of the people in detention (about 28 in November last year) under the State of Emergency in our area are either directly or indirectly there because of their involvement in *Saam-*

staan."

A fulltime worker on *Saamstaan*, Mbulelo Grootboom, spent 13 months in Emergency detention from June 1986, was released, and then on September 11 this year was re-detained in terms of the State of Emergency.

Other examples of the state's harassment of journalists include

● Phila Ngqumba and Mxolisi Jackson Fuzile, freelance journalists in King William's Town, were partners in a small news agency, Veritas.

Both Ngqumba and Fuzile were detained at the beginning of the national State of Emergency in June 1986. They have not been charged.

● Brian Sokutu, 25, is a freelance journalist from Port Elizabeth who has been in detention since June last year. He has suffered severe depression, been treated in hospital several times during his detention and recently had an operation, apparently for stomach ulcers.

FOR THE RECORD

AN acting principal of a Mitchells Plain High School which closed on May 6, the day of the House of Assembly election, has been demoted, with a cut in salary, and transferred to a primary school.

Peter Carelse of Glendale High School said he believed the action was taken against him because of the decision to close. He said the authorities might also have been angered when the school hired a bus in July for the first hearing of 73 teachers charged with misconduct for allegedly refusing to administer examinations in 1985.

RESIDENTS of Little Soweto, a squatter camp on the banks of a salt pan lake, are under threat of removal. A Port Elizabeth company, Swartkops Sea Salt Ltd, has claimed the community's presence is causing pollution and an abnormal flow of rainwater into the salt lakes. This reduces the brine content and interferes with the evaporation process.

An earlier attempt by the company to get the squatters removed was dismissed by the administrator, but it has now been given leave to appeal.

ELEVEN people linked to the death of Port Elizabeth undertaker Annette Nomawethu Kahla during the height of the unrest in the Eastern Cape last year appeared in the New Brighton Magistrate's Court last Friday.

The accused, seven youths aged between 10 and 17 and four men, pleaded not guilty to charges of arson, public violence and murder. The case was adjourned to November 5 and the accused released on bail.

SIX SADF members charged with the murder of veteran Swapo member Immanuel Shifidi appeared briefly in the Windhoek Magistrate's Court yesterday where they pleaded not guilty to all charges.

Four are top-ranking officers, one of them — Colonel Willem Welgemoed — the commanding officer of the 101 Battalion at Ondangwa in Northern Namibia. All accused were released on bail and will reappear on December 8.

THE Action Committee To Stop Evictions has reacted vigorously to President PW Botha's rejection of the President Council's recommendations that the Separate Amenities Act be repealed.

Actistop regarded as "adding insult to inju-

ry" the government's intention to "improve" legal instruments to prevent squatting and slum conditions.

EDITOR Mahomed Faizal Dawjee of Al-Qalam, the monthly Muslim newspaper whose July issue was banned by the Directorate of Publications this week says he is intending to appeal against the ban.

THE International Freedom Foundation (IFF), a US based policy research foundation with offices in South Africa, has called for further government action against the Group Areas Act.

The executive director of IFF's Southern African office said in a statement the government's proposals should have seized the historic opportunity to affirm the rights of all South Africans to buy and sell property without interference.

THE National Union of Metalworkers has declared a dispute with six General Mining Corp (Gencor) subsidiaries, including Tedel-ex. Numsa is accusing Tedel-ex, Hall Longmore Contracting Division, Standards Brass Iron and Steel Founders, Unique Engineering, and Malleable Castings of failing to deduct trade union fees or to give access to union officials and shop stewards' facilities.

THE Putco saga appears to be over, ending months of speculation during which prospective buyers, ranging from the SA Black Taxi Association to an anonymous Afrikaans business consortium, all appeared confident of raising the R150-million-plus needed for control.

The Carleo family has assured its shareholders of its continuing control over the company.

HIGHLY sensitive documents concerning an alleged conspiracy to kidnap African National Congress leaders in London were being withheld by police because they would prove embarrassing to the British government, a London court was told yesterday.

Counsel for the accused said some of the missing documents involved national security and named a British government minister.

● Reports by Pen, Ecna, Sapa, E!news, Concord, WM reporters

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Stoffel quizzed on press suppression

JOHANNESBURG — The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday journalists who analyse the South African conflict fairly "will bear with" emergency censorship imposed by the government.

"Freedom of expression will not be allowed to such extent that it fosters chaos, murder, confusion and revolt in South Africa," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha, who administers South Africa's censorship regulations, spoke on the final day of a conference on press freedom, sponsored by The Star, to mark its 100th anniversary.

"I deny there is a general suppression of facts. The measures we have taken are not meant to cover up facts," Mr Botha said.

"Some events cannot be covered because we judge it would be conducive to further violence."

Mr Bo Stromstedt, of Expressen in Stockholm, asked for the second day for an official explanation of the 10-month detention without charge of the editor of New Nation, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu.

Mr Botha said, "Mr Sisulu must be there after being judged by the minister concerned that he is not conducive to the state of affairs we wish to main-

tain at this time. Mr Sisulu's case is no doubt being considered day by day and he will be freed or charged under law as soon as it is deemed feasible.

"I am not asking you for your approval of my or the government's action in the current state of emergency," Mr Botha said.

"If you do resort to objective, unbiased analysis of the options open toward a better Southern Africa, taking into consideration the dynamics and preconditions of continued socio-economic and political development strategies, and the predictable real outcomes of each other option, you will bear with us."

"Instead of all the moralising about issues such as 'free flow of information,' 'the right to know' and 'freedom of expression,' humanity can be better served by taking the realities of revolutionary change in Africa into account," he said.

"In this country, freedom in general and press freedom in particular must be looked at in the context of an attempted revolution by such violent organisations as the African National Congress and its mentor, the South African Communist Party.

"It should be clear to everyone that the role of

sections of the local and international press in this revolutionary process is no flight of the imagination on the part of the government."

The president of the South African Society of Journalists, Miss Pat Sidley, said two journalists from the Eastern Cape had been held for more than a year.

Mr Botha said it was not true that anyone was in detention simply because they happened to be journalists.

A former editor of the Cape Times, Mr Tony Heard, called on the press to adopt a united strategy to oppose press censorship.

He warned that the government was trying to drive a wedge between establishment press and the alternative press and that the alternative press was facing a great deal of pressure.

Journalists also discussed the issue of whether the presence of television cameras were conducive to violence.

A British Broadcasting Corporation reporter in South Africa, Mr Graham Leach, denied that TV cameras led directly to violence — Sapa

The Star Can SA curb inflation?

inflation?

CONSUMERS may have believed that inflation was under control when recent statistics showed that the rate has stood transfixed for two months in a row — at 16,3 percent. They should be shaken out of any complacency by the world-wide comparisons that have been highlighted in our "Inflation Inferno" series.

While South Africa has remained burdened with double-digit inflation for more than a decade, all of its main overseas trade partners have been bringing the problem to heel — often with astonishing success.

The annual rate has been hauled down in the United States from 13,5 to 4,8 percent, in Britain from 18 to 4,4 percent, in Italy from 21,2 to 4,2 percent. In West Germany and Japan, the economic miracle makers, it has been virtually obliterated — cut back to 0,2 and 0,3 percent respectively.

All this may sound of little more than academic interest to South Africans. But the implications are explosive — socially, politically and economically. Unless we find our own solution, we will very soon discover that exports will as they price themselves out of overseas markets because of soaring production costs, essential imports will be beyond reach because of rand exchange rates, and the whole economy will flounder.

In our series local economists have voiced various remedies for the inflation malady, several of them worth serious attention. Loud and clear, however, comes the message that the ideal package can be parcelled only at a round-table conference at which government, employers and trade unions sit in calm deliberation to confront the issues and reach a pact on halting the wages/prices spiral, as Australia and Israel among others, managed to do.

Impossible? Perhaps so, in the current socio-political atmosphere that has generated so many suspicions and so much hostility between the State, business and labour. How to bring about improvements in the climate, clearing the decks for discussions between the three sides, is all in the hands of the politicians.

THE STAR CONFERENCE: CONFLICT AND THE PRESS

Free society 'depends on press'

The problem of the press was part of the larger problems of society, Mr Donald Treford, Editor of *The Observer*, London, said yesterday.

Wrapping up the debate after the two-day conference on "Conflict and the Press", hosted by The Star, in Johannesburg, Mr Treford said press freedom, a branch of freedom of speech, was a key to all other freedoms.

The fundamental question for the delegates to ask themselves, he said, was why they were here and whether they should have been here. The conference, he said, had been "a good idea."

It was historic and of international importance.

He regretted however the "ambivalence" of the alternative media towards the conference.

"South Africa is a profoundly abnormal society with a thin layer of normality at the top," he said.

It was not normal, he said, to detain people, even children, without charge, ban journalists and refuse a majority of the population a say in the country's affairs.

As delegates were sitting comfortably discussing press freedom, a tragic drama was playing itself out in the black townships.

Some might have thought it risky to have invited "the censors" — Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Deputy Minister of Information, and Mr Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs, whose responsibility it is to police the media — to come and justify their stand at the conference.

"But I think it was a risk worth taking," he said.

He had however found the Government Ministers' case morally "threadbare."

Mr Treford said the knowledge that influential media people from many countries would go home with an understanding and to reflect on the problems of the South African press, ought to be of some comfort to it.

It was a pity the conference did not nearly reflect the anxieties of the wider society because the problem of the press was just part of the larger problem. That had occurred for a brief moment during a confrontation between Mrs Sally Motlana, president of the Black Housewives League and Dr van der Merwe on Thursday.

It was not until towards the close of the conference that some critical issues were touched upon, he said.

"I think most of us were saying

pretty much the same thing," he said.

Most of the debate in the workshops, which took place behind closed doors, he said, should have taken place on the conference floor for everybody to participate.

The fact that the Government had seen fit to bring out special legislation to curb and restrict the press, meant it was doing "a damn good job."

"News is often what governments don't want people to know," he said.

He had detected a lack of balance in the seminar. There was very little input, he noted, from either the Africans press or the alternative media.

He went on to quote Mrs Katharine Graham, chairman of the Board of the Washington Post Company, who in opening the conference on Thursday said the battle for press freedom had to be fought day-by-day, even in the world's freest democracies.

"The Government is too quick to cry 'national security', when often it wants only to make its job easier, protect itself from embarrassment, or carry out a policy or program that could not win public support,"

Mrs Graham had said.

Mr Treford had some advice for newspaper proprietors. "If you have to fire an editor," he said, "Do it with dignity. Don't do it in a way which will lead people to accuse you of bowing to government pressure."

Government which sought to suppress the truth was eroding its own credibility, he said.

He quoted Mr Bill Kovach, Editor of the *Atlantic Journal and Constitution*, who had earlier told the conference "The people most free to discuss the need for change tend to discover peaceful ways to make that change. Those denied the right to freely exchange ideas and debate competing philosophies, are forced to find more revolutionary means. Conflict which cannot be resolved in debate is likely to be resolved by force."

"For the truth is always there. It pounds like the surf against the shore — relentless and irresistible. Like a rock which stands before the wave, a government which stands against the truth is eaten away, its credibility undermined, and its form eventually will collapse."

Mr Treford said he felt the discussion on television coverage of

conflict earlier in the day had not been balanced. Foreign journalists in South Africa complained they were victims of unsubstantiated allegations of bias and fuelling the conflict rather than reporting it.

Mr Treford said the case against television crews had not been adequately put before the conference.

He also responded to Mr Sam Mabe, assistant news editor of The Star, who suggested in an address to the conference that perhaps black journalists in South Africa should regard themselves as "guerillas in enemy territory."

That view, Mr Treford said, should be balanced.

Mr Harvey Tyson, Editor-in-Chief of The Star, said his view was that the press represented nobody but the public. As far as he was concerned, the press would continue reporting both sides of the conflict without taking any sides.

He did not think conferences were meant to achieve a great deal, even party political conferences. But this conference was meant to be an exercise in communication, he said.

"I hope you found it useful and even instructive," he said.

Resolutions were not strong

enough to express the way people felt. The most effective way was to ask questions, he said.

South Africans should by all means cling to the bases of a civilised society.

"Can anyone here justify locking up a man for over a year without saying why he was held," he asked.

Earlier Mr Ian Wylie, Editor of the *Sunday Tribune*, Durban, who was convenor of a workshop on the role of the alternative press, said there was a feeling that the establishment press was "softer" on change.

"The alternative press did not advocate fundamental change but the need for fundamental change," he said.

"It seems to me that the alternative press is interested in special areas, where they feel the need is greatest."

He said the role of the alternative press had grown since the demise of the *Rand Daily Mail*.

The alternative press was closely aligned with extra-parliamentary politics and generally concentrated on news not dealt with by the mainstream newspapers.

He urged the mainstream press to speak up against the harassment of its alternative counterpart.

Why black is fashionable in townships

JOHN KANI talks to GARALI MACKLAIN of The Star's continual conference on "Conflict and the Press" in Johannesburg this week.

THE fashion of the women in the township is black. That doesn't mean they like the colour, but rather that they have lost someone dear in their lives those brothers that mothers have buried. It would be no different for me for another one — and me — to die. We are aware that we live under a perpetual state of emergency. It is there all the time. The townships are circled by barbed wire in our minds and in our lives. A soldier is supposedly a patriot. He's ready to die for his country. If it is attacked by the enemy. And yet in my country, the army is deployed in my townships and when the army is deployed, the country is at war. And I know who's standing at the other side of the



Now that Naas Botha is to lead the South African Barbarians against the South Sea Barbarians in the first "test" at Ellis Park, we wonder whether those who only a fortnight ago booed the blond flyhalf in the Currie Cup final at the same ground, will be cheering him on today.

—Vaderland

They say . . .

Now I find it difficult to believe the children were ever inside me — Surrogate granny Mrs Pat Anthony

It is an enormous psychological blow to lose three babies at once. She could go into severe depression — Anonymous paediatrician, after Mrs Anthony had given up triplets to their natural mother, daughter Karen Ferreira-Jorge

I could fit everything I have ever learnt about men on the head of a pin and still have room for the Lord's Prayer — Twice-divorced singer Cher

With my reputation people are really shocked that I can walk and chew gum at the same time — not many soap actresses can concentrate that hard — Morgan Fairchild, hopping soon to "graduate" to the big screen

The Queen can drop you with one look at 50 paces. She makes grown men tremble — Harry Arnold, reporter with *The Sun* in London

We are convinced that the root causes of violence as a political instrument can only be addressed and counteracted through a purposeful process of negotiation — Mr Wynand Malan, Independent MP and head of new National Democratic Movement.

Our nation must regain paradise lost — Colonel Sitiveni Rabuka, leader of the two-week-old military coup in Fiji.

The press 'is used by the privileged to keep its position'

BEFORE talking about whether or not the press should take sides in its function, I would like to examine the societies in which the press operates. It is common cause that the press takes sides either to establish or to propagate an established line of thought either in politics, culture, religion, science or other fields.

Throughout the capitalist world, economic and real political power are concentrated in the hands of a privileged minority group. And since immoral means were used to acquire and to maintain this position, the privileged groups are not always at peace with their consciences. This has made it necessary for them to formulate all sorts of theories and distortions of history in order to justify their position. The press, which is owned and controlled by members of this group, has been used as an effective weapon for propagating those theories and distortions.

When Pope John Paul visited Africa in 1982, he said, "It is important to affirm that the sovereignty of each country should be safeguarded by the proper use of the means of communication, for they can become in-

Press 'must adopt SA violence on TV news a united strategy'

COLLEEN RYAN

The former editor of the *Cape Times*, Mr Tony Heard, yesterday called on the press to adopt a united strategy to oppose press censorship. He warned that the Government was trying to drive a wedge between establishment press and the alternative press and that the alternative press was facing a great deal of pressure.

Speaking at The Star's centennial conference on "Conflict and the Media" in Johannesburg, he said (if the establishment press "washed its hands of the threat facing the alternative media"), this would eventually "poorly manage politically and commercially".

Editors and managers should consider a joint strategy to finance and fight court cases, to have available the best legal advice as quickly as possible and support newspapers (under threat).

Another speaker, Mr Yehudi Litan, the Middle East editor of the *Jerusalem Post*, said the problems encountered in covering conflict in the Middle East and South Africa were similar in some respects.

Israelis on the one hand and Palestinians on the other both preferred news which supported their view that the opposing side was not legitimate.

Journalists were not always popular because they reminded the public of the situation's complexities. Mr Andreas Whitlam-Smith, editor and chief executive of *The Independent* in Britain, said he was shocked to hear first hand from the Government the restrictions it imposed on the South African media. He said that, even in peril, press freedom could be preserved "by making sure newspapers can always appeal to the courts against Government opinions".



SA violence on TV news

Do overseas television networks reflect events fairly and comprehensively, or do they concentrate on violence because this makes dramatic viewing?

This was one of the issues debated yesterday at The Star's centennial conference on "Conflict and the Press".

International TV newsmen who addressed the conference were unanimous that TV journalists, like other reporters, tried to reflect not only the stories of the day, but also the "background".

They said some news stations had added extra time to their news bulletins for the screening of background documentaries.

An official from the South African Department of Foreign Affairs, suggested that the stereotyped view that British citizens had about South Africa was in part a result of one-sided TV reporting.

Mr Stephen Claypole, director of external services

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS HARVEY TYSON

The columns of Harvey Tyson and John Patten have been held over for this week and will be resumed in the next issue of *The Saturday Star*.

THE INDEPENDENT JOHN PATTEN

A senior journalist on The Star, SAM MABE, made this speech at the newspaper's centennial conference on "Conflict and the Press".

em countries

The press takes sides not only by what it does but also by what it does not do. Through the press, the West is more eager to notice what is bad than what is good in socialist and developing countries. It refers to the economic backwardness, illiteracy and poverty as features that are innate in them and promotes the myth that the imperialist powers are the only sources of culture, civilisation, science and technology for the Third World.

A number of top international news agencies are controlled directly and indirectly by imperialist countries of Europe and America which provide them with personnel that is highly skilled in the creation of propaganda material used to flood developing coun-

But for better understanding we might have to narrow our focus to the South African situation, which is by and large a situation of conflict. The choice of words like terrorist, rebel and dissident, which describe people engaged in more or less similar activities, has always indicated the biased nature of the South African press. Members of the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress are referred to as terrorists, whereas those of the MNR or Umta are referred to as rebels or dissidents.

In South Africa, we are talking about a situation of black versus white, the haves versus the have-nots and oppressor versus the oppressed. In such a situation, one can not talk of objectivity as is interpreted by the Western media. There is no way that you can balance justice and injustice without being guilty of justifying injustice. The press should make up its mind on how it wishes to get involved in the current conflict in South Africa.

If it is against them, it will continue operating as it always has. But should it have a change of heart, it will start using propaganda that will be biased in favour of

right to declare the Government the enemy. We're sick and tired of being tear-gassed, charged with dogs baton-charged shot at and detained. Black people have made it clear, their objection to apartheid and the system of Government has been made clear to everybody. There are people dead and in exile, in prison, and still dying. White people have not, at least not enough for me, shown, practically, their objection to the present system of Government, their objection to apartheid.

It's not enough for whites simply to say, we abhor apartheid. They must vote it, too. But everything is happening so late that it all appears to be token. It's supposed to press us down, but it has made me stronger and angrier, and biter, but I'm above it now and it can no longer hurt me. But if it does and it kills my brother and I bury him, I will continue the fight.

The bottom line is a free South Africa. Give me my freedom and there are many questions that would not arise. Also be aware that there are two forces operating here — the liberated forces and the forces of oppression. They counter each other on everything they do, they work against each other all the time. We are the people in the centre that suffer pressure from both sides.

We have to be free first, then all the other tricky questions will not matter if we solve the beginning of the problem.

Until people get citizenship and their birthright to their country, these problems will present themselves. There are two options. That we stop working totally, stop going to school, stop going to church, stop doing plays and pick up arms and go to war — declaring the white people the enemy and fight with stones, with spades, with spears with guns, with anything we have and stage a total onslaught.

But we are sensible enough, we have a deep reverence for life and we have great faith in humanity and in ourselves that we can come together and solve our problems. We also want to be part of a free South Africa, all of us. When we go to school and we have to drink of that terrible Bantu Education, which creates nothing but learned servants out of us, we are aware of it. We try and de-educate ourselves. We know the war is on, but that does not mean that life stops.

Whatever happens in the townships is left to the discretion of whites whose sole duty seems to be to suppress any kind of activity, there is a network of security people, trying to kill any would-be plant that might make people aware.

There are certain issues that are important, people must stay alive, work must be done. Even in the arts, we know there isn't a single theatre in any South African townships. It's a sin, it's a disgrace.

The press should display in a more positive way, a greater awareness that we are going to have to live together in this country, someone or another, when is not the issue, but it is going to happen. There's going to be a hell of a confrontation between black and white if something is not done now.

The minor changes mean very little. It's strange how little this country has changed. The sick and tired of the little changes. Is it solving the problem? Until we are given the right to feel proud and be part of this country's everything, we will have nothing.

I have begun to realise that every white man in a suit is not an army soldier off duty. I say to those white racists who still perpetuate the policies of racism, who still perpetuate apartheid — because it is in the centre of their beliefs that I am inferior — I need to overcome you all before I can go on.



JOHN KANI: Strong, angry and bitter.

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MEDIA IN CONFLICT

Spotlight on Presses

Quotable Quores

Weekend Argus Correspondent JOHANNESBURG — In the civilised confines of a plush Johannes-

burg hotel they gathered to talk about the crumbling of one of the pillars of democracy

For two days this week the world's best media minds examined the plight of the South African media at The Star's Centennial Conference, entitled 'Conflict and the Press'

For most it was their first visit to South Africa. Those who came from other trouble-

spots, such as Ireland and Israel, were less surprised, more pragmatic about what they found here.

Others were visibly shaken, almost in shock as the full impact dawned of the state of emergency regulations on the long-term prospects of the South African Press and the country's political future.

After the conference some delegates were asked to imagine what it would be like to be editors and journalists

operating in South Africa. None volunteered for the experience Most shuddered at the very thought

Mr Andreas Whitlam Smith editor and chief executive of the Independent in Britain, told the conference 'Here in Johannesburg I fully understand how fortunate I really am I have been shocked to hear at first hand about the conditions under which the Press operates in this country

'It is frightening to hear what has been said here. What can I bring from the comfort of the United Kingdom — where we can be published and be damned — survive and prosper?'

Mr Yehudi Litani, Middle East editor of the Jerusalem Post, comes from a less-privileged pocket of journalistic experience.

He was more pragmatic, less pessimistic and strongly supportive of the South African Press 'Keep up the good work, you are not alone in your struggle,' he said

The spoke of the 'Bel-fasting' of communication under threat This happened when the publisher decided 'Leave me alone, spare me the details, I don't want to know, I'm too tired and confused, don't remind me about the problems'

'It happens in Israel and I believe here, too. In my country we have always expressed the fear that things might deteriorate to the point reached in South Africa. It is viewed as the last step towards annihilation

'Everyone takes South Africa as the example of what we don't want to be.

'If there is any air of the funeral about this conference it is not the funeral of the Press but that of the oppressors. They are doomed to fail if they do not think of radical ways to change. All people are rac-

ists. Inside me there is a little racist. My life could be summed up as a constant struggle against this little racist, and if I beat him I feel really victorious

'In the long term I am optimistic for South Africa but not in the short term. The big clash is still to come

Mr Douglas Gageby, director of National Newspapers of Ireland and former editor of the Irish Times, said 'There is nothing in Ireland like the kind of censorship that you face here.

'But, after living in Ireland for more than 60 years as I have, you don't shock easily. I would not be too pessimistic about South Africa not being able to find a modus vivendi.'

Mr Timothy Bolding, director of the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (IFNEJ) based in Paris, explained his reason for coming to the conference.

'We can be criticised in Europe for even attending a conference of this kind in the same way that foreign journalists were attacked for attending Mr Gorbachev's peace conference in Moscow

'PR exercise We could be accused of assisting in a public relations exercise of the (South African) Government

'Some people say about this conference that the fact that the delegates from abroad have been allowed to attend will be used by the Government as propaganda.

'The answer to that is that as long as the South African Government feels it must justify itself to the outside world there is hope

'Listening to Mr Stoffel Botha (Minister of Home Affairs and Communication) was like listening to someone from another planet.

'There is almost no argument you can advance against him and there is almost no debate because he is so insensitive to the values of freedom of information as we see them.

'It is a strange country. The debate we had here is unreal to a certain extent because we are talking ideally about freedom of expression in a democratic country.

'In the heat of the debate we tend to forget that South Africa is not a democratic country. Vast sections of the population are prevented from voting

'Freedom of the Press is one of the fundamental tenets of a democratic society, but there is one that comes before that — and it is one man, one vote

'But the speeches from the two Ministers were hardly confidence-inspiring

'I have been trying to see some logic in the Government's argument, but they make it up as they go along

Perhaps the thing I'm most shocked about is the argument, put forward by government, that the government is the judge of what is legitimate criticism and what is not when it is the government itself which is the object of that criticism

'This flies in the face of the basic criteria of democratic debate

control the South African media.

'Of all the speakers Mr Stoffel Botha impressed me most, but I use the word impressed as a neutral term. I am pleased I am not an editor in South Africa having to deal with Mr Botha

'I would like to think the main purpose in coming here was not to offer condolences to a dying Press but to offer solidarity. But what can we actually do beyond saying 'Good luck, chaps, we are with you?'

'I try to imagine what it must be like to be an editor here. It must be very exciting but it is excitement I can do without. Canada seems dull by comparison, but there is a lot to be said for that kind of dullness

'Coming here has resulted in a lot of shading to the stark black and white picture I had of the place'

'I, like many of us, knew that the Press operated under very difficult circumstances — but I was not aware of how really wide-ranging and arbitrary the Government's powers were to suppress and

'The Press should have the right to act as a watchdog and focus on Government actions. The present role of watchdog, however, is a qualified one. The Press must accept the Government's right to govern in the first place' — The Minister of Home Affairs and Communication, Mr Stoffel Botha

'We did not bring on World War 1, nor the Russian Revolution, nor the great depression. World War 2 was not begun nor run by newspaper editors and journalists. We did not bring Mao Tse Tung to power in China. We react to events rather than initiate them.' — Mr Richard Harwood of the American Society of Newspaper Editors and deputy managing editor of the Washington Post.

'Journalism is not a craft, it's an addiction. What an embattled community requires is a maximum of old-fashioned reporting, documentation and facts. Facts are what newspapers are all about.' — Mr Douglas Gageby, director of National Newspapers of Ireland, Dublin and former editor of the Irish Times.

Cape Trip 10/10/83

NPU newspaper's issue is banned

(243)

By CHRIS BATEMAN and JEAN SUTHERLAND

THE editor of the Windhoek Observer, Mr Hannes Smit, believes a letter in his newspaper about the sexual delights of Mauritius led to an issue being banned

The Directorate of Publications announced yesterday that the issue of September 12 had been banned

However, because the Observer is a member of the Newspaper Press Union, it does not fall under the jurisdiction of the directorate

A spokesman for the NPU in Cape Town yesterday confirmed that the directorate did not have jurisdiction over NPU members

Mr Smit described the letter, which he believes led to the banning, as "more hilarious than offensive". It "could offend some", but said the directorate were "oblivious of the debauchery and social decay rife in this country"

"They show concern over a few remarks in a letter," he added

The letter, in Afrikaans, is printed alongside the regular picture of a topless woman, and recounts the writer's escapades while on holiday in Mauritius

A spokesman for the directorate said yesterday that a few years ago they had examined the Observer when it was not an NPU member and he was unaware that the newspaper had joined the NPU since.

Govt denies bid to 'cover up facts'

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JOHANNESBURG — The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday that journalists who analyse the South African conflict fairly "will bear with" emergency censorship imposed by the government

"Freedom of expression will not be allowed to such extent that it fosters chaos, murder, confusion and revolt in South Africa," Mr Botha told a meeting of Western and local journalists

Mr Botha, whose department administers the new censorship regulations, spoke on the final day of a conference on press freedom, sponsored by the Johannesburg daily The Star to mark its 100th anniversary

Editors and publishers have in their remarks been overwhelmingly critical of censorship, detention of journalists and the apartheid system

Zwelakhe Sisulu

"I deny there is a general suppression of facts. The measures we have taken are not meant to cover up facts," Mr Botha said

"Some events cannot be covered because we judge it would be conducive to further violence"

Mr Bo Stromstedt, editor of Expressen, Stockholm, asked for the second day for an official explanation of the 10-month detention without charge of Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, editor of the black weekly New Nation

Mr Botha said Mr Sisulu's case was "no doubt" being considered day by day and he would be freed or charged under law as soon as it was deemed feasible

'Imagination'

"Instead of all the moralizing about issues such as 'free flow of information', 'the right to know' and 'freedom of expression', humanity can be better served by taking the realities of revolutionary change in Africa into account," he said

"In this country, freedom in general and press freedom in particular must be looked at in the context of an attempted revolution by such violent organizations as the (African National Congress) and its mentor, the South African Communist Party. It should be clear to everyone that the role of sections of the local and international press in this revolutionary process is no flight of the imagination on the part of the government"

The president of the South African Society of Journalists, Miss Pat Sidley, asked Mr Botha why several journalists were in detention. She said two journalists from the Eastern Cape had been held for more than a year

'Participants'

"Would the minister comment on the fact that these journalists are apparently being detained purely because they are journalists?"

Mr Botha said it was not true that any people were in detention simply because they happened to be journalists

"I don't know the facts of these cases, but it is a fact that at times

Journalists do become pretty much involved in the politics of the day and do become participants in conflict and issues

"Instead of being informers of fact, they become participants in the conflict"

In other addresses to the conference, former editor of the Cape Times Mr Tony Heard called on the press to adopt a united strategy to oppose press censorship

He warned that the government was trying to drive a wedge between establishment press and alternative press and that the alternative press was under a great deal of pressure

Media 'vultures'

Mr Stephen Claypole, editor of BBC external news services, told the conference that many governments blame the portrayal of violence on television as a cause of upheaval, and then proceed to restrict and censor the news

TV men were seen as the "vultures of the media — who gather when passions are roused and blood spilt", he said

"If only we could put away our cameras, microphones and lights, all would be well — as if the times before television were noted for peace and tranquility"

Mr Claypole said there was a "familiar pattern" to the accusations made by governments in situations of conflict

"The press and the broadcasters arrive to cover some upheaval which often has its causes in the colonial past or in ancient nationalist or religious rivalries"

'Bewilderment'

"The phone lines and the satellites begin to buzz and the world reads and sees reports of a harrowing kind. At this moment a sort of official bewilderment sets in. With all the problems of regaining control, the news coverage is at the very least an irritation, and often it is perceived as a threat to those who hold office"

He said the second phase was official accusations. The media were criticized for dwelling on conflict instead of "good news"

"There is also official slander. No major incident passes without some account — normally apocryphal — of camera crews throwing dollar bills in the air to encourage rioters"

Mr Claypole said the third phase of government action was restriction and censorship

"At the lower end of the scale, there is the denial of access, the roadblock and the cordon. At the other, grotesque regulations, censorship bureaux and the Ministry of Truth"

The final phase, "done in the name of patriotism", is the expulsion of correspondents, the closure of newspapers or broadcasting stations and the murder, torture and imprisonment of their employees" — Sapa

SOUTH AFRICA, proposed Mr Donald Trelford, editor-in-chief of the Observer newspaper, is a profoundly abnormal society topped with a thin layer of normality.

The point — included in his summing up of the Star's Centennial Conference on Conflict and the Press — is not original but in the context was apt

Censorship and how to deal with it were the central themes of the conference and it had as backdrop — as if to order — three events of relevance

One was the first warning by the Government in terms of its latest powers to the New Nation that its writings were considered "revolutionary", second was the disappearance of a black Soweto journalist at the hands of a balaclava gang, and third was an expression of United States concern that Harare was being turned into the Soviet disinformation capital of the world

The scene thus set, the 200 delegates from here and abroad fell to discussing the copperplate perennials of publishing ethics which should also be of concern to the broad public but, like the specifics of heart disease research, are not

It was, instead, the anomalies that most engaged attention

The first was the spirit of the conference. Much evidence was led about the repressive and often capricious nature of the Government's censorship machinery

Offensive

This is undoubtedly true and yet it was difficult to sustain any sort of equation with the more forbidding censorship models of Eastern Europe, South America or Africa

Sally Motlana knocked spots off Deputy Minister Stoffel van der Merwe at question time, Dries Engelbrecht, head of the newly formed and semi-secret media directorate, mingled affably enough with delegates, and Cas Venter of the Department of Information battled, not always successfully, to get a voice in the debate

Douglas Gageby, director of the Irish Times, was moved to observe that delegates were not ungrateful that the South African Government had "let all of us firebrands into the country"

What should one make of all this?

There is, it is suggested, some cause for comfort but little for complacency

The Star conference re-

BRIAN ROTINGER
moments of this week's conference on the media

RADICAL TYRANNY

Is this going
to be the next
threat to SA
Press freedom?

vealed that we are not yet in the grip of full censorship, however offensive the Government's current measures, unintelligent their application and dangerous their consequences

Yet this is no reason to be lulled into complacency or surrender the noble fight to return to nominal Western values of Press freedom

In recent years the Government has shown that, however artful some of their actions (taking part in a conference on Press freedom is one), their instincts in times of crisis are inevitably totalitarian

Neither should we cease opposing the Government's balkanisation of fact and information for its own purposes

The Washington Post's Katharine Graham pointed out that their South African correspondent had been able to file all major news stories out of South Africa without falling foul of the laws

The point, appreciated as much by Mrs Graham as anybody else, is that the mood of a country cannot be conveyed only in a few major stories any more than the quality of a rugby match can be described purely in try runs

But there was a second,

perhaps greater, anomaly at the conference

Much of the debate was understandably directed at the Government and the crudity of its censorship efforts

Yet perhaps the most interesting part of the conference came in its dying moments and shifted the emphasis from the tyranny of Government to the incipient tyranny of its radical opposition

Guerrillas

For this critical aspect the conference owes much to Sam Mabe, deputy news editor of the Star, an articulate newspaperman who has worked his way up from messenger to a responsible position in the biggest daily newspaper in the country and who presented by far the most thought-provoking contribution in the conference

Mr Mabe's first point — or "Comrade Mabe" as one black fellow journalist addressed him — was that the Western media were part of an imperialist plot to distort news of the third world

His second point was that the "establishment" Press, part of which he serves in an executive capacity, was merely a tool of the privi-

leged minority to oppress the masses

This Press, warned Mr Mabe, would have to choose between the interests of the oppressor and those of the oppressed or, to put it more succinctly, between Mr Mabe's views and those of anybody else

He concluded that black journalists on establishment newspapers should regard themselves as "guerrillas in enemy territory"

As regards the first point, there is little to say except that the fervour of Mr Mabe's belief in the imperialist Press conspiracy has been matched in my experience only by the conviction with which the security establishment believes in a communist Press conspiracy

The second point, too, is not novel and has been stated most recently by President Botha and in almost the same terms when he demanded the Press choose between his Government and the sort of views Mr Mabe quite legitimately expressed to the Star conference

Other journalists at the conference supported Mr Mabe and one went as far as to suggest that talk of Press freedom was an irre-

levancy because reality as perceived by black journalists was born entirely from the objective circumstances of their repression

That this view should prevail is not surprising nor that South African journalists, particularly black ones, should have a burning personal sense of indignation and anger

They are, after all, the most immediate targets of police harassment and more than one has lost his life in the exercise of their profession

They are constantly invoked to honour facts and truth by a Government and bureaucracy whose main lubricant is deceit and which, even worse, increasingly tries to enforce propagation of that deceit

Yet this theme offered by Mr Mabe's colleagues, a crucial one, shows a chilling sense of pre-determination and what can only be described as an abdication of a journalist's cardinal responsibility

It would seem to challenge the very basis of objective reportage which, if it is anything at all, is an attempt by journalists to establish through a testing of facts a reasonably objective view of reality instead, as some journalists now suggest, the other way around

Contempt

Put crisply, it is the conversion of the journalist into the fully-fledged propagandist and more than one foreign visitor to the Star's conference must have paused to consider whether Press freedom, about which they spoke so eloquently, was in fact an irrelevancy given the clear contempt in which it was held by those who now rule and some of those who would seek to rule in the future

This leads to a broader theme on which the chances of survival of anything like a free Press in South Africa will hang

The Government has chosen to draw a distinction between the establishment media and the "alternative" media and in classic salami tactics will seek to whittle Press opposition from its most vociferous extreme down to its merely sullen one

In this process the "mainstream" Press have so far resolutely refused to co-operate

The question thus arises to what extent do the views of Mr Mabe and those of the "alternative media" who this week so archly refused to participate in the Star conference, for a variety of radical political reasons, make that salami so much more inviting to the slicer?

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Detained editor seeks release

Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, detained editor of the *New Nation* newspaper, applied to the Rand Supreme Court yesterday for his release and to have the state of emergency declared unlawful.

The application, brought against the State President, the Minister of Law and Order, the Minister of Justice, the Commissioner of Police, and the Officer Commanding Johannesburg Prison, was postponed to November 10 to allow the respondents to reply.

Mr Sisulu was detained on December 12 last year in terms of emergency regulations promulgated on June 12 1986. He is now detained in terms of the regulations of the present state of emergency, promulgated on June 11 1987.

He is asking the court to declare this state of emergency invalid because it was promulgated while the previous state of emergency was still in force.

He is also asking that his detention be declared unlawful and that the authorities be ordered to release him.

In an affidavit before the court Mr Sisulu said that the reason given for his detention was his "active involvement" in the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) by which he "endangered and undermined the maintenance of public order".

Despite the fact that his attorney submitted a memorandum disputing his membership of the NECC and setting out the facts of his slight connection with the organisation, he continued to be detained on grounds of NECC involvement, Mr Sisulu said.

He argued that his re-detention in June was a decision which the Minister of Law and Order could not have come to "if he had properly applied his mind to all the relevant facts".

16/10/87

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Botha vows to fight the 'pens of poison'

AMANZIMTOTI — The Govern- ment was determined to prevent "revolutionary propaganda" de- spite the vociferous criticism it had taken for its recent actions against the media, Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha said yesterday

The journalist with a poisoned pen contributed as much to the revolution as did the man with the gun, he said

Press freedom was an impor- tant tenet of the democratic ide- ology to which the Government subscribed, but it could not be applied without qualification

ETHICS

There was a distinct differ- ence between the commercial press and the propaganda news- letters which appeared as sub- versive front material often fin- anced by liberals far from South Africa, he said

"There is also a clear distinc- tion between the organised press, which at least has a code of ethics and decency, and the subversive and immature press that cannot tell the difference between criticism and abuse but are bent on fanning unrest and the taking of cheap swipes at all forms of authority

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243 Star
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Press freedom and the promised land

(25)
12/10/87

A conference about freedom of the press in Johannesburg began with a swank banquet, black tie and elegant women given that freedom of the press in this country is inextricably bound up with the freedom of every individual and that in part has reference to the extremes of poverty and riches, it should have been a more prosaic bread and cheese and beer. But even in that there would be danger patronage, condescension?

Honi soi qui mal y pense (Evil be to him who thinks evil) To be sure there was much eloquence, much protestation and much emotion on behalf of lesser brethren, the best of it and the most affecting coming from women in expensive dresses, fire-brands standing foursquare themselves on the security of an affluent upbringing and adult money in the bank.

It was The Star central conference on Conflict and the Press. It may be bigger than the Daily Dispatch but it is younger. The Daily Dispatch dates back to 1872 and the West Bank, where everything began for East London, which really would have been better off with the original Port Rex. It was not just the

press, of course. At our table there were only two journalists and both with Welsh names. But Mervyn Rees, a distinguished South African journalist who was at the forefront of the Muldergate investigation some years ago, is decidedly South African, having decided to return to the hurly-burly of our restrictions (and the excitement) after the comparative ease of investigative reporting in Fleet Street.

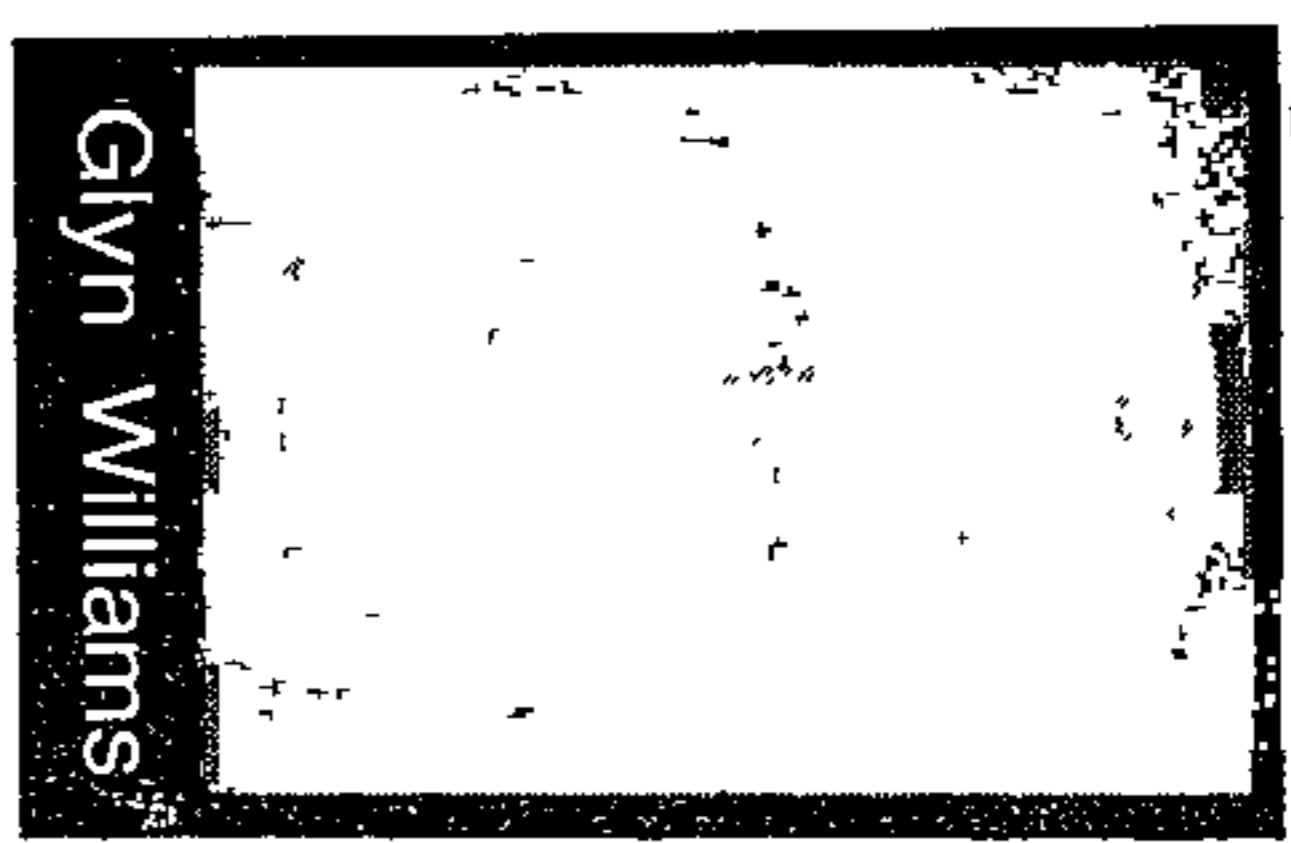
The others were women who had helped to organise the event, a personnel manager, a judge, and a professional observer of the international freedom of the press who was based in Paris. Such people are always located in Paris, if it is not London. He is a wise man. He said he decided to live in Paris first, and then find a job afterwards.

The speaker at the banquet looked like a turnip farmer but he turned out to be Lord McGregor of Durris, who is chairman of the British Advertising Standards Authority, who laced his speech with liberal quotations from the past on freedom to publish what was not so much of a surprise was that the squat, rugged-looking Lord McGregor had in fact been a turnip farmer.

Everyone knew who Katharine Graham is well, everyone who had seen the short Robert Redford and the even shorter Dustin Hoffman in All the President's Men, when, acting as reporters of the Washington Post, they went on their own investigative crusade to uncover the dirty dealings of Nixon's Watergate.

She is the patrician publisher of the Washington Post. When the Watergate investigation was on, one high placed Nixon man attempted to dissuade the Post by suggesting that if the reporters did not lay off, Katharine Graham would get her t-- in a wringer.

Publish and be damned (how many at the conference knew that the Duke of Wellington had said it first?) sometimes has it perplexing side. The Post, great defender of the freedoms, decided not to publish the quote on the grounds that it was a family newspaper. So is



Glyn Williams

dependent on subsidies from government, that is. She spoke of many things — the conflict between the need to know and national security (but who defines national security?), the intrusion into private lives, the suppression of information "in the interests of the people", the Pentagon papers on the Vietnam war, Nixon, Hart and court restrictions and interdicts.

Hart? The character of public official does matter, she said. It was a good speech and well received but twice she was misquoted, once by the Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, and the quiet steel in Mrs Graham would have none of it. Twice she stood up to protest the misquotation and twice she received apology.

We even had a countess, Marion Donhoff, publisher of Die Zeit, Hamburg, another quiet, reasoned woman with a fine record of defying

the question of the continued detention of children. He said the world's perception of the South African press on this issue was that "we don't give a damn".

The detention puzzled many delegates their attitude was if there had been offences let them be charged and convicted. There was also repeated questions on the detention of the editor of New Nation, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, with again the request that he should be charged or released.

Mr Stoffel Botha was guarded and chose his words carefully. His case was being considered and he would be allowed to go free or charged as soon as possible, he said. But he insisted that no journalist was being held merely because he had been practising as a journalist.

Perhaps the last word should go to a brave Israeli journalist, Mr Yehudi Litan, Middle East editor of the Jerusalem Post, who said "The cover-up is not an American institution. It happens everywhere, including the Promised Land".

We are all looking for that. The promised land, that is

the Daily Dispatch, though adults get the message. There are always restrictions on the freedom to publish, some of it self imposed on the grounds of taste.

She wore a purple dress but it was not purple passion stuff. Old money has no need for stridency. It was quiet, reasoned and expectedly cogent. Financially dependent newspapers can never be truly free, she said — de-

As the black community solemnly reflects on the devastating body blow it received from the Government 10 years ago today with the summary banning of 18 organisations the Press — an integral organ of the community — is silently taking stock

It was a decade ago today that *The World* and its stablemate *Weekend World* 17 Black Consciousness organisations and a church group were swept away by the tide of Government intolerance of criticism.

It was also a decade ago today that the Union of Black Journalism was outlawed. By then its president had been in detention for close on a year, and was only let out after spending a full year and a half behind bars. He was never charged, he was never told why.

The Government could not erode the few remaining civil liberties without taking periodic bites at the Press, because a free society depends on a free Press to safeguard the liberty of citizens.

For almost every piece of legislation further curtailing individual freedom, the State had a similar set of measures for the media.

In most cases what affected the individual also directly affected the institution of a free Press.

No sooner had the Government made monumental blunders about the death in custody of Steve Biko than it immediately worked out a cover-up for possible similar blunders in the future.

Because the Press had exposed the truth about Biko's death — he did not starve himself to death, as the Government had claimed — the authorities immediately enacted the Inquest Act.

The law simply forbids any disclosures — in effect, any investigation by people other than State appointees — about a person's death until an inquest is held.

Had the law existed before Biko's death, the State might have got away with many of its blunders regarding the black leader's death.

The 1980s started on a high note for black journalists in particular, and for the Press in general.

The blood, sweat and tears generated by the trauma of the mid-1970s had finally accorded black newsmen the recognition long denied them by their white employers and counterparts.

The Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) had come into being after the dissolution of the Writers Association of South Africa, and media

Press relives October 19

FOCUS

SOWETAN REPORTER

moguls knew it was only a matter of time before they faced their black employees in negotiations for a much better deal.

Two strikes in early 1980 set the pace and by the end of the year a fullblown and unprecedented national strike by black journalists left no one in doubt that the age of newsroom paternalism was dead and buried.

The black journalists won their battle — but at a price no one, not even employers, had bargained for. The Government summarily closed down *Post* and *Sunday Post*, which had filled the void left by the departure of *World* and *Weekend World*.

The appointment of



STEVE Biko died in detention

Turning
back
the
clock
as...

endorsing the reform proposals which, while giving limited power to the hitherto disenfranchised Indian and coloured sections of the population, still kept the African majority firmly locked out.

When most of the English-language Press withheld its support for the new order the Government abandoned the "glasnost" approach and once more wielded the big stick.

The blacks had so convincingly rejected the new Constitution — coloured and Indian votes were dismal — that by the end of 1984 most of South Africa was in flames.

The "reform" package was a failure, but the Government wanted to make it an acceptable failure.

Widespread detentions followed ominous threats to the media to get their house in order.

It was a scaring throwback to a past best forgotten: the 1960 banning of the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress, the detention without trial of thousands of people and the introduction of a State of Emergency.

In a few months mid-1985 saw the imposition of an emergency and drastic curbs on the media. Many newsmen who had covered trouble in such volatile places as Northern Ireland, Latin America and the Middle East generally agreed they had seen nothing worse.

But worse was yet to come.

Another emergency was declared in 1986. Whereas many had thought the Government incapable of exceeding

itself in the media curbs of the year before, a surprise awaited them.

Clauses on "subversive statements" were worked into the decrees, photographers and reporters had to make themselves scarce at the slightest hint of trouble — in effect meaning they had to run away whenever a news story out — and many other vague restrictions were concocted.

Successive court rulings rendered the emergency clauses of 1986 unworkable, but the Press could not take advantage because the Government signalled its determination to appeal to higher courts against the rulings.

Drastic

Instead the end of 1986 saw even more drastic measures which went so far as to decree that a blank space in a newspaper was a statement so telling it must be omitted.

The Government instituted Bureau for Information was to be the sole source of news about politically inspired conflict.

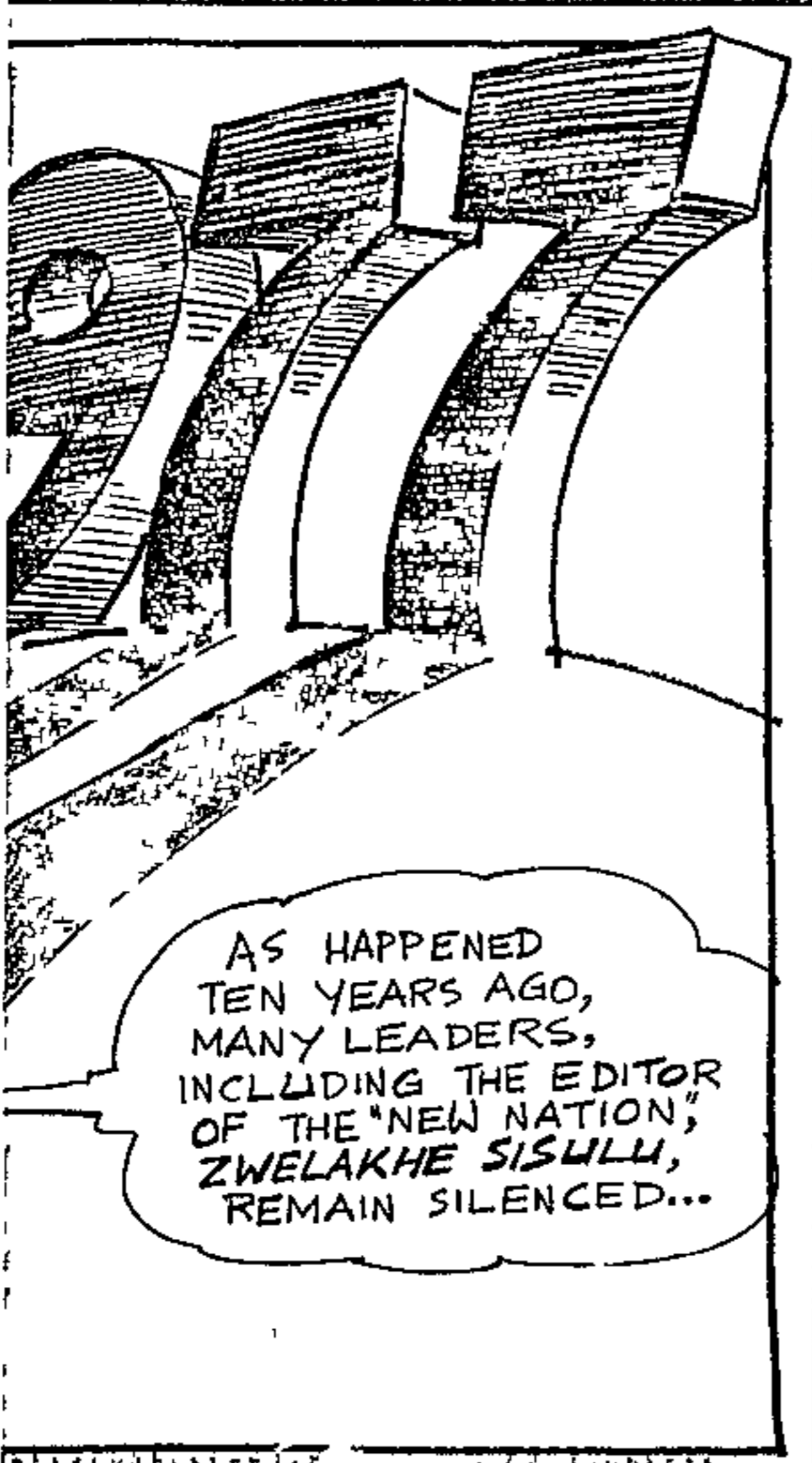
The publishing of the news of emergency detainees was banned and *Weekly Mail* and *Sowetan* were swiftly taken off the streets by the police when they timidly transgressed the mark.

City Press, *Sowetan* and *Weekly Mail* were warned not to publish certain advertisements around Christmas last year. Earlier this year the police hovered over the editor of *The Star* as the newspaper was about to publish an edition containing an advertisement. The police had reason to believe was a subversive statement.

And on it went the battle between the media and authority. Until the Government instituted censors to "scientifically monitor" the Press.

The censors except for two are faceless people who the State won't name for fear they will be "ridiculed".

As the *New Nation* faces the State in its battle to retain its right to publish the Press relives October 19 1977.



AS HAPPENED TEN YEARS AGO, MANY LEADERS, INCLUDING THE EDITOR OF THE "NEW NATION", ZWELAKHE SISULU, REMAIN SILENCED...

Change

The unfolding 1980s convinced many, including the Government, that change in South Africa had to come about. But the authorities envisaged a different kind of change to that perceived by most of the country.

Still, for whatever change the Government intended to be a reality there had to be support for its manoeuvres by the Press which it had so maligned. The authorities set out to make reparations, but the way only the Nationalist Government could.

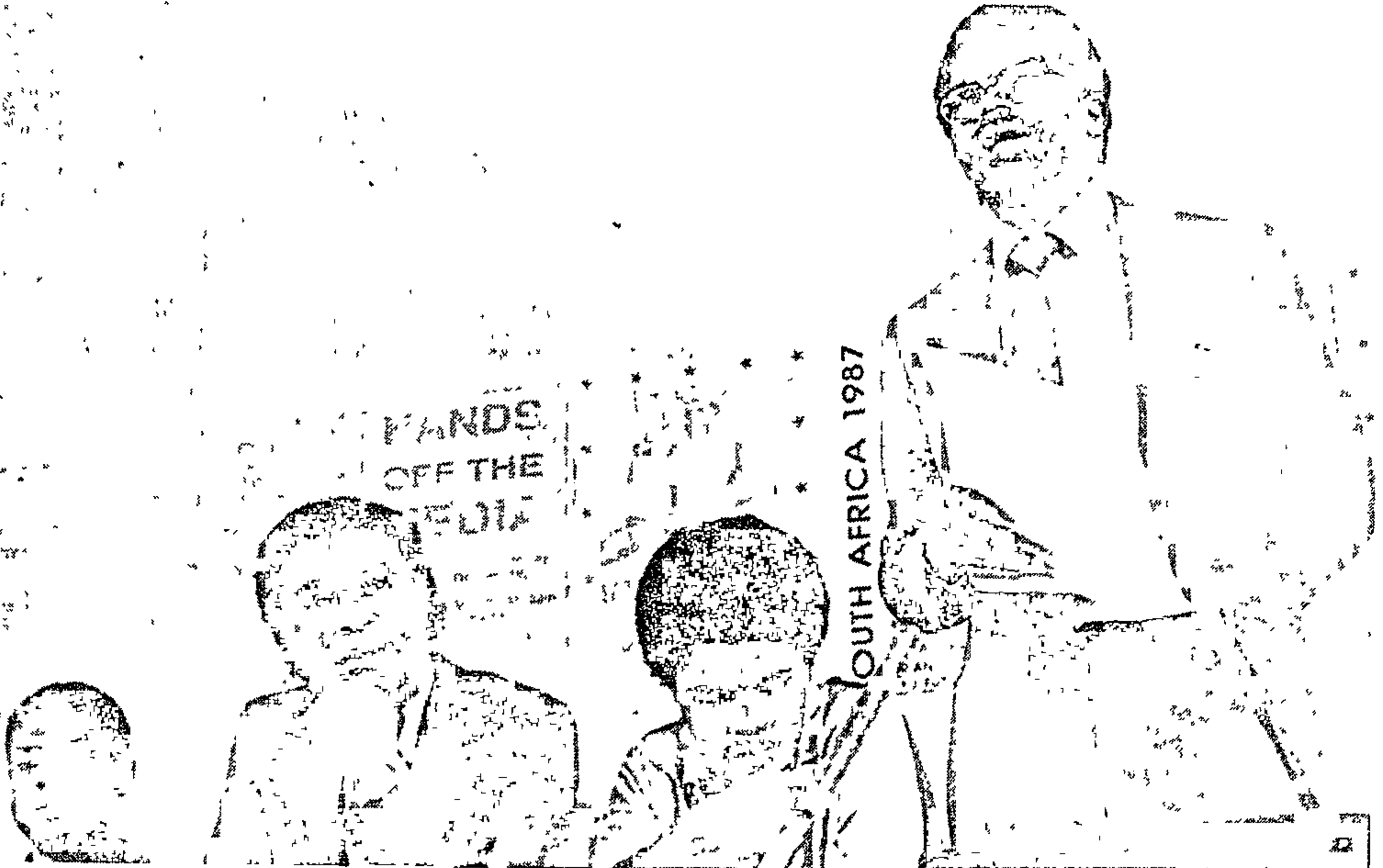
The introduction of the 1983 Constitution Act heralded what Government spokesmen and leaders called the age of "consensus politics".

It was a gentle tactic to win over the belligerent Press, whose function the Government saw as

Political comment in this issue by J Latakgomo and A Klaaste. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by S Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West Johannesburg.

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United Democratic Front patron Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa talks about freedom of the press ... "A government that muzzles the media has something to hide". Other speakers were (from left) Mr Ignatius Jacobs of the South African Youth Congress, Mr Sefako Nyako of the Association of Democratic Journalists and Mr Frank Meintjies of the Congress of South African Trade Unions.
 ● Picture by H Mabuza.

Journalists' group commemorates 'Black Wednesday' clamp on media

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The lesson of "Black Wednesday" 1977, when *The World* and *Weekend World* were banned along with 17 opposition organisations, is that "the Government sees no difference between those who suffer their oppression and resist it and those who witness their oppression and report it," says the Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ).

NEW NATION

The ADJ marked the 10th anniversary of the bannings yesterday with a National Press Freedom Day meeting in Johannesburg. De-

tained journalists and those who had died in political violence were remembered

A pamphlet issued by the ADJ to mark the occasion noted "Much has changed in those 10 years (since October 19 1977). But one thing has remained constant South Africa is still ruled by the National Party which banned the *World* and *Weekend World*."

"And today it is poised to arbitrarily ban yet another newspaper for daring to publish the truth, the *New Nation*."

"The National Party Government realised then that Press freedom is as poisonous to

the dictatorship by which it rules as it is vital to the democracy which we will one day achieve"

It continued "It is the Government which hides reality behind the guns of its security forces and the smooth distortions of its Bureau for Information. It is the Government which benefits when the truth is not heard."

UDF PATRON

"Those who oppose apartheid need no Bureau for Information. They need no censorship. What they need and what they today demand is freedom — freedom in which the truth can be heard"

United Democratic Front patron Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa said the task of journalists was to help prepare for a post-apartheid society

He referred approvingly to the view that responsible journalists were those who worked as agents of change in concert with other forces acting in the community

Congress of South African Trade Unions press officer Mr Frank Meintjies criticised the liberal view which prevailed in much of the mainstream media — that if the Government was left alone it would somehow "get better"

'There's no substitute for words

On newsprint?

2/10/78
5/20

Reporting in conflict situations requires "old-fashioned straight reporting, accurate reporting, documentation and presentation of all the facts", said Mr Douglas Gageby, former editor of the *Irish Times*, Dublin, at The Star's conference.

"Facts are what newspapers are essentially about. And in spite of the current cant in some media circles, you do not get much hard news from television. You get instantaneous flashes, you get colour and you get background discussion and emotion. But there is no substitute for words on newsprint," he said.

"One of the first things thrown at newspapers by authority, in a conflict situation such as ours in Northern Ireland or South Africa, is 'Play it all down or cut it out. Then you won't be making the situation worse'."

Blame is likely

"One incident may indeed provoke another, with or without us. That's not our responsibility. We tell it how it is, and if the news is of peace tomorrow, we'll be there to tell it."

Mr Gageby said it was a pity that many young journalists wanted to be "instant commentators" when there was a real need for straight reporters.

Reporters covering the conflict in Northern Ireland, like "everyone in news organisations anywhere there is strife, is likely to be blamed for giving a false picture."

"For, in the North of Ireland you may drive through the countryside and never see a British soldier — which doesn't mean he isn't there. You may never hear a shot fired. On the other hand, you may cop it from a random parcel bomb in any shopping centre.

"But the dead stay dead, the evi-

dence is there of the dreadfully injured and hardly a family in all that 1.5 million total population has not had its life distorted and affected by grief."

Mr Gageby said the most enduring effect of the intense conflict "is that in the North of Ireland, there has grown up a generation which knows only strife."

"You will have seen the young boys and girls on your television screens, from about 1970, throwing stones at the British forces. We have seen young South Africans doing the same."

"Now it is not enough to document all this action, though it's important. You need to document the source of the action, the political life from which it springs."

He said his newspaper tried to report all aspects of political life and expression as fully as possible. "Our paper believes in comment, as tough as it is necessary. But we strive above all to hold up the mirror to all that happens on our island, and as far as is possible, throughout the world."

Mr Gageby said the lack of information was highly dangerous in a situation of strife.

"Rumours for example, of atrocities, are more inflammatory than the raw facts, however degrading. We know that in Belfast."

He emphasised the need for balance. "A tough, rattling paper that gives its opponents hell and doesn't give much of a look into their views makes you feel good. It rouses your

Conflict in South Africa and how it is reported in South Africa was the focus of attention at The Star's centennial media conference this month, but delegates also turned their attention to other world trouble spots. Two newsmen, working in the Middle East and Ireland, gave their views of reporting in divided societies.

supporters. Maybe it sells well.

"But it doesn't move one vote or shift one person's thinking. The leaders of your opponents are happy. You'll go on doing your thing, they'll go on doing their thing. Nothing will change. Too much polemic and insufficient information maintains the status quo."

Mr Yehudi Litani, Middle East editor of the *Jerusalem Post*, had a similar message. Mr Litani, who is well known for some controversial reports published about harassment of Palestinians by the Israeli authorities, told the conference, "What I am about to say may sound familiar, especially to my South African colleagues."

"Israelis and Palestinians live in a polarised environment that encompasses them totally. They organise their worlds in terms of 'our side' and 'the other side', constantly receiving messages that reinforce polarisation. Only these messages seem

to them significant. Their attitude to facts is selective. They interpret acts by the other side as designed to destroy them, even when the opposite is meant."

Mr Litani said both groups saw themselves as the "besieged minority" and both felt threatened.

"Minority and majority in Palestine are therefore equally prejudiced insofar as they interpret events and perceive positions in polarised terms. Such frames of mind are characteristic of nations at war. The intensity of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict is exacerbated because both sides refuse to view their adversary as a legitimate national group."

The press was often drawn into the conflict, Mr Litani said.

"The struggle in many cases is not limited to the two communities fighting for their legitimate rights, but it is also between the Israeli press and the military authorities for the legitimate right to publish the truth, or what seems to be the truth."

Mr Litani cited an example of the dilemma facing journalists. In 1980 two American journalists reported the harassment of a group of Palestinian teenagers at the hands of Israeli soldiers. The youngsters were forced to jump from a second floor window after teargas was fired at them. "As a result, eighteen children were wounded, some broke their hands, legs and knees."

At first, the story was strongly denied by the Israeli military and the two journalists were strongly criticised.

"After almost a week of attacks on the two, they approached me to check their story and verify the facts."

Proof furnished

Mr Litani said that after a thorough examination and after interviews with witnesses, he verified the story and it was published in his newspaper. As a result of the publicity and the proof furnished, the brigadier-general responsible for the cover-up was discharged from his post and transferred.

"In Israel I was remembered as the first journalist who succeeded in discharging a high-ranking military governor of the West Bank. But without the two American journalists, the story would never have been revealed. In this case we journalists were successful. In many other stories like that one, we did not have such a success. Cover-up is not an American invention, it happens everywhere. Even in the promised land."

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243 (92)

27/10/87

★ Cape Times, Tuesday, 0

Editor: Argus didn't report Siff had Aids

AT "NO TIME" did the Argus report that Cape Town businessman Mr Robert Siff had Aids, Mr Andrew Drysdale, editor of the Argus, told an investigative committee of the South African Media Council in Cape Town yesterday

The committee heard evidence and was asked to adjudicate on a complaint brought by Mr Max Hales, executor of Mr Siff's estate, on a front-page lead report in the Argus of September 3, 1987, on the death of Mr Siff — who fell from a seventh-floor balcony of a Sea Point block of flats

The findings of the committee would probably be released next month, members said

Mr Hales claimed the Argus "insidiously sought to link Mr Siff as

a possible Aids victim or Aids carrier"

The newspaper also offended the Media Council's Code of Conduct in showing a picture of workers with the following narration "Rescue workers wearing protective gear decontaminating the spot where Mr Siff fell to his death"

He said he informed the Argus by phone and by telex that Mr Siff was not suffering from Aids

Mr Siff had requested his doctor to do a test for Aids about a week before his death and the results became known on the afternoon of his death He could not give this information to the newspaper as it was confidential, but did say he did not suffer from Aids

Mr Drysdale said that on the available facts at

the time of publication on September 3, the Argus did indeed report truthfully, accurately and objectively

"A commissioned officer of the SAP said Metro workers were dressed as they were because there was reason to believe the deceased may have been suffering from, or carrying, the Aids virus

"Far from seeking sensationalism, the Argus deliberately withheld the word Aids from the main headline which read 'City Death Plunge' and from the street poster which read 'Wealthy bachelor's city death plunge'"

Mr Drysdale added that the Argus did publish on the first occasion possible that the Aids test had proved negative — Sapa

NR695 27/10/81 [Signature]

Death fall media case: Three heard in camera

Staff Reporter
THREE witnesses were heard in camera by the Media Council during its hearing of a complaint against The Argus arising out of a front-page report on the death fall in Sea Point of a Cape Town businessman.

Evidence from Captain Leonard Knipe of the police and Argus reporters Stephen Wrottesley and Linda Galloway was heard in camera

The complaint about the report was made by Mr Max Hales, executor of the estate of Mr Robert Siff, who died in a fall from the balcony of his seventh-floor Sea Point flat in September

Mr Hales complained that The Argus had failed to report Mr Siff's death truthfully, accurately and objectively, that it had either intentionally or negligently departed from the facts, that what was presented as fact could not have been without recourse to definitive medical evidence, that the report was not rectified without delay and the subsequent rectification was not presented with adequate prominence and that the caption to a photograph was distasteful

The report in question raised the possibility that Mr Siff could have been an Aids victim or carrier.

Public safety

The hearing went into camera at the suggestion of the editor of The Argus, Mr Andrew Drysdale, who said some of the information might be of a personal nature and he in no way wished to impugn the character of Mr Siff.

In reply to Mr Hales's complaint, Mr Drysdale said reporting of the incident was a matter of immediate public interest and safety.

Mr Siff had fallen to his death in a very public place soon after he had had an Aids test and closely following two suicide-related incidents where those concerned had run the risk of Aids contamination.

When reporters from The Argus arrived they were kept at a distance from the scene where there were all the indications of full-scale emergency precautions.

A senior police officer told a reporter there was reason to believe Mr Siff might have been an Aids victim.

Mr Drysdale said "In the circumstances, Mr Siff's fatal fall — especially given the police concern — became all the more a matter of public concern and information.

"Highly relevant"

"The public were entitled to know that personnel at the scene of an apparent suicide were wearing protective clothing, and that they were applying decontamination procedures . . .

"That Mr Siff had an Aids test before his death, the results of which were unknown, and that another test was ordered afterwards was highly relevant.

"Mr Siff died in a violent, relatively public manner, in a high-density area a short while after electing to undergo a private Aids antibody test at a particular time of high public interest in the whole question of Aids and the manner in which suicides who suffer from Aids should be dealt with."

Earlier he had acknowledged receipt of a telex from Mr Hales stating that Mr Siff did not have Aids but could not regard Mr Hales as a suitable source.

Mr Drysdale said The Argus report made it perfectly clear that precautionary measures were being taken because there was a suggestion of possible Aids.

But there was no way of establishing if Mr Siff was infected until results of a second Aids test were available

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EAST LONDON. — The Appellate Division in Bloemfontein is to hear an appeal by two Eastern Cape journalists against their continued detention under the State of Emergency.

Mxolisi Jackson "MJ" Fuzile and Phila Ngqumba, who run the Veritas News Agency in King William's Town, have been detained for almost 17 months, since the State of Emergency was declared on June last year.

The Grahamstown Supreme Court in September last year dismissed an application to have their detentions declared unlawful, but an appeal was noted.

According to their lawyers, the appeal will be heard on November 24. The application was originally brought on behalf of

Appeal Court to decide on release

four other King William's Town detainees.

Three of them — Brian Osteridge, Colin Jooste and Gareth Damons — have been released. Only Prince Mame is still being held with Fuzile and Ngqumba.

The original application sought to have the detention provisions of the State of Emergency set aside as unlawful, but this question has now become academic as their regulations have been amended several

times since then.

Lawyers are hoping the journalists will be freed.

Interest in the case centres on the fact that Ngqumba and Fuzile are being held explicitly for their journalistic work despite Government claims that no journalists are being held for that reason.

A security policeman, Sergeant Conrad Anthony Williams, said in an opposing affidavit that he had information that Ventas, planned to publish

"in a newsletter, news about radical persons and organisations in which the community would be incited to civil disobedience".

The aim of the newsletter was to "make the Republic of South Africa ungovernable", he said.

In a replying affidavit, Fuzile denied there had been any intention of using his planned Inyaniso Media Skills and Research Project to "propagate a consumer boycott, civil unrest or any ideas or ideologies".

Its aim had been to "attempt to uplift members of the community by educating them in matters like the development of skills relating to the gathering of news, the organisation thereof and the production of a newsletter — *Elnews*".

FACULTY OF THEOLOGY: (COURSE B)

Senior Lecturer/Lecturer
in the Departments of Old Testament
and New Testament Studies.

... received the man's body
yesterday afternoon.

CAPE TIMES 2/1/87
Ilanga circulation up

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DURBAN. — The circulation of Natal's Ilanga newspaper had soared by 15 000 since it was bought from the Argus Company by Inkatha's Mandla Matla Publishing, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced here yesterday. The Kwa-Zulu Chief Minister said Ilanga's ABC-audited circulation had grown from a little over 105 000, when it was taken over a few months ago, to 120 000.

Govt's onslaught on 'revolution mongering propaganda'

MR STOFFEL Botha, the Minister of Home Affairs, has made it clear he will exercise his own "subjective judgment" in applying the media regulations that permit him to close publications

He said he would do so since neither the law nor the Media Council was adequate to deal

with "revolution-mongering propaganda"

He said the Government, instead of opting for a blanket pre-censorship, had decided to implement the provisions on the following basis

As a first step, a publisher would be told that several copies of his publication had been

examined and that action was contemplated. Reasons would be given

The publisher would be given 14 days to make representations, and would be advised if these were found acceptable or not

If not, a warning would be published in the Government Gazette and if a publication continued to breach regulations,

it could be banned for three months at a time

The regulations apply to almost all printed matter, including imported newspapers and magazines

Mr Botha also has sole discretion in regard to how he will apply the restrictions — whether selectively or across the board

THE Government has painted a grim picture of how and to what extent it intends to apply its sweeping media censorship powers to curb the "revolution-mongering" press in South Africa.

The first insight into what it deems "subversive propaganda" — reports which in its view are calculated to threaten public safety, the maintenance of public order or a delay in ending the state of emergency — has been given by Home Affairs Minister, Mr Stoffel Botha, the State's new all-powerful press watchdog.

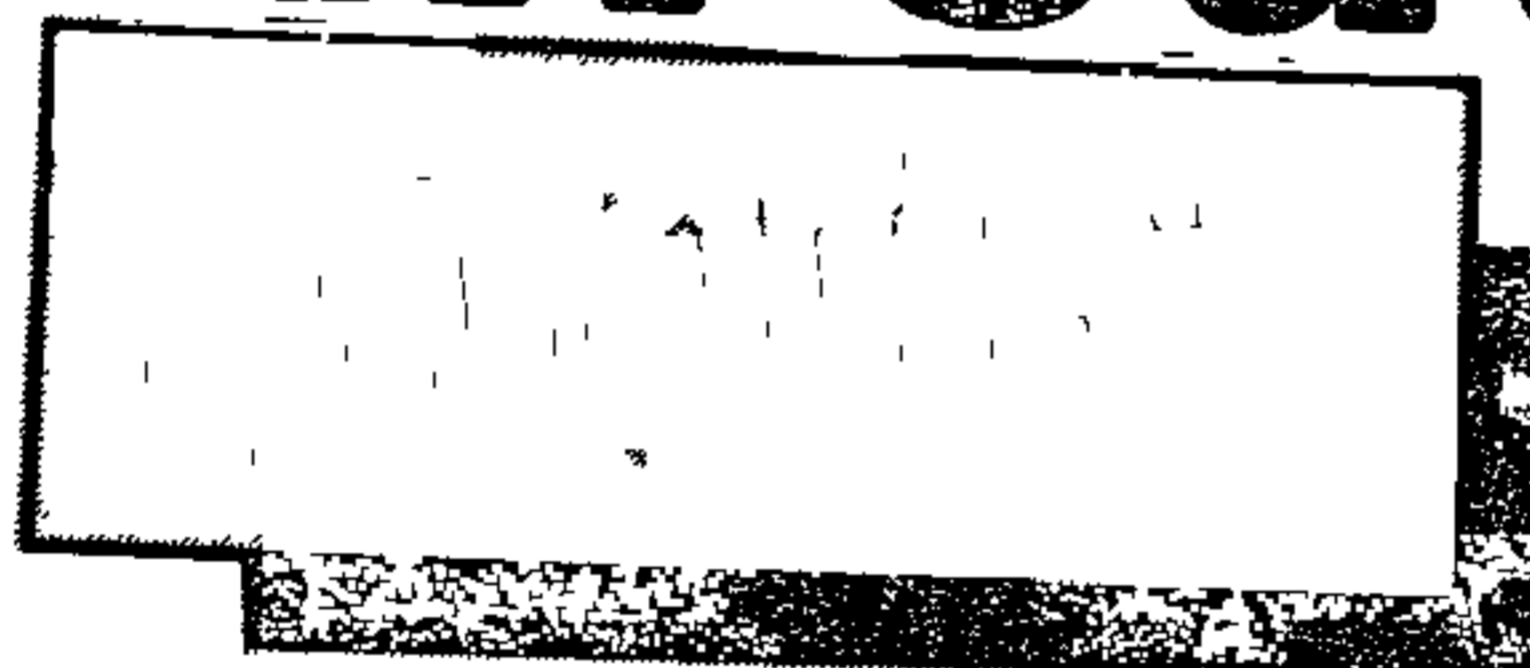
In the opinion of media lawyers who have studied the basis of Mr Botha's first closure warning under the new controls — to the so-called "alternative" weekly, *New Nation* — newspapers which regularly publish much of the same "offending" material are themselves now faced with a real threat of being censored or banned for the same reasons

Lawyers and academic experts have expressed alarm at the "hyper-sensitive and politically paranoid attitude" adopted by Mr Botha in applying the restrictions to *New Nation* — the first time he has shown how he intends to enforce the media controls.

His attitude can be

Press is facing a real threat

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Smeets
2/11/87



seen in the reasons given by him, in informing *New Nation's* publishers that the newspaper, in his view, had breached regulations on a wide front in three separate issues

He makes it clear that he is considering issuing an official warning against *New Nation* in the Government Gazette

If such a warning is published, and *New Nation* fails to comply with the provisions, the



OLIVER Tambo pictured in "New Nation".

newspaper could be banned for three months

However, *New Nation*, whose editor, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, has twice been detained without trial and is at present in custody in Diepkloof Prison, has appealed against Mr Botha's findings. The outcome is being eagerly awaited by the media industry.

Reports

Mr Botha, in advising the newspaper of its apparent contraventions — these involved reports, pictures and advertisements — cited numerous examples of offending material in each of the issues he examined.

They were broadly categorised as being calculated to cause a threat to public safety,

the maintenance of public order, and a delay to ending the emergency

Specifically, they were deemed separately as promoting revolution or uprising, as acts aimed at overthrowing the Government through unconstitutional means, fomenting public feelings of hatred or hostility towards the security forces or Afrikaners, and promoting the image of the African National Congress and the SA Communist Party

Media lawyers and academics say the effect of Mr Botha's personal application of the regulations — gazetted on August 28 — has confirmed their worst fears.

Clearly, it could be an offence for any newspaper to publish factual or innocuous information not considered to be subversive or illegal under existing laws, or even under emergency provisions.

Accurate reporting of a wide range of day-to-day events could be a contravention to publish reports on appeals for an end to the hanging of political prisoners, and the abolition of torture by security and police forces; poems by readers on black consciousness, and reviews of plays about racism and appeals to end racism.

Also falling foul of restrictions could be the publication of reports on

the duty of churches to criticise the "evil and heretical" apartheid system if it is claimed that is defended by the SADF, photographs of ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo; and reports to the effect that the ANC rejects the Government's National Statutory Council

All such reports, frequently published by the English-language and Afrikaans press, are legal and permissible under all forms of existing media legislation.

Examples of Mr Botha's ruling on contraventions by *New Nation*.

Education

• He condemns a double-page report on the crisis in black education on the grounds that it "refers to the involvement of the ANC"

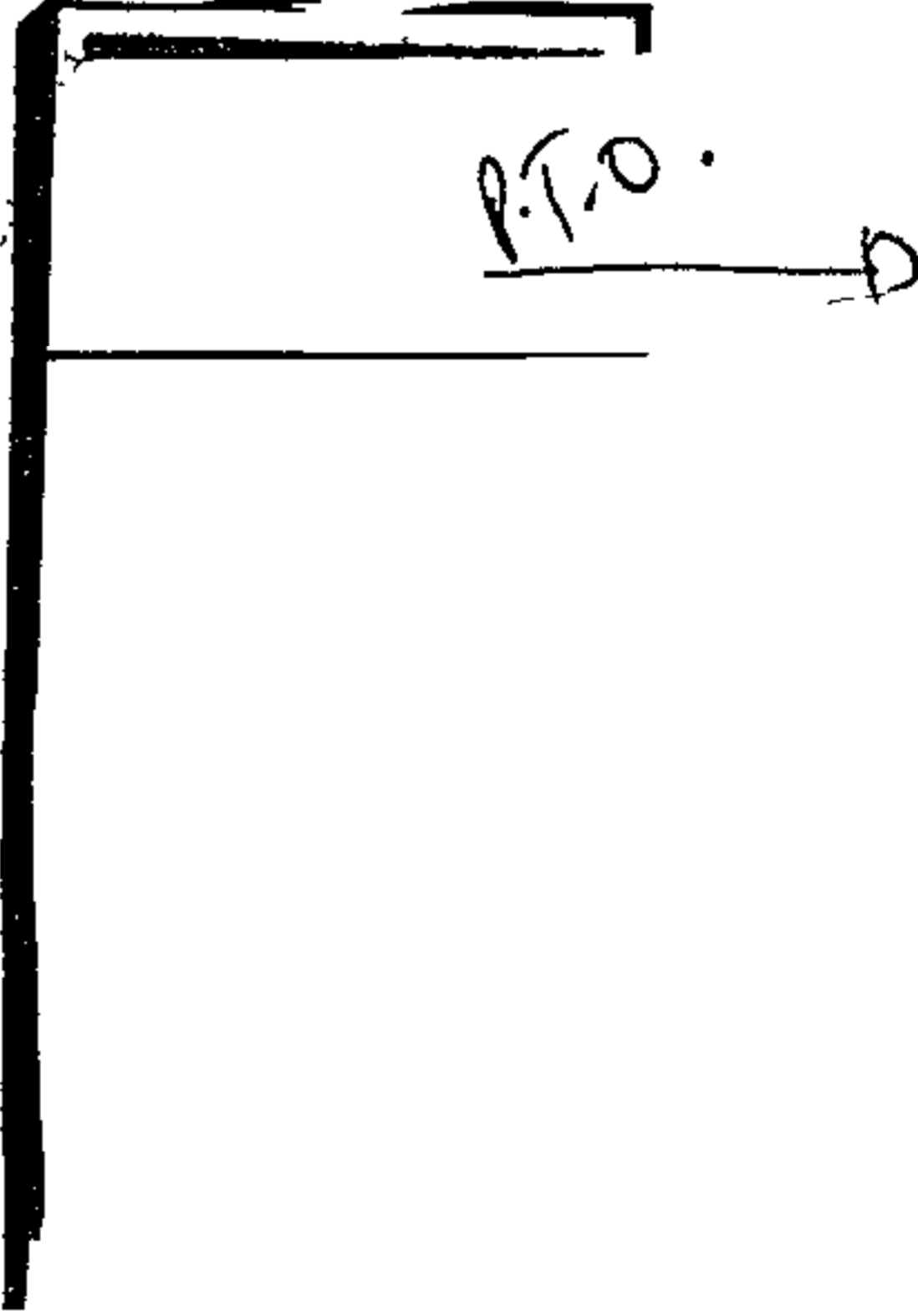
Only a brief reference in the report (one paragraph) is made to the ANC's call for an indefinite school boycott in 1955 — at a time when it was a lawful organisation.

The report also said the ANC had cautioned at the time that such a campaign could not be started until alternative schooling could be provided

In Mr Botha's view, however, the report effectively promotes the image of a banned organisation, and constitutes a threat to public safety and order

Comment by media lawyers: a ludicrous assumption and an

• To Page 10



CAT - T. J. S.
6/11/87 (243)

Journalist's clothes 'torn by demos'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The news editor of The Star, Johannesburg, told the Supreme Court here he was surrounded by placard-waving demonstrators who jeered at him and tore his clothing at a meeting with KwaZulu's Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Peter Mann was testifying yesterday in a R20 000 defamation claim by Chief Buthelezi against Mr Denis Becket, editor of Frontline.

An article, reprinted from the Spectator of London, said Chief Buthelezi was "nauseatingly pompous and self-important", portrayed him as the "rogue stooge of South Africa" and said his "well-drilled impis were among the most thuggish" in the country.

Chief Buthelezi denied allegations of thuggery.

Mr Mann, called on behalf of the defendant, told the court that some time before 1980 his relations with Chief Buthelezi had not been good and he had been sent to Ulundi to normalize the situation.

Although unable to see Chief Buthelezi, Mr Mann had covered a story about a farmer who called his dog "Gatsha" and dressed him in Inkatha colours.

Later he received a telephone call from Chief Buthelezi's secretary inviting him to Ulundi.

On his arrival he saw people with placards marching in military formation.

As he got out of his car they surrounded him and he realized the demonstration was aimed at him.

"It was unpleasant but manageable and I walked to Chief Buthelezi's office."

In Chief Buthelezi's office he was made to wait for an hour while the demonstrators sang and pushed placards under the door.

"I was then told Chief Buthelezi had arrived, was taken by the wrists and led out into the corridor which was lined with protesters.

"As we progressed through the crowd people started pushing and shouting at me. They became more aggressive, tearing at my clothes and pulling off my tie."

Appearing in a "dishevelled" state before Chief Buthelezi, Mr Mann expressed fears for his safety and was told he was quite safe.

He said a message had arrived via one of the aides that he had a flat tyre and Chief Buthelezi had said "I told them not to do anything to the motor car."

After the meeting Mr Mann was confronted by knobkerie-wielding men and was told by the Chief they were angry and expected an apology.

"In the situation I had no option but to apologise," said Mr Mann.

Mr Justice Howard reserved judgment.

Buthelezi 'ignorant' about court orders

8/11/87

CP/Res

(11)

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Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... doesn't know about interdicts against Inkatha.

CP Correspondent

A DAY after temporary interdicts were granted against two Maritzburg Inkatha chairmen, their leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said he knew nothing about the matter nor about several other interdicts against members and leaders of the movement.

Buthelezi was giving evidence in the Durban Supreme Court during a R20 000 defamation action against *Frontline* magazine and its editor, Dennis Beckett.

He objects to an article printed last November, in which the writer, Stephen Robinson, said Buthelezi was "commonly portrayed as a rogue stoogie" and added "the Zulu leader is not everyone's cup of tea, he is nauseatingly pompous and self-important. His claim to represent the sole non-violent alternative to Marxist revolution is questionable, to say the least, and his well-drilled Impi regiments are among the most thuggish operators in South Africa".

The Chief Minister said he was "appalled" to read the article.

He had no personal impis which were thuggish operators and he felt the "article was an attempt to damage his international reputation as a leader committed to non-violence".

Because of this commitment, he had become the "target of violence" and has been virtually "sentenced to death".

He said the article was part of the African National Congress' international strategy to vilify him.

Among the newspapers involved in this campaign were the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Boston Globe*.

"It is an international thing I am not paranoid about it."

He named *City Press* as a local paper whose role in this campaign was so obvious "even a child, not even 20 years old, can see it and bring it to my attention".

He said Inkatha was well disciplined, disciplinary procedures existed and were used against members when warranted.

However, he could not be expected to control the one and a half million members of the organisation or know exactly what they were doing.

He said he knew nothing of the application in Maritzburg this week, in which temporary interdicts were granted against two local Inkatha chairmen.

When told of a number of Supreme Court interdicts against Inkatha members and leaders, he said he knew nothing about such cases.

Asked what had been done by the Inkatha central committee about the case of a Dlamini, who was sentenced for public violence, he replied:

"From our perspective, we could not imagine that this woman could be involved in burning down houses."

"We believe it must have been a case of mistaken identity."

"We did discuss this in the Inkatha central committee."

APR 7/18 9/11/87

Boesak attacks press over prison party

243 (187) 285

DR ALLAN BOESAK, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, yesterday threatened reprisals against foreign pressmen for attending a party last week at Pretoria Central Prison

He was addressing more than 800 people at the Hanover Park Civic Centre where the release of Mr Govan Mbeki was celebrated, and a campaign to "Unlock the Doors of Apartheid Jails" was launched.

Dr Boesak himself spent some weeks in solitary confinement at Pretoria Central two years ago

"I want to ask what has happened to them (the pressmen), when they go to a cocktail party laid on by the state in a place where the walls of the prison have been stained with the blood of our people"

He warned that the time might come when the foreign press would be treated like the SABC and made unwelcome at "our meetings"

As part of the "unlock the jails" campaign, dozens of keys were collected on stage Dr Boesak said he and the Most Reverend Desmond Tutu, Archbishop of Cape Town, would dump the pile of keys in front of the house of State President P W Botha

He concluded by asking those who had children in detention to stand up, then those who had parents, brothers and sisters, other family and friends in detention Eventually everyone in the hall stood up

carrying twice the legal load caused to of those ru

Impressive turnaround continues at TML

B/dow
10/11/87

(243)

GERALD PROSALENDIS
Financial Editor

TIMES MEDIA LIMITED has followed through its impressive turnaround of last year with a record set of results for the six months to September 30.

Earnings are R14,2m, compared with R3,6m for the same period last year and R10m for the full previous financial year.

The company has declared an interim dividend of 100c — the same as for the past financial year.

Says chairman Pat Retief: "These are exceptional results. Management has performed extremely well over the past year."

"The pickup for the second half of last year has continued and the company should put in a credible performance for the year."

MD Stephen Mulholland says "The results speak for themselves. The turnaround has been gratifying. This company is now soundly based and should provide shareholders in years to come with a solid, sound and reliable flow of dividend income. That is what we are aiming at."

Financial director Lawrence Clark comments "The company is now a healthy generator of cash and does not require a significant increase in working capital for further growth."

The company's assessed loss at March 1987 stood at R32m. After yesterday's results it now stands at about R18m.

"We expect to commence paying tax in the first half of the next financial year."

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TML's impressive turnaround continues

says Mulholland
The dividend of 100c is from earnings of 705c

"But in declaring this we have applied a notional rate of tax and the commencement of tax payments will have no effect on our ability to pay dividends," says Clark

Turnover increased by 23% to R84,6m from R68,8m for the same period the previous year. Operating profit rose to 15% of turnover for the six months compared with 9,3% for the same period last

B/dow
10/11/87

(243)

● From Page 1 ←

year This compares with 10% for the previous financial year

All debt has been repaid — it stood at R33m owed in the same period last year — and cash resources now exceeding R3m. This is despite a further investment in M-Net and contributions to the capital of the Cape Town Joint Operating Arrangement, the directors say

Mulholland says the group is examining both new titles and directions.

Media Council dismisses case against The Argus

ARGUS 10/11/87

243

Staff Reporter

THE Media Council has rejected a complaint against The Argus by Mr M H Hales about its report of the death of Mr Robert Siff in a fall from his seventh-floor Sea Point flat

The report appeared on Page 1 on September 3 under the headline, "City Death Plunge" and secondary headline "Aids protection after wealthy bachelor's body found in Sea Point"

Mr Hales, the executor of Mr Siff's estate, claimed The Argus breached the council's code of conduct by failing to report Mr Siff's death "truthfully, accurately and objectively", by "sensationalising" the report or "negligently departing from the facts", and by failing to "correct the incorrect report" without delay

Council chairman Mr Justice L de V van Winsen said in the council adjudication "There are in our opinion no grounds for construing the articles in question as inferentially implying that Mr Siff was in fact an Aids sufferer

Trend

"The tenor of the articles makes it adequately clear that the authorities were, for greater caution, treating the case as one in which the victim might have been an Aids sufferer

"This was the trend of the all the reported information obtained from the police and from the actions of the Metro unit designed for dealing with cases where the victim either was or could have been an Aids sufferer"

On whether The Argus was justified in referring to the possibility that Mr Siff might have been an Aids sufferer, he said "On the information the newspaper had was it untruthful or inaccurate to say that there was such a possibility?"

In the light of the Metro unit's conduct and information given to the reporter by the police, the answer "can only be in the negative" Mr Justice van Winsen said

Captain Leonard Knipe, branch commander of the Sea Point police station, said in evidence that he had given the reporter not only the information he sought, but other details about why the police entertained the opinion that Mr

Siff might have been infected by Aids, he said

"The Argus report refrained from mentioning these"

This left the question whether The Argus failed to exercise "care and consideration in a matter involving the private life of someone who was not a public figure"

"Were it not for the fact that clause 5 of the code of conduct circumscribes the right to privacy where a legitimate public interest is involved, it could be said that a public reference to the fact that a deceased was possibly suffering from Aids constituted an obvious breach of the latter's right to privacy.

"Create problems"

"However, the fact that the right is qualified in the way it is in the code can, depending on the circumstances, create problems for the media"

Owing to the ravages wrought by Aids and the incurable nature of the disease, news on Aids had "a considerable potential for dramatic presentation" The way it was presented was "a matter of great concern" to the sufferer, his family, friends and associates.

"It is beyond argument, therefore, that the greatest possible circumspection should be observed by the media in the way in which such news is presented A regard for the feelings of the sufferer and his intimates should constitute an important factor in the choice of the correct form of presentation of such news

"Closely associated with this consideration, however, is the duty of the media to keep the public informed on any aspect of this matter which may affect members of the public generally

"It is to be appreciated that in some cases a conflict may, in part at any rate, occur between these two duties Even if it were possible to do so, it would not serve a useful purpose to endeavour to prescribe, *in vacuo*, rules to be followed by the media in resolving such conflict

"Each situation would have to be dealt with individually and due weight given to both the private and public factors in deciding what to publish and how it should be done It could well be that in certain cases the private interest would have to yield to the ur-

gency of the public good

"Clearly in the present case the events occurred in a place to which the public had access and which, from the very nature of the purpose for which the premises were used, would attract a not inconsiderable number of members of the public

"The public had an interest in being warned and a duty rested on the media to afford that warning"

On the question of whether the report was sensationalised owing to its prominence, headlines and the use of a photograph of Metro workers decontaminating the area, Mr Justice van Winsen said "Whether or not the report of an occurrence can be regarded as sensational constitutes very much an individual value judgment by the reader

"None of the members of the council hearing the matter considered the manner of presentation of what was important news concerning a subject which is presently activating the minds of individuals and organised bodies addressing the problem created by Aids, to be sensational"

Negative

On the question of whether The Argus had been slow in "correcting" its report when news was received that Mr Siff had been Aids-negative, he said "The publication of this news did not constitute a correction of the original report It was but further information not available at the time of the report

"It nevertheless serves to establish that Mr Siff was not an Aids sufferer, and The Argus was under a duty to publish this news as promptly as possible It did so in the Saturday edition of The Argus, the news having become available to The Argus and confirmed on Friday (September 4)

"For the above reasons the complaint by Mr Hales is rejected"

Other members of the council who adjudicated were the editor of the South African Press Association Mr E H Lington, the editor of the Natal Witness Mr R Steyn and public representatives Mrs M N Loots and Professor S P Olivier

The Argus was represented by the editor, Mr Andrew Drysdale

App 6/10/11/87 (243)

Argus link boosts TML profits

Finance Staff

THE benefits of Times Media's joint publishing and distribution operation with the Argus Company in Johannesburg and Cape Town were reflected in operating profit doubling to R12,7-million in the half-year to end-September

TML continued its dramatic recovery with earnings rising by 289 percent to R14-million the six months and a resumption of interim dividends with a 100c payout

The disposal of its remaining major assets coupled with higher profits enabled TML to completely rid itself of debt, completing an exercise which started about two years ago when total debt was about R42-million

Interest charges were down from R2,8-million at the halfway stage in the previous financial year to a mere R480 000 paid to the Argus Company, being the interest on the capital shortfall of about R8-million in the joint publishing and distribution venture between TML and Argus

No tax was payable as TML still had an estimated tax loss of R32-million at the beginning of the financial year. Even taking into consideration the earnings of R14-million in the first half, TML still has tax losses of more than R18-million in hand

● Enzyme manufacturer SERAVAC has received the State President's award for export achievement following an 189 percent increase in exports in 1984 and 1985 and a further increase of 133 percent in 1986

Seravac, which was acquired from an American multinational by South African Druggists in 1983, is also a major local supplier of biochemicals and equipment to research and industrial laboratories and biological processing aids to the food industry

● The listing of PENNYPINCHERS BOARDS (Penboard) will go ahead on the JSE's Development Capital Market sector on Thursday, with indications that the rights offer will be fully taken up, says chairman Mr Fasié Malherbe

The listing is by way of a rights issue of 1,9-

million shares to Pennypinchers Holdings (Penpin) shareholders

In terms of the offer, Penpin shareholders are entitled to subscribe for 14 ordinary shares of no par value in Penboard at 60c a share for every 100 shares held in Penpin

A major portion of the R1,2-million raised in the listing will be used for an expansion drive into the Transvaal, Natal and SWA/Namibia, Mr Malherbe said

● IMPERIAL COLD STORAGE (ICS) has made a strong recovery over the past year to September 30, with turnover increasing 19 percent to R1,6-billion and earnings a share up by 300 percent to a record 121,1c

The directors point out that although the improvement is off a low base, the earnings are almost 40 percent higher than the best achieved during the past six years

Profits attributable to shareholders totalled R32,6-million. A final dividend of 21c brings the total payout for the year to 34c (15c)

● ANGLO AMERICAN PROPERTIES (Amaprop) recorded an after tax-profit of R8,89-million (20,7c a share) for the six months ended September 30 compared to R8,5-million (19,8c a share) for the same period last year

The performance of the investment portfolio of properties is reported as satisfactory but the Carlton Hotel and the land trading operation of the group again recorded losses but at a lower level than previously. The results to March 31 next year are expected to be marginally better, the directors say

Amaprop is modernising and revamping three of its major shopping centres Sunnypark in Pretoria, Gardens Centre in Cape Town and Killarney Mall in Johannesburg. The work will be substantially completed during the current financial year

PW hits at press and US

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha last night launched a scathing attack on the opposition press, accusing it of being guilty of "treason and dishonesty" and of conducting a campaign to belittle National Party leaders.

Opening the National Party's Cape congress in Goodwood, a combative and defiant Mr Botha also

- Vowed that the harder his critics fought to get rid of him, the less likely they were to succeed. He would not allow the press or "small people" to tell him when to go.

- Declared that there was not a single political prisoner in South Africa and blamed the press for composing "wild dreams" over the possible release of security prisoners.

- Accused the US Congress of doing everything in its power to destroy stability in South Africa

- Vowed that the NP government would not capitulate or fall into the reform trap set by Western and leftist critics.

- Insisted that it was "not true" that there was a black majority in South Africa, which was a country of minorities

- Ordered photographers to stop taking pictures of "me because I don't like it while I speak".

No political prisoners

Addressing more than a thousand people in the Goodwood Civic Centre, said he took the "strongest exception" to opposition press reports which contained references to the possible release of political prisoners in South Africa.

South Africa, he submitted, did not have any political prisoners and not a single person was in jail because of the political views they held

"This has been written out of ignorance or negligence, and I suspect both," he said

Earlier, Mr Botha accused the opposition press of conducting a campaign against NP leaders. In particular there had been attacks on his own person, sometimes in a belittling manner

"My whole political life has been one of fighting and the harder you fight, the less success you will have in getting rid of me"

His office was asked from time to time whether he suffered from a contagious disease, was paralysed, or had a stroke.

"I make a promise tonight I am medically examined regularly. The first time the doctors say I cannot go on with my work, I will take the lead in resigning.

To page 2

From page 1

will allow no journalist to make this decision for me. Nor would "small people" be given this opportunity.

Later, Mr Botha said that thousands of people were dying of hunger in neighbouring countries because of superpower involvement in these areas but opposition newspapers continued to blame his government for "destabilization"

It is time for this "treason and dishonesty" to stop. "South Africa can no longer take it," Mr Botha warned

South Africans should be careful not to fall into the trap being laid by leftist critics in the West whose ideas of reform did not coincide with those of the South African government

Dealing with the boycott and sanctions drive spearheaded by Congress against South Africa, Mr Botha complained that many of the country's "friends" were guilty of "blatant interference" in South Africa in spite of their protestations that the country should find her own solutions

"Most of this intervention takes place out of foreign self-interest — leaders and politicians try to hide behind their own sins and problems," he said

Swart: Botha can't

expect immunity

Cape Times Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P. W. Botha's behaviour and his "unbridled" attack against the media at the Cape National Party congress was both "disgraceful and alarming", the acting leader of the PFP, Mr Ray Swart, said yesterday.

Mr Swart said Mr Botha should remember that he was both the head of state and leader of the National Party "and as such he cannot expect any greater immunity from criticism than any other political leader".

Mr Swart said that to use words like "treason and dishonesty" against newspapers that criticize his government and speculate about his future "underlines an imperiousness which is thoroughly alarming in someone who purports to head a democratic government".

Mr Swart said Mr Botha's assertion that there were no political prisoners in South Africa "will fool nobody".

Is Your Life died at 1 mmn's

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GOVT FREES 2 JOURNALISTS

TWO Eastern Cape journalists have been freed just two weeks before an appeal to have their emergency detention set aside was to be heard.

Mxolisi Jackson "MJ" Fuzile and Phila Ngqumba were freed on Tuesday after almost 17 months in emergency detention. They jointly run the *Veritas News Agency* in King William's Town

The journalists were detained on June 14 last year and several months later the Grahamstown Supreme Court turned down an application by them and four other detainees to have their detention declared unlawful

Three others have since been released and the last one, Prince

Mhamhe, was released with the journalists yesterday

The appeal against the Grahamstown ruling is to be heard in the Bloemfontein Appeal Court on November 24

Interest in the case centred on the fact that police affidavits explicitly said the pair were being held for their journalistic work despite government claims that no journalist is being held for

that reason

Fuzile said yesterday he was glad to be released and would be continuing his work in *Veritas*

"We will continue where we left off," he said — Sapa

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~~239~~

(243) 5770 12/11/87

US newsman seeks support for SA press

By Neil Lurssen
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A former editor of the *Boston Globe*, Mr Tom Winship, has warned that vigorous journalism is on the verge of flickering out in South Africa.

In a *Washington Post* article, Mr Winship deplored the plight of 'alternative' publications like *New Nation*, whose editor Zwelakhe Sisulu, has been jailed without charge.

He appealed to South African, American, British and other multinational corporations to place six 12-month advertising schedules in the alternative press, as some did in the "commercial" newspapers.

"This investment would enhance the life of the black press and win the goodwill of future readers for their businesses — all for a far lower rate than major newspapers charge," he wrote.

"What's so sad today is that South Africans know almost as little as outsiders do about the high drama taking place outside their own little orbits in their own vast country. The alternative press does not want to quit, but it will if it doesn't find immediate support."

Mr Winship, now president of the Centre for Foreign Journalists, a training institution near Washington, attended the recent centennial conference on "Conflict and the Press", sponsored in Johannesburg

by The Star

"The conference was a powerful updater on the conditions under which local and foreign journalists operate today in their passionately unhappy nation," he said.

Worth the price of admission, he wrote, was watching and listening to Mr Stoffel Botha, whom he described as a "Government press czar"; impassively talking about "cordial relations" between the media and the Government and explaining why Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu was jailed about 250 days ago without charge.

Mr Sisulu had become a world symbol of press repression in South Africa, Mr Winship said.

Mr Botha's explanation, that Mr Sisulu was in jail not because he was a journalist but because he was not conducive to the state of affairs South Africa wanted at this time, was "vintage McCarthy", Mr Winship charged — a reference to the late Senator Joe McCarthy, an anti-communist extremist in the '50s.

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**Plea to
release
editor**

12/11/87

AN application for the release of the editor of *New Nation*, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, will be heard in the Rand Supreme Court today.

The matter came before Mr Justice M J Strydom on Tuesday and was postponed to today. The respondents in the hearing are the State President, the Minister of Law and Order, the Com-

missioner of the South African Police, the Minister of Justice and the Officer Commanding the Johannesburg Prison

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Sisulu

Sametun

Mr Ismail Mohamed, SC, who is appearing for Mr Sisulu, is expected to focus on the validity of the state of emergency. He told

the court he would be raising the issue and believed the application would not last more than two days.

Mr Sisulu (36), was detained on December 12, last year. Calls for his release have been made repeatedly by local and international organisations and individuals.

mirrored text from reverse side of page

Smith
12-18-11

Journalists released

EAST LONDON — Journalist, Mxolisi Jackson "MJ" Fuzile was back at work this week only a day after he and colleague Phula Ngqumba were released from almost 17 months in detention

"We will continue where we left off," Fuzile said. Their release comes only two weeks before an application against their detention was to be heard.

Fuzile and Ngqumba run the Veritas News Agency in King Williams Town. They were detained on June 14 last year.

Police affidavits in the case explicitly said the two were held for their journalistic work, despite official claims that no journalist is being held for that reason.

Several months after their detention the Grahamstown Supreme Court turned down an application by them and four other detainees to have their detention declared unlawful.

Three others have since been released and the last one, Prince Mhamhe, was released with the journalists — *Elnews*

one time 12/11/87
Newsmen freed
after 17 months

~~2/2/88~~
EAST LONDON — Two Eastern Cape journalists have been freed two weeks before an appeal to have their emergency detention set aside was to be heard.

Mr Mxolisi Jackson "MJ" Fuzile and Mr Phila Ngqumba were freed yesterday after almost 17 months in emergency detention. They jointly run the Veritas News Agency in King Willam's Town.

The journalists were detained on June 14 last year. Several months later their application against their detention was turned down — Sapa

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TIMES MEDIA

Investment plans

After its turnaround in the year to end-March, publishing group Times Media Limited (TML) has achieved further rapid growth. Profits soared by 289%, an interim dividend of 100c was paid — against 100c for the full 1987 year — and the balance sheet has been radically strengthened.

These figures complete a financial turnaround which make TML (formerly South African Associated Newspapers) quite unrecognisable from the withered company of two years ago. At that stage, it was not only making large losses, but was groaning under some R44m of debt.

By September 30 all debt had been repaid, and cash resources exceeded R3m after making further investment in the Electronic Media Network (M-Net) and contributing to the capital of the Cape Town joint operating arrangement. Liquidity has increased further since then.

With shareholders' funds almost doubling to R34,6m in the past 12 months and profit growth expected to continue, a major question facing the group now must be the need to make new investments. Expansion plans are being considered, although MD Stephen Mulholland declines to give details at present. "It's not our business to sit on cash, we



**TML's Mulholland, . . .
new directions**

want to deploy it in ways that will benefit the shareholders," says Mulholland. "We have plans both for new titles and directions for the company."

The fortnightly magazine *People*, launched recently by TML, has achieved a circulation of 110 000 and is making a modest contribution to group profits on the strength of its cover price. Prospects are also improving for the fledgling M-Net, which,

Mulholland says, is now about a year away from making a profit. TML holds 23% of M-Net.

However, the real profits are coming at present from the major publications, particularly the *Sunday Times*, the *Financial Mail* and *Business Day*. Thanks very largely to their performance — as well as that of Eastern Province Newspapers and the Cape Times (both wholly owned), TML's interim operating profits doubled from R6,4m to R12,7m. Investment income jumped from R96 000 to nearly R2m owing to improving dividend flow from 49%-held Robinson & Company, which publishes the *Natal Mercury*.

The contributions from these publications were achieved by continuing to adopt the strategies that produced turnaround in the 1987 year: a disciplined approach to selling advertising, increases in cover prices, strict cost controls and other efficiencies.

"We generated much higher revenue with the same staff and infrastructure," Mulholland notes. "We should continue to achieve growth by deploying our assets better in future. We have been successfully aggressive with cover price increases which shift the reliance away from advertising."

Newsprint costs rose by an average of about 12% in the period, but by tightening editorial to advertising ratios, the group used less newsprint relative to advertising revenues.

With the circulation of the *Sunday Times* — by far the largest single profit contributor — continuing to grow, there should be potential for further increases in the cover price and in advertising rates next year. The circulation of *Business Day* is also "very pleasing." Research shows that the newspaper enjoys an exceptionally loyal readership, and the intention is that it should remain a financial publication even though revenue is expected to ease with the end of the stock market boom. The *Financial Mail* has produced modest profit growth from a high base but its figures were particularly good during the past two months.

The interim dividend could have been substantially higher had the cover not been kept to 7,05 times. The board wants to ensure that future dividends can grow steadily, and is retaining earnings ahead of the stage when tax again has to be paid. Nearly half of the R32m assessed tax loss that was available at March 31 has been absorbed, so taxes are likely to be paid next financial year. Once the tax holiday is over, cover will fall to about 2,5 times.

The group's profits usually show a seasonal decline over the Christmas period, and the performance will inevitably be weaker in the second six months. If the second-half profits are, say, 60% of the interim figure — last year they were just over half — then the full year's attributable figure should be around R23m. The share price, at R40 on Tuesday, had fallen from the peak of R65 on October 15 but was still 78% above last November's level of R22,50.

Andrew McNulty



Ochse's case

Afrikaans media bosses have always been successful in pressuring journalists not to join the SA Society of Journalists (SASJ). Those who felt wronged had no course for retribution other than the (they hoped) sympathetic ear of the editor.

That was until a woman showed how to counter unfair labour practices. Moira Tuck took on the Ivory Tower at Auckland Park and won.

Now former Sportswriter of the Year Charles Ochse is following suit by taking on the powerful Sunday paper, *Rapport*, jointly owned by Nasionale Pers and Perskor. Ochse, dismissed by editor Bob van Walsem at the end of September for "gross insubordination," is seeking retribution from the industrial court (IC).

In papers handed in to the Divisional Inspector of Manpower, Ochse claims, in terms of Section 43(1)(c) of the Labour Relations Act, that because of unfair labour practice he stands to lose 15 years' worth of employer contributions to his pension fund, which are likely to exceed R30 000. His summary dismissal also cost him 73 days accumulated leave, says Ochse.

His claim for full pension presents a delicate problem. Because of contractual agreements between Nasionale and Perskor, *Rapport's* employees join one of the two mother companies — in Ochse's case, Perskor. Perskor refuses point blank to make any repay-

MM 12/11/81

ment of employer contributions to Ochse, saying the responsibility lies with *Rapport*.

There have been attempts to negotiate a settlement but the matter was unresolved as the *FM* went to press.

Meanwhile, in a counter-claim *Rapport* alleges that Ochse was the master of his own fate. A letter by *Rapport's* attorney Sam Norval mentions three incidents involving Ochse, which *Rapport* feels justify its action.

The incidents mentioned might, however, become an embarrassment to the two press groups should the case reach the IC. Men-

tion is made of unsavoury publicity surrounding a court case in Port Elizabeth, Ochse's alleged drunkenness and an incident with a knife involving former SA Cycling Federation chief Raoul de Villiers, and alleged drunkenness and an incident with a fire extinguisher in the reception area of *Rapport's* Doornfontein office.

Ochse has apparently decided to fight to the end should he not get a satisfactory settlement. It can be expected that various incidents involving staff members will be brought out to show that Ochse was unfairly

made an example of.

Already the names of Van Walsem, deputy editor Albert Crafford and acting news editor Lucia Gomes are mentioned in papers prepared for IC litigation. Many other journalists may be called to testify.

Ochse's action comes soon after journalists at *Rapport* propagated a petition to join the SASJ. The move was squashed when Van Walsem promised to refer grievances concerning long hours and other conditions to management. But there it stopped.

In the past, Afrikaans journalists have

been apathetic towards employment conditions. The Ochse case, whatever its outcome, may show Afrikaans journalists that the IC could be the answer to their prayers. ■

Sisulu's journalism reason for his detention, says state

DETAINED editor Zwelakhe Sisulu yesterday brought an urgent supreme court application for his release — just days after two Eastern Cape journalists were released in the face of a pending appeal against their incarceration.

In each case the state cited journalistic activities as the reason for the detentions, contradicting earlier government assurances that no journalist was in detention for professional reasons.

Sisulu, editor of the *New Nation*, had been told that his alleged membership of the National Education Crisis Committee's executive — which Sisulu denies — was the reason for his 11-month incarceration. But in court papers this week security policeman Major Cornelius van Wyk said the reasons for the editor's detention "were mainly based on his involvement with the *New Nation*."

"He was .. actively involved in writing and publishing articles in this newspaper, which led to the creation of conditions for unrest," Van Wyk said.

King William's Town journalists Mxolisi Fuzile and Phula Ngqumba were told that their activities in the *Ventus News Agency* had resulted in their detention.

In papers opposing their application for release, Major Andre Nel, branch commander of the security police in King William's Town, said they were being held because of an alleged plan to publish a community newsletter, and because they reported consumer boycotts.

"It is my experience," Nel said, "that such publications contributed to and furthered public unrest and disorder."

On Wednesday, one day after his

By JO-ANN BEKKER and
FRANZ KRÜGER

release from detention, Fuzile was back at work in the news agency. "We will continue where we left off," he said.

Ismail Mahomed, who is appearing for Sisulu, argued that there were several grounds for his release. These included:

● Sisulu's detention order did not comply with requirements to name the prison in which he would be detained.

● The minister of law and order — when deciding whether or not Sisulu's further detention was necessary — did not consider for how long his incarceration should continue.

● Sisulu's arrest was unlawful — as he was not given the cause of his arrest — therefore his detention was unlawful too. As there is a dispute of fact on this point, Mahomed said it would be necessary to call oral evidence if the other grounds for Sisulu's release were rejected by Judge MJ Strydom.

Mahomed also argued the State of Emergency itself was invalid as the state president did not set out the precise jurisdictional grounds in terms of which he was acting. The application continues today.

● Five journalists, apart from Sisulu, are still in detention. They are Port Elizabeth freelance journalist Brian Sokutu, Vincent Mfundisi of SABC-TV, Soweto freelancer Themba Khumalo, Maropodi Mapalakanye, Transvaal regional organiser for the Media Workers' Association of South Africa, and Mbulelo Grootboom, of Oudtshoorn's community newspaper, *Saamstaan*.

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WMAH
13-19 NOV 1987

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14/11/87
Weekend Argus,

Sowetan warned on emergency regulations

Weekend Argus
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The Government has cracked down on the black daily newspaper the Sowetan for allegedly contravening the emergency regulations

The newspaper received a letter from the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, saying he was considering issuing a warning in the Government Gazette for alleged contravention of Press restrictions and publication of "subversive propaganda"

The Sowetan is a sister newspaper of The Argus

Mr Botha said he had examined six issues of the Sowetan from September 4 to October 20 and had concluded they "tend to promote the public image or esteem of the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, which are unlawful organisations".

In a statement the Sowetan said it had endeavoured at all times to abide by State regulations.

"We are not aware of any contraventions of the state of emergency regulations by this newspaper," said deputy-editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste

"The latest warning illustrates the difficult task of producing newspapers in this country because we are supposed to project what effect any particular article may have on the opinion of the Minister," he said

The Sowetan has been given 14 days to make representations to the Minister before he gazettes an official warning

Under the new media regulations the letter is the first stage in a process that could lead to eventual prohibition for up to three months.

Move on black press

237 ● FROM PAGE 1. (243)

this country because we are supposed to project what effect any particular article may have on the opinion of the Minister," he said

The *Sowetan* has been given 14 days to make representations to the Minister, before he gazettes an official warning.

The newspaper last night said the matter was in the hands of their lawyers. 14/11/77 J. J. J.

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Detained E. Cape newsmen freed

CP Correspondent

TWO Eastern Cape journalists have been freed just two weeks before an appeal to have their emergency detention set aside was to be heard.

Mxolisi Jackson "Mji" Fuzile and Phila Ngqumba were freed this week after almost 17 months in emergency detention. They run a news agency in King William's Town.

The journalists were detained on June 14 last year and several months later the Grahamstown Supreme Court turned down an application to have their own and four other detainees' detentions be declared unlawful.

The appeal against the Grahamstown ruling is to be heard in the Bloemfontein Appeal court on November 24.

Interest in the case centred on the fact that police affidavits explicitly said the pair were being held for their journalistic work, despite government claims that no journalist is being held for that reason.

Fuzile said he was glad to be released. — Elnews.

15/11/87

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Star
Sowetan
may get
warning

The Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, gave notice to the *Sowetan* on Friday that a gazetted warning was being considered against the newspaper for promoting "inter alia the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress".

Mr Botha said he had examined a series of six issues of the *Sowetan* and he was considering action "under regulation 7A (1), to visit the issuing of a warning by notice in the Government Gazette in respect of your periodical".

His department had prepared a "prima facie evaluation of the matter published in the (above mentioned) issues and particulars of which are set forth in the annexure attached hereto. Representations must be submitted to me within a period of two weeks from the date of receipt hereto".

The issues, which are considered to contain subversive propaganda and which led to the warning, tended to promote "the public image or esteem of inter alia the ANC and the PAC which are unlawful organisations within the meaning of the emergency regulations", he said.

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Promoting the ANC and PAC says Minister

GOVT THREAT TO SOWETAN

243
Sowetan

11/11/87

Union's rally



SOME of the more than 5000 Cawusa members who attended the Soweto rally yesterday. See page 2.

SOWETAN Reporter

THE Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, gave notice to the *Sowetan* on Friday that a gazetted warning was being considered against the newspaper for promoting "inter alia the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress"

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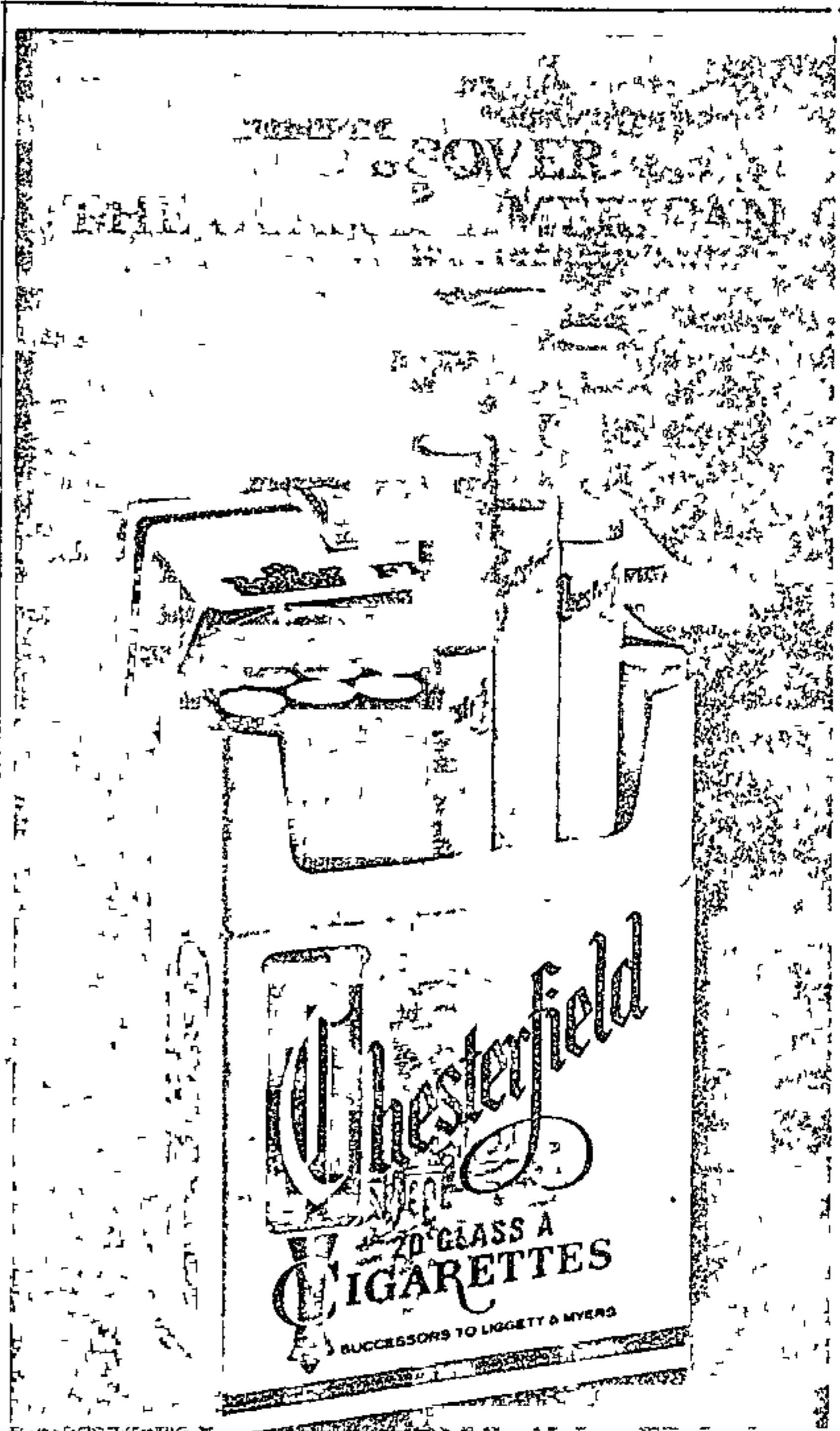
His department had prepared a "prima facie evaluation of the matter published in the (abovementioned) issues and particulars of which are set forth in the annexure attached hereto Representations must be submitted to me within a period of two weeks from the date of receipt hereof"

Revolutionary

The issues which, apparently contained subversive propaganda and which led to the warning tended to promote the public image or esteem of inter alia the ANC and the PAC which are unlawful organisations within the meaning of the emergency regulations

- According to Mr Botha
- An article on September 4 1987 under the heading "The Week I Went On A Roller Coaster", refers in a legitimising way to the symbols (leaders) of the two above-mentioned unlawful revolutionary organisations,
- In the issue of September 16, 1987 under the heading *Tambo In Talks With Runcie*" by referring in a legitimising way to a meeting held

• To Page 2



P.T.O. →

Govt ⁽⁴³⁾ issues ⁽²⁰⁾ threat

• From Page 1

• The "Comment" on page six of your issue of September 23, 1987 tends to promote the "stature" of leaders (symbols) of unlawful organisations, while the report on Page 15 under the heading "UN 'No' To, Move On ANC" tends to promote positive support for an unlawful organisation inter alia the PAC, the Minister's notice said

• The report under the heading "ANC Slams Brutal Punishment, Stop Tyre Deaths" in the issue of September 28, 1987, tends to legitimise a revolutionary leader of the unlawful ANC and to promote his and his organisation's public image,

• The issue of October 19, 1987, under the heading "Okanagan Paper Will Put SA In Spotlight" reinforces the promotion of the public image of an unlawful organisation by giving positive publicity to the opinion expressed by a leader of such an organisation, to wit the PAC, and in the issue of October 20, 1987 under the heading "Exiled Leaders Salute Machel" further positive publicity is given to the leaders of unlawful organisations and the opinions expressed by some of them

The matter referred to above also tends to promote or fan revolution or uprising in the Republic in a subtle way by mustering support for unlawful revolutionary organisations.

Meanwhile the president of the United Democratic Front, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, said that the Government's crackdown against the *Sowetan* showed that it was frightened and did not want people to know the truth

"We condemn the action of the Government against the media "

14 days' grace for New Nation

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The New Nation newspaper has been given a further two weeks to make representations to the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, regarding alleged contraventions of the state of emergency regulations.

The New Nation was this month sent a second letter by the minister saying it was felt the newspaper had not, in its first representations, interpreted the regulations correctly; acting editor Mr Gabu Tugwana said yesterday.

The letter afforded New Nation a further 14 days to readdress the case.

CAP TUG 202
16/11/87

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Govt 'dodging Parliament'

The Government was destroying one of the few forms of communication left, by using regulations under the state of emergency to try to dictate what people must read, Mr Harvey Tyson, Editor-in-Chief of The Star, said today.

He was speaking in Sandton at the Public Relations Institute of South Africa workshop on communication and conflict today.

Mr Tyson raised the warning by the Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, to the *Sowetan* last week in terms of the additional emergency regulations gazetted in August, which Mr Botha alleged the newspaper had contravened.

The censorship built into this comprised three steps, Mr Tyson said.

Firstly, a "scientific" assessment was made of a newspaper's reports and comments by an anonymous panel, "as if you can weigh, like a sack of coal, an expression or an idea or even a dull, heavy report"

Then, if the panel felt the accumulated impact, another scientifically weighed factor,

amounted to "subversive propaganda", the Minister would issue "fair" warning.

"Unless an editor can satisfy the Minister, or voluntarily promise to try to read the Minister's mind more carefully in future, the newspaper must then accept total pre-censorship of all material, or face closure for up to three months.

"I know of no editor of any persuasion in the English, Afrikaans or black press who could voluntarily accept pre-censorship," Mr Tyson said.

DEATH SENTENCE

No newspaper could live under such circumstances. Closure was a penalty that amounted to a death sentence.

By being selective, anyone could make out a case of one-sided reporting. Depending on the selection it could be shown that a newspaper was anti-Government or pro-Government, he said.

"One doesn't know whether to laugh or cry at the Government's illogical form of weighing published reports and telling newspapers what to think. You could cry at the results

this strange form of censorship may bring.

"Here are some earnest, no doubt well-meaning people trying to dictate what people must read. And you know in advance that the effort will never meet their aims — they can only destroy one of the few forms of communication left in the land."

The deduction from the *Sowetan* case was that the Government did not want any mention made of some extra-parliamentary organisations other than in officially approved, selected and tailored reports.

"One must assume that the argument of the anonymous panel of judges is that every mention of the PAC or the ANC is a move to 'legitimise a revolutionary organisation' — unless the report is one-sided propaganda against such organisations."

The Government had decided to bypass the courts in testing support for banned organisations, and was dodging Parliament by applying its own rules instead of using statutory law.

(243) ST/18/11/87

Sisulu application dismissed

By Lesley Cowling

243
18/11/87
An application for the release of the detained editor of the *New Nation* newspaper, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, was dismissed with costs yesterday by a Rand Supreme Court judge.

But Mr Justice Harms expressed "indignation" that an "important" memorandum by Mr Sisulu had not been handed to the Minister of Law and Order.

About 50 journalists and friends of Mr Sisulu — including his mother, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, and the general secretary of the International Federation of Journalists, Mr Aiden White — were in the courtroom to hear the results of Mr Sisulu's application.

Mr Sisulu had asked the court to declare the state of emergency invalid and his detention unlawful.

He was detained under the emergency regula-

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tions on December 12. After asking for reasons, he had been told he was a danger to public order and safety because of his "executive position" on the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC). This organisation, according to the Minister, supported rent and consumer boycotts and advocated people's education.

Mr Sisulu submitted a memorandum to the authorities, denying he was an executive member of the NECC and expressing his opposition to violence.

But the Minister of Law and Order was not given the memorandum, apparently because legal advice given to the police said the memo was irrelevant. Mr Sisulu's further detention was ordered on June 11.

The judge said it was "difficult to believe" someone could have given such advice. The memorandum was "a matter of extreme importance".

However, according to principles laid down in a recent Appeal Court decision, this failure did not entitle Mr Sisulu to his release, the judge said.

Mr Justice Harms rejected argument for Mr Sisulu that the State President's declaration of the state of emergency on June 11 was invalid because it had not fulfilled the requirements of the Public Safety Act.

He rejected argument that the Minister should have specified in his order for further detention the prison in which Mr Sisulu should be held.

held in terms of.

Botha threatens another 'paper'

243

ANOTHER newspaper has been threatened with action by the Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, for allegedly promoting "the public image or esteem" of banned organisations such as the Pan Africanist Congress and the African

South, a weekly Western Cape "alternative" newspaper, was served with a warning by a Government official at the weekend.

It is the third newspaper to be threatened by the Government within a week. Last Friday Mr Botha gave notice to the *Sowetan* that a Gazetted warning was being considered against the newspaper for allegedly promoting

PAC and the ANC. The *New Nation*, a Johannesburg-based weekly published by the South African Bishops Conference, has also been warned.

The editor of *South*, Mr Rashid Seria, said his paper was accused of "promoting or fanning revolution or uprising by subtly mustering support for revolutionary organisations".

Studied

"The Minister says he has studied three editions of our weekly paper. He cites several stories in the editions which, he claims, have the effect of promoting the public image or esteem of the banned ANC and PAC. We have been given 14 days from receipt of the

letter to make representations," Mr Seria said. He said the newspaper has briefed its legal counsel on the possibility of challenging in court the regulations in their entirety.

"It now becomes more evident that these regulations were promulgated to facilitate action against certain newspapers. Thus far *New Nation*, the *Sowetan* and *South* have been singled out. Even an innocuous story about gays criticising the ANC is cited as 'legitimising' a banned organisation.

"Coming at the time of the release of ANC stalwart Govan Mbeki, the superficial case being cited against *South* is ludicrous to say the least," Mr Seria said.

Sowetan 11/11/87

Govt threat to South

243
Nov 19 - 26 1987

THE Government has warned SOUTH that it is considering taking action against the paper for publishing subversive statements under the Emergency regulations.

In a letter hand-delivered to our offices last Saturday, the Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, accused SOUTH of promoting the "public image or esteem of inter alia the ANC and the PAC which are unlawful organisations within the meaning of the regulations"

The regulations as amended on August 28 this year, allows the Minister to take "action" against any newspaper if in "his opinion" it contravenes the regulations

The Minister is empowered to subject such a newspaper to pre-publication censorship or ban it for up to three months

SOUTH is now the third newspaper to be issued a warning Johannesburg daily Sowetan was issued with a warning on Friday

and Reef weekly New Nation was this week given an extension of 14 days to answer the Minister's allegations

Botha said in his letter he had examined three issues of SOUTH dated 10-16 September, 8-14 October and 22-28 October 1987.

Singing

The issues, he said, "tend to promote the public image or esteem of inter alia the ANC and PAC which are organisations within the meaning of the Regulations published by Proclamation R97 of 11 June 1987 as amended by Proclamation R123 of 28 August 1987.

Issue September 10 to 16:

Under the heading "Let Tambo be Heard" by giving publicity to the ANC and its leader and in doing so tending to legitimise this revolutionary leader and his organisation; and

Under the heading "PAC guerilla finally laid to rest" by publishing the details surrounding the funeral of

a terrorist (symbol) of an unlawful revolutionary organisation in such a manner that it tends to legitimise the organisation.

Issue of October 8 to 14:

Under the heading "Reforms a cheap deception says Issel" by giving publicity to the propagation of the stature of a symbol of an unlawful revolutionary organisation to wit a leader of the ANC; and

Under the heading "Teachers' body set to adopt Freedom Charter" by giving positive publicity to an unlawful revolutionary organisation, and

Issue of October 22 to 28:

Under the heading "The man who led the ANC from bleakest to brightest days" by giving wide positive publicity to the ANC and its leader and in doing so tending to legitimise an unlawful revolutionary organisation;

Blood sister

Under the heading "Singing for Tambo a highlight of career" by giving positive publicity to the leader of an unlawful revolutionary organisation,

Under the heading "Maggie a "blood sister" by giving positive support to an unlawful revolutionary organisation; and

Under the heading "Gays hit at ANC" by giving wide publicity to the views of spokesmen of an unlawful revolutionary organisation and thereby tending to legitimise the organisation.

"The matter referred to also tends to promote or fan revolution or uprising in the Republic in a subtle way by mustering support for unlawful revolutionary organisations "

The Minister says the articles should be read with one another for the cumulative effect of the contents. It should be ascertained whether the publishing threatens the safety of the public or to the maintenance of public order or is causing a delay in the termination of the State of Emergency

Sowetan warned on ANC

THE MINISTER OF Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, gave notice to the Sowetan on Friday that, a gazetted warning was being considered against the newspaper for promoting the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

The paper has 14 days to make representations.

The issues which apparently

contained subversive propaganda and which led to the warning tended to promote "the public image or esteem of inter alia the ANC and the PAC", according to Mr Botha.

The report under the heading "ANC slams brutal punishment: stop tyre deaths" in the issue of September 28 1987, tends to legitimise a revolutionary leader of the unlawful ANC and to promote his and his organisation's public image.

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Editor Tyson attacks Stoffel press clamp

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JOHANNESBURG — The government was destroying one of the few forms of communication left by using regulations under the state of emergency to try to dictate what people must read.

So Mr Harvey Tyson, editor-in-chief of The Star, told the Public Relations Institute of South Africa workshop on communication and conflict yesterday.

Mr Tyson raised the warning issued by the Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, to the Sowetan last week in terms of the additional emergency regulations, which Mr Botha alleged the newspaper had contravened.

The censorship built into this comprised three steps, Mr Tyson said

Firstly, a "scientific" assessment was made of a newspaper's reports and comments by an anonymous panel, "as if you can weigh, like a sack of coal, an expression or an idea or even a dull, heavy report"

Then if the panel felt the accumulated impact, another scientifically weighed factor, amounted to "subversive propaganda" the minister would issue "fair" warning

Face closure

"Unless an editor can satisfy the minister, or voluntarily promise to try to read the minister's mind more carefully in future, the newspaper must then accept total pre-censorship of all material, or face closure for up to three months

"I know of no editor of any persuasion in the English, Afrikaans or black press who could voluntarily accept pre-censorship," Mr Tyson said

No newspaper could live under such circumstances. Closure was a penalty that amounted to a death sentence for any normal newspaper

"I doubt if any daily newspaper could live if it were banned for only three weeks"

"Here are some earnest, no doubt well-meaning people trying to dictate what people must read. And you know in advance that the effort will never meet their aims — they can only destroy one of the few forms of communication left in the land"

The deduction from the Sowetan case was that the government did not want any mention made of some extra-parliamentary organisations other than in officially-approved, selected and tailored reports

"One must assume that the argument of the anonymous panel of judges is that every mention of the PAC or the ANC is a move to 'legitimise a revolutionary organisation' — unless the report is one-sided propaganda against such organisations"

The government has decided to by-pass the courts in testing support for banned organisations, and was dodging parliament by applying its own rules instead of using statutory law

"It would have no trouble getting another law passed, but it would indeed look very funny if parliament were to make one-sided reporting compulsory," Mr Tyson said — Sapa

W-79/4/87

By being selective, anyone could make out a case of one-sided reporting. Depending on the selection it could be shown that a newspaper was anti-government or pro-government, he said

"One doesn't know whether to laugh or cry at the government's illogical form of weighing published reports and telling newspapers what to think. You could cry at the results of this strange form of censorship may bring.

Lawyers will fight threat to Sowetan

Sowetan

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THE laws curbing the Press and the latest threats against the *Sowetan* are fascist measures that will not go unchallenged, the president of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, Mr Dumisa Ntsebenza, said yesterday

He was reacting to a warning issued to the newspaper by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, in terms of the latest media regulations

Mr Botha gave notice to the *Sowetan* on Friday that a gazetted warning was being considered against it for promoting, inter alia, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress

Mr Ntsebenza, whose grouping is a merger of several lawyers' organisations, said they would discuss the matter

"According to the curbs, even the reporting of court proceedings is not going to be available to the public That shows the extent to which the curbs on the Press have become ridiculous

"Nadel identifies itself with the *Sowetan* and calls on the Minister to repeal the curbs What we are going to find in South Africa is that instead of law

SOWETAN Correspondent

and order, we are going to have order without law "

Professor John Dugard of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits University said that when the Government introduced the new curbs it suggested they would be used against the alternative media

"However, history teaches that freedom is indivisible and that it was only a matter of time before the Government would move against the ordinary Press The moral of the story is that the Press should be very wary about Government's attitudes to divide the alternative Press and the ordinary Press "

Mr Peter Reynolds, a media lawyer who will be representing the *Sowetan*, said he was making written representations to the Minister He was most concerned that a warning of this nature had been issued

The general manager of the Newspaper Press Union, Mr Phillip Kotze, said the NPU had no comment to make

Free journalists, urges world body

South Africa's essential first step back into the family of world journalism is to release journalists in detention, according to Mr Aidan White, general secretary of the Brussels-based International Federation of Journalists (IFJ).

Mr White made the comment in a statement released by the Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ) in Johannesburg yesterday.

"The detention of working journalists is the brutal face of censorship," he said.

"No country can justify putting the truth into quarantine, but it is even more reprehensible to victimise journalists who are guilty only of representing accurately the views of their communities."

He called on the Government to end its present campaign against the media and to release immediately all detained journalists, including Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, editor of the *New Nation*.

"Releasing them would at least be a signal to the international community that all is not lost to those who cherish media freedom."

The IFJ, which represents more than 125 000 journalists in 37 countries, has two affiliated organisations in South Africa — the Media Workers' Association (Mwasa) and the SASJ.

Mr White was in the Supreme Court on Tuesday to witness the rejection of Mr Sisulu's challenge to the legality of his continued detention.

Mr White said the Sisulu case was a focus of international concern, but the continued detention of Mr Brian Sokutu, Mr Themba Khumalo and Mwasa members Mr Vincent Mfundisi and Mr Maropodi Matalakanyi, were also "bitter benchmarks" by which South Africa was judged.

He said his federation would renew its efforts to obtain their release by raising the cases on the international stage.

"It's not just the responsibility, however, of journalists to voice their protests. Media management themselves must be bolder in their demands for an end to detentions and censorship. So far I have found precious little evidence of South Africa's employers taking a leading role in this regard," he said.

Censorship could become institutionalised, he said. "As time passes it is easy to become complacent. Employers who talk of profits before principles are forgetting that freedom of expression and freedom of the press are not negotiable commodities in a democracy. We must all rage and rage again until censorship is eradicated."

Mr White said recent warnings to *New Nation*, the *Sowetan* and to *South* newspaper in Cape Town, presented the "appalling prospect" of government-appointed censors taking a hand in the daily business of news coverage.

He called on the Government not to proceed further with threats to these newspapers — Sapa.

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19/11/87

GOVT DESTROYING A LINK WITH BLACKS

THE Government was destroying one of the few forms of communication left by using regulations under the state of emergency to try to dictate what people must read, Mr Harvey Tyson, editor-in-chief of *The Star*, told the Public Relations Institute of South Africa workshop on communication and conflict.

Mr Tyson raised the warning issued

by the Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha to the *Sowetan* last week in terms of the additional emergency regulations, which Mr Botha alleged the newspaper had contravened.

The censorship built into this comprised three steps, Mr Tyson said. Firstly, a "scientific" assessment was made of a newspaper's reports and

comments by an anonymous panel, "as if you can weigh, like a sack of coal, an expression or an idea or even a dull, heavy report".

Then if the panel felt the accumulated impact, another scientifically weighed factor, amounted to "subversive propaganda" the Minister would issue "fair" warning.

"Unless an editor can satisfy the Minister, or voluntarily promise to try to read the Minister's mind more

carefully in future, the newspaper must then accept total pre-censorship of all material, or face closure for up to three months.

"I know of no editor of any persuasion in the English, Afrikaans or black Press who could voluntarily accept pre-censorship," Mr Tyson said.

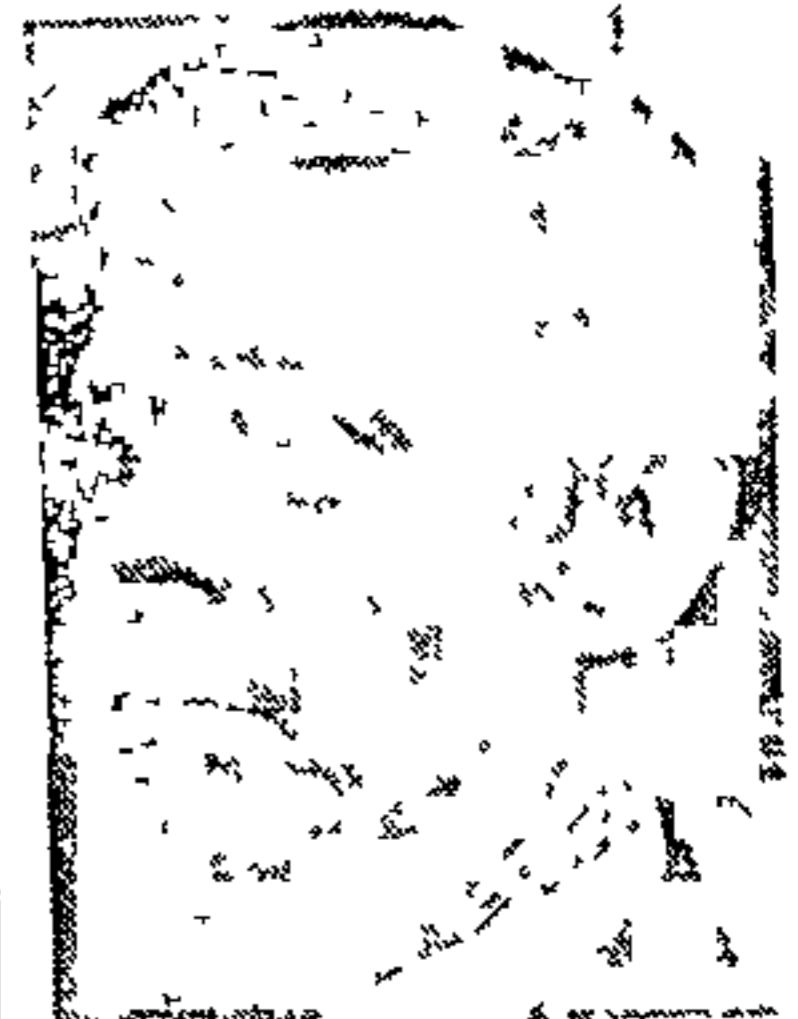
No newspaper could live under such circumstances. Closure was a penalty that amounted to a death sentence for any normal newspaper.

"I doubt if any daily newspaper could live if it were banned for only three weeks."

By being selective, anyone could make out a case of one-sided reporting. Depending on the selection it could be shown that a newspaper was anti-government or pro-government, he said.

"One doesn't know whether to laugh or cry at the Government's illogical form of weighing published reports and telling newspapers what to think. You could cry at the results this strange form of censorship may bring.

"Here are some earnest, no doubt well-meaning people trying to dictate what people must read. And you know in advance that the effort will never meet their aims.



MR HARVEY Tyson

— they can only destroy one of the few forms of communication left in the land."

A satire, or parody of censorship, could hardly do better than use the details of the *Sowetan* case. A setting in the Kremlin or *Animal Farm* would probably result in sure-fire theatre comedy.

Reality though, was not funny. The deduction from the *Sowetan* case was that the Government did not want any mention made of some extra-parliamentary organisations other than in officially-approved, selected and tailored reports — Sapa

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The three press 'warnings' could apply to any paper, say lawyers

By JO-ANN BEKKER

THREE newspapers are currently ensnared in the latest Emergency press curbs aimed at curbing "subversive propaganda"

Cape Town's independent weekly, *South*, and the Argus Company's daily, *The Sowetan*, were informed last Saturday that several issues of their newspapers had been examined for threatening public safety, public order or delaying the end of the State of Emergency.

The action against *The Sowetan* in particular came as a surprise as the government had claimed that the August 28 curbs were intended for what it termed the "unofficial" or "alternative press" and not the establishment press belonging to the Newspaper Press Union

However, media lawyers who have studied the objections by Minister of Home Affairs and Communication Stoffel Botha believe they could apply to any number of newspapers. It is feared several more publications could find themselves in Botha's web in the near future

Botha said he was considering ga-

zetting a warning to *South* and *The Sowetan* — the first step in what could lead to their being banned for three months

The newspapers have 14 days to make written representations to Botha. If he does not find these acceptable, he can publish a warning in the Government Gazette. If a publication continues to breach the regulations, it could be banned for three months

The Catholic Bishops Conference's *New Nation* weekly became, on October 2, the first newspaper to receive a letter saying that several of its copies had been "examined" and that Botha was contemplating gazetting a warning

The newspaper made written representations but two weeks ago received another letter from Botha. It informed *New Nation* it had not approached the matter sufficiently broadly and gave the newspaper another chance to make representations

The notice to *The Sowetan* and *South* differ from that to the *New*

Nation in that they stress that the reports or articles objected to should be read "in conjunction with one another and regard should be had to the cumulative effect of the contents thereof in order to ascertain whether they constitute a systematic or repeated publishing" which causes a threat to public safety, the maintenance of public order or a delay in the ending of the State of Emergency

Botha listed 27 items — including reports, adverts and photographs — which he found objectionable in three editions of the *New Nation*. He examined six issues of *The Sowetan* and found six items objectionable. Regarding *South*, he found eight items in three issues objectionable

The minister's objections to *New Nation* included that items had promoted or fanned revolution, promoted the breaking down of public order, stirred up feelings of hatred towards members of the security force or members of the Afrikaans population group — a revue of a one-man show was included in this category, and that items had promoted the esteem of the banned African National Congress and the South African Communist Party

However, the notices to *The Sowetan* and *South* only take issue with the newspapers' alleged promotion of banned organisations, namely the ANC and Pan Africanist Congress

In *The Sowetan's* case the items objected to include a column which contains a reference to a hill near Heroes' Acre in Harare where leaders of the Pan Africanist Congress and ANC are buried. Botha said the article "refers in a legitimising way to the symbols (leaders) of the two above-mentioned unlawful revolutionary organisations". So, the minister says, does a report that ANC president Oliver Tambo held talks with Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie.

A report headed "ANC slams brutal punishment. Stop tyre (necklace) deaths", Botha says, "tends to legitimise a revolutionary leader of the unlawful ANC and to promote his and his organisation's public image"

Items the minister objected to in *South* included an article headed "PAC guerrilla finally laid to rest" — which Botha said published "the details surrounding the funeral of a terrorist (symbol) of an unlawful revolutionary organisation in such a manner that it tends to legitimise the organisation".

An article entitled "Gays hit at ANC" — which *South* editor Rashid Seria described as "innocuous" — was also criticised by Botha for "giving wide publicity to the views of spokesmen of an unlawful revolutionary organisation and thereby tending to legitimise this organisation".

Botha said the items objected to in *South* and *New Nation* tended "to promote or fan revolution or uprising in the Republic in a subtle way by mustering support for unlawful revolutionary organisations"

● On Monday, the Publications Appeal Board will hear *New Nation's* appeal against its banning by the Publications Control Board. *South's* appeal will be heard on Friday

COMPANIES

Argus profits soar, div up 75pc

From ANN CROTTY

JOHANNESBURG — Any doubts about the strength of the Argus Group's recovery should be dispelled by the latest interim figures which show attributable earnings for the six months to end-September at a higher level than they were for the 12 months to March 1987

A dividend of 175c (100c) has been declared which is just over three times covered by earnings from the company and its subsidiaries. Because the group does not control associates, it excludes earnings from this source in calculating dividend cover.

Executive chairman Hal Miller believes the group is well positioned, but says he is cautious about the future

Improved margins, helped by the rationalisation of facilities between Times Media Limited (TML) and Argus, and a strong earnings contribution from its 40 percent stake in TML, were major factors in the sterling performance

Earnings per share were up 88 percent from 484c, on a comparable basis, to 909c. The Argus company and its subsidiaries accounted for a massive 547c

(303c) with associates contributing 362c (181c)

On a turnover increase of just 22 percent, to R461-million, operating income surged 63 percent to R34-million as a result of an increase in operating margins from 5.5 percent to 7.5 percent

Lower interest payments, increased income from investments and a lower tax rate helped to boost the improvement at the taxed profit level to 88 percent, equivalent to R17.9-million

Just over R7-million of this is allocated to minority shareholders leaving earnings from the company and its subsidiaries of R10.9-million which is an 85 percent surge on the previous interim. Management notes that this strong improvement was helped by improved asset management including tight control of costs

To the R10.9-million is added the contribution from associates which this year is R7.2-million (R3.5-million), bringing total attributable earnings to R18-million, 92 percent up on the previous interim

The subsidiaries include the group's 32 percent stake in CNA-Gallo, its 42 percent stake in CTP and its 50 percent stake in Hortons. Its major associate interests include 20 percent of Maister and, from the

beginning of the current financial year, its 40 percent stake in TML

Last year TML was treated in the Argus' books as an investment so its contribution was restricted to dividend payments. This year the group has equity-accounted TML's profits which means that it was able to show its earnings contribution

The comparative earnings figures for September 1986 have been restated assuming an earnings contribution from TML. It was chiefly as a result of TML's contribution, which must be in the region of R5-million, that associates were this year able to boost their share to R7.2-million. This represented a significant proportion of the group's total earnings of R18.1-million.

This year, following the rationalisation of production and distribution facilities which must inevitably bring the two groups closer, Argus management believed that resumption of equity-accounting TML's profits was justified

A more direct benefit of the rationalisation is that it has led to greater efficiency in the utilisation of the group's newspapers' asset base which is reflected in the group's improved operating margins.

Carl Turnley 243
21/11/88

Journalist ordered to leave SA

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

A UNITED STATES
journalist, Mr David
Carl Turnley, has been
ordered to leave South
Africa at the end of No-
vember because he had
sent unfavourable and
biased photo material
abroad, the Director-
General of Home Af-
fairs, Mr Gerrie van Zyl,
confirmed yesterday

Mr Turnley has been
working for the Detroit
Free Press and National
Geographic magazine in
South Africa since
August 1985

Mr Van Zyl said that in
July last year an applica-
tion for the renewal of
his work permit was re-
fused as a result of un-
favourable photo mate-
rial which he had sent
abroad.

However, he was al-
lowed to stay till the end
of November this year
Mr Turnley could not
be contacted last night

2583-67M 2/11/82

LOOK upon the mighty tablet upon the portals of a Texas newspaper, pictured here. If it reminds you of Ozymandias, king of kings, do not despair. Its message is far more durable.

A Star reader was so impressed, he took this photograph in Dallas and brought it back to us with the note "I believe every honest South African would like to see freedom of the press in our country, with the proviso that the freedom wanted is based upon the motto of the Dallas Morning News"

The three-storey high inscription reads
"Build the news upon the rock of Truth and Righteousness Conduct it always upon the lines of Fairness and Integrity Acknowledge the right of the people to get from the newspaper both sides of every important question"

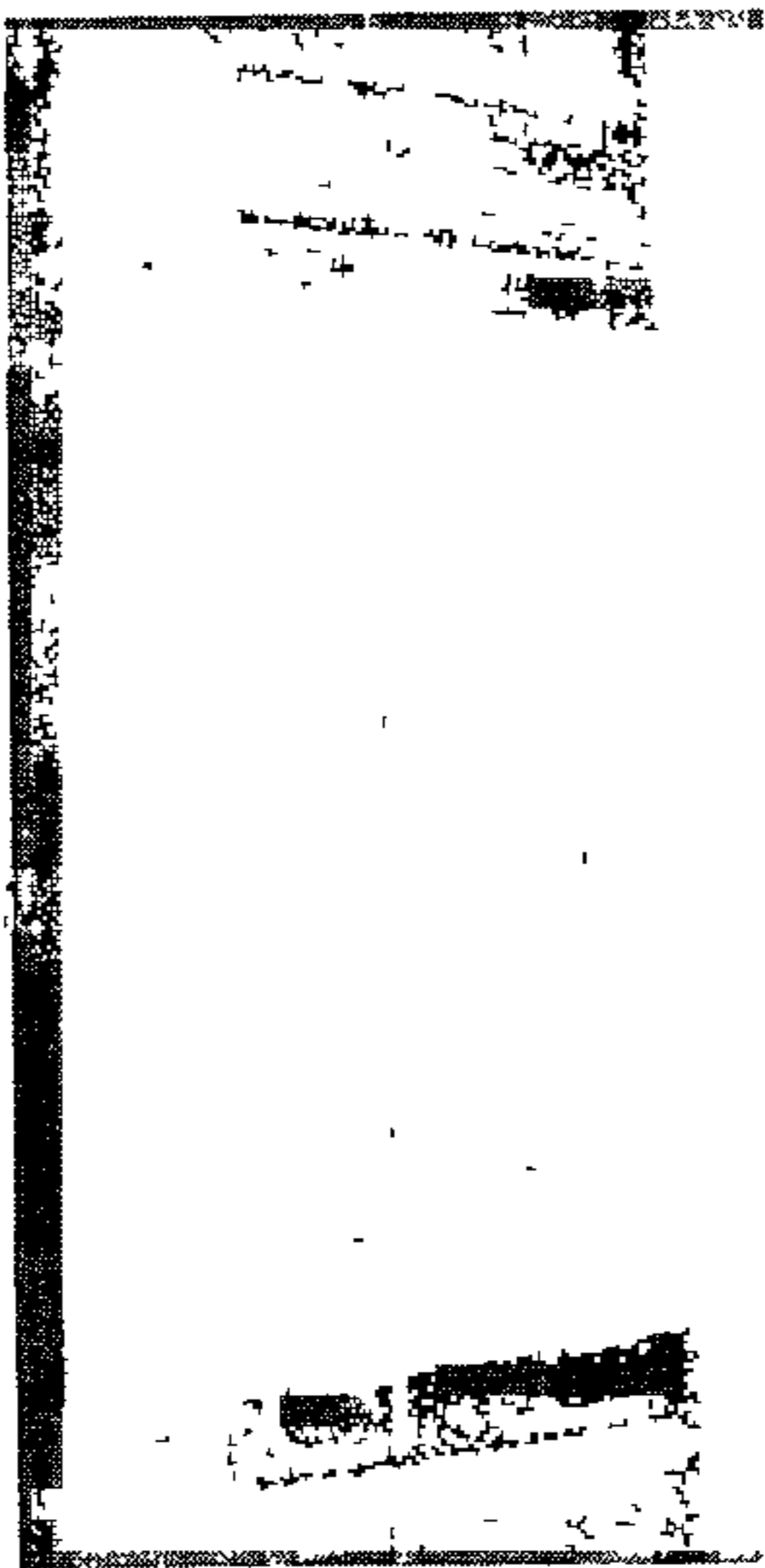
Thank you, Mr R J van Kraaenburg of Randburg for your thoughts on the subject. The motto expresses a fine sentiment — though I think that portentous exhortation might be better paraphrased as "Tell it like it is"

The Dallas Morning News is a sound paper — and was particularly good during its fight in perhaps the most competitive market in all of America when Times Mirror Inc was hoping to win supremacy through the rival Dallas Times Herald. I watched that battle with great

Telling us how they would like us to tell it

interest because of the professionalism it produced and was on personal terms with some of the participants

Most newspapermen of the western world believe implicitly in the sentiments, if not the wording, of the *Morning News* motto. Yet most white (and I have to emphasize white) South Africans believe the American press is totally one-sided and inaccurate in covering the South African issue. What we need to ask ourselves — if we are honest South Africans — is whether the voters' perception (which is a small South African minority) is correct and whether the rest of South Africa — and the whole of the world — is wrong, misled or dishonest.



The Dallas Morning News tablet.

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS HARVEY TYSON



The true answer, as usual, is not simple or unqualified. One must take into account the varied, often ignorant, perceptions of different nations, the quality of communication, the socio-economic self-interest of each community, and other considerations. In fact, there are, as usual, two sides to the question.

But the trouble in our country today is that nobody wants to hear both sides of any political issue. The Government goes so far as to gag the alternative voice. No doubt some future government will use the

same administrative machinery to gag the views of those who currently do the censoring. There's no comfort in that for anybody.

All governments everywhere would like to ensure that "positive" news is published and "negative" news eliminated.

The problem is that one man's "positive" is another man's "negative". For instance, last week we published two readers' reactions to

some articles on Zimbabwe. The letter-writers, using different words, wanted to know why The Star published "positive" things about Zimbabwe but were always "negative" about South Africa. Strangely enough, I encountered precisely the opposite view from a number of people in Zimbabwe. "Why," they asked, "does The Star publish such 'negative' things about Zimbabwe and spend so much time defending the South African Establishment?"

As usual, these critics in both countries don't wish to hear both sides.

The tragedy of our situation is that righteous South Africans are now prepared to deny everybody

(including themselves) freedom of expression and information — and still to demand "fairness". We cannot deliver fairness while we are gagged. And if we did provide, fully, both sides of the story we would be jailed or denounced as traitors.

And what is fairness? Those who do not wish to hear, let alone tolerate, opposite views believe "fairness" means to publish selected facts, as interpreted by themselves.

Last week the *Sowetan* was warned of six items considered by an anonymous government panel to be "subversive propaganda". As an average newsmen I read all six items carefully and, for the life of me, could not reach the same conclusion. In fact, several of the so-called "subversive" reports were probably published in other newspapers in one form or another. Certainly none of the *Sowetan* reports would have been dubbed "subversive" by any court — even under our very wide incitement laws.

Worse than the dubious judgments is the selectivity of the government's procedure. It is appalling. Anyone could carefully select six other reports in the *Sowetan* to "prove" that it is a pro-government paper!

I have already publicly asked the question: Why is the Government dodging Parliament (as well as the courts) with its latest censorship 'measures'?

Perhaps the answer is that, while the Government never has trouble getting another law passed by Parliament, in this case it might look very funny indeed if Parliament solemnly made one-sided reporting compulsory.

SISULU LOSES APPEAL

By MARTIN
NTSOELENGOE

A RAND Supreme Court judge this week dismissed an urgent application for the release of the editor of *New Nation* newspaper, Zwelakhe Sisulu, as a "semantic quibble and no legal grounds for his release."

This was said by Judge FC Harmse before dismissing the urgent application.

Sisulu was detained last year on December 12 for the second time in three years.

Harmse said there were no legal grounds for the release of Zwelakhe, because he knew about the National Education Crisis Committee and had addressed its meetings.

The judge expressed his anger because a 37-page

World body urges govt to end campaign against media

SOUTH Africa's essential first step back into the family of world journalism was to release journalists in detention, according to Aidan White, general-secretary of the Brussels-based International Federation of Journalists.

White made the comment in a statement released in Johannesburg

by the Southern African Society of Journalists. He has spent six days visiting the country, during which he met editors, media campaigners and journalists.

"The detention of working journalists is the brutal face of censorship," he said. "No country can justify putting the truth into quar-

antine, but it is even more reprehensible to victimise journalists who are guilty only of representing accurately the views of their communities."

He called on the government to end its present campaign against the media and to release immediately all detained journalists, including

Zwelakhe Sisulu, editor of *New Nation*.

"Releasing them would at least be a signal to the international community that all is not lost to those who cherish media freedom in this country."

The IFJ represents more than 125 000 journalists in 37 countries. — Sapa.

memorandum addressed to the Minister of Law and Order by Sisulu was never delivered.

Sisulu was arrested for the second time under the state of emergency on December 12 last year.

In February, police supplied their reasons for his continued detention. One of the reasons given

was that he was a member of the NECC, an organisation which the police believe intends overthrowing the present political structure.

A day before the new state of emergency was declared, Sisulu wrote a 37-page memorandum for his release to the Minister, to be forwarded by the police

The memorandum never reached the Minister.

The following day the new state of emergency came into effect.

Sisulu was briefly released and was re-detained in terms of the new state of emergency.

The Minister then ordered Zwelakhe's detention until the end of the

state of emergency.

He added that in his view the reasons for the continued detention of Zwelakhe were the same as those given during the first state of emergency.

The judge said Sisulu gave a keynote address at an NECC meeting.

"At the meeting, Sisulu did not say he merely read

a speech which was prepared by someone else, therefore he must have known what the NECC was all about," the judge argued.

"The speech was reasonably and capable of the interpretation that the NECC aimed at overthrowing the present structure by using schoolchil-

dren and exploiting existing grievances," said the judge.

He added that the safety of the public and maintenance of law and order were of paramount importance.

Coming to the memorandum written by Sisulu to the Minister of Law and Order, the judge said the SAP seem to have been given legal advice that the memorandum was irrelevant because it referred to the old state of emergency.

The judge said he found it very difficult to believe that the advice was genuine.

"The memorandum was of extreme importance and should have been sent to the Minister. The person who gave the police this advice was ignorant, or did not read the memorandum carefully," said the judge

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C/O 20/11/87

69/100-1-23/10/101

THE MIND of the chief censor, Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha, continues to fascinate and perplex the newspapermen who live under his regime of truth and beauty. His decrees have a subtle complexity, a quality both bewildering and astonishing, that can be described poetically as licence.

The Minister, dubbed "Learned Stoffel" because he has read difficult and ancient books on revolution, revealed his mind first to The Sowetan, issuing a warning that he was considering issuing a warning in the Government Gazette because The Sowetan was "referring in a legitimising way to the ANC and the PAC".

One example of The Sowetan's transgression was an article headed "ANC slams brutal punishment stop tyre deaths". A quick reading of the offending article confirms the dazzling judgment of Learned Stoffel, no communist will find it easy to put anything over our Stoffel, that's plain

The article, filed from Harare, said "Necklacing" as a form of punishment should stop. Reliable sources said Mr (Oliver) Tambo made it crystal clear that he was against 'necklacing'."

Now, that is plainly an outrageous thing for The Sowetan to publish. If any of the editors of The Sowetan had read "Evaluative Assertion Analysis" by Osgood, Saporita and Nunnally (I choose an example at random from Learned Stoffel's reading list) they would never have dared to say Oliver Tambo was against "necklacing". Why, that puts Oliver Tambo in the same category as Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who has also condemned "necklacing". In fact, it makes Tambo look as innocent, as decent, as kindly — and, indeed, as Christian — as the Archbishop. You don't need to be as learned as Learned Stoffel to see that, if everybody started condemning "necklacing", and all "necklacing" stopped, our government would be

YOU MUST Watch your Words with Learned Stoffel . . .

KEN OWEN



□ BOTH A . . . warned sternly

robbed of a mighty propaganda weapon

However, the legitimising transgressions of The Sowetan did not end there. The same article says, for example, that Imam Faried Essack, a UDF delegate, spoke passionately of a future SA in which Muslims, Hindu, Christian and Jew would live together in harmony. The Imam was warmly embraced by Tambo and by the Rev Beyers Naude.

The effect of this kind of thing on the immature minds of township "comrades" is easy to perceive. Some of them would undoubtedly imagine that Tambo was sincere in calling for an end to "necklacing"; they might stop the beastly practice. They might start behaving like ordinary civilised people, passing peacefully among us unre-

cognised as dastardly ANC supporters.

And where would we be then, embraced by the Rev Beyers Naude? As Learned Stoffel warned, it tends to legitimise a revolutionary leader of the unlawful ANC and to promote his and his organisation's public image.

Why, it's the sort of thing that could take SA right out of the frying pan into the melting pot. Revolution lurks in corners where only an expert can find it. Learned Stoffel, though nobody would detract from his qualifications, is fortunate to have as an assistant Andries Engelbrecht, an

expert on motivational communication (or is it communicational motivation?), Engelbrecht calls on secret panels of motivators or communicators to help Learned Stoffel with difficult cases.

An example of such a subtle case appeared in The Sowetan of October 19, the day the Wall Street crash heralded a new crisis of capitalism (those communists are damnably clever in their timing). On that fateful day The Sowetan reported under the headline: "Okanagan paper will put SA in spotlight".

The report quoted the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Sir Shridath Ramphal, as saying "This conference (in Vancouver) has not ended with a list, but with a process." That was bad enough. Even

worse was this quote from Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney: "the Commonwealth must and will provide more leadership in the struggle to end apartheid".

Learned Stoffel saw through that one quickly enough. Who does Mulroney think he is, trying to take credit away from champion apartheid-killers like Pret Koorhof? President Botha is ending apartheid as fast as he can, he needs no help from the likes of Brian Mulroney who get into the act late and then pretend that they did the job all by themselves.

The same report quoted Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the latter-day Queen Boadicea, as saying "This is where people get muddled."

Well, Thatcher may be big in Britain, but she doesn't muscle in on our Stoffel. In this country, it takes learning and reading and motivation communication to decide who is muddled and who is not. Anyway, this country is still a decent patriarchy, and Learned Stoffel doesn't let any woman, much less an imperious female, like Margaret Thatcher, start issuing judgments about muddles.

At the end of The Sowetan's report was a sneaky little paragraph — they obviously thought Stoffel would miss it — quoting the vice-chairman of the PAC, Gora Ebrahim, as saying "Thatcher was 'apartheid's ally'. Stoffel warned sternly that this sort of thing 'reinforces the promotion of the public image of an unlawful organisation by giving positive publicity to the opinion expressed by a leader of such an organisation, to wit the PAC'."

So long as Learned Stoffel is charged with the duty of controlling public debate in this country, nobody is going to get away with reinforcing promotions. That's clear. If The Sowetan does so again, Learned Stoffel will consider action. "under regulation 7A(1) to wit the issuing of a warning by notice in the Government Gazette in respect of your periodical."

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November 24 1987

24/11/87
SM

Publications Board hears appeal argument

Three New Nation bannings contested

By Jo-Anne Collinge

If the Publications Appeal Board were to do no more than stick to the precedents set in its own rulings and in Supreme Court judgments, it would be compelled to reverse the ban on three editions of the weekly paper *New Nation*

This was the central argument submitted by Mr Gilbert Marcus, counsel for *New Nation*, during an appeal against three separate bans imposed on the paper. The appeals were heard by PAB chairman Professor Kobus van Rooyen and six board members in Pretoria yesterday.

Volumes six, seven and 34 of *New Nation* were declared undesirable by a Committee of Publica-

tions in terms of the Publications Act on the grounds that they were likely to threaten State security. The two earlier volumes were also banned because the committee considered that they promoted racial hatred.

"The basic proposition (of the committee) is that *New Nation* leads directly to revolution, unrest and sabotage," Mr Marcus said. "For this extremely serious proposition the committee is unable to find any support in the text. Instead, it chooses to rely upon the 'mighty written word of Lenin' who, apparently through his writings, created grievances and encouraged strikes."

SPECIFIC WORKS

Mr Marcus objected to the committee's reliance on Lenin without reference to specific works. The fact that the committee had not referred to a single finding of the PAB in giving reasons for the bans was "indicative of a contemptuous disregard" of the guidelines set by the board.

Mr SW Burger, appearing for the State Attorney, submitted that the PAB was not bound by precedent. However, valuable previous decisions were, he understood, the system of precedents did not bind one and that previous decisions were merely guidelines.

He said the committee was not relying on any specific work of Lenin but on the "general trend" in his writings.

Judgment is expected next week.

and pressure
Even if true, there is nothing

fair-weather merchants who flee
at first sight of problems

Princess Anne of England and Princess Chulabhorn of Thailand watch closely as a craftsman weaves
reeds into an intricate design at a handicraft shop in Bangkok's Dusit Palace.

Revealing the mind of Learned Stoffel

KEN OWEN: Johannesburg

male like Margaret Thatcher, start issuing judgments about mud-dles

At the end of The Sowetan's report was a sneaky little paragraph — they obviously thought Stoffel would miss it — quoting the vice-chairman of the PAC, Gora Ebrahim. Stoffel warned sternly that this sort of thing "reinforces the promotion of the public image of an unlawful organisation by giving positive publicity to the opinion expressed by a leader of such an organisation, to wit the PAC."

So long as Learned Stoffel is charged with the duty of controlling public debate in this country, nobody is going to get away with re-inforcing promotions that's clear.

If The Sowetan does so again, Learned Stoffel will consider action under regulation 7A(1), and warning by notice in the Government Gazette in respect of your periodical

end apartheid" Learned Stoffel saw through that one quickly enough who does Mulrony think he is, trying to take credit away from champion apartheid-killers like Piet Koornhof?

President Botha is ending apartheid as fast as he can, he needs no help from the likes of Brian Mulrony who get into the act late and then pretend that they did the job all by themselves

The same report quoted Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the latter-day Queen Boadicea, as saying "This is where people get muddled."

Well, Thatcher may be big in Britain, but she doesn't muscle in on our Stoffel. In this country, it takes learning and reading and motivation to communicate, to decide who is muddled and who is not. Anyway, this country is still a decent patriarchy, and Learned Stoffel doesn't let any woman, much less an imperious fe-

Why, it's the sort of thing that could take SA right out of the frying pan into the melting pot. Revolution lurks in corners where only an expert can find it. Learned Stoffel, though nobody would detract from his qualifications, is fortunate to have as an assistant Andrew Engelbrecht, an expert on motivational communication (or is it communication? motivation? motivation?). Engelbrecht calls on secret panels of motivators or communicators to help Learned Stoffel with difficult cases.

An example of such a subtle case appeared in

And where would we be then, with everybody and anybody being embraced by the Rev Beyers Naude? As Learned Stoffel warned, it tends to legitimise a revolutionary leader of the unlawful ANC and to promote his and his organisation's public image

However, the legitimising transgressions of The Sowetan did not end there. The same article says, for example, that Imam Faried Esack, a UDF delegate, spoke passionately of a future SA in which Muslims, Hindu, Christian and Jew would live together in harmony. The Imam was warmly embraced by Tambo and by the Rev Beyers Naude

started condemning "necklacing," and all our government would be robbed of a mighty propaganda weapon

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Now, that is plainly an outrageous thing for The Sowetan to publish. If any of the editors of The Sowetan had read Evaluative Assertion Analysis by Osgood, Saporta and Nunnally (I choose an example at random from Learned Stoffel's reading list) they would never have dared to say Oliver Tambo was against "necklacing"

Why, that puts Oliver Tambo in the same category as Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who has also, condemned "necklacing." In fact, it makes Tambo look as innocent as decent, as kindly — and, indeed, as Christian — as the Archbishop. You don't need to be as learned as Learned Stoffel to see that, if everybody

One example of The Sowetan's transgression was an article headlined "ANC slams brutal punishment." A quick reading of the offending article confirms the dazzling judgment of Learned Stoffel, no communist will find it easy

The mind of the chief censor, Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha, continues to fascinate and perplex the newspapermen who live under his regime of truth and beauty. His decrees have a subtle complexity, a quality both bewildering and astonishing, that can be described poetically as licence.

The Minister, dubbed "Learned Stoffel" because he has read difficult and ancient books on revolution, revealed his mind first to The Sowetan, issuing a warning that he was considering issuing a warning in the Government Gazette because The Sowetan was "referring in a legitimising way to the ANC and the PAC."

One example of The Sowetan's transgression was an article headlined "ANC slams brutal punishment." A quick reading of the offending article confirms the dazzling judgment of Learned Stoffel, no communist will find it easy

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Open letter

TO MINISTER

Dear Mr Minister (of Home Affairs)
The Directors and Trustees of SOUTH have taken note of your warning in our paper

We are well aware that this is a very serious matter. It is in your power not only to "warn", but to shut down this newspaper. In fact, the record shows that your government has not hesitated to ban newspapers.

We also know that even in the State of Emergency, your government has spared no effort to control our society, including the media.

You have issued various regulations to curb the press and control the flow of information. You have repeatedly threatened that you will act against us, the "alternative media".

All this we know. But we also know we are a newspaper committed to the truth and to the true reflection of the feelings and aspirations of the community of the oppressed whom we seek to serve.

It is true that your government is a white minority government which does not represent the majority in South Africa. It is true that SA is a racist, oppressive society that needs to be fundamentally changed. It is true that our people are engaged in a struggle for freedom, justice and human dignity. It is true that the ANC is a force to be reckoned with.

Many South Africans regard Mr Nelson Mandela as their leader and would want him to be president. That is true. Just as it is true that apartheid is still alive, that there are almost 1 500 in jail without trial, including children. It is also true that most South Africans would want to see a government by the people, of the people, for the people.

These are basic truths, Mr Minister, that SOUTH did not create but that SOUTH must remain true to itself. We cannot and have no desire to change these facts. If we wilfully distort the truth and misinform the public, you have the right to take us to court. But if reporting these truths, if our efforts to further the cause of democracy by helping to shape, educate and inform, is offending you, then surely the problem lies not with the facts, but with those who cannot stomach the truth.

Let us put it plainly. The deepest problem causing the violence in our country lies not with the press but with apartheid, with your government's inability to accept the inevitability of a democratic, open, non-racial South Africa.

We understand that in speaking to you thus we may not endear ourselves to you. But we are proud of our paper. We are committed to the truth. We are committed to the struggle and true peace and justice. We are committed to the people of South Africa. This, we submit, is a noble cause and this cause will ultimately triumph.

Signed Trustees and Directors of South Press Ltd

243 South
NOV 26 - Dec 2 '87



REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant Government Gazette

Regulasiekoerant No. 4153

Regulation Gazette No. 4153

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer

Registered at the Post Office as a Newspaper

Verkoopprijs • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik **50c** Local
Buitelands **70c** Other countries
Posvry • Post free

Vol. 269

PRETORIA, 27 NOVEMBER 1987

No. 11049

GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWING

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE SAKE

DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS

No. R. 2676

27 November 1987

No. R. 2676

27 November 1987

KENNISGEWING KRAGTENS REGULASIE 7A (1) VAN DIE REGULASIES AFGEKONDIG BY PROKLAMASIE R 97 VAN 1987 SOOS GEWYSIG BY PROKLAMASIE R. 123 VAN 1987

NOTICE UNDER REGULATION 7A (1) OF THE REGULATIONS PUBLISHED BY PROCLAMATION R 97 OF 1987 AS AMENDED BY PROCLAMATION R 123 OF 1987

Ek, Jan Christoffel Greyling Botha, Minister van Binnelandse Sake, rig hierby 'n waarskuwing tot persone wat by die voortbrenging, samestelling of publisering van uitgawes van die periodieke publikasie *The New Nation* betrokke is dat stof wat in hierdie periodieke publikasie gepubliseer word, of die wyse waarop stof in hierdie periodieke publikasie gepubliseer word, volgens my oordeel, 'n bedreiging vir die veiligheid van die publiek of vir die handhawing van die openbare orde of 'n vertraging in die beëindiging van die noodtoestand veroorsaak

I, Jan Christoffel Greyling Botha, Minister of Home Affairs, hereby issue a warning to persons concerned in the production, compilation or publication of issues of the periodical *The New Nation* that the matter published in this periodical or the way in which matter is published in this periodical, in my opinion, is causing a threat to the safety of the public or to the maintenance of public order or is causing a delay in the termination of the state of emergency

J C G. BOTHA,
Minister van Binnelandse Sake.

J. C. G. BOTHA,
Minister of Home Affairs

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(243)

CAP TOWNS 28/11/87 (2)

Govt-named censors to 'edit' New Nation?

(243)

PRETORIA — Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha yesterday invoked the tough new media regulations to gazette a notice here that the New Nation newspaper threatened public safety

This paved the way for the minister to ban publication of all future issues unless they had been approved by government-appointed censors, or to ban publication altogether, for three-month periods. According to the regulations issued on August 28 this year, he may do this if he deems it necessary from examining issues of the newspaper.

However, the regulations state that he should first give the publishers notice that he contemplated such action.

But the New Nation dismissed this provision and said in a statement last night that it had responded to such a warning from Mr Botha before yesterday's notice was gazetted. It said Mr Botha's response was "vague and unsubstantiated".

The government had already seized an issue and banned three others — Sapa

243 (STimes)
29/11/87
**A new
paper
coming**

Sunday Times Reporter

A NEW weekly newspaper is to be published in South Africa soon.

Launched by a group of Christians, Cross Times will be available early next year as a punchy paper with a strong Christian viewpoint.

The newspaper — with its board of advisers drawn from all congregations — will contain a broad mix of news and views, art, music and entertainment

"It will be a news vehicle committed to reconciliation in South Africa," says one of its co-editors, Mr Hannes Siebert

Frank

Cross Times will be edited by Mr Siebert, a former senior Perskor journalist and publisher, and Mr John Scott, previously an assistant editor of the Cape Times

Mr Siebert said the paper would aim at encouraging communication at all levels of Southern African society, promoting dialogue through honest, frank and "undistorted" journalism.

Cross Times will be published every Thursday and aims at a weekly national readership of 150 000.

'New Nation a threat' says Botha

30/11/87
Jmefin
(scribble)
(243)

HOME Affairs Minister, Mr Stoffel Botha, invoked the tough new media regulations to gazette a notice in Pretoria on Friday that the *New Nation* newspaper threatened public safety.

This paved the way for the Minister to ban publication of all future issues unless they had been approved by government - appointed censors, or to ban publication altogether,

for three-month periods. According to the regulations issued on August 28, this year, he may do this if he deems it necessary from examining issues of the newspaper

Notice

However, the regulations state that he should first give the publishers notice that he contemplated such

action

But the *New Nation* dismissed this provision and said in a statement that it had responded to such a warning from Mr Botha before the notice was gazetted

It said Mr Botha's response was "vague and unsubstantiated"

"This reflects the Government's utter contempt for the Press freedom it claims to uphold"

The newspaper, whose editor, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, is in detention, said it wished to express "its disgust at this latest outrage by the Government"

The Government had already seized an issue and banned three others

"We were not surprised by the latest action in view of the Minister's recent statements to National Party supporters that the Government would 'deal with the alternative Press'

"The warning must be seen in the context of the Government's continuing assault on democratic values in South Africa"— Sapa

XXXXXXXXXXXX

5/11/87

243 STAL 30/11/87

Bara appeals to casualties to stay away

Medical Reporter

Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto has issued an urgent appeal to the public to use local community health centres and to use the hospital's casualty department only for extreme emergencies, especially over the busy festive season.

Recent surveys indicated that only half the patients visiting the hospital's casualty department were emergency cases and only half of those were critical, said a hospital spokesman.

She said a casualty department was strictly for the treatment of critically ill or critically injured patients.

"The public seems to be unaware that the clinics are equipped for most health investigations, including X-rays."

She warned that over Christmas, patients may even be requested to return the next day.

She urged employers to allow sick workers to visit clinics during working hours.

The health centres in Soweto are:

- Chiawelo clinic, old Potchefstroom Road,
- Chiawelo, Diepkloof clinic, Redshaw Avenue,
- Diepkloof, Jabavu clinic, Tumahole Street, White City Jabavu,
- Meadowlands clinic, Hekroodt circle, Zone 2 Meadowlands,
- Orlando clinic, Rath-ebe Street, Orlando East,
- Phomolong clinic, Pela Street, Orlando West,
- Senaoane clinic, cnr Mabalana and Pongola Streets,
- Senaoane, Tladi clinic, Ligwale Street,
- Tladi, Zola clinic, Obed Street, Zola, and Koos Beukes clinic, on the old Potchefstroom Road next to St John's eye hospital.

Govt one step from banning newspaper

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The Government is just one step away from using the drastic banning provisions of the latest censorship regulations against the weekly paper, *New Nation*, and it has taken its first step under the emergency provisions against the 10-year-old journal, *Work In Progress*.

A spokesman for *Work In Progress* said today the publication had received a letter announcing that the Minister of Home Affairs was considering issuing a formal warning to it and giving it time to submit a defence of certain articles in volumes 49 and 50.

In respect of *New Nation*, published by the Southern African Bishops' Conference, a formal warning was published last week in the Government Gazette stating that the Minister considered that *New Nation* was systematically publishing

material which caused a threat to the safety of the public.

The Minister is now free to place a further notice in the Gazette banning the publication for periods of up to three months at a time if he considers that it is continuing to promote revolution or endanger public safety or undermine the state of emergency.

Its editor, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, has been detained twice in terms of the state of emergency, and is still being held — almost a year after being taken into custody.

While *New Nation* is the only publication about which the Government has published a formal warning, four other papers — *WIP*, *Sowetan*, *South* and *Die Stem* — have received letters stating that similar action is being considered against them.

Detained editor can appeal

The detained editor of *New Nation*, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, was today granted leave to appeal against a Rand Supreme Court finding that his detention was not unlawful.

A recent application by Mr Sisulu for his release and to have the state of emergency set aside, was dismissed with costs by Mr Justice L Harms.

Today, Mr Justice Harms granted Mr Sisulu leave to appeal to the Appellate Division, saying it was possible that another court would come to a different decision.

London
Judge declines to rule state of emergency unlawful

243

DETAINED New Nation editor Zweekhe Sisulu yesterday lost his application to have his release ordered and to have the state of emergency declared unlawful.

Detained editor fails to win order for his release

Rand Supreme Court judge Mr Justice Harms dismissed Sisulu's application with costs — including the cost of two counsel

The judge rejected a submission by Sisulu's counsel that the current state of emergency was *ultra vires* because it was not based on any jurisdictional ground given to the State President by the Public Safety Act.

"In spite of counsel's disavowals, it seems to me a semantic quibble without any practical application," he said.

But the judge did criticise the fact that a memo written by Sisulu in which he denied being a member of the executive of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) had not been handed to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

The memo was not submitted to the

SUSAN RUSSELL

Minister, apparently on legal advice to the police that it was irrelevant

Mr Justice Harms said it could only be deduced that the person who advised the police did not read the memo or chose to ignore it

Sisulu was detained on December 12 last year. His legal representatives sought reasons for his detention on December 18.

The reasons Vlok furnished were that Sisulu was an executive member of the NECC which had supported the "Christmas Against the Emergency Campaign".

The Minister said the NECC also supported rent and consumer boycotts and the imposition of "people's education" to

replace the existing structure

According to the Minister, Sisulu's active participation in the organisation was endangering and undermining the maintenance of public order

Mr Justice Harms said it was clear from Sisulu's own keynote speech that some of the NECC's aims were indeed laudable while others were, to say the least, legitimate

However, having regard to the speech as a whole, it could be reasonably inferred that the NECC did evince an intention to overthrow the present structure of the State by using black children and exploiting the grievances surrounding black education

Counsel for Sisulu told the court Sisulu intended appealing against the judgment.

pilot missing in Angola

IN BRIEF

shares of R1 each, to R17 000 000, divided into 17 000 000 shares of R1 each

Sisulu may appeal

243
Smetan
1/12/87

THE Editor of the *New Nation*, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu (36), was yesterday granted leave to appeal against the Rand Supreme Court decision that his detention was valid.

Mr Sisulu's application for his release was dismissed with costs by Mr Justice L Harms two weeks ago.

The same judge yesterday granted him leave to appeal saying that it was possible that another court would have come to a different finding.

Mr Sisulu, a father of two, has been in detention since December 12 last year.

His application for his release, also asked the court to declare the present state of emergency — under which he is being held — void because it was promulgated while the previous one was still in force.

The appeal will be heard in the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein. Mr Sisulu is still in detention.

Political journal warned by minister

Own Correspondent
11/2/87
203

JOHANNESBURG. — The political journal *Work in Progress* was served notice yesterday by the Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, that he was considering gazetting a warning notice in terms of the emergency regulations.

Work in Progress has two weeks to make representations. Should a warning appear, the minister may ban the publication for three months if, in his opinion, it again contravenes the regulations.

A *Work in Progress* spokesman said the journal was considering what steps to take, and had consulted legal advisors.

It is believed to be the fifth publication to receive such a notice. Previous recipients have been *New Nation*, *South*, *Cosatu News* and the *Sowetan*.

In an annexure to the notice, Mr Botha named 14 articles in the last two editions of *Work in Progress* he believed to have contravened the emergency regulations.

Among other things, they promoted the esteem of unlawful organizations, violence, civil disobedience, the establishment of street and area committees, boycotts and revolution.

Some of the articles also fomented feelings of hatred or hostility towards the security forces and their actions, he said.

243 (300) B/day 1/12/87

BU

Sowetan items in other papers

ONE of the seven reports cited in government's warning to the Sowetan newspaper was a wire service story that appeared in almost exactly the same form in at least three other newspapers — including the government-supporting Cape daily, Die Burger.

MANDY JEAN WOODS

The Sowetan was given a written warning by Home Affairs and Communications Minister Stoffel Botha, the first step towards closing a publication under the new media regulations.

leader of the ANC, and to the post-meeting statement which said both Tambo and Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie agreed "there is an urgent need to end the apartheid system in SA".

Botha cited seven reports which he said tended to promote the image or esteem of the ANC/PAC and contained subversive propaganda.

A report in Die Burger (October 17) on the Commonwealth sanctions issue carried extensive comments by ANC international director Johnstone Makatini. The Argus (October 19) report almost duplicates that in the Sowetan. Beeld, The Citizen, Business Day and the Cape Times all carried reports on the issue.

Most major daily newspapers covered five of the seven issues contained in these reports. None of them has reported receiving similar warnings.

One of the reports Botha cited, headed "Tambo Talks with Runcie" in the Sowetan, was a Sapa-AP story from London, carried by Die Burger (September 16), The Star (September 15) and Business Day (September 15).

Two other reports — on the international conference on "Plight of Children under Apartheid" held in Harare (which quoted Tambo) and on the memorial service held for former Mozambican leader Samora Machel — were cited in the warning. The two events were also widely reported by other newspapers.

All the articles, including the one in the Sowetan, refer to Oliver Tambo,

COMMENT

Hands off the press

THE government has acted with frightening speed against the New Nation

A few words in the Government Gazette have now placed the fate of that paper at the mercy of Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha

In spite of an "open-door" assurance to editors, the Minister last week turned down a request from New Nation for a meeting. And the next day came a cable advising that the warning would be gazetted. Now, comes the anxious wait for the Minister's next move.

Censorship

It could be pre-publication censorship. Or a three-month ban. Or some other form of censorship.

This week SOUTH may be singled out for similar treatment. To be followed by Cosatu News and Work in Progress (Wip) - the latest publications to be "threatened" by the Minister.

The attack under the Emergency Regulations is not the only onslaught against the press. In the case of SOUTH, the attack is at three levels. Under the Emergency Regulations, directed by Minister Stoffel Botha. Then, in terms of the Publications Act, led by the Publications Committee. And lastly contraventions in terms of the Police Act, investigated by the security police.

Appeals

On Friday the Publications Appeal Board heard three appeals involving SOUTH. It reserved judgment in two appeals against bannings of two editions of SOUTH, dated July 30 to August 5, and August 6 to August 12. The bans were lifted some time ago pending the outcome of the appeal.

And in the third case, where the Directorate of Publications is appealing against the refusal of the Publications Committee's decision not to ban the edition dated July 23 to 29, judgment was also reserved.

Police

The security police are investigating charges against the editor and a SOUTH reporter for allegedly printing an untrue statement about the police.

The most serious is undoubtedly the action in terms of the Emergency Regulations, a procedure set-up to deliberately by-pass the courts of law and even the cumbersome Publications Control apparatus.

It now appears to be matter of time before SOUTH is removed from the streets. But knuckle down we will not!

2/2/11/5-3

New Nation win against banning

By JO-ANN BEKKER

THE *New Nation* and *South* newspapers scored a victory against old-style censorship this week when the Publications Appeal Board overturned bans on three editions of each newspaper.

The reasons they were overturned will be given in the judgement.

The bans were imposed by a secretive Committee of Publications. In terms of the Publications Act, interested parties have no right of audience before the committees and the names of its members are never disclosed.

Gilbert Marcus, counsel for *New Nation* and *South* had argued that the Publications Appeal Board should abide by its long line of liberal precedents which upheld the right of newspapers to publish dissenting views — as long as they did not endanger the security of the state — and overturn the bans.

The full judgement of the Publications Appeal Board, headed by JCW van Rooyen, is expected to be released early next year.

✓ 10/12/87



243

w/ Mail

Stoffel Botha
CMT 70916 4/12/87
warns die Stem

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Die Stem — a far-right-wing newspaper propagating a "boerestaat" — has been issued with a government notice that the Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, is considering issuing a warning in terms of the media regulations

It is the sixth publication to be warned, and the first to the right of the National Party. The others are the New Nation, South, Work in Progress, Cosatu News and the Sowetan.

ONE TIME
5/12/87 243

Ban on newspaper editions reversed

PRETORIA — Three editions each of the New Nation and South newspapers, which were banned earlier this year, were declared "not undesirable" in November by the Publications Appeal Board, a spokesman confirmed yesterday

The New Nation, however, was warned by the board against the use of concepts such as "patriots" when referring to people who had been found guilty of deeds of terrorism

"A warning was also given to New Nation against the use of symbolic sketches in which white and black are played off against one another," a board statement said

The warning related to a cartoon of a white man holding a black baby up by one leg

"Although this is not serious enough to prejudice relations, it is regarded as being in extremely bad taste." — Sapa

CAT
From 8/2/87

New Nation suspension?

243
1987

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs, yesterday went a step nearer to suspending New Nation by suggesting it published subversive propaganda, the newspaper said in a statement last night.

The notice given by Mr Botha put him in a position to impose censorship on the publication "for a period of his choice", New Nation said.

"The minister accuses New Nation of fomenting feelings of hatred or hostility in members of the public towards collaborators, promoting the public image or esteem of unlawful organizations by depicting one of the leaders (symbols) of the ANC and SACP in a positive light, stirring up feelings of hatred or hostility in mem-

bers of the public towards the security forces and promoting revolution or uprisings in the Republic."

New Nation said articles which offended the minister were

- A story adapted from Weekly Mail on freed ANC leader Mr Govan Mbeki,

- A report on what Mr Mbeki might have said at a Port Elizabeth rally banned by police,

- A British Anti-Apartheid Movement campaign for the 70th birthday celebrations of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela,

- A church appeal for clemency for the "Sharpeville Six";

- Churches' stance on a World Council of Churches document on violence, and

- Coverage on rent raids — Sapa

By V

CALL TIMES 8/12/87

CBS men not to blame, says PW's daughter

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By ANDREW DONALDSON and BARRY STREEK

THE State President's daughter yesterday defended the cameramen and crew who spent "some time" with her during the making of the CBS documentary "Children of Apartheid".

It is understood CBS Television bureau chief in Johannesburg Mr Bill Mutschman has been summoned to the office of the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

The film, on young South Africans, screened in the US earlier this week, contrasted interviews with Miss Rozanne Botha and Miss Zinzi Mandela, daughter of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Miss Botha's involvement in the documentary has led to a considerable outcry from government-supporting newspapers. Among others, the Burger carried a front-page report yesterday headlined "Rozanne was misused to get at South Africa".

But the State President's daughter, who has not yet seen the documentary, defended the cameramen and production crew: "It's not their fault. It was probably made more anti-us overseas."

● Sapa-Reuter reports that CBS denied charges yesterday that it had violated local work rules or taken advantage of Miss Botha.

CBS spokesman Mr Tom Goodman said the network had not broken any law. "They (the crew) went in on valid visas.

"She was well aware of the programme's contents. She's an extremely intelligent woman and could have ended the interview at any time."

(243) ~~243~~

The voice of white power on 'mud races' and grey-area Jews

THE press distorts everything, claims Professor Johan Schabort, leader of the Blanke Bevrydigings Beweging (BBB), and for that reason he decided this week that he is no longer prepared to give interviews

A "pure" version of Schabort's views can however be found in the most recent edition of *Kommando - Voice of the White Race*, the official newsletter of the BBB

Conducted, according to *Kommando* "in the relaxed atmosphere of his modest Johannesburg home, with his delightful family hovering in the background," Schabort, a former professor of biochemistry at Rand Afrikaans University, spells out at length his views on the "degenerative" influence of blacks and the "mud races", on genetic improvement and repatriation, and on the overwhelming presence of Jews in communist movements

The BBB's philosophy, he says, is based on "love for all living creatures, and not hate" But he says, "we must bear in mind that historically and scientifically it has been shown that blacks have a degenerative and destructive influence on a culture, race and environment which is superior to their own"

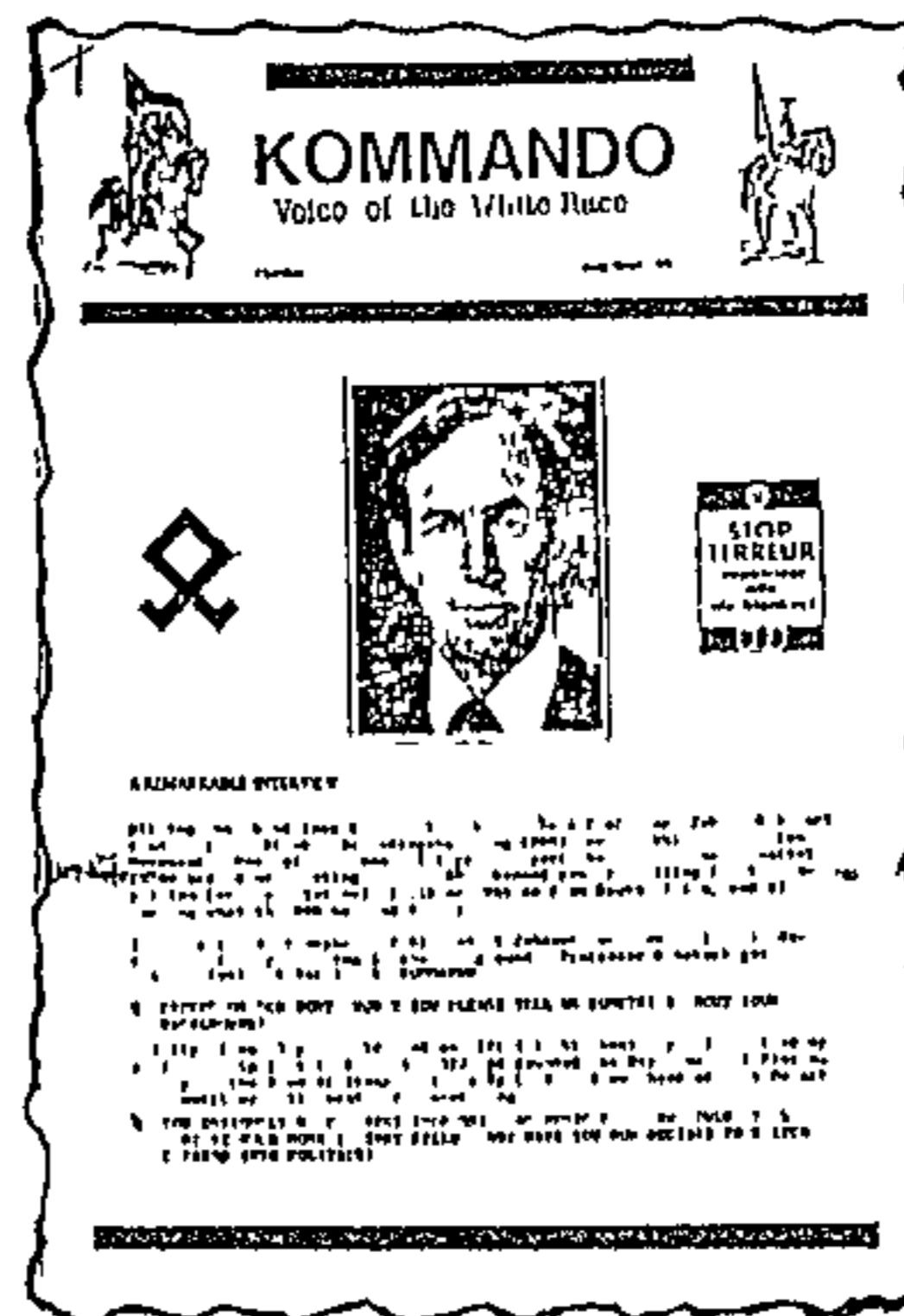
The BBB also "accepts the white race's responsibility as the creative power on this planet" The white race, Schabort says, has "a right and a duty to protect the entire planet from the destructive rampage of the mud races"

The mud races? "The mud races are those races who, historically and scientifically have proven that they are inferior," Schabort says "They cannot maintain the standards set by the excellent White race It is important to understand that these differences are genetic and not environmental — that they are unchangeable"

The "mud races" in South Africa, Schabort says, are "just waiting for an opportunity to take power and destroy the white race and its achievements" This destruction includes "armed terrorism, work stoppages and economic sabotage, and most of all, the genetic pollution of the White race's gene pool"

One step to counter this would be

Johan Schabort of the far-right *Blanke Bevrydigings Beweging* won't talk to the press anymore. But he will give lengthy interviews to his own publication, *Kommando*. JOHN PERLMAN reports



"Voice of the White Race" — Schabort's mouthpiece

"genetic improvement" According to the iron laws of nature, Schabort says, the best and strongest species will take power — "and the best and strongest is the white race"

But he says, "what today passes as the white race is simply not enough to withstand the challenges facing it in years to come" The white race, therefore, "must be bred up to produce the absolute finest to prevent the approaching mud race from engulfing us"

This however will not be enough While in nature, competition between species usually results in the enslavement, extermination or flight of the weaker, the BBB is prepared to accept the "just option" of repatriation "The other options will probably happen spontaneously, as the mud races are incapable of the slightest achievement, let alone being able to feed themselves"

This repatriation, to the homelands, would have to take place "under martial law, as the non-whites are not a

labour force, but a parasitical invasion force"

This would be the "first phase"

The "mud races are destroying the eco-systems where they live (Africa and South America being the worst offenders in this regard)" If the blacks do not run the homelands properly, Schabort says, it is the white race's duty "to drive the destructive negative races out of these areas as well, and drive them on North into Central Africa, where they can sit in the jungle and not abuse white Western infrastructure"

Repatriation could not, however take place immediately "We cannot take the black out of the economy immediately," Schabort says The economy, which is presently "rotten and provides sustenance to breed the mud races by the millions," would have to be made capital intensive and independent of "black labour or black buying power"

The removal of the "mud races" he says, would cause a drop in economic output of about 30 percent, but that would be compensated by three factors the billions of rand "wasted on aid to the mud races", the nationalisation of "our enemies' wealth", about 80 percent of South Africa's mineral and industrial wealth, and the loss of black buying power will "actually save us millions of rand merely in terms of what they steal from us"

The Jews, Schabort says, "are in the grey area between white and non-white", and suffer from delusions of grandeur and persecution, "the two symptoms of paranoia"

As a result of this "and jealousy of the White race," Schabort says, "the Jews have throughout history played a unique role in attempting to break down White Western civilisation, in order not to highlight their own shortcomings"

The Jews, Schabort says, do this by buying and selling and "riding on the white race's productivity" and by "devious psychological war against the whites, with the whole idea of giving the whites a suicidal life philosophy"

This Schabort says, explains "the overwhelming presence and driving force of Jews in communist movements and theocratic humanist ideologies"

THE most recent edition of Kommando, mouthpiece of the rightwing *Blanke Bevydigings Beweging* (BBB), almost certainly contravenes a number of laws, according to a leading publications lawyer.

However, the publishers have yet to fall foul of those laws, some of which have been used extensively against leftwing opposition publications, like the *New Nation*.

The publishers of *Kommando* could be in contravention of the Internal Security Act of 1982, which prohibits "causing, encouragement or fomenting of feelings of hostility between different population groups" and provides for a fine of up to R2 000 or a sentence of up to two years.

They could also, the lawyer said, be guilty of an offence under the Black Administration Act of 1927, which makes "any person who utters any words ... with intent to promote any feeling of hostility between Blacks and Europeans" guilty of an offence.

Such prosecutions under the Internal Security Act had generally been

COULD RUN TOWN OF (But doesn't)

According to the most recent Department of Home Affairs report, 610 of 1 267 publications examined by the DPP were submitted by the police, 141 by the Directorate itself and 443 by customs officers. Public complaints accounted for 32 submissions.

None of the three editions of *Kommando* produced to date have been found undesirable by the DPP. None have been submitted for consideration by a DPP committee.

About 5 000 copies of *Kommando* are produced, and either sent to members or sold at BBB meetings. The lawyer said this could count against the publication in an appeal against a banning. Likely readership and the effect of a publication on such as always a central factor in Publications Appeal Board decisions, he said.

A BBB representative said she could see no reason why *Kommando* should be banned. "What about papers like the *New Nation* and the *Sowetan*?" she said. "They are the ones having trouble with bannings."

BY JOHN PERLMAN

directed at "opponents of the government" he said. But if the interview with BBB leader, Professor Johan Schabert, printed in the latest edition had been submitted to the Directorate of Publications (DPP), it would "almost certainly" have been banned. "It is not just an expression of a racist view," the lawyer said, "but the advocacy of a programme the effect of which would be to remove or eliminate black South Africans."

He said section 47(d) of the Publications Control Act, which deems publications undesirable which are "harmful to the relations between any sections of the inhabitants of the Republic" was frequently used to ban publications.

Any person can submit a publication for consideration to the DPP, who are then obliged to put it before a committee to be passed or banned.

However, most of the publications considered by the DPP have been put before them by state departments.

Donnechi

How the Government sees Press freedom

MB 45
11/12/87

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By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, has told *Leadership* magazine that he does not like the additional media restrictions providing for the closing down of publications, but finds them "highly necessary" in order to deal with those who overstep the mark by promoting revolution.

In an interview he said that he believed that South Africa still had a free Press, although not a totally free one.

Although the vast majority of the people were still of the Third World it was remarkable that there was a very lively partial democracy and that the Press enjoyed a considerable degree of freedom.

1. Le

The problem was that South Africa's developing people did not share a tradition of representative democracy which was so vital to the growth of democracy

As proven elsewhere in the Third World, such people were also exceedingly vulnerable to simplistic ideology, agitation, inflammatory speech and pamphleteering

Leftist radicals wanted a total takeover of power which would destroy the difficult process which had led to real growth and

which ultimately must bring better life and freedom all round

While finding it necessary to act against publications who promoted revolution the Government in fact believed in Press freedom

Those who doubted that commitment need only read the opposition newspapers to see how the Government was constantly under attack

Asked about the restrictions on journalists in the townships Mr Botha said it had been found that newspaper reporting and particularly television reporting did not simply involve reporting on events but in fact stimulated the unrest situation

Publishers could make representation to him and, even though his decisions were not subject to appeal, a court could still review any decision if he failed to apply his mind to the matter or acted without bona fides or if he did not follow correct procedures. He could not act against a publication because of what was contained in a single issue

Subversive statements were clearly defined in the regulations

Mainly the so-called alternative Press had been publishing propaganda of a revolutionary nature

Mr Botha said he was not referring to even severe criticism of the Government but to propaganda promoting the violent overthrow of the existing order, not the evolutionary replacement of government by constitutional means

It was unfair to say that the majority of South Africans did not have the rights

to change government by constitutional means

Various forums had been created in which black people could vote and the Government was fully committed to giving blacks a say in Government. This was a matter for negotiation. Radicals were not interested in achieving rights by peaceful means. They were only interested in the complete overthrow of the system

Asked about the detention of Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, the editor of *New Nation* who has been in detention for more than a year Mr Botha said he did not know his particulars but he was sure that very careful consideration had been given to his case. There were many countries with similar rules and regulations

"There are forces intent on destroying the whole system here and we have to use measures which are not necessarily the ones we would prefer

Courts

"I would rather use the courts in order to obtain action against the Press but we will flood our courts"

It could take six months to prosecute a newspaper while it continued doing the things thought not to be proper

This was why the Government was appealing to fellow black South Africans to come forward and talk

They would not do so if intimidation was allowed to continue.

The media had become more than observers of the scene. They had become participants

Asked about the possibility

of interviewing ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo and publishing this in a balanced report along with the comment of President Botha, Mr Botha said this would not be acceptable as it would elevate Mr Tambo to a status he did not deserve

The Government was legitimate in terms of the present constitution and did not want to prescribe unnecessarily what people may read, see or say

Within the constitution the Government was, however, entitled to enforce measures deemed vital for the general welfare and security of the public, including laws and regulations relating to freedom of expression

Some journalists and editors claimed the sole right to prescribe what people may read and what not, even if it favoured self-acknowledged revolutionaries

If the alleged right to know rested with the readers they should have a say in what was not printed. This would mean a representative readers' body in every editorial office

Mr Botha said that democracy could not thrive without a responsible Press but freedom had to be earned by an honest Press. Those who did not earn it must be curbed

In present circumstances only the Government was capable of deciding on and enforcing the necessary curbs

"We want to return to normality as soon as possible and Government would like to leave it to the Press to discipline themselves as soon as they have the organisational ability and means to do it," Mr Botha said

Botha reacts to
CBS film on SA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, yesterday heaped condemnation and "contempt" on the CBS documentary "Children of Apartheid", recently broadcast in the US, accusing the film of "blatant distortion" and "misrepresentation of facts."

Mr Botha said the full circumstances surrounding the making of the film — which includes contrasting interviews with Miss Rozanne Botha and Miss Zinzi Mandela — was being investigated "with a view to taking whatever steps I find necessary"

The minister said in a statement that he had informed the network's representative in South Africa that "it is hard to think of a respectable reason why a national television service in a civilized country should sink to such levels of disrespect for the accepted norms and standards of professional journalism".

The CBS bureau chief, Mr Bill Mutschmann, said in a statement on the advice of his attorneys he had informed the minister that his remarks on the documentary "may well be defamatory," adding that "newspapers should exercise caution in referring to the (Botha) statement."

In his statement, Mr Botha said a copy of the film had been made available to him and that he was "at a loss to understand" CBS's motives and attitudes in creating and screening "such tainted pictures" of aspects of the present day South Africa.

UPRES (243) 13/12/87

Media Workers

Sumitra Khoosal
Deon Delpont
Shirley Woodgate
S Blackburn
Z Vendero
A Benjamin
C Moerdyk
D Withers
R Minervini
D Rink
HW Tyson
RA Gibson
DL John
Jo-Anne Collinge
Colleen Ryan
Adele Baleta
Carina le Grange
Jo-Anne Richards
Paula Fray
Inga Molzen
P Devereaux
M Sboros
Sally Sealey
Mark Gleeson
Duncan Guy
Stan James
M Kgwete
G van Staden
M Loewe
J Tennant
C Stephen
T Cohen
L Cowling
RM Challenor
S Lunsche
L Mobarra
R Loonat
G O'Hara
H Mabuza
Sandy Smit
Phangisile Mtshali
Rashid Seria
Manu Padayachee
David Smith
Mark Manley
Alison Campbell
David O'Sullivan
Walter Dhladhla
Simpwiwe Ncwana
Sello Seripe
Stan Mhlongo
Bongani Keswa
Derrick Luthayi
Pule Mokhine
Meshack Motloun
Rodney Mtshazo

Michael Muller
Amina Frense
Anton Harber
Irwin Manoim
Charlotte Bauer
Laura Yeatman
Adrian Hadland
Thami Mkhwanazi
Vusi Gunene
Sefako Nyaka
John Perlman
Gaye Davis
Phaldi Solomon
Barbara Ludman
Hilary Joffe
Jo-Anne Bekker
Mono Badela
David Niddie
Chris Vick
Libby Lloyd
Lizeka Mda
Franz Kruger
Marius Kotze
Marcel Golding
Irene Barendilla
Frank Meintjies
Carmel Rickard
Doc Bikitsha
Louis Mazibuko
Joe Sefale
Sidney Moses
Sonti Maseko
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Andrew Forrest
Raymond Mashao
Santu Mofokeng
Michael Khakhane
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Paul Weinberg
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Dumisani Daniel
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Eric Miller
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Omar Badsha
Thabo Hlatshwayo
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Sponsored by:
The Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference
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The United Democratic Front
The Congress of SA Trade Unions
The Release Mandela Campaign
The South African Council on Sport
The Association of Democratic Journalists

**DEFEND
OUR
RIGHT
TO
KNOW**

The South African state has declared war on the South African press and on press freedom

In the next few days Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha is set to close the independent New Nation newspaper force its journalists to submit themselves to pre-publication censorship.

The government has already acted against the New Nation — detaining editor Zwelakhe Sisulu without trial last December 12. A year later, and still not charged, Sisulu remains behind bars.

But Botha has also threatened other South African publications — the Sowetan, South and Work In Progress have all received formal warnings

Their suspension could be only weeks away.

And once he has silenced these voices, we believe he will turn his attention to every critical media voice in our country.

Those already threatened have committed no crime. The only crime involved is the threat to close or censor them.

We, the signatories to this advert, commit ourselves to defending those publications already threatened, and call on all South Africans and on democrats throughout the world to fight South African media censorship

And we dedicate ourselves to the achievement of the only form of society in which a free press is possible in South Africa — a free, democratic and non-racial society.

Media Organisations

Agenda Press Service
Albany News Service
Channel 702
Concorde News Agency
Congress of SA Writers (Transvaal branch)
Eastern Cape News Agency
Learn and Teach Publications
PE News Agency
Saspu National
Southern African Society of Journalists
SASJ W Cape region
SASJ Natal Midlands region
SASJ S Transvaal region
SASJ E Cape region
SASJ Northern region
SASJ Border region
SASJ Natal Coastal region
SASJ Freelance and Allied Journalists' Chapel
South Press Service
Speak Women's Service
The Other Press Service
Upbeat
The Weekly Mail
Work in Progress
SA Research Service
Elnews
Afrapix

Individuals

Sheena Duncan
Dr Van Zyl Slabbert
Dr Alex Boraine
Wayne Mitchell

Dr Alan Boesak
Essop Jassat
Mary Burton
Lloyd Vogelman
Cyril Ramaphosa
James Motlatsi
Elijah Barayi

Organisations

Detainees Parents Support Committee
Transvaal Rural Action Committee
National Medical and Dental Association (Namda)
Organisation for Appropriate Social Sciences in SA
Youth Congress
Southern Transvaal Youth Congress
Institute for a Democratic Alternative in SA
Transvaal Indian Congress
Black Sash

Sport Organisations

South African Council on Sport
South African Soccer Federation
Transvaal Soccer Board
Southern Transvaal Darts Association
SASF Professional League
Transvaal Council on Sport
Western Transvaal Darts Association
Transvaal Women's Hockey Board
Transvaal Cricket Board
Chelsea Football Club
Transvaal Soccer Board

Do you want to add your name to the list of freedom-loving South Africans who are concerned about the erosion of the last vestiges of press freedom in this country?

Give your name to Bongzi Shibusambo at the New Nation (Tel: 23-2721) or Sefako Nyaka (Page no: 453-1030 code 1332 or Tel: 337-5350).

**HANDS OFF
OUR
PRESS**

2020-243
CNC Times 14/12/87

CBS criticizes attack on 'Children of Apartheid'

JOHANNESBURG. — The president of CBS News, Mr Howard Stringer, is appalled that the South African government has threatened the network's bureau with retaliatory action following the release of the television documentary "Children of Apartheid" in the United States.

It includes interviews with Miss Rozanne Botha and Miss Zinzi Mandela.

Mr Stringer said: "I find it difficult to under-

stand how a broadcast told almost entirely in the voices of children, both black and white, could be offensive to the government of South Africa, particularly when one of the most articulate voices in the documentary is that of the daughter of the country's State President.

"I am appalled that the government of South Africa has chosen to attack the professional standards of Walter Cronkite and CBC News and to threaten our bu-

reau there with retaliatory action. It has chosen to do so without hearing the views of our bureau manager or legal representatives.

"The documentary and its production are entirely lawful and do not breach the South African emergency media regulations.

"I only wish that the people of South Africa could view the documentary to judge for themselves," Mr Stringer said. — Sapa

24/12 - 14/1/88

Four publications now face clamps

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE government has stepped up its implementation of the Emergency media regulations, raising the prospect of a number of publications facing a clampdown in the new year.

Shortly after issuing a formal warning to *The Weekly Mail* last week, Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha gazetted a warning to three other publications.

This means there are now four publications that have reached the second stage of the implementation of the regulations. They are *New Nation*, *South, Work in Progress* and *Die Stem*.

These papers could be suspended or be forced to submit to pre-publication censorship within a matter of weeks.

Other papers that have had their first warning are *The Weekly Mail* and *The Sowetan*.

The Weekly Mail has until the end of the month to make representations to Botha to show why he should not act against the newspaper.

© See PAGE 12

Parents not aware of charges

THE launching of your newspaper, SOUTH, gave the people the impression that, at last, we would have an objective mouth piece "of the people for the people".

SOUTH would report matters in a fair and just manner without implicating unfortunate victims who find themselves in no position to defend any allegations or criticism against them by the poisoned fingers of the press, it was thought.

'Terrorism'

Your edition of December 10-16, under the bold headings "ANC's Cape Cells" on page 1 and "Forbes an ANC commander", refers. In sensationalising the plight of the 15 young people, who will appear in the Supreme

Court in March next year on charges of "terrorism", your newspaper went about tabulating the allegations against some of the young people in a manner which, apparently and undoubtedly, projects the impression that they (the accused) are already guilty of the charges, and/or that they were some kind of ruthless political radicals who planned to create havoc — in a bid to overthrow the State.

We realise your journalist was "only outlining the State's allegations" against them, but did he really do these young people any justice in the manner in which he reported the matter? Was SOUTH aware that some or most of the parents of the accused

was not aware of the actual charges against their children until they read your newspaper.

Could your paper not have found the time to check with those parents and/or the representatives of those charged whether they were all aware of the charges against their kin.

WORST

It appeared as if SOUTH was just interested in collating whatever photographs could be mustered of the people concerned for use with the "scoop", without further thought of whatever adverse consequences caused, or how you may have prejudiced the support and defence of those concerned.

It should be a well-known fact

that quite a lot of people in our community like to believe only the worst of others, and, when the press rushes to stoke the fire by projecting what appears to be the "worst" in people, persecutors (of those who care and fight for their fellowman) normally have a ball.

So well done SOUTH for your damaging "scoop" and purported revelations of those who are not yet in a position to defend themselves. I can assure that we, the parents of the 15 people involved, their kinsman, and the community at large are not at all impressed, of the direction you have taken to try to "sell" your newspaper.

SIGNED BY SOME OF THE PARENTS

243
[Signature]
[Signature]

Hands off the press

STOFFEL
CHARGE HIM
WITH SPREADING
BLATANT DISTORTIONS
AND MISERABLE
LIES!



By HARVEY TYSON
The Editor, The Star

THE maxim "freedom is indivisible" is as trite and true as any human thought that has ever been written down. Why is it then that governments everywhere are able to ignore this self-evident and accepted fact? Why is it that most of the members of the United Nations, calling themselves democratic states, can so easily kill off democratic voices, knowing that the people — and the media — will fail to act in concert to protect their rights?

While much of the world and most of Africa is guilty of this self-deception, nowhere is it so easily practised as it is in our own country.

For instance, it is obvious that any threat to New Nation or SOUTH's right to report freely is a threat to Die Burger. It is obvious that if a conservative extremist publication such as Die Patriot is closed down because the authorities think its voice is obnoxious or dangerous then the voice of Weekly Mail or Beeld or The Star is also threatened.

Undemocratic

Yet few people, and fewer publications, stand up to be counted when one of their number is mugged or gagged.

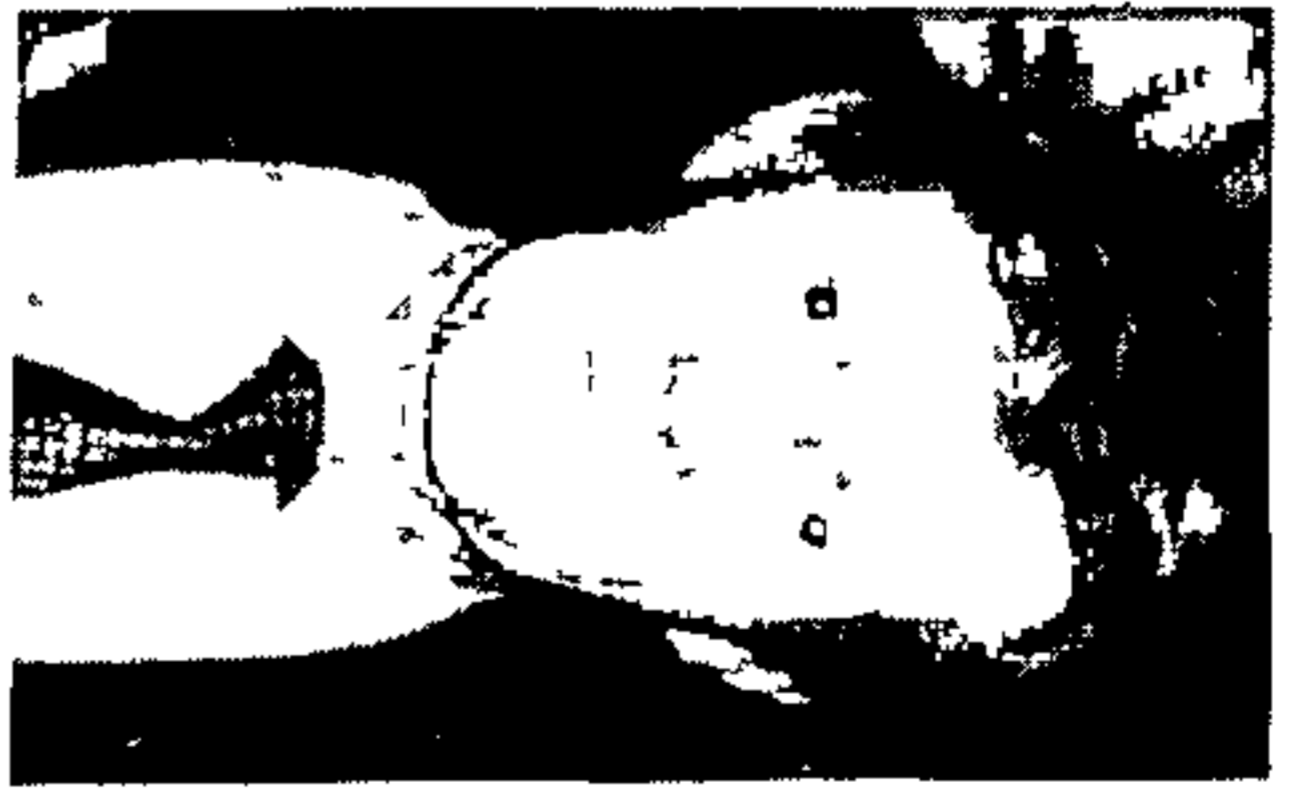
I give you three of the many reasons why so-called "champions of the free press" allow the authorities to kill off free speech, step by step — one victim at a time.

Firstly, too many people, and publications, are as undemocratic as the Government. They demand the right to free speech, but are philosophically incapable of extending that right to others. Both the left and the right condemn their opposites for being undemocratic. Each believes the other has forfeited the right to free speech, because "if the other side's ideas are allowed to be propagated, freedom will never come".

Thus, many newspapers and political publications are, at best, guilty of double-talk. At worst, they are enemies of the freedom they profess to embrace.

Secondly, publications, like people, are not always unhappy at seeing their colleagues being victimised.

Well, it's wrong of course, but he got what he deserved," say the competitors. That publication was "too irresponsible" or "too extreme" — "too left" or "too right" — "too soft on the government" or "too unreasonable" — "too anti" or "too wishy-washy" — to survive.



Harvey Tyson

Survival

More honestly, in the opinion of other publications, the victim was guilty merely of representing the wrong political view.

Thirdly, the main reason why people everywhere profess freedom, yet fail to stand up for it, is that they believe that they have a better chance of survival by keeping quiet.

It's the Pastor Niemoller syndrome — described in his famous description of how the Nazis stole power. "I stayed silent — and when (at last) they came for me, there was no one left to protest."

We are in a crucial phase in this country's development. The Government has been allowed to equate itself with the State, and the silent acquiescence of 90 percent of the people has allowed "the State" to crush free speech with impunity.

Any publication that fails to stand up for the principle of freedom of expression — especially for its rivals — deserves the imminent fate for which we all seem destined.

Anyone who does not protest at the unjust (literally, out of court) gag on any publication — whatever its policies — must be made aware that he or she is undemocratic in its deepest and correct sense.

Any publication that fails to stand up for the principle of freedom of expression — especially for its rivals — deserves the imminent fate for which we all seem destined.

Sisulu's 365 days

From AMEEN AKWAL/WAVA
JOHANNESBURG — When a group of cadet trainee journalists walked into the Rand Daily Mail offices in 1975,

established journalists showed more than the usual passing interest. For in the group were the first black cadets SA Associated Newspapers had

accepted.

When the newcomers were introduced, everyone started to take an interest in the tall, good-looking, somewhat shy young man named Zwelake Sisulu.

Surely not the son of jailed

17-23/12/87

English-language newspaper groups.

But the price was high. During the strike, his colleagues marvelled at his leadership, especially during negotiations with management.

His colleagues soon realised that

arrested, what kind of family they belonged to. The Government knows

too.

His colleagues soon realised that

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17-23 / 12 / 87

Albertina, who was banned at the time?

Well, yes, said the young man, quickly changing the subject. It was clear that he was not going to trade on his famous parents' name.

Leader

Zwelakhe, apart from being a fine journalist, soon established himself as a leader.

Shortly after he joined the staff of the Rand Daily Mail, the Union of Black Journalists was banned and its leader, Joe Thlooe, detained. The Writers' Association of South Africa was formed.

Although Zwelakhe Sisulu was a relative novice in journalism, older, more experienced colleagues had no hesitation in electing him president of Wasa. That he was the son of Walter and Albertina Sisulu did not play any role in his election. It was purely on his ability.

In late 1980, at a meeting in Langa, Wasa decided to change from a grouping exclusively for black journalists to a union for all black media workers.

Cults

Sisulu tried to persuade others to take over the leadership from him. He argued the leadership should revolve, not only to prevent the emergence of personality cults, but also in the likely event of the Government cracking down on the president, an experienced official would be ready to take over.

Delegates persuaded him to become Mwasa's first president.

But it wasn't long before the axe fell.

A few weeks after Mwasa's formation, media workers at the Cape Herald went on strike over pay and working conditions. Their colleagues throughout the country, under Sisulu's leadership, joined in sympathy.

After a long and bitter strike, probably the first national one by journalists in South Africa,

Mwasa was finally recognised by the managements of the major

one of the brightest young leaders to emerge since the Biko-Pityana-Cooper era of the SA Students' Organisation.

Hardly had the strike been called off when Sisulu, as well as other Mwasa executive members, were banned.

The newspaper he then worked for, Post Transvaal, was effectively banned by the Government because the paper had not published during the requisite period while the strike was in force.

As if that was not enough, Sisulu, married to Baragwanath Hospital radiographer Zodwa, and father of one-year-old Moyikwa-Zwelethu, was detained.

Charged

He was held for several months, but not charged. In 1984 he was unbanned.

Sisulu became editor of the the New Nation, sponsored by the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference.

Last year, armed, masked men burst into his home and took him away. After widespread local and international protests, he was soon released from detention.

But on December 12 last year, he was detained again — and he is still inside without having been charged. He recently brought an application for his release, but the Rand Supreme Court dismissed it. He has now been allowed to appeal against the decision.

Last month, his daughter Zoya spent part of her fifth birthday visiting him in detention.

Zwelakhe himself will spend his 37th birthday this week in detention, and his second successive Christmas as a guest of the State. How long he will be held is anybody's guess. Why he is held is also anybody's guess.

But his colleagues believe the Government wants to break his spirit because of his obvious leadership role.

It won't succeed. As mother Albertina says, her children knew from an early age when their father was banned and house-

Friday, December 18 1987

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B/day

Weekly Mail faces govt action

PATRICK BULGER

GOVERNMENT has notified a seventh publication — the Weekly Mail (WM) — that it is considering issuing it a warning under the media regulations

WM co-editor Anton Harber said yesterday the newspaper had received a letter from Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha.

The WM is the seventh publication to be so notified. The others are the New Nation, South, Work in Progress, Die Stem, the Sowetan and Cosatu News.

Harber said Botha had perused six editions of the newspaper and found 15 articles, pictures and advertisements undesirable. They fell into two categories promoting the aims of banned organisations and fomenting hatred towards the security forces.

The offending pieces included two Release Mandela Campaign advertisements, a photograph of people celebrating ANC leader Oliver Tambo's birthday, several reports on Govan Mbeki, a report on a speech about the war in Angola, and a report on security force action against the Soweto rent boycott.

Own Correspondent

GOVERNMENT has warned a seventh publication — the Weekly Mail (WM) — that it is considering issuing it a warning under the media regulations.

WM co-editor Mr Anton Harber said yesterday the newspaper had received a letter from the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

Another six publications have already been warned: New Nation, South, Work in Progress, Die Stem, the Sowetan

**Weekly
Mail
warned**

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and Cosatu News.

Mr Harber said Mr Botha had perused six editions of the newspaper, and found 15 articles, pictures and advertisements undesirable.

Mr Harber said WM would fight the warning with every means at its disposal.

A year of oppressive pressure on the Press

LINDA ENSOR

WHEN 1987 dawned it appeared that the dark clouds threatening the Press in SA had already burst, with only officially-sanctioned news being allowed to break into the grey light of day.

Few realised that worse was to come and that by the end of 1987 the fragile independence of the Press would have been torn to shreds by a ferocious State which gnawed at it like a relentless dog.

But although recourse to the courts ultimately proved fruitless in most cases, and although the Press had to comply with the intricate web of emergency regulations imposed upon it, it was not cowed into final submission and resisted State attempts to have it exercise self-censorship.

In February, newspaper editors rejected State President P W Botha's offer to lift curbs on the Press if it agreed to adopt government guidelines for reporting. This rejection led to Botha cancelling his meeting with the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) scheduled for February 13.

It was understood that Botha had proposed that the Media Council take an active part in disciplining the media in terms of the emergency regulations and had asked the NPU to come up with proposals. Proposals to change the scope and operations of the Media Council were defeated on May 29.

Harassment

In Parliament on July 17, Botha lashed the Press and the alternative media for negative reporting and for telling "deliberate miserable lies" about SA and warned of action if the media did not put its house in order.

Aware of the fact that only "acceptable" news could be published, some newspapers carried notices in each issue alerting readers that the newspaper had been produced under conditions of censorship.

But it was not only the freedom of the Press which was beleaguered. Individual journalists, too, faced harassment and detention, and the year closed as it opened with Zwelakhe Simshu, Editor of New Nation, still behind bars.

It also closed with the Sword of Damocles about to drop on seven

newspapers which had received warnings in terms of regulations published on August 28.

South, Sowetan, Cosatu News, the left-wing journal Work in Progress, the left-wing Weekly Mail and the right-wing Die Stem had been notified that Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha was considering publishing a warning in the Government Gazette in the case of New Nation, thus warning was gazetted on November 27.

These warnings were the first steps towards the closure of newspapers for three months. The regulations of August 28 also provided for the appointment of censors.

The day before they were published, Stoffel Botha said in Parliament that certain elements of the media were "assisting the enemy" and government would not allow the furthering of revolution to go unchecked. He laid stress on the need to control the "alternative media".

In terms of the regulations, Stoffel Botha was given sweeping new powers to decide on what promoted revolution. On September 2 he set up a new Directorate of Media Relations, consisting of an anonymous panel of media watchdogs to implement the regulations. The same day he met newspaper editors to explain the operation of the new system.

The August regulations gave the State added muscle, though this was already strengthened by regulations promulgated on June 11 with the intention of nullifying battles won in the courts during the year. The June regulations refined definitions and prohibited debates on campaigns involving stayaways, consumer boycotts and rent boycotts.

In particular, the June regulations

included the curbs on Press and television coverage of unrest and security actions which were promulgated in the State President's emergency proclamation of December 11, 1986.

In doing so they overturned an historic ruling by the Natal Supreme Court on April 24, which declared null and void the prohibition on news coverage of security actions, deployment of security forces and news of restricted gatherings.

A more audacious example of rule by decree rather than by law was the promulgation on January 29 of new censorship provisions, a mere few hours after the Rand Supreme Court had declared them invalid.

New category

South African Associated Newspapers (now Times Media) and Argus had applied to the court to have the regulations published on January 8 declared invalid.

The regulations prohibited debate on unlawful organisations such as the African National Congress (ANC) and were delivered by the police to a number of newspapers at midnight on January 8, after publication that day of advertisements calling for the unbanning of the ANC.

The court application was successful, but on the night of January 29 the Commissioner of Police was given the power to prohibit — in the interests of public safety, the maintenance of public order or the termination of the state of emergency — the publication of "any matter".

A new category of "subversive" statements was introduced and the publication of advertisements in connection with any unlawful organisation prohibited.

If in most cases the courts were

overruled, there was one spectacular case where they did successfully act as a bulwark against arbitrary action by the State.

On March 10, in the Rand Supreme Court, Mr Justice O'Donovan granted an interim interdict restraining the police from seizing any editions of The Star in an attempt to prevent it from publishing an advertisement placed by the Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC). The judge also declared that the advertisement did not contravene emergency regulations.

Apart from the emergency regulations, the Publications Control Act was used to ban issues of the New Nation and South, but in six cases these bans were lifted on appeal to the Publications Appeal Board.

The passports of several journalists were withdrawn or applications refused and two foreign correspondents were refused visas.

Several journalists were also subpoenaed in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act to appear in court to reveal the sources of their information while the Police Act was at the disposal of the State.

Fifteen journalists, photographers and television crewmen were arrested on July 21 at Jan Smuts Airport when participants in the Dakar meeting with the ANC were due to return home. The charges were subsequently withdrawn.

In a year in which the Press experienced an unprecedented onslaught by the State, the values of Press freedom were reaffirmed at The Star's central conference on "Conflict and the Press," which began on October 7.

Leading newspapermen and women from around the world spoke at the conference held in Johannesburg. Nevertheless, an air of gloom and trepidation greets the coming of the New Year and the new attacks it might bring against the Press in SA.

Picture GLENN SHERRATT

CAPE TOWN 22/12/87
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Censorship warning for 3 publications

PRETORIA — Three more publications — one of them the mouthpiece of a right-wing Afrikaner organization — came a step closer to government censorship or suspension yesterday with the publication of official warnings in the Government Gazette by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha

The publications, South, Die Stem and Work in Progress, were recently warned by the minister of his intended action, in private letters sent to them

As was the case with the publications Weekly Mail and New Nation, the three warned yesterday have 14 days in which to make representations to Mr Botha

The notices warn the publications that their contents, in the minister's opinion, are "causing a threat to the safety of the public or to the maintenance of public order, or is causing a delay in the termination of the state of emergency" — Sapa

December 23, 1967

AMC Trucks

23/12/87

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Network Watches Media

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.— A "wide network" of government departments and officials were involved in the task of monitoring publications under the new media regulations, media relations director Dr Andries Engelbrecht said yesterday.

His directorate, set up in terms of the regulations, has been responsible so far for the gazetted notices of warning to four publications which threaten them with censorship or suspension if they

do not change their editorial line.

The four publications are New Nation, South, Work in Progress and Die Stem.

Dr Engelbrecht said his directorate was simply the final point in the sifting process, which covered the vast majority of serious publications in the country "in one way or another".

He would not disclose how many officials were engaged in the task, saying the number changed from day to day and from week to week. Officials were pulled in from different departments, depending

on the amount of "subversive" literature to be dealt with.

Dr Engelbrecht replied to criticism of the justifications stated in warnings to certain publications by referring to the regulations.

He did not reply directly to criticisms voiced by threatened publications such as New Nation and the Weekly Mail that material referred to in justification for the warnings had appeared elsewhere in the national press. He had been authorized or highlighted by government itself, or that private government publications had carried reports on banned organiza-

tions such as the ANC without being warned.

"If you read the regulations, it will become clear to you — particularly if you read Section 7A," said Dr Engelbrecht.

Section 7A states that the minister may issue a warning if he is of the opinion, "solely on examination of any series of issues of a periodical — (a) that there is in that periodical a systematic or repeated publishing of matter, or a systematic and repeated publishing of matter in a way, which, in his opinion, has or is calculated to have (certain effects)".

A "wide network" of government departments and officials were involved in the task of monitoring publications under the new media regulations, Media Relations director Andries Engelbrecht said yesterday

'Wide network' monitors media

ROGER SMITH

His directorate, set up in terms of the regulations, was responsible for the gazetted notices of warning to four publications so far which threatened them with censorship or suspension if they did not change their editorial line. The four publications are New Nation, South, Work in Progress and Die Stem

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Officials were pulled in from different departments depending on the amount of "subversive" literature to be dealt with. Engelbrecht replied to criticism of the justifications stated in letters of warning to certain publications by referring to

243 (circled) B/day 23/12/87 To Page 2 (arrow)

'Wide network' monitors media

the regulations B/day 23/12/87 (circled)

He did not reply directly to criticisms voiced by threatened publications such as New Nation and The Weekly Mail that material referred to in justification for the warnings had appeared elsewhere in the national Press, had been authorised or highlighted by government itself, or that pro-government publications had carried reports on banned organisations such as the ANC without being warned

Engelbrecht said. "If you read the regulations it will become clear to you - particularly if you read Section 7A"

The regulations did not concern single

items published - "a series must be considered"

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(arrow) From Page 1 (circled)

400 000.

Threatened papers get wide support

gm Political Reporter
24/2/87

Messages of support appear today in the *Weekly Mail* and the *New Nation* in the face of threats by the Government to close them down or impose pre-publication censorship.

In today's edition of the *Weekly Mail* 27 messages are featured from prominent editors and media associations.

Four "alternative" publications — the *New Nation*, *South*, *Work in Progress* and *Die Stem* — have been warned in the Government Gazette that they have fallen foul of the emergency regulations. The *Sowetan* and *Weekly Mail* have had written warnings.

Offering support are overseas organisations such as the American Society of Newspaper Editors, and local figures including the Editor of *The Star*, Mr Harvey Tyson, and the Editor of the *Sunday Times*, Mr Tertius Myburgh.

CAPE TIMES 29/12/87

Journalist sues police, Vlok for R107 000

243 Staff Reporter

LAWYERS acting for the deputy news editor of the Cape Times, Mr Tony Weaver, yesterday served summons on the State Attorney, claiming over R107 000 in damages for "wrongful and malicious" prosecution.

Mr Weaver is suing the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, after being acquitted in September by a Regional magistrate on a charge of making untrue statements to the BBC.

Mr Weaver claims the prosecution was malicious because police knew that what he told the BBC was the truth or that they knew he had reasonable grounds for believing his statements to be true.

He also claims police recklessly failed properly to inform themselves when it "lay within their power to establish precisely how the killings happened".

Expert medical evidence at his trial was that eyewitness accounts of the shootings were more likely to be true than the police versions. Mr Weaver testified that his statements were emphasized as allegations and the "feelings" of newly-bereaved relatives.

Mr Weaver is claiming R30 000 for impairment of dignity and R77 064 for legal fees.

Police have a month to file notice of intention to defend Mr Weaver's claim.

Messages from around the world: Don't close the Mail

I VERY much hope you are not closed. Although I disagree with what you say, you should certainly be free to say it. Good luck — Peregrine Worsthorpe, editor, Sunday Telegraph, London

I WISH to express my support for *The Weekly Mail* and its right to publish information on current events in South Africa — Katharine Graham, chairman of the board, Washington Post

THE government's threat to the future of *The Weekly Mail* is yet another sign that essential freedoms of expression are being extinguished in South Africa by degrees. It is possible that the South African government deludes itself that by doing this gradually, the world may notice, and care, less. We do notice and we do care — George Brock, foreign editor, The Times, London

I SEND you all our good wishes in your present predicament. People on both sides of the South African debate in Great Britain react with dismay at the spectacle of newspaper bans and we shall be watching how you fare with anxiety in the weeks ahead — Peter Preston, The Guardian, London

WE are saddened and dismayed at the government's latest assault on press freedom in the action it has taken against *The Weekly Mail*.

In our view, restriction of news about a nation's problems does nothing to help solve them — and, in fact, makes solutions less likely — Dana Bullen, executive director, World Press Freedom Committee, Washington

THE muzzling of the press means the censoring of every citizen. The warning by the home affairs minister sent to *The Weekly Mail* and other publications is a direct threat to all the readers of these news media.

Freedom House urges the home affairs minister to reconsider his action, and relieve *WM*, the other journals so afflicted, and all South Africans of this oppressive restriction — Freedom House, New York

SINCE the *Rand Daily Mail* was forced to close, *The Weekly Mail* has courageously carried the torch of press freedom. It has provided valuable information and analysis of our conflict-ridden society.

It is the task of all people who truly value freedom of expression and the public's right to know to oppose the government's attack on the media in general and *WM* in particular — Azhar Cachalia, for the United Democratic Front

IT is deeply saddening that *The Weekly Mail* is once again under threat from the South African government. The need has never been greater for a forthright and independent newspaper, committed to a just and equitable future South Africa — Stanley Uys, Journalist, London

... and messages from South African editors

The Weekly Mail has the support of all freedom-loving people in their striving to reflect the events of the country in their own independent and professional way — Aggrey Klaaste, deputy editor, The Sowetan

SO far from rating an official warning, *The Weekly Mail* deserves the highest praise for the invaluable, perhaps irreplaceable, service it performs in depicting in most difficult circumstances the black experience in this country — something whites need to understand infinitely better if there is any hope at all of a peaceful future — Laurence Gandar, former editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*

THE official "warnings" issued so far to your and other publications are either very evil or very stupid. It does



WE call on all freedom-loving South Africans to fight for their right to know. We support all of you at *The Weekly Mail* in your struggle to stay alive — Association of Democratic Journalists, Johannesburg

OUR union stands in solidarity with journalists under siege throughout the country and salutes the courage of those fighting to tell the truth. May your voice continue to be heard — Southern African Society of Journalists, Johannesburg

THE American Society of Newspaper Editors, representing nearly 1 000 US and Canadian editors of daily newspapers, expresses profound concern and dismay over the intimidating procedures imposed by the South African government against *The Weekly Mail* — Katherine Fanning, president, American Society of Newspaper Editors

WE were shocked by the news of the latest move by the South African government against your newspaper.

Please know that *The Weekly Mail* has, and will continue to have, our full and enthusiastic support as a responsible, reliable monitor of the situation in your country which has earned the admiration of professional journalists throughout the world — George Thelner, director, Index on Censorship, London

THE International Federation of Journalists, representing more than 125 000 journalists throughout the world, expresses full support and solidarity with *The Weekly Mail* in its courageous stand in reporting news as fully and objectively as possible — Mia Doornaert, president, and Aidan White, general secretary, IFJ, Brussels

THE following is an extract from a letter sent to President PW Botha: "The American Newspaper Publishers Association is concerned that your government has warned *The Weekly Mail* about articles it has published. "We urge you not to close or censor newspapers" — Jerry W Friedhelm, president, ANPA, USA

YOUR paper has meant a lot to me, I can imagine how difficult it is for a paper to provide information in a State of Emergency. I admire your objectivity and openness which is

never aggressive. And I hope to continue reading you in 1988 — Countess Marlon Doenhoff, Die Zeit, Hamburg

I DEEPLY deplore any attempt to intimidate *The Weekly Mail*, a newspaper which is a most important bridge between black and white readers — Anthony Sampson, author and journalist, London

The Weekly Mail has become a symbol of forthright journalism. So long as it appears on the streets of South Africa, it is a link with the free world. If the government should remove it, they would be moving towards the world of conformity or silence. A new iron curtain will be seen to go up, just as the old one in Europe is going down — The Hon David Astor, former editor of The Observer, London

YOU have our fullest support - Anti-Censorship Action Group, Jhb

I WRITE to deplore the pressures you are facing in your brave attempt to uphold the highest standards of journalism. If ever a country needed honest reporting of its own affairs, it is South Africa.

Your many friends and admirers in Britain send you their support in your hour of trial. The world is watching you — Donald Treford, editor, The Observer, London

I SUPPORT your right to publish the truth as you see it. I pray that you remain free to do so. You will remember Milton's words "Give me the liberty to know, to utter and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties" — Andreas Whitlam-Smith, editor, The Independent, London

MAY I express my sympathy in *The Weekly Mail's* difficulties with the press laws. I hope you will be able to overcome them and to continue publication — Max Hastings, editor, Daily Telegraph, London

THE International Press Institute, representing leading journalists, editors and publishers in the free world wishes to express great concern at the warning notice issued to *The Weekly Mail* — Peter Galliner, director, IPI, London

The Weekly Mail is a brave venture by dedicated newspaper people that has greatly enriched the range of news and opinion available to South Africans.

It has been unafraid and resourceful in focusing the spotlights of enquiry on many developments and events which may not otherwise have received the attention they deserve, thus serving the public interest well.

The minister of home affairs should regard *WM* as a valuable source of information and not a messenger of occasional bad tidings whose head must now be chopped off.

I personally find that *WM's* views are sometimes at variance with my own, but I shall defend its right to hold them because freedom of information is indivisible — Terilus Myburgh, editor, Sunday

PRESS - 1988 ~~1988~~

JANUARY —

MARCH .

Shock film baffles journalists

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C/press 3/1/88
CP Correspondent

BAFFLED Natal journalists have questioned whether the Department of Law and Order has become a sales outlet for horror movies

On Monday, the South African Police screened a by-invite-only short colour video of an alleged UDF attack on an Inkatha family in the Henley Dam area, 27km southwest of Maritzburg

The camera pans over the burnt and bleeding forms of three bodies still smoking from a petrol-bomb attack minutes before. A police spokesman said shots of "a totally burnt-out" adult male were omitted because "they were just too gruesome".

Most of the video consists of an interview with the sister of an Inkatha member, Janet Dlamini, who was writhing in agony while waiting for an ambulance

Dlamini was critically injured in a petrol-bomb attack last week. The attack left two women, a 16-year-old youth and a man, dead. She is still in hospital.

A Pretoria police spokesman said Dlamini was interviewed because she was their first on-the-scene survivor.

"Ninety percent of Maritzburg attacks leave no survivors," he said.

Although Dlamini is on tape blaming members of the UDF for the attack, a police spokesman denied using the video to charge and sentence the UDF of the crime without a trial.

Police said the video was an attempt to show the local Press what was happening in their townships.

"So much has been written about the Maritzburg violence and a lot of people don't know what is going on there. We decided that we must show the Press what is the actual situation there," said a police spokesperson.

UDF co-president Archie Gumede criticised the police for providing a biased view of the violence, especially in view of statistics from monitoring agencies and even the government's own unrest reports which indicated that most of the victims of the violence belonged to the UDF-Cosatu coalition.

"It's the same old story," he said.

"The violence has been going on all year, but the police only paid attention when members of the UDF finally started defending themselves. They didn't seem to care when it was just Inkatha on the rampage.

"Now they're doing it again. There are lots of opportunities to interview survivors of Inkatha attacks and we want to know why they deliberately didn't do this," he said.

Sixteen people died in violence in Maritzburg townships from Christmas eve to Tuesday, according to police unrest reports - Concord

THE intensity of debate and coverage of SA in US newspapers had abated dramatically, says the latest edition of the SA Foundation News

The report traced trends emerging in major newspapers and stressed the "change in tone and approach to the issues" They included writers adopting a more cautious approach, being pragmatic rather than didactic, and running fewer "one-sided" reports

The report speculated the first reason for the change could be attributed to the state of emergency and Press regulations Reporters cut off from many previous sources of news had tried to develop new angles

The second reason given was the failure of sanctions to end apartheid The report identified the mood overseas as wiser, less certain about SA and less assured about America's role in the country

An illustration of the change could be found in the "textbook" case of the front-page report in the Washington Post which acknowledged that changes had occurred "Viewed as a whole the announced reforms over the past six months, whatever the short-comings,

US media 'now fairer to SA'

243
1/10/77

LISE BOSMAN

represent perhaps the most intense period of change since the National Party came to power in 1948 "

Coverage of Govan Mbeki's release had included his comments on the quality of his medical treatment and improved prison conditions Speculation was rife about the possible function of the Mbeki release as a test case for the release of Nelson Mandela

Coverage of UDF-Inkhata violence in Natal had emphasised that black South Africans did not form a politically homogeneous grouping Coverage had been given to President P W Botha's "attempts to involve black leaders in discussions for a new constitution"

The report concluded that although the American Press still believed apartheid had to go and blacks had to share power, there was a new awareness that change was occurring in SA and American influence was limited in accelerating the process

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Restrictions foreshadow gloomy year for press

Adrian Croft: Johannesburg

South Africa's press faces its toughest year in 1988 with several anti-apartheid newspapers fighting for survival in the face of government threats to close or censor them.

"I think it's going to be the gloomiest year for a free flow of information," said Gabu Tugwana, acting editor of the New Nation, one of six publications which could be closed under government moves against what it calls 'subversive propaganda'.

Rex Gibson, deputy editor of the Star said there had been a pattern for many years of increasing restrictions on the press in South Africa.

"No government having embarked on this course, is ever happy with the powers it has got. It always needs a little bit more," he told Reuters.

South Africa provoked a worldwide uproar by imposing tight restrictions on the media when a national state of emergency was declared in June 1986 after months of black protest violence.

The curbs barred first-hand reporting of political unrest and severely restricted news about strikes, anti-apartheid boycotts and unofficial township structures like people's courts and street committees.

They were reinforced in August 1987 with

sweeping new powers which enable Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha to censor or close down for up to three months any newspaper which he believes is fanning revolution.

A three-month ban could financially ruin a newspaper.

Newspaper editors say Botha's restrictions are subjective and it is impossible to know when they have been broken.

They say the present battery of regulations already makes it difficult for newspapers to operate, with many stories cut or dropped on legal advice.

Botha can act against a newspaper which he believes consistently enhances the image of outlawed black nationalist groups, promotes the breakdown of public order or foments hatred of the security forces.

Four publications — New Nation, the left-wing South, the far-right-wing Die Stem, and the labour journal Work in Progress — have twice been warned by Botha that they have broken the regulations and could be closed any day.

Two other newspapers, the biggest-selling black daily the Sowetan and the left-wing Weekly Mail have received one warning.

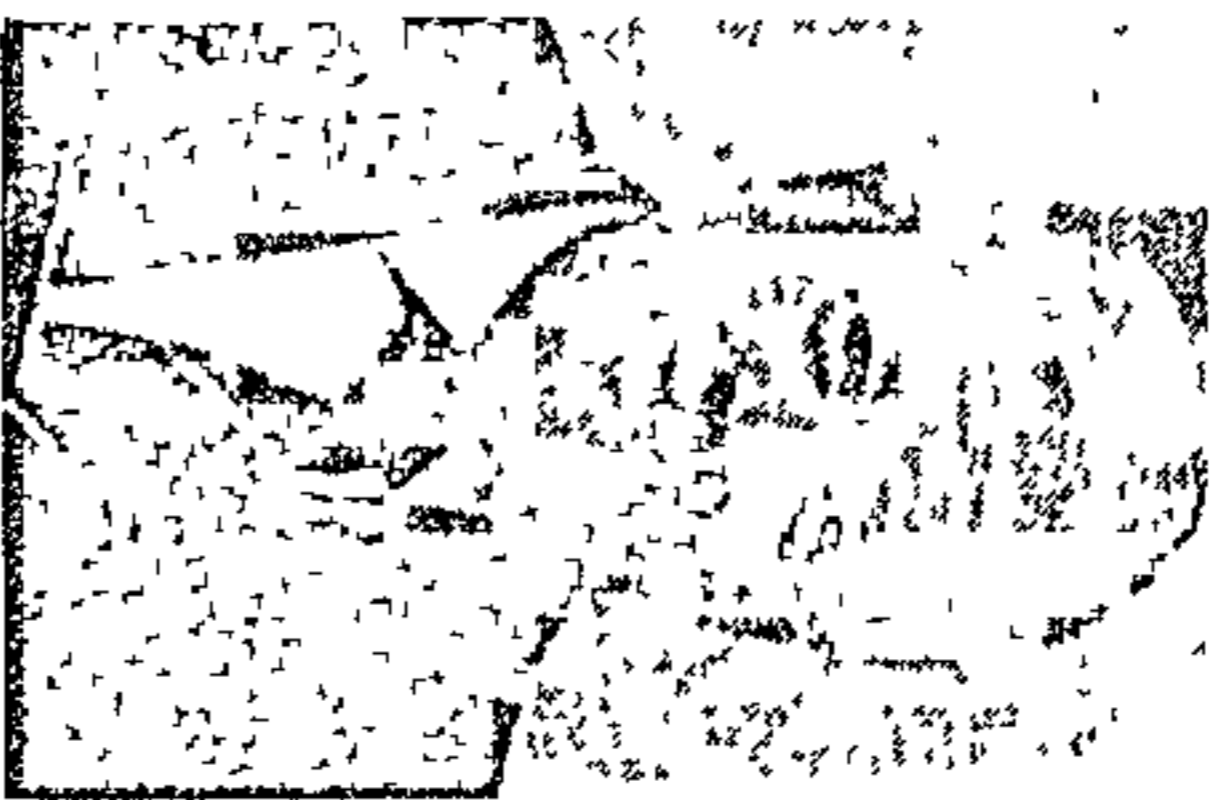
The Catholic-funded New Nation, South Weekly Mail and the Sowetan are all widely read by blacks and carry some of the best reporting on life in black townships under apartheid race segregation laws.

The New Nation, set up just two years ago, has won three journalism awards, including one from Harvard University in the United States.

Media lawyers believe that Botha will first try to impose an in-house censor on offenders and allow them to close themselves if they refuse. Newspapers like the Sowetan say they would fight government action in court.

If Botha imposed an in-house censor, it would make the journalist's job impossible, Aggrey Klaaste, deputy editor of the Sowetan, said.

"The guy is going to come into the office and start putting the red pen



REX GIBSON

always needs a little bit more.

across whatever you do. The little credibility you have in the market place is gone. I don't suppose many journalists of standing are going to work under such a situation. They are just going to leave the job," he said.

Black newspapers fear that government action against them could close one of the few remaining pressure valves for the voteless black majority and lead to more frustration and violence in the townships.

"For black people, papers like ours are the only kind of avenue where they can vent some of their deeply held feelings and now it's going to be stopped. It's just going to go underground or into the streets and it's going to get uglier by the minute," Klaaste said.

Tugwana said the government should have used the black press as a barometer to see whether it had moved enough towards reform of apartheid.

"You reform what is wrong. But if you don't know what is wrong what are you reforming?" he asked.

Botha's regulations were presented as directed at the so-called "alternative" press. But editors say mainstream newspapers are not exempt, as the caution to the Sowetan showed.

The Star sounded a warning about diminishing freedom of speech in an editorial headlined "The lights go out".

"Today it is Die Stem and Weekly Mail which may be blacked out. Tomorrow it could be Business Day or this newspaper," it said.

Tugwana believes there has been a concerted campaign against the New Nation since its editor Zwelakhe Sisulu was detained in December 1986. Sisulu, son of jailed African National Congress leader Walter Sisulu, is still being held.

Tugwana called on the international community to protest against the erosion of press freedom in South Africa.

"There's a definite need for serious action which will make Pretoria feel it cannot get away with it," he said.

Klaaste, 47, and Tugwana, 33, are no strangers to government action against journalists. Both have spent periods in detention without trial and Klaaste worked for the World newspaper which was banned in 1977.

Tugwana spent 20 months in detention during 1976 and 1977, including 13 months in solitary confinement. He was never charged.

His detention made him more determined to write about the realities of apartheid despite government restrictions.

"I read in the Bible that Jesus died for the truth. So I took myself to have been almost like Jesus, who had to be crucified for the truth. That made me even more determined that I would stand for the truth. Because when you tell the truth, in the end it's the truth which wins," he said — Sapa-RNS.

Handwritten scribbles and signatures at the top of the page.

SOUTH Africa's press faces its toughest year in 1988, with several anti-apartheid newspapers fighting for survival in the face of Government threat to close or censor them.

"I think it's going to be the gloomiest year for a free flow of information," said Mr Gabu Tugwana, acting editor of the *New Nation*, one of six publications which could be closed under Government moves against what it calls "subversive propaganda."

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Revolution
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They were reinforced in August 1987 with sweeping new powers which enable Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha to censor or close down for up to three months any newspaper which he believes is fanning revolution.

A three-month ban could financially ruin a newspaper. Newspaper editors say Mr Botha's restrictions are subjective and it is impossible to know when they have been broken.

Difficult
They say the present battery of regulations already makes it difficult for newspapers to operate, with many stories cut or dropped on legal advice.

Mr Botha can act against a newspaper which he believes consistently enhances the image of outlawed black nationalist groups, promotes the breakdown of public order

Tough year ahead for the Press

SAPA-REUTER

or foments hatred of the security forces.

Four publications — *New Nation*, the leftwing *South*, the far-rightwing *Die Stem*, and the labour journal *Work in Progress* — have been warned by Mr Botha that they have broken the regulations and could be closed any day.

Two other newspapers — South Africa's biggest-selling black daily, the *Sowetan* and the leftwing *Weekly Mail* — have received one warning. The Catholic-funded *New Nation*, *South Weekly Mail* and the

Sowetan are all widely read by blacks and carry some of the best reporting on life in black townships under apartheid race segregation laws.

The *New Nation*, set up just two years ago, has won three journalism awards, including one from Harvard University in the United States.

Censor

Media lawyers believe that Mr Botha will first try to impose an in-house censor on offenders and allow them to close themselves if they refuse. Newspapers like the *Sowetan* say they would fight Government action in court.

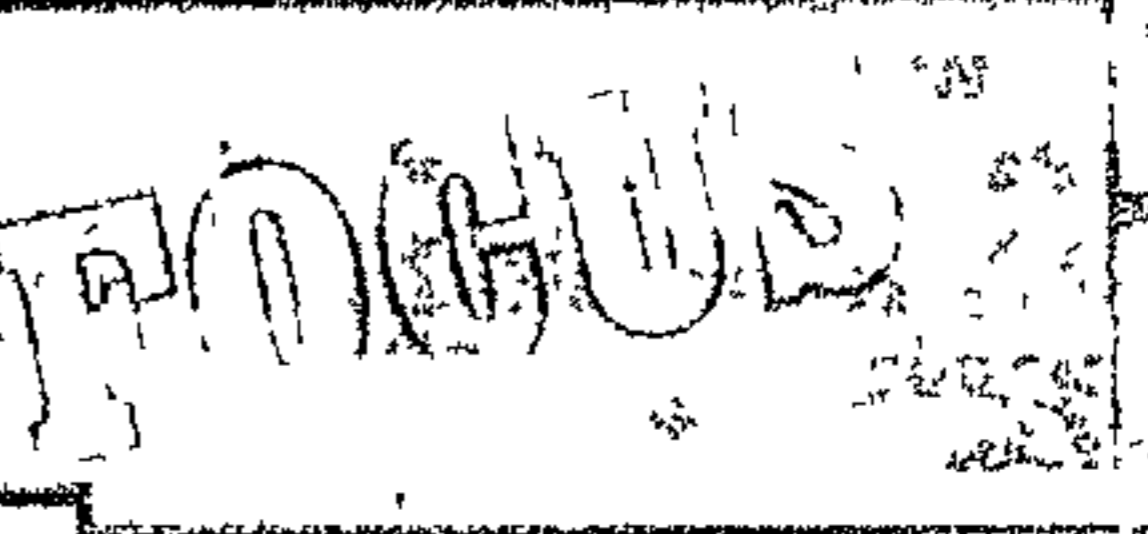
If Mr Botha imposed an in-house censor, it would make the journalist's job impossible, Mr Aggrey Klaaste, Deputy Editor of the *Sowetan* said.

Credibility

"The guy is going to come into the office and start putting the red pen across whatever you do. The little credibility you have in the market place is gone."

"I don't suppose many journalists of standing are going to work under such a situation. They are just going to leave the job," he said.

Black newspapers fear



AGGREY Klaaste
Sowetan



GABU Tugwana
New Nation

that Government action against them could close one of the few remaining pressure valves for the voiceless black majority and lead to more frustration and violence in the townships.

Feelings

"For black people, papers like ours are the only kind of avenue where they can vent some of their deeply held feelings, and now it's going to be stopped."

"It's just going to go underground or into the streets and it's going to get uglier by the minute," Mr Klaaste said.

Detained

Mr Tugwana said the Government should have used the black Press as a barometer to see whether it had moved enough towards reform of apartheid.

"You reform what is wrong. But if you don't know what is wrong what are you reforming?" he asked.

Mr Botha's regulations were presented as directed at the so-called "alternative" Press. But editors say mainstream newspapers are not exempt as the caution to the *Sowetan* showed.

The *Star* sounded a warning about diminishing freedom of speech in a recent editorial headlined "The lights go out."

"Today it is *Die Stem* and *Weekly Mail* which may be blacked out. Tomorrow it could be *Business Day* or this newspaper," it said.

Mr Tugwana believes there has been a concerted campaign against the *New Nation* since its editor Mr Zweleakhe Sisulu was detained in December 1986. Mr Sisulu, son of jailed African National Congress leader Walter Sisulu, is still being held.

Protest

Mr Tugwana called on the international community to protest against the erosion of Press freedom in South Africa.

"There's a definite need for serious action which will make Pretoria feel it cannot get away with it," he said.

Mr Klaaste (47) and Mr Tugwana (33) are no strangers to Government action against journalists. Both have spent periods in detention without trial and Mr Klaaste worked for the *World* newspaper which was banned in 1977.

Truth

Mr Tugwana spent 20 months in detention during 1976 and 1977, including 13 months in solitary confinement. He was never charged and believes it was punishment for his journalism.

"When you tell the truth in this country, you really pay the price for it," he said.

His detention made him more determined to write about the realities of apartheid despite Government restrictions.

"I read in the Bible that Jesus died for the truth. So I took myself to have been almost like Jesus, who had to be crucified for the truth. Because when you tell the truth, in the end it's the truth which wins," he said.



Mr. Stoffel Botha

9/1/88
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Stoffel wants more of 'Nation', Vlok not

JOHANNESBURG — The Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, has renewed his subscription to The New Nation — the newspaper against which he invoked the tough new media regulations.

A formal gazetted warning, personally signed by Mr Botha, was issued against the newspaper late last year.

The New Nation reported yesterday that the minister has renewed his subscription for another 14 months.

"But just when we thought it was safe, we learnt that Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok has not renewed his subscription, which expired last month," the newspaper reported.

Mr Botha declined to comment when approached on Thursday night.

Once a warning has been gazetted, the minister is free to ban publication of all future issues unless they are approved by government-appointed censors, or to ban the publication altogether for three-month periods.

The minister may take either of these steps if he considers that the newspaper is continuing to promote revolution or endanger public safety or to undermine the emergency.

Five other publications — Work In Progress, Sowetan, South, Die Stem and most recently, The Weekly Mail — have received letters stating that a formal gazetted warning is being considered against them. — Sapa

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CITE Times 12/1/88

Journalist harassed after home is searched

JOHANNESBURG. — Durban freelance journalist and photographer Billy Paddock has been subjected to a campaign of harassment for the past six weeks.

Paddock said the campaign started at the beginning of December only days after a group of

five men who identified themselves as security policemen searched his home.

He said he has received as many as 15 threatening calls a day, as well as numerous unwanted deliveries, including flowers, fence-poles, manure and 300 pies.

There were demolishers to demolish the outbuilding containing his photographic darkroom, a stream of taxis, black domestic staff sent by an employment agency, estate agents to sell his home and Jehova's Witnesses asked to give him counsel.

FOCUS

THERE are no precautions against snipers, stray bullets, car bombs and kidnappings. Journalists are no exception. So working in a trouble zone presents a myriad of potential dangers to a reporter. Staying alive, avoiding injury, jail, expulsion or other perils — and still getting the story. That is the problem.

Some representatives from the press claim that it is impossible to provide guidelines on training for correspondents on dangerous missions.

Intuitive minute-to-minute decisions can only be made by using common sense and instinct. Such skills cannot be taught. They say:

This is true to the extent that no journalists will be exposed to similar dangerous situations, and that the ability of handling yourself and getting out of trouble is based upon individual talent.

Throughout the years, however, the lifelong experiences of many fine journalists from the hot spots of the world form a pattern of guidelines.

In practice it is just simple good advice to be followed before performing under perilous conditions, or rules of thumb that will instinctively turn on the invisible warning signal when facing unknown danger.

The International Federation of Journalists Working Party on Safety of Journalists has collected this list of "do's" and "don'ts", most of them short versions of the experiences told by reporters and correspondents in the International Press Institute book *Journalists on Dangerous Assignments*.

The following list of 33 pieces of advice does not cover the multitude of different events that occur during a dangerous assignment. Above all, good judgment and common sense are the most important.

However, this list of advice can cut down the risk on doing your job as a professional. Perhaps even save your life.

General

- 1 No story is worth your life. You are more important than the story.
- 2 If you are clearly threatened, get out as fast as you can.
- 3 Be careful about reporting from both sides of a conflict. Crossing the "battle zone" can be dangerous.
- 4 Avoid bias for one side or the other. You are a professional, not an active participant.
- 5 Stories in remote locations far from authority and medical assistance present added risk.

Before leaving home base:

- 6 Know the country/region/area, the recent history, the people in charge, people involved. Find out who hates whom — and why.

JOURNALISTS have to be extremely careful when reporting on conflict situations. If they are not, they could end up dead.

- 7 Know the language well enough to identify yourself and to talk to local residents.
- 8 Make certain that you know the local meaning

of symbols like the colour of flags, whistles, gestures and so on.

- 9 Counterbalance risks against possible benefits of a story. Often you can cover a story just as well from a distance. Therefore, think out your mission, how best to get your story.

- 10 Carry a lot of cash. Money can solve difficult situations.

- 11 Let your desk/editors and union know where you are at all times, where you are going and when you expect to be back. Give the necessary information to the hotel staff. In especially dangerous areas have close contact with the embassy.

- 12 Make certain that your employer carries insurance that will provide adequately if you are injured or killed.

- 13 Do not leave until

you have had basic first-aid training.

- 14 Dress appropriately depending on whether you want to blend into a crowd or want obviously not to.

- 15 Never wear olive green or anything that makes you look like a soldier.

- 16 Do not masquerade as other than you are. It raises suspicion and creates risks for other professionals.

- 17 Carry complete identification papers.

- 18 Carry a short-wave radio to keep track of developments from international radio stations.

- 19 Carry an item which may be used as a white flag.

- 20 NEVER carry a gun or other weapon.

- 21 Do not carry things that might lay you open to charges of being a spy.

(like binoculars, equipment with antennae etc.)

- 22 Be careful about equipment that looks like arms.

- 23 Be careful about using camera flashes. It attracts gunfire.

- 24 Always bring a basic first-aid kit.

Transport

- 25 If possible, travel with journalists who know the area.

- 26 Always use extreme care selecting competent local drivers, guides, and so on.

- 27 Do not use cars that resemble models used by the police or the army. Avoid travelling in jeeps or semi-military vehicles.

- 28 Travel in a group of at least two cars where practical in case one breaks down.

- 29 Never wash your car. Unwanted tampering is easier detected on a dirty car.

- 30 Never wear seat belts while driving in a war zone because you might have to jump from the car quickly to avoid bullets.

- 31 Never make anyone sit in the back seat of a two-door car. It is difficult/impossible to get out quickly.

- 32 Beware of empty streets. They are always empty for a reason.

- 33 When parking be sure that there are a choice of

Court challenge for media curbs

14-20/11/88
South
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THE Government's media curbs under the Emergency Regulations are to be challenged in the Rand Supreme Court next week.

Lawyers of the Johannesburg-based weekly newspaper, the New Nation, have already drawn up papers to be served on the State President, Mr P W Botha, and Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha

Meanwhile, the government has again acted against SOUTH SOUTH has been officially warned in the Government Gazette that its content is, in the opinion of the Minister, "subversive-propaganda" and could be subject to closure or pre-publication censorship.

A third independent paper, the Weekly Mail, has been told that the government is considering

an official warning against them

They have now made representations to Botha.

New Nation's planned court action follows a letter from Botha last month warning this Catholic-backed paper that he planned to gazette a second warning which would allow him to proceed with steps against it.

Acting editor Gabu Tugwana said this week that representations had again been made to the Minister but no response had been received

"We have decided to react and challenge the unfettered power the State President and the Minister of Home Affairs have granted themselves in terms of the State of Emergency."

The clauses in the emergency regulations to be challenged were promulgated on August 28 and allows the Minister to shut publications for up to three months.

Hot off the press for Botha!

STOFFEL Botha's Home Affairs wants SOUTH regularly.

A Mr Van Rensburg of the department's Cape Town office this week called to subscribe to SOUTH.

He emphasised that they needed the paper as soon as it came off the press and asked that a copy be delivered to their offices on Thursdays.

He also inquired if they could collect a copy at the printing press. It was urgent that they got the paper to Pretoria by Monday, he said.

And he wanted to know what had happened to publication of the paper for the past two weeks.

...the promotion of balanced ...

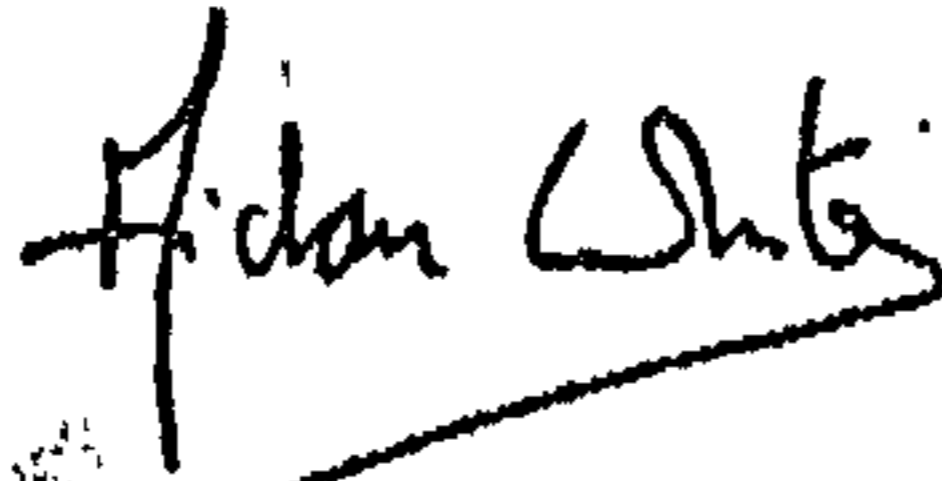
INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF JOURNALISTS

"HANDS OFF THE MEDIA"

The International Federation of Journalists and its two South African affiliates - the Media Workers Association of South Africa and the Southern African Society of Journalists - congratulates "SOUTH NEWSPAPER" on its courageous stand in defence of press freedom.

The IFJ, which represents journalists committed to press freedom in five continents, is opposed to the battery of laws introduced by the government of South Africa to threaten the existence of "alternative" media and to restrict fundamental freedoms of expression.

The IFJ will continue to co-operate with progressive forces in South Africa to draw international attention to the difficulties under which all South African journalists work.



Aidan White
General Secretary

International Press Centre,
Boulevard Charlemagne 1, Bte 5,
Brussels, 1041,
Belgium



Mia Doornaert
President

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to town toward the main

We don't get it

*The Weekly
Mail's reply to
the minister: We
don't understand
the principles
behind your
objections*

THE Weekly Mail had "a genuine problem and a genuine dilemma" in dealing with the official government warning it received last month: it cannot even understand it.

This was the essence of the newspaper's reply to the warning from the Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Botha, that he was contemplating action against the newspaper in terms of Emergency regulations. The reply was contained in 174 pages of representations served on the minister in the closing days of 1987.

In its representations, *Weekly Mail* argued that the purpose of issuing a warning must be to enable the newspaper to act to avoid falling foul of the minister's opinion again.

However, a detailed breakdown of the 15 items which had offended Botha left the newspaper editors and their lawyers ignorant of what they would have to do to avoid future ministerial objections.

They could discern no rational criteria for what the minister accepted and what he objected to and no way of inferring such criteria, the newspaper said in its representations.

For example, the minister had objected to an article in the newspaper during October, when ANC leader Oliver Tambo celebrated his 70th birthday. This allegedly fell into the category of articles that promoted the public image and esteem of unlawful organisations and promoted or fanned revolution or uprisings.

Weekly Mail pointed out that Tambo had been for some years "an important and widely perceived fact of the realities of South African political life."

"It matters not whether he should have been. His existence and controversial role in the South African political scene cannot and is not ignored."

To ignore him is not possible in any sensible coverage of South African political realities. The occasion of his 70th birthday was well-publicised abroad and in South Africa and the kind of readership which *Weekly*

Mail enjoys would be interested in some kind of profile summary of the man, his background, his activities, his perceptions and his importance for the future.

"The article attempts to deal with that reality. It is not adulatory or uncritical," *Weekly Mail* pointed out.

Once it was accepted that Tambo could not be ignored, the parameters of permissible commentary on him were not clear.

For example, two Afrikaans, government-supporting newspapers, *Beeld* and *Rapport*, had carried "two very positive descriptions of an ANC camp" and the minister had not disapproved.

These descriptions, given by two Afrikaans journalists who visited the camp after attending a conference in Arusha, were written "in the most benign and positive terms."

The object of drawing attention to this report, *Weekly Mail* argued, was not to point fingers at another newspaper. "The complaint is a more serious one. *Weekly Mail* just does not know what rational principle to apply in deciding in the future what will make a particular report objectionable and what not."

Furthermore, there were other, more approving and less critical references to ANC leaders in *Weekly*

Mail about which the minister had voiced no objection at all.

In trying to understand the warning he had issued, *Weekly Mail* also found that the minister had not met his obligation to take into account all relevant matter.

The articles he objected to formed a very small part of the newspaper's reportage — less than five percent of the contents of any one publication — and the actual sentences objected to within those articles constituted less than one percent of any one issue.

The minister had to decide what effect such reports had on the "reasonable, rational and balanced reader" who "reads the newspaper as a whole, absorbing in a relaxed way the totality of the news, the commentary and the advertisements made manifest to him."

"To such a reader must not be attributed a myopic and obsessive and stuttering attention on some phrase in the middle of a lengthy analysis through which obsession everything else in the newspaper dissolves from his brain and his mind becomes singularly concentrated on the manner in which he could endanger the safety of the public," *Weekly Mail* argued.

The warning to *Weekly Mail* was the first stage in a complex and lengthy process that could lead either to its closure or to the imposition of pre-publication censorship. Warnings have also been issued to *New Nation*, *South*, *Work in Progress*, *The Sowetan* and *Die Stem*.

Once he has read *Weekly Mail's* representations, the minister has to decide whether to go to the next stage of the process, which would be a formal warning in the Government Gazette. He has now had two weeks in which to respond to *Weekly Mail's* representations.

• *Weekly Mail's* representations were drawn up by a legal team headed by Ismail Mahomed, SC, assisted by Gilbert Marcus and instructed by attorneys of Bell, Dewar and H

15/1/88

~~15/1/88~~

ADAMANT OCHSE TAKES ON RAPPORT

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FIM

Serious behind-the-scenes efforts are being made by the powerful Nasionale Pers bosses to keep clear of an Industrial Court (IC) tangle with a dismissed employee of the Afrikaans Sunday paper *Rapport* (*Current Affairs* November 13 1987).

But former Sportswriter of the Year Charles Ochse, fired last year by *Rapport* editor Bob van Walsem for alleged "gross insubordination," is determined to seek redress from the IC and a court date has been set for February 3

A delicate legal issue surrounds what promises to be not only a landmark case in the Afrikaans journalistic world, but could also turn out to be a mud-slinging contest highly embarrassing to *Rapport*

and its mother companies, Naspers and Perskor

Ochse claims 15 years' worth of employer contributions to his pension fund, accumulated leave and unemployment insurance. This represents a delicate problem because Perskor — of whose pension fund Ochse had been a member — says Ochse's dismissal is solely *Rapport's* baby

Mother companies

However, *Rapport's* profits are shared by the two mother companies, so the question is who will foot the bill for Ochse's injured ego?

In the latest papers handed in to the Registrar of the IC, Ochse says "My

dismissal virtually means an end to my career in journalism"

Ochse may become to Afrikaans journalists what Moira Tuck became to SABC employees.

It is understood that instructions had already been issued to senior staff by Naspers's Johannesburg daily, *Beeld*, to act correctly in dealing with industrial matters. And at *Rapport* all staff members overstepping the line are now being warned by letter

Whatever the outcome, in the end it may not help Ochse much. For his crusading may have the effect of merely antagonising Naspers and Perskor, the two main employers of Afrikaans journalists

points raised above

As indicated earlier a comprehensive comment on the Draft Labour Relations Amendment Bill will be made available to you in March, 1987.

Yours faithfully,

A.J. VAN DER WATT.
CHAIRMAN.

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243 (S) Smetan 15/11/88

Court action against State President PW

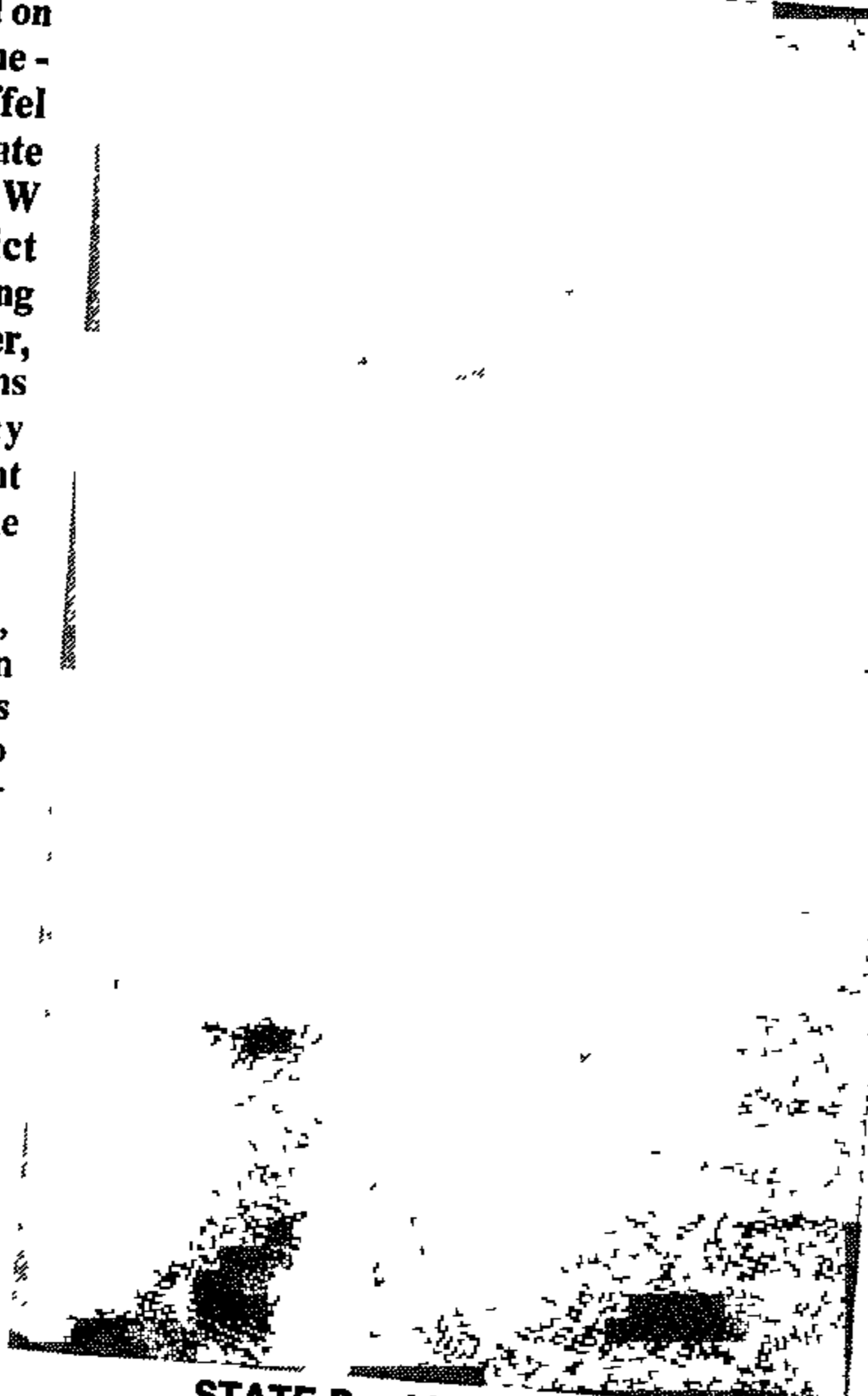
AN urgent application was this week served on the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, and the State President, Mr PW Botha, to interdict them from suspending the weekly newspaper, *New Nation*, in terms of the emergency regulations, a front page article in the paper said yesterday.

The newspaper, funded by the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, has also applied for an order declaring that the media restrictions imposed on August 28 last year are invalid and are of no force in law.

Editor

New Nation's editor, Zwelakhe Sisulu, has been in detention for 399 days and Mr Stoffel Botha has issued two warnings to the newspaper, one in the Government Gazette of November 27

On December 7, Mr Stoffel Botha said he was considering taking further action which could mean a three month banning of the publication or the appointment of a



STATE President PW Botha

Government censor to read copy in the newspaper's offices

Four issues of *New Nation* have been banned, but the banning of three issues were overturned on appeal and an appeal on the fourth is under way

The *New Nation* has alternatively asked the court to declare the warning notices invalid and of no force.

An editorial in the same edition looked back on the first two years of the *New Nation's* existence. The newspaper

will be two years old tomorrow

"It would have been fitting for this newspaper and its readers to mark this historic day with its founding editor, Zwelakhe Sisulu

"But Sisulu is languishing in a Johannesburg prison cell," the editorial said

It added that the past two years had not been easy "but our readers can rest assured that their favourite newspaper will continue to uphold the highest standards — despite the concerted efforts by various Government officials to phase us out"

Standard

The editorial said the *New Nation's* standard could be judged by the awards given to it and the reasons for them

The *New Nation* has received the Pringle Award by the Southern African Society of journalists for "committed and courageous journalism".

It has also received awards from Harvard University and the "Freedom Scroll" for contributions to "The Struggle for a Free and Democratic Press" — Sapa.

SAE Times 15/11/88
(243)

New Nation applies for interdict on suspension

JOHANNESBURG — An urgent application was yesterday served on the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, and the State President, Mr P W Botha, to interdict them from suspending the weekly newspaper New Nation in terms of the emergency regulations, a front-page article in the paper said.

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New Nation's editor, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, has been in detention for 399 days and Mr Stoffel Botha has issued two warnings to the newspaper, one in the Government Gazette of November 27. — Sapa

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C/Pren 17/1/88.

Mystery callers bother journalist

DURBAN photo-journalist Billy Paddock has been subjected recently to a wave of harassment, including abusive telephone calls and delivery to his home of thousands of rands of goods he did not order.

His home was placed on the market three times, a bulldozer arrived to demolish his darkroom and his business contacts were telephoned and abused.

"As many as 15 loads a day of unordered goods have arrived, including Albany Bakery delivering 300 steak and kidney pies to my home and unloading them off on the veranda,"

said Paddock this week.

"I phoned the bakery and was told they had been ordered for people starving in Zululand."

Other incidents included the delivery of flowers to his petite wife while he was away in Maritzburg, and the arrival of a slimming expert who had been told that her obesity was threatening their marriage.

Other orders made in his name included portable toilets, compost, fencing and instant lawn.

"I reported the matter to the police in December but they have made no headway. It is obvious that those re-

sponsible know me well and are aware of my movements as the flowers, for example, were delivered when I was in Maritzburg and the florist was told they would be paid for when I returned. My phone is also not listed yet they know the number."

Paddock said he had identified two different accents. One was fairly English and the other South African, while Indian and African accents used were by and large phoney.

The harassment started in mid-November and Paddock has now consulted a lawyer and is taking steps to trace those responsible. - Sapa.

GOODBYE AND



MR. PERCY QOBOZA
Nieman Fellow

Editor dies on his 50th birthday

THE editor of City Press, Mr Percy Qoboza, died yesterday morning on his 50th birthday, writes ALI MPHAKI.

Mr Qoboza who had been ill since Christmas Day, died at the Rand Clinic in Johannesburg. He is a former editor of *The World Weekend World Post* and *Sunday Post*. He became a junior reporter with *The World* and *Weekend World* in 1963. In 1965 he covered the political and municipal beats. He was appointed news editor of *The World* in 1968. He held that position until 1974 when he became editor

The 1976 unrest put Mr Qoboza under the international spotlight. His incisive writing but the Government "head on" in 1977 the Government banned *The World* and Mr Qoboza was detained for five-and-a-half months at Modderbee Prison near Springs. He was released without being charged.

He was then appointed editor of *Post* and *Sunday Post* which replaced the closed *World* and *Weekend World*. In 1980 he spent a year in the United States of America as guest editor of the *Washington Star* which had just been bought by the publishers of *Time-Life Post* and *Sunday Post* were also closed down while Mr Qoboza was in America. In 1984 he joined *City Press* as an associate editor and took over as editor on January 1, 1985.

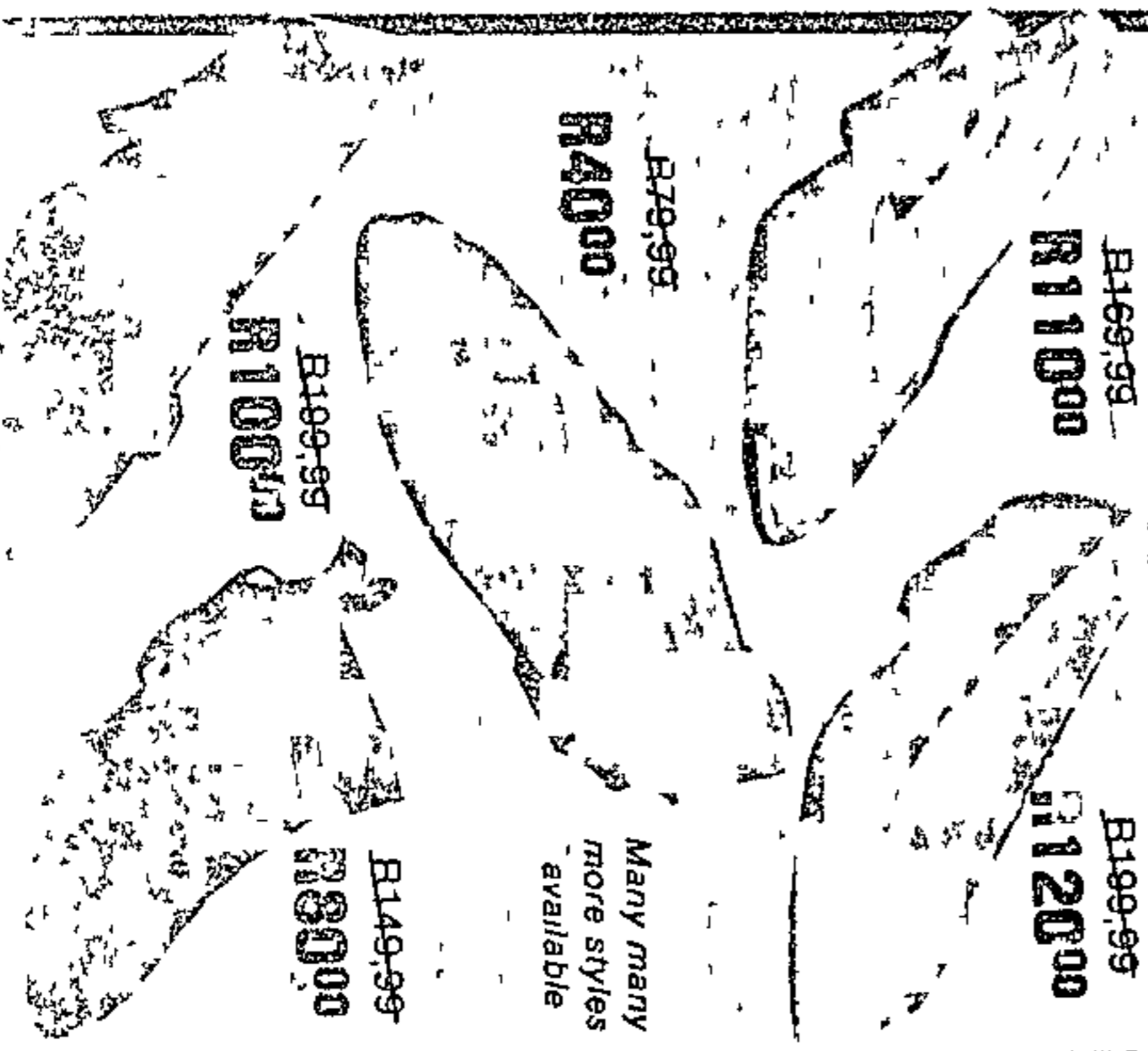
The force of conviction



He was a Nieman Fellow at America's Harvard University. Mr Qoboza received the Golden Pen of Freedom from the International Federation of Newspaper Proprietors honorary doctorates in Humane Letters from Tufts University and Amherst College in the United States and the Pringle Award from the South African Society of Journalists.

Mr Qoboza leaves his schoolteacher wife Ann, a son Yusuqunzi (19) and four daughters Nompi (24), Thokozile (22) and twins Smanette and Ntshali (17). Funeral arrangements for his

NOW IS THE TIME
TO GET THE LATEST STYLES IN IMPORTED SHOES AT THE LOWEST PRICES
LESS 40% ON ALL IMPORTED HANDBAGS
ALL STOCKS IMPORTED FROM GREECE
Exclusive to VIMA SHOES



Right-wing to launch paper

ELSABÉ WESSELS

A NEW right-wing newspaper to whip up conservative political support will go on sale this week.

Die Volkstem replaces the ultra right-wing Die Stem, which received a government warning in November last year

Die Stem, which closed in December in reaction to the government warning, gained prominence under the editorship of radical right-winger Robert van Tonder

Van Tonder, a wealthy businessman, sold his shares in the newspaper to a group of retired Afrikaner businessmen, Die Volkstem editor Johan Pienaar said yesterday

MWASA OPPOSES STEWARDS

THE Southern Transvaal region of the Media Workers Association of South Africa yesterday decided to go on a legal strike over its wage dispute with the Argus Printing and Publishing and Times Media Limited.

The two companies own the *Sowetan*, *The Star*, *Sunday Times*, *Business Day*, *Pretoria News* and *Financial Mail*.

Mwasa's demands are an across-the-board 20 percent increase, the reinstatement of *Sowetan* reporter, Mojalefa Moseki, who was dismissed while on study leave abroad, and the immediate appointment of 11 members who have been employed on a part-time basis at *The Star* for nearly two years.

The union also demands that the companies stop forcing members, directly or indirectly, to join the South African Typographical Union, and that TML withdraw the increases it announced before reaching agreement with Mwasa.

Other demands are that TML apologise to Mwasa

for this action which indicates the company's position of negotiating in bad faith, and that the *Sowetan* management should stop harassing the chairman of the shop stewards committee, Mr Joshua Raboroko.

Decisions on the strike action will be finalised after all Mwasa's four regions have discussed the matter.

The Argus is offering a 12 percent across-the-board increase for editorial workers and a four percent discretionary rise. Non-editorial staff is being offered a 16 percent across-the-board increase.

TML's final offer is eight percent across-the-board for editorial staff and eight percent discretionary while the offer for non-editorial workers is 17 percent across-the-board.

Mwasa general secretary Mr Sithembelwe Khala said:

"The union is not forgetting that newspaper management had a record 92 percent profit in 1987 and we will also be appealing to the community to support our action against the companies."

~~18/1/88~~ 21/3/88
Sowetan 18/1/88

Media workers at table

19/1/88

Sowetan

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4

TALKS to resolve a deadlock over wage demands are likely to resume between two major newspaper groups and the Media Workers Association of South Africa, the union said yesterday

Mwasa general secretary Mr Sithembele Khala said the talks, which could be held on Thursday, could bring an early end to the dispute between the union and the Argus Printing and Publishing and Times Media Limited (TML)

Mwasa declared a dispute with the companies at the parties' last meeting on January 8.

The Southern Transvaal region of Mwasa voted to go on a legal strike over the wage dispute at its meeting held in Soweto at the weekend.

OZWA TRIBUTES POUR IN

TRIBUTES to Mr Percy Qoboza, the *City Press* editor who died on Sunday, continued to pour in from all over the world yesterday.

Among the messages received was one from South Africa's ambassador to the United States, Dr Piet Koornhof, who described Mr Qoboza as a man of wisdom and foresight.

"Percy was respected and admired by all who were privileged to know him. South Africa has lost one of its finest sons. I pray that the solace that is promised by faith in God will comfort Mrs Qoboza and family," Mr Koornhof's message read.

Dr Immo Stabreit, the Federal Republic of Germany's ambassador to South Africa, said Mr Qoboza's death filled him with great sadness.

"Mr Qoboza was known throughout the world as one of the outstanding South African journalists. His wonderful and radiant personality impressed everybody who had the privilege of knowing him."

Sincere

"I would like to express my sincere condolences on the untimely death of Mr Qoboza. We shall all miss him," Mr Stabreit said.

Canada's ambassador in South Africa, Mr Ronald Maclean, said Mr Qoboza's death was a loss which was felt beyond South Africa.

"Our condolences go to his colleagues and especially to his family," he said.

Mr Tamsanqa Khambule, a South African educationist and mathematics lecturer, said Mr Qoboza's death would leave a vacuum.

"He was able to spotlight many of the evils of our society. His boldness and tenacity contributed much to the cause of the Africans."

"He was unequalled as an editor. His death is a loss to the black community," Mr Khambule said.

The Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) also voiced its shock and regret at Mr Qoboza's death.

By ALI MPHAKI and LANGA SKOSANA

In a statement, Mwasa said Mr Qoboza's abilities as a journalist and editor were recognised nationally and internationally.

"It was under his editorship that the now banned *World* and *Weekend World* were transformed from being gossip and sports rags into formidable channels of communication for the black community."

"The country is going to miss his outspoken writings Mwasa extends condolences to the Qoboza family."

The former editor of the banned *World*, Mr M T Moerane, in his tribute, said the death of Percy Qoboza silenced one of the most powerful voices in Africa.

"This noble son of Africa now joins his forebears. From now he

belongs to eternity. He was a forthright fighter for the rights of the black man but his sympathies were wider and encompassed all South Africa.

"The traditions that he leaves will help South Africa towards its true destiny," said Mr Moerane.

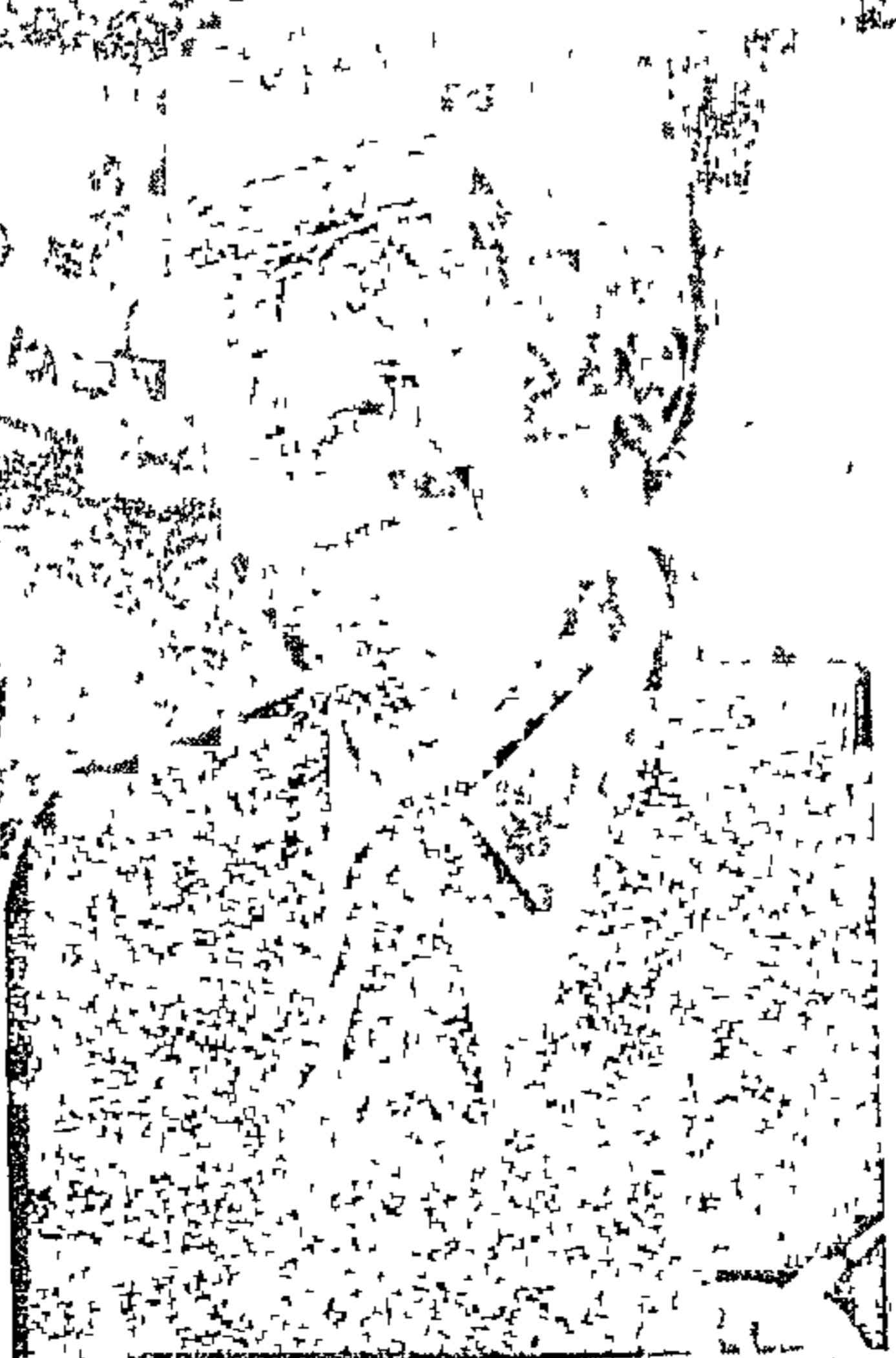
Mr Moerane said it was a privilege for him to have spent 10 years working with Mr Qoboza.

"I saw him grow and bloom to international levels," he said.

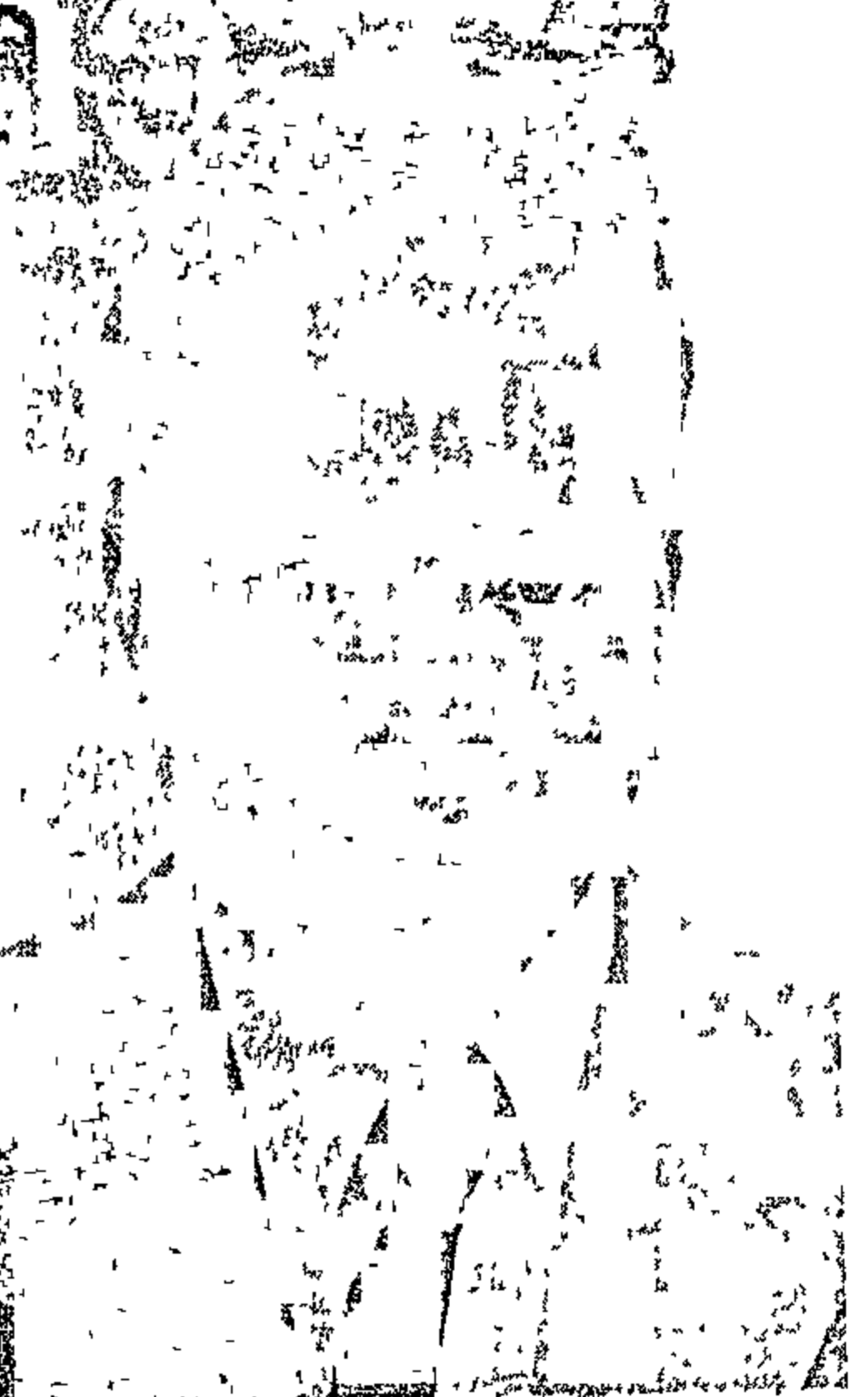
Former trade unionist, Mrs Lucy Mvubelo also paid tribute to Mr Qoboza.

She said his death was a loss to all heart-minded people.

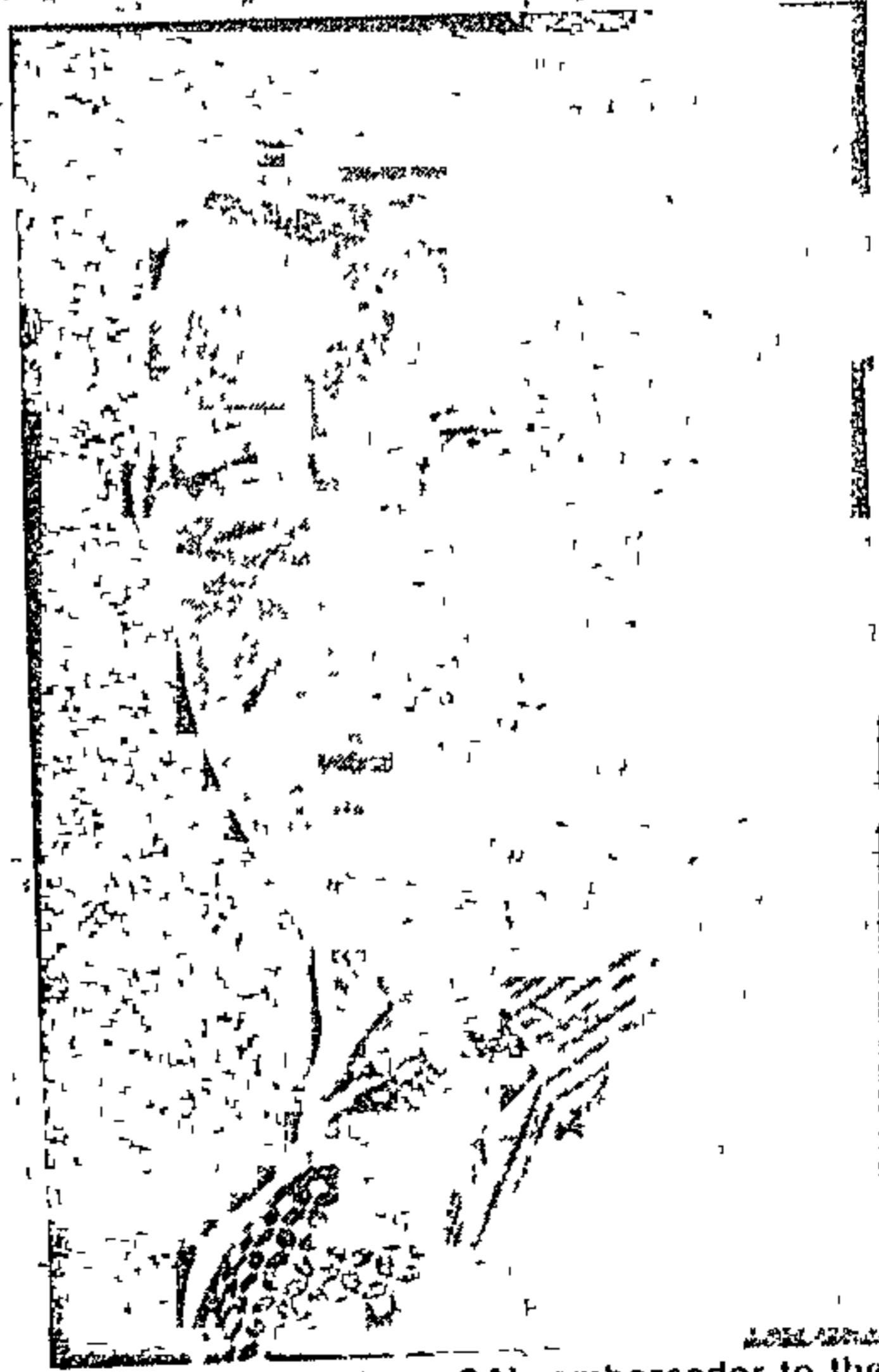
"His memory will always be cherished by my family. His soul rest in peace," Mrs Mvubelo said.



Mr TAMSANQA Khambule ... lecturer.



Mr PERCY Qoboza ... died on Sunday



Dr PIET Koornhof ... SA's ambassador to the United States

Percy Qoboza's crucial role

21-27/88

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Soph

PERCY QOBOZA, who died on his 50th birthday on Sunday, played a crucial role in changing the face of black journalism in South Africa.

Over the past 30 years white editors such as Laurance Gandar, Raymond Louw and Joel Mervis have, quite rightly, become legends for their crusading and/or pioneering journalism

Percy Qoboza, however, was the first black editor to break out of the mold of subservient black editor controlled by a hidden white editor, and stamped his own authority on journalism in South Africa by changing the formula of black newspapers.

Until Qoboza's editorship, black newspapers concentrated on sensational crime and sport, while taking the mickey out of Government policies.

Qoboza relegated sport and crime to the places they deserve, and gave political clout to his newspapers

Starting as a junior reporter on the World newspaper some 25 years ago, he became news editor in 1968. In 1974 he was appointed editor of the World.

There Qoboza could have continued the crime-soccer formula and reap the rewards of being the

glamorous head of a mass-circulation newspaper.

Instead, he rose magnificently to the occasion. He was the right man at the right time, the champion black journalists had sought in a position of power

He relegated sport and crime to their rightful places, and promoted politics. Inspired by Qoboza, black journalists showed what they were capable of when Soweto erupted on June 16, 1976.

The World under Percy Qoboza became a thorn in the Government's side. Sure, The Government hated the Rand Daily Mail, and the Nats secretly funded The Citizen to challenge the liberal morning newspaper.

But it was totally unacceptable that a black newspaper should oppose the Government with such vigour.

On October 19, 1977 the inevitable happened. As part of the crackdown on black consciousness, the Government banned the World and Weekend World

The Mail published a picture of Qoboza standing in front of his papers' idle printing machines, and headlined the story "The End of Percy's World"

Percy and colleague Aggrey Klaaste were thrown into jail

where they were held for six months without trial

Percy returned to edit Post Transvaal and Sunday Post, which had been launched to replace the World and Weekend World, but which in effect were no different from the two banned papers

But his career in South African journalism became a little more chequered after that. In 1980 he went to the United States as a guest editor of the Washington Star

While he was away members of the Media Workers Association of SA (MWASA) went on strike throughout the country. Hardest-hit was Post Transvaal, which didn't publish within the legally required period.

The Government shut it down and made it clear that the paper would have been banned in any case because its office had become "an ANC nest".

Qoboza became a public relations consultant, associate editor of City Press in 1984 and the paper's editor the following year.

Many black journalists had a topsy-turvy relationship with Qoboza. They accused him of being a charismatic showman who took credit for things he didn't do.

Many maintain that important

editorials in the World and Post Transvaal were the work of Joe Latakomo — now editor of Sowetan.

Journalists were at odds with him over his strong opposition to economic sanctions, and his endorsement of organisations like the Urban Foundation.

But despite his human shortcomings, his eccentricities, journalists still loved Qoboza

His Percy's Pitch column in the World and his Percy's Itch in City Press contain many examples of outstanding writing from the gut.

When Percy was stung, he was at his best. He didn't believe in intellectual sophistry. Using earthy language, he hit back by going for the jugular

He had also been accused of doing nothing for black journalists, but as Harvard's local representative he had arranged fellowships for black journalists and bursaries for black graduates.

He was sometimes slandered by journalists who worked for him.

But such was the measure of the man's charm that they always remained in touch with him, shared a joke and argued with him, and almost without exception, genuinely mourned his passing at such a young age.

Life with Percy

It would have appealed to Percy Qoboza's sense of humour to hear the unstinting praise being heaped on him since his death, on his 50th birthday, last Sunday.

As editor of South Africa's biggest black newspaper — to say nothing of his difficult personality — Percy was a contentious figure, and inevitably his actions and decisions could not please all of the people all of the time. Many who are praising him in death were somewhat less complimentary in life.

If he could have been around, he'd have enjoyed seeing long time political foes — some who had threatened to kill him — offering obeisance to his memory.

His high-pitched giggle would have startled the sombre mourners gathered to bid him farewell.

A staunch Catholic, Percy always believed he would be able to watch the reaction to his passing. He was less sure of where he would be watching from.

He was born in Sophiatown in 1938. His family was removed to Soweto after the destruction of Sophiatown in the 50s. He studied theology in Lesotho for a brief period, but returned to Johannesburg to become a cadet reporter on *The World* in 1963.

Five years later he was appointed news editor, rising to editor in 1974. In 1975, he was awarded the Nieman Foundation Fellowship to study political science and sociology at Harvard University.

He was arrested in 1977 and detained for almost six months without trial when *The World* and *Weekend World* were banned. He later edited *Post* and *Sunday Post*. In 1980 he was invited to become guest editor of the *Washington Star*.

His many awards included honorary doctorates from Tufts University and Amherst College, the Golden Press Freedom Award from the International Publishers Association, and the Pringle Award from the Southern African Society of Journalists.

Percy, my one-time boss while editor of *Sunday Post* and later *City Press*, was never a hypocrite and revelled in mocking hypocrisy in others.

When he made the compromises forced upon him as editor of an outspokenly anti-apartheid newspaper owned by a pro government media group, he knew what he was doing. He never pretended otherwise.

His last years were not easy ones. Trapped between Nasionale Pers — which bought *City Press* three years ago as a vehicle to drive PW Botha's "reform" programme home in the townships — and a readership taking to the streets to oppose those "reforms", Percy walked a tightrope.

Physically, it drained him. His ulcer, fed by his unrepentant fondness for luke-warm Beefeater and tonic, plagued him continually.

But, like many of his journalistic generation, he never stopped to contemplate how his lifestyle was ravaging his body.

His drawers were filled with un-



At his desk Percy Qoboza in his heyday, shortly before the banning of *The World*

Percy Qoboza would have enjoyed watching his long-time foes so eagerly praising his memory

opened ulcer tablets prescribed by doctors — he preferred to consume end less quantities of bicarb dissolved in warm water.

Whenever he called Manana Ndudula, his secretary, into his office, she made an automatic detour for a glass of warm water. She also kept a spare box of bicarb in her drawer.

I don't like editors as a breed, and Percy was no angel. I'm still not sure what I thought of him as a person — at times he was lavishly warm hearted — but there is no question that he was the best editor I ever worked under.

That's true for dozens of South African reporters because PQ's contribution to South African journalism, and to his country, cannot easily be matched.

He was editor of the three most dynamic newspapers of their time. *World* and *Weekend World* were banned by Jimmy Kruger in October 1977 when Percy refused to soften the paper's coverage of the student uprising. This was despite daily calls from the justice minister.

Percy's second paper, *Sunday Post*, was the first in almost two decades to recognise the increasingly central role of the outlawed African National Congress in opposition politics. It was also first to campaign for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Largely as a result of this, the state effectively killed it off.

Then, after four years in the jour-

MONO BADELA remembers the years he spent working for Percy Qoboza, the country's best-known black editor, who died at the weekend.

nalist wilderness, Percy took on *City Press*. Something of that paper's impact can be judged by the fact that, at the height of unrest in 1985, young comrades risked their lives to rescue copies of *City Press* from a blazing newspaper delivery van. The youths set the van ablaze themselves — thinking it was carrying copies of other newspapers.

Such devotion was also reflected in the hundreds of letters that flowed in to *City Press*, the vast majority of them indicating a deep trust in the newspaper.

Part of Percy's greatness as an editor lay in his giving to those with ability the freedom of the paper's columns. Young journalists grew fast under PQ. They were given responsibility their contemporaries on other papers could only dream of.

But the years, and the pressure of life under National Party management took their toll. By day, Nasionale Pers steadily forced Percy to weaken the paper's stance. By night at the height of unrest, residents in Soweto begged him to be their street committee chairman.

On sensitive political issues Percy would at times ask me for an opinion. One morning he quietly called me to his office. Should he accept the chairmanship of the street committee? I told him he would lose nothing by being with his people. He may lose his job one day, I said, but he would never lose the faith and trust of his people.

I told him perhaps they needed his rich experience, and that the community knew very well he had been a foundation member of the Soweto Committee of Ten. We lived in different areas, so I cannot vouch that he chaired any meetings.

At *City Press*, Percy would escape the tensions of life by going to the blistering heat of a caravan used by the newspaper's drivers. There he would lose game after game of draughts, and rand after rand on the horses.

On Saturday mornings he would always be in a desperate hurry to finish the Sunday editorial, so he would have time to ponder his betting slips.

You will notice there aren't many of Percy's quotes in this story. It would be difficult to quote him without offending the censors.

In language, as in almost every other aspect of his life, Percy considered himself a man of the streets. He spoke a particularly foul dialect of *tsotsi taal* to everyone in the news room, often visibly savouring the shock of those who heard it.

It was only in his dress that he

broke with the street man image he relished. But even then, not completely. Some unconfirmed rumours had it that his perfectly tailored suits and imported shoes were bought "backdoor" from admirers, at a third of the shopfront value.

I started freelancing for *Sunday Post* in late 1979. A couple of months later, he phoned me to say "I've booked you on a plane to Johannesburg."

This caused him to use several notches in my estimation — I'd never flown before, and Percy was possible for my first flight.

Arriving at *Sunday Post's* Industria offices for an interview, I was somewhat surprised to meet a man with skinny shining black legs in shorts, a T-shirt and an incongruous set of teeth. However much you might admire Percy, you couldn't deny his basic ugliness.

Consistent with his hatred for formality and organisation, he chatted to me at the gate, then sent me off to be formally interviewed by his deputy, David Allen.

Some years later Percy was to ask me to fly to Cape Town and take his seat for the coronation of Desmond Tutu. Later, he decided at the last minute he could not face George Schultz on an American television programme. He simply said "Mono, don't say no, you'll do it. Go and face the man and say anything you like, but don't joke with him."

If PQ could get out of a meeting, he would. His lack of punctuality was legend, and even close friends never knew whether he would actually make appointments.

As an administrator he was a terrible failure. He hated bureaucracy and even the most routine administrative decisions would be delayed for months. No document was safe from his rubbish bin.

But under him his newspapers became integral to township life and the developing political organisations which the townships spawned. Although he generally succeeded in hiding it, Percy had a solid political mind.

He never took a political decision for the newspaper without calling in his political writers (and sometimes even outsiders) to argue the case. He frequently took decisions with which they — and I — disagreed.

His position on sanctions was a case in point. It is widely believed that Percy was opposed to comprehensive sanctions, and until about two years ago that was true. But the changing tide of public opinion and the government's intransigence slowly ate away at that opposition.

Although he would never say so in his editorials or his column, maintaining it was illegal — he had, by 1986, changed his mind.

Percy hero-worshipped Martin Luther King, the late civil rights champion. A huge portrait always hung in his office, wherever he was stationed. Ironically, Percy died on the eve of what would have been King's 53rd birthday.

W/Mail
22-28/11

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'Warned' far-right paper shuts ... but who pulled the trigger?

~~2/3~~
2/3

By SHAUN JOHNSON and MARIANNE MERTEN
DIE STEM, the only Rightwing newspaper to be threatened under the government's new media regulations, has closed down

Confusion surrounds the reasons for the unexpected termination of the organ of the Boerestaat Movement, which produced its last edition in December.

Die Stem's publisher, Robert van Tonder, has claimed the ministry of home affairs telephoned him in late December to announce that a censor was to be appointed for the newspaper — an allegation denied categorically by the minister.

In a related development, former allies of Van Tonder have launched a new Rightwing newspaper catering for the same audience. Called *Die Volkstem*, its first edition is due to be published today

In an interview with *Weekly Mail*, Boerestaat Movement leader Van Tonder said: "*Die Stem* was closed down by the government .. (After receiving a letter informing me of action being contemplated by the minister) I had to reply to a number of things and told (Minister of Home Affairs) Stoffel Botha I couldn't because my attorneys were on holiday

"He then sent me a long telegram to say I must reply immediately when I replied, their proclamation was already with the government printers

"Then I had a telephone call from his office to the effect that they are going to appoint a monitor now, and I must submit everything to them Under those conditions I could not continue to produce a newspaper"

A statement from the minister's office flatly rejected this explanation "It has been established that neither the Minister nor his staff have any knowledge of such an irresponsible telephone call It is categorically denied that the Minister's office made such a call

"In fact Mr Van Tonder had requested an interview with the Minister soon after he was advised of contemplated action but a date and time has not been set at this stage"

Weekly Mail has established that a rarefied political wrangle on the far Right may have been the core reason

●To PAGE 3

Right-wing paper shuts down

for *Die Stem's* demise
According to Johannes Pienaar, editor of the new publication, *Die Volkstem*, there were "some problems" with the final issue of *Die Stem*, leading to the appointment of a new editor, a staff reshuffle, and the formation of a new company, Volkstem Koerant CC

Boerestaat Publishers, which owned *Die Stem*, no longer has any connection with the new publication, and Van Tonder apparently has no editorial or financial influence over *Die Volkstem*

Van Tonder's specific commitment to the Boerestaat Movement was unacceptable to Pienaar, who says the new paper will be "completely neutral" supporting the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, and whatever Rightwing organisations exist, including the Boerestaat Movement

Van Tonder's direct political links were "not in the interests of *Die Volkstem*", says Pienaar, who is reputed to "lean towards" Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party
The possibility cannot be discounted that the change in structure and name is an elaborate ploy to avoid a

paper shuts down

●From PAGE 1

government clampdown, but this is hotly denied by both Pienaar and Van Tonder

Despite their ideological differences, the two right-wingers remain united in their excommunication of the government and the ruling National Party

"*Die Stem* was warned in a letter in Afrikaans by a certain person named (Stoffel) Botha that the paper had contravened certain sections of an Act," says Pienaar "There is no logic in his viewpoint . We cannot understand his Afrikaans



Minister's door may not 'always be open'

Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha is not obliged to give any person a hearing when considering action against a newspaper under the latest press curbs

This was laid down in a Government Gazette proclamation which clarifies last year's "slow-motion censorship" curbs involving a series of warnings and counter-representations possibly leading to closure or the calling in of Government censors.

The regulation stipulating that newspapers do not have automatic access to the Minister follows a statement by Mr Botha, in announcing the curbs last year, that his "door was always open".

A spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs said yesterday there was "nothing sinister" in the new regulations

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3/88
CLAIRE ROBERTSON
Pretoria Bureau

The affected papers are still allowed to make written representation to the Minister after he objects to certain items

The proclamation also sets down that the Minister — who is responsible for deciding when newspapers have endangered public safety to the extent that they must be closed or censored by the Government — is not required to "disclose any grounds for such action to any person"

The Minister does not have to give the newspaper publisher anything other than a list indicating which comments, articles, advertisements or photographs are being taken into account in his action against the paper

SPAC
23/1/88
Nor is the Minister obliged to disclose anything other than "an indication why each item is being taken into account".

The new censorship system includes a series of warnings and counter-representations from the paper, possibly leading to a gazetted warning which may be followed by closure for three-month periods or the imposition of pre-publication censorship

Three newspapers have received formal warnings, and the *Weekly Mail* and *New Nation*, have received specific objections to their publications

The new regulation was backdated to last year. However, a spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs said this back-dating would not affect the ongoing *New Nation* application to have its warning set aside

Capt. 7/1/83. 23/1/83. (246)
State appeal bid refused

PRETORIA. — A state bid for leave to appeal against a judgment which set aside an emergency press curb last year was refused in the Supreme Court here yesterday.

After hearing argument for the state by Mr P C van der Byl, SC, Mr Justice H Daniels said it was not necessary to hear the replying argument from The Argus and Times Media Ltd newspaper groups and refused the application.

The commissioner and minister were appealing against a decision in January last year which set aside an order restricting reporting on any unlawful organization.

The order was issued by the commissioner in terms of the emergency regulations after newspapers published advertisements calling for the unbanning of the African National Congress.

The Commissioner of Police and the Minister of Law and Order were ordered to pay the costs of the application. — Sapa

Sharp Afrikaner criticism over Thebehali return

W/Mail 87
24/12/88
19/1/88

By PATRICK LAURENCE

THE appointment of former Soweto Mayor David Thebehali as administrator of Diepmeadow has evoked criticism from within the Afrikaner establishment.

In an editorial the pro-government Afrikaans newspaper, *Beeld*, criticised Transvaal Administrator Willem Cruywagen for appointing Thebehali to administer Diepmeadow's affairs after he dissolved the Diepmeadow Council.

"It will help very little to replace stubborn town councils with people who are completely discredited in the eyes of blacks," *Beeld* said.

"Mr David Thebehali, the man who has now been placed in charge of Diepmeadow, was a controversial person as mayor of Soweto who was finally rejected totally by his own people and virtually driven out of the giant city."

Beeld's criticism of Cruywagen's choice of administrator was printed in bold letters for emphasis. Its tone echoed and reinforced an earlier editorial in *The Sowetan*.

"His track record does not warrant the appointment," *The Sowetan* declared of Thebehali.

"He lost his position in the Soweto City Council because even the small number of people who turned up at the elections to his ward rejected him in favour of somebody else.

"Appointing a man who has been publicly rejected at the polls as administrator of another township is merely worsening a serious problem."

Aged 49, Thebehali, one of the original Young Progressives and a

former member of Inkatha, was Soweto mayor from 1978 to 1983.

In 1983, in the first poll under the Black Local Authorities Act, he and his deputy, Tolica Makhaya, were trounced by candidates of Ephraim Tshabalala's Sofasonke Party.

Thereafter he largely disappeared from political life, surfacing occasionally in public: once as the Reverend David Thebehali in a religious programme on black TV, once as a businessman who was booted off the executive of the Soweto Chamber of Commerce for non-payment of his R21 membership fee, and once, in June 1987, when Mr Justice Richard Goldstone gave judgement in default against him in favour of Standard Bank for R29 781.

Fears have been expressed by *The Sowetan* and the Azanian People's Organisation that Thebehali has been specially chosen as administrator of Diepmeadow to break the rent boycott.

One of the reasons cited by Cruywagen for dissolving the Diepmeadow Council is its inability and unwillingness to recover outstanding rent and service charges.

Thebehali was certainly a boycott-breaker in another sense: he stood for election to the Soweto Community Council in 1978 when the cry, in the wake of the 1976 student rebellion, was to blacks to get out of "dummy institutions".

The poll in the 1978 Soweto election was six percent. In the ward where Thebehali stood, he received 97 votes in a 4,4 percent poll, enough to win him a place in the Soweto Council.

A former member of Soweto's Urban Bantu Council — dubbed the "Useless Boys' Club" by black activists — Thebehali refused to regard the low poll in 1978 as a clear sign that a decisive majority of Sowetans wanted nothing to do with the community council.

He rapidly became one of the best paid mayors in South Africa, his salary far outstripping those of his fellow black mayors and rising nearly 500 percent in 15 months to more than R20 500 a year.

According to David Grnaker, a former secretary to the Diepmeadow Council, Thebehali "lived like a prince in a huge house constructed for the Soweto mayor by the Afrikaans Chamber of Commerce".

It did not endear him to the people, as the 1983 election showed. It did make him a target for assassination, his expensive mayoral car being destroyed towards the end of his term by bombers who tried to kill him.

While mayor of Soweto, he strove to unite the three town councils in Greater Soweto — Soweto proper, Diepmeadow and Dobsonville — into one council under his aegis. He failed.

But now, having been rescued from obscurity by Cruywagen, he has been appointed supremo of Diepmeadow, an ambition which eluded him when he was Soweto mayor.

ST 24/11/88

10 000 will ²⁴³ attend Qoboza funeral

By ANN PALMER

ABOUT 10 000 people, including prominent local figures and foreign diplomats, are expected to attend the funeral today of Mr Percy Qoboza, the editor of City Press, who died last Sunday.

The funeral will start with a mass at 10am at the Regina Mundi Church in Rockville, Soweto.

The cortege will leave the church for Doornkop Cemetery at 2pm.

Speakers will include the president of the Soweto Civic Association, Dr Ntatho Motlana.

In accordance with restrictions imposed by the police, there will be no speakers from the Azanian People's Organisation and the United Democratic Front, a friend of the family said.

On Friday the Divisional Commissioner of Police for Soweto ordered that no person other than an ordained minister of religion would be permitted to speak at the funeral.

The prohibition did not, however, apply to speakers who had obtained prior police approval.

Mourners will also not be allowed to display or distribute flags, banners, placards, pamphlets or posters.

● See also Page 32

Tribute

PERCY QOBOZA - LIFE OF SERVICE

PERCY Qoboza, editor of *City Press*, died in the early hours of last Sunday morning, on his 50th birthday. Percy was born on January 17, 1938.

He became a junior reporter with the *World* and *Weekend World* in 1963. In 1965 he took on the double roles of political and municipal reporter. He was appointed the paper's news editor in 1968 - a position he held until 1974, when he became editor.

It was during the 1976 riots that Qoboza's name started to come under the international spotlight as he took the government "head-on". Then, in 1977 the government closed down the *World*. Percy was detained for five months in Modder B Prison. He was released without being charged.

On his release, he was appointed editor of *Post* and *Sunday Post* which had replaced the closed *World* and *Weekend World*.

In 1980, he spent a year in the US as guest editor of the *Washington Star*, which had recently been purchased by publishers of *Time-Life*.

While he was in the United States, *Post* and *Sunday Post* were also closed down.

On his return to South Africa he spent some years with a top business public relations company.

In 1984 he joined *City Press* as associate editor, and took over the editorship on January 1, 1986.

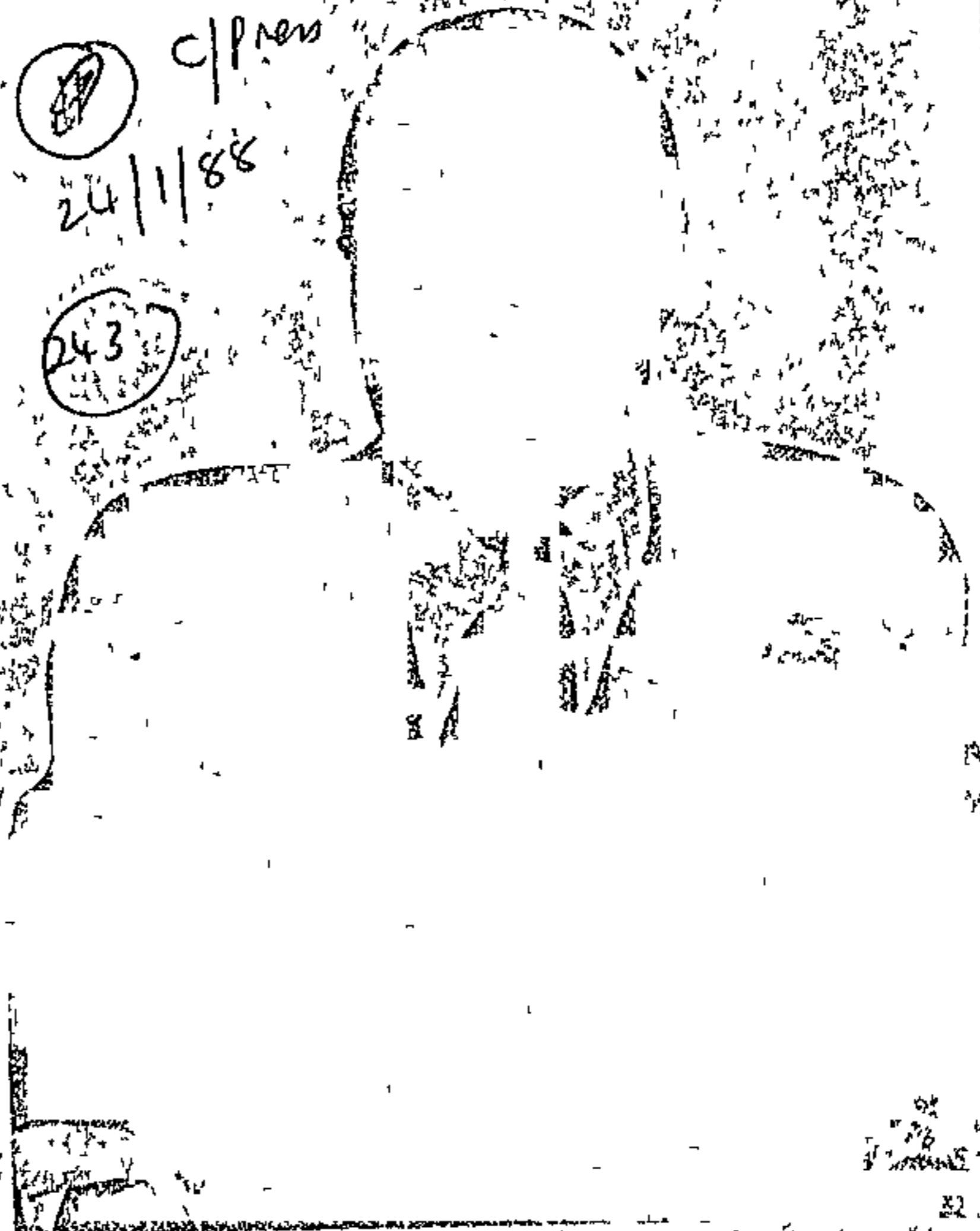
He was a Mann Fellow at Harvard University, held the Golden Pin of Freedom from the International Federation of Newspaper Proprietors, and had two Honorary Doctorates in Human Letters, from Tufts University and Amherst College respectively - all the above being in the United States - and the Prince Award from the South African Society of Journalists.

The Qoboza home is in Semone.

He leaves his wife, Ann, who is a schoolteacher, a son, 19, and four daughters - Nompl, 24, Thokozela, 22, and Nyus Simangeli and Ntshwazi, 17.

Under Qoboza's editorship, *City Press*'s circulation climbed steadily as the newspaper, vigorously reflected the interests and aspirations of its readers.

Ironically, the last edition of *City Press* which Percy Qoboza edited before going on leave and falling ill established a new circulation record, with sales of over 200 000 for the first time.



Percy Qoboza, *City Press* editor who gained international recognition.

Qoboza met challenges of the times

THE early death of Percy Qoboza, editor of *City Press*, robbed South African journalism of one of its most courageous personalities. For Vosloo, managing director of National Media Limited, it was a tribute.

National Media Limited, Drum Publications, the publisher of *City Press*.

In his varied career, Mr Qoboza had to cope with what exceptional challenges.

The first was the dramatic closure of his news paper the *World* in 1977 and his own detention without trial for five months in the old Modder B Prison.

That action by the then Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, made Mr Qoboza a martyr in the eyes of many. He paid a high price. His life was disrupted and he left South Africa temporarily, but in the US he came to the conclusion he had to be

directly involved in the South African scene instead of shouting from the sidelines.

"Few people realised the extent to which Mr Kruger's action came as an affront to Mr Qoboza's professional pride. He had great difficulty in coming to terms with that arbitrary action and he never forgave Mr Kruger for what he viewed as over-hasty and ill-judged action.

The other great chal-

lenge came in 1984 when National Media bought Drum Publications from Mr Jim Bailey. Mr Qoboza was by then re-established in South African journalism.

"Suddenly, he found himself working for Afrikaner nationalists. He had to take stock of his own position in his community in relation to the difficult South African environment with all its cross currents and frequent re-orientation."

"As editor of *City Press* he had to make a collective decision for many colleagues and people of the black community who looked up to him for leadership. He gave his blessing to the new link for the sake of a new chapter in South African journalism.

"It so happened that South Africa was riddled by uproar and violence in 1985 and 1986. It took great insight for a black South African journalist to do his job properly and to gain credibility.

The world pours out its sorrow

HERE follows messages of condolences that were sent to Percy Qoboza's family and all staff at Drum Publications. We regret that because of space we were unable to publish all of them.

IT is with shock that we have heard of Percy Qoboza's untimely death and I wish to express to you and all those associated with your paper the deep condolences of this institute and of myself personally. - Professor John Barrott, The South African Institute of International Affairs.

WE have heard with shock and sadness of Percy Qoboza's sudden death. Gone is a man of often great vision who could, at times, scale admirable heights of morality.

Be assured that I share your sense of loss, and please pass on my sincere condolences to his family and friends. - Howard Barrell, Hararo.

WOULD you please convey to Mrs Qoboza and her family our sympathy and compassion. - DCG Mateza, of the Black Tennis Foundation.

OUR deepest condolences

at the loss of your editor Mr Qoboza was a truly great South African. The directors of Jazz Stores Limited.

THE board and staff of the African Bank deeply regret the loss of one of Africa's most dynamic leaders - Gaby Magomola, the African Bank Limited.

SOUTH African journalism has lost one of its leading figures. Our sincere condolences with the death of Mr Percy Qoboza - Die Volksblad, Bloemfontein.

THE directors and management of King Food regret the sad loss of your editor, Mr P Qoboza, and would like to express our heartfelt condolences to *City Press* - JWA du Plessis, GM.

DEEPEST sympathy at the passing of Percy Qoboza. Great editor. I only remember - Abe Berry, cartoonist.

THE staff of the *Weekly Mail* express their condolences at the passing of Percy Qoboza, a fighting spirit who helped pioneer the revival of serious black journalism in the 70s.

OUR sincere condolences

to the staff of *City Press* at the passing away of your editor and friend Percy Qoboza - First National Bank.

DEEPEST sympathy with your sad loss - Ierdi Daniels and colleagues, Rupert International.

PLEASE accept our sincere and deep sympathy. A dear friend has gone - Israeli Embassy.

PERCY Qoboza had no business to die. Not at a time when his incisive writing skills and his perceptive mind was shedding light on the ever-blackening clouds above South Africa. - Lric Mann, Sandile Memela and Nhlundla Mabaso, Oglivy Mather RSI/M.

ON behalf of Niemans everywhere and freedom-loving journalists everywhere we send you (Mrs Anne Qoboza) and your children our sincere condolences - Nieman Foundation, United States.

ON behalf of the Indian community, the Transvaal Indian Congress extends its deepest sympathy to the

Qoboza family. - IIC.

SOUTH Africa has lost a dedicated opponent of apartheid. We share your grief and sorrow. - The United Democratic Front.

THE Justice and Peace Group at the Catholic Cathedral of Christ the King would like to extend our sincere condolences to the family of Percy Qoboza.

City Press and South Africa has lost an outstanding and courageous journalist and a fine editor. - Graham Bailey.

I SHOULD like to express to you my sincere condolences on the untimely death of your editor - Dr Immo Strabiet, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany.

It is with deepest sympathy that the management committee of Nafec expresses its condolences. - BS Molebatsi.

PI FASI accept our sincere condolences on the passing of Percy. Our warmest wishes are with your staff and family in this sad time. Management staff of Radio 702.

"It is fitting to say that Mr Qoboza came out of that period with an enhanced reputation. In the process he set a professional example to many journalists who work in similar circumstances.

"He was constantly surrounded from all sides everyone waiting for him to make a grave mistake, but Mr Qoboza did his job in a way that won him the respect of his peers."

"South African journalism has lost a key figure. The particular community he served lost a cornerstone. This is particularly true of *City Press* which under his leadership, rocketed from just over 100 000 sales to over 200 000 in four years.

"On behalf of National Media Limited, I extend our heartfelt condolences to Mrs Anne Qoboza and her family," said Vosloo.

"A nerve-racking job took an early toll on their husband and father, but they can take solace from Mr Qoboza's journalistic contribution, which he attained in the face of demands which are normally never put to other colleagues in the field."

Bl/day 25/1/88.
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Judge rules in favour of Press

PRETORIA — A Pretoria Supreme Court judge on Friday refused the State leave to appeal against a judgment which set aside an emergency Press curb last year.

The Commissioner of Police and Law and Order Minister were ordered to pay the costs of the application.

After hearing argument for the State by P C van der Byl, SC, Mr Justice Daniels said it was not necessary to hear the replying argument from The Argus and Times Media Ltd newspaper groups and refused the application.

The commissioner and minister were appealing against a decision handed down in January last year which set aside an order restricting reporting on any unlawful organisation.

The order was issued by the commissioner in terms of the emergency regulations after newspapers published advertisements calling for the unbanning of the ANC.

The order, which applied countrywide, prohibited editors from publishing any advertisement or report calculated to improve the image of any unlawful organisation or any report which explained or defended any unlawful organisation's resistance strategies.

Judge Daniels ruled at the time that the commissioner had exceeded the powers granted him by the emergency regulations because he made the order applicable to the whole of SA.

The regulation, in terms of which the order was made, only empowered him to forbid the actions of any person in a "particular area", the judge found. This did not mean the entire country.

Van der Byl argued another court could decide that "particular area" could include the entire Republic.

The judge asked him: "Then why did the legislator use the words 'particular area'? Why did he not simply say 'the Republic of SA'?" — Sapa.

Hundreds at Qoboza funeral

By Montshiwa Moroke

Hundreds of mourners — among them the United States ambassador to South Africa, Mr Edward Perkins — attended the colourful and moving funeral of *City Press* editor, Mr Percy Qoboza, in Soweto yesterday

Among the mourners were newspaper editors, leading businessmen and community leaders.

The funeral was covered by local and international press, as well as foreign television crews.

Police in plainclothes filmed proceedings as the coffin and mourners left the Regina Mundi Church and then followed the procession to the Doornkop cemetery

The deputy editor of the *Sowetan*, Mr Aggrey Klaaste, delivered a scathing attack on the police for imposing restrictions and for their presence throughout the service

A message of condolence from Harvard University, where Mr Qoboza spent a year as a Nieman Fellow, was also read.

Mr Keith Lister, the publisher of *Drum* magazine, described Mr Qoboza as "an extraordinary man".

He announced that the publication would establish a Percy Qoboza Foundation and a correspondence course for journalists and others who want to improve their writing skills

25/1/88



City Press editorial staff, Len Kalane (left), Khulu Sibiyi, Derrick Luthayi and Z B Molefe and publisher Keith Lister paid their last respects to former editor Mr Percy Qoboza at a funeral in Soweto yesterday.

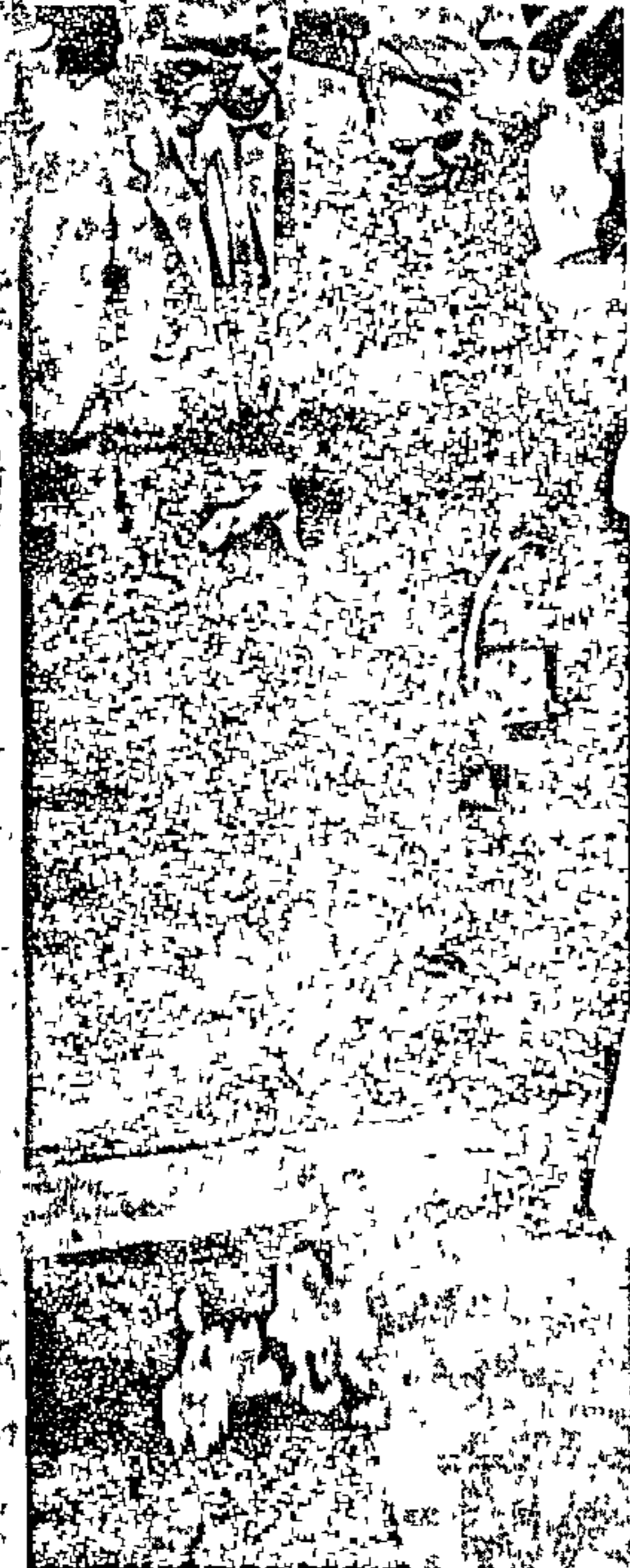
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Among the people at Mr Qoboza's funeral yesterday were American ambassador Mr Edward Perkins (front right).
● Pictures by Herbert Mabuza.

MOURNERS

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FAREWELL Mrs Anne Qoboza gently drops flowers into her late husband's grave

DEFIANT

By SELLO RABOTHATA
MOURNERS yesterday defied restrictions placed on the funeral of City Press editor Mr Percy Qoboza while hundreds of security forces in armoured vehicles and squatting in the veld, lined the route to Doornkop cemetery

At Doornkop cemetery, a light airplane flew constantly over the thousands of mourners that included most of the well-known people from the Reef, Bophuthatswana, Swaziland, Lesotho and scores of diplomatic corps and foreign reporters

As the long stream of cars kilometres long was nearing the cemetery a crowd of young mourners started the well known 'Tovitov' chant and kept up the rhythm throughout the ceremony at the graveyard

Political slogans

On the way back from Doornkop the youths sang and chanted political slogans. In loads of police and security forces in armoured vehicles drove slowly past the Qoboza home but there were no incidents

Mr Qoboza was buried at the Doornkop Cemetery after a service at the Regina Mundi Church in Rockville, Soweto

Representatives of the United Democratic Front, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Release Mandela Committee were effectively banned from speaking at the funeral by the Divisional Commissioner of Police for Soweto Brigadier A P van Zyl

But a speaker from the RMC addressed mourners and lashed out at the restrictions claiming the Government were afraid of Mr Qoboza even as he lay on his death bed

Among dignitaries who attended were the United States ambassador to South Africa, Mr Edward Perkins

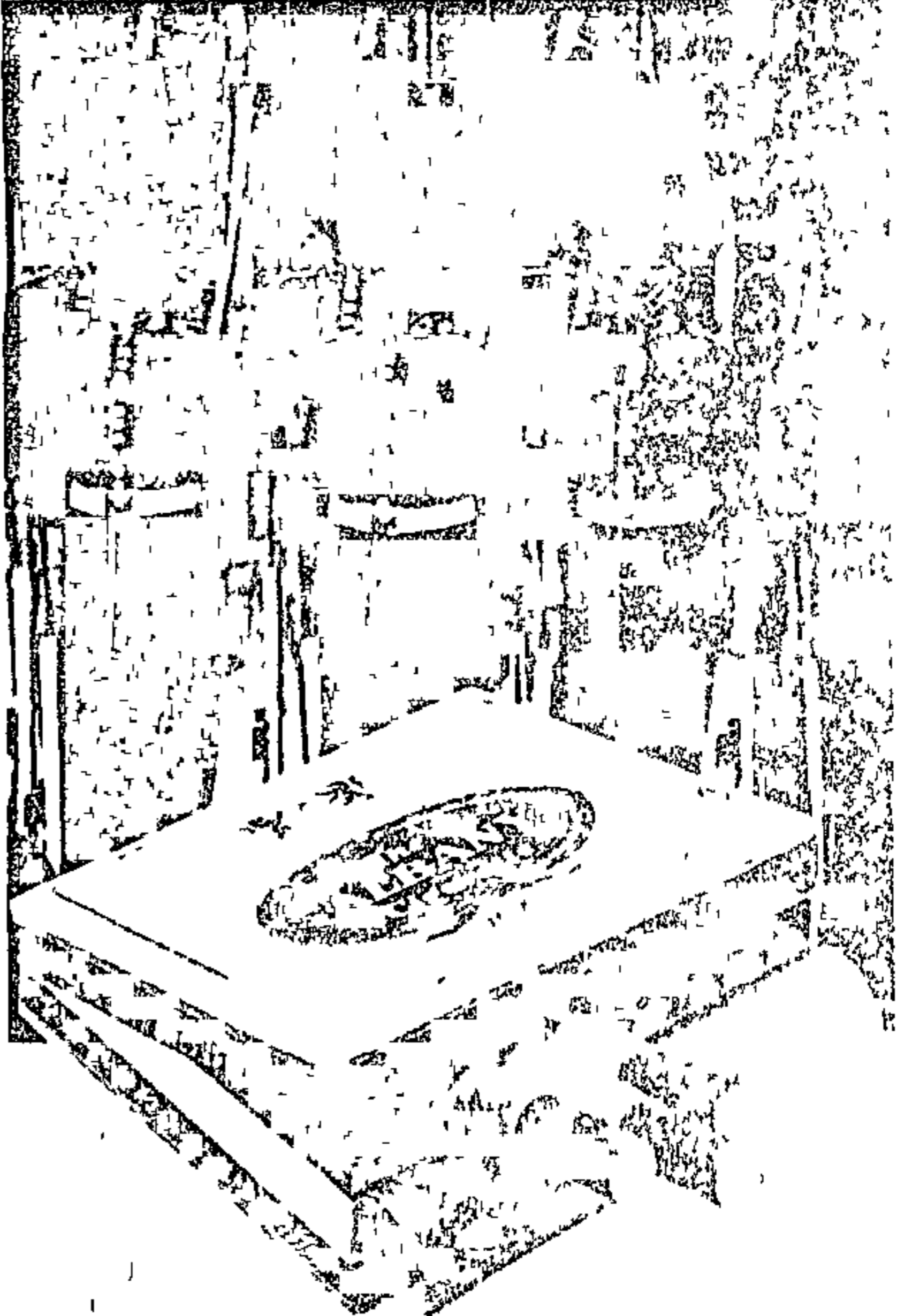
Filmed

While the church was filled to near capacity by the thousands of people who had come to pay their respects, across the Potchefstroom Road the police nonchalantly filmed the proceedings from two kombis and a car

The Soweto traffic department not only directed traffic to the Doornkop cemetery but also directed cars back to his Senaone home

See page 10

The Guards, London's most famous regiment's



Albany. London's most exclusive taste since 1899.

Since 1660 the privilege of guarding British Royalty has belonged to the Guards. Part of the rich heritage of tradition and ceremony that is so much part of London. In the same tradition you will find the Albany Cigarette. London's quality cigarette since 1899. Enjoy that same fine taste today with the specially imported tobaccos of Albany Blended with the expertise of over 80 years of craftsmanship

The Albany cigarette with the wonder Aylon filter

Available in the exclusive 20's and 30's packs

By appointment to Her Majesty the Queen. Made in South Africa with the finest tobacco.

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AIDS scandal

THE Department of Education and Training does not allow health workers to enter Government schools to inform pupils on the dangers of Aids (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome), Dr Robin Sher, head of the Department of Serology at the SA Institute of Medical Research said.

Dr Sher said he did not know the reason why education authorities took this position, but thought it may be because the subject deals

By THABISO LESHOA

with the issue of sex

You can use the Boy Scout's hall right next to the school to address school children after school", he said "but you just can't get into the school. Dr Sher said in the past year he had managed to address children in one school

"Maybe it's just a question of each individual headmaster taking a decision and being prepared to take

responsibility for reactions from parents and authorities," he said. "The public relations firm that will be handling the Government's Aids awareness campaign has been negotiating to bring the subject into schools for about six weeks. Asked why they had taken so long the spokesman for the firm said "It is to establish ground rules"

The spokesman said they hoped to be able to talk to children of 13 years and upwards over the next few months.

(92) Smetem 25/1/88

Mwasa to go ahead with strike action

The Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) decided yesterday to go ahead with its earlier resolution to strike, following management's refusal to meet the union's wage demands.

Another deadlock was reached during last Friday's meeting with Argus and Times Media Limited, which together own this newspaper, *Sowetan*, *Pretoria News*, *Cape Argus*, *Daily News*, *Financial Mail*, *Business Day* and *Sunday Times*.

Yesterday's decision, taken at a meeting held at the Orlando DOCC hall, means that Mwasa will apply to the Minister of Manpower, Mr P T du Plessis, to appoint a conciliation board to resolve the dispute, failing which a ballot would be taken for a legal strike.

A spokesman for Mwasa today said that the union's lawyers would be consulted this week on the strike action.

Mwasa is demanding a 20 percent across-the-board wage increase, while the two companies are offering 16 percent.

The spokesman said other demands were being resolved at plant level.

The Argus newspaper chapel of the Southern African Society of Journalists yesterday voted to delay acceptance of the wage package offered by management at this year's negotiations.

Their decision is in support of Mwasa's standpoint.



Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha . . . tightened-up media curbs mean that his opinion is the only yardstick

Minister's sweeping new grip on the media

By Claire Robertson, Pretoria Bureau

New media regulations, which were announced on Friday, "entrench Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha's own opinion as the only yardstick for determining whether any publication is 'guilty of disseminating subversive propaganda,'" according to a Johannesburg media lawyer

The regulations tighten up media curbs issued in August last year which provide for a system of warnings from and representations to the Minister when he considers material in any publication objectionable. He is empowered to close or have censored any publication.

The latest regulation sets out that the Minister has to give only a list of what he finds objectionable, and "an indication" why.

NATURAL JUSTICE

This means the Minister can make out "a very cursory case, and this amendment is to meet the point that he has to provide more particulars (about the nature of the objection) — a point which follows the rules of natural justice that the accused must understand the case against him," the lawyer said.

In terms of the new regulation, the Minister does not have to give any person a hearing when deciding what steps to take against a publication.

It is understood that the publications warned have each included a request for an oral hearing in the written reply to the Minister which they are allowed to submit in terms of the regulations.

In announcing the new curbs the Minister gave an assurance that his "door was always open" to discuss the issue.

"It makes the case that much harder when seeking to challenge or reply to an order from the Minister," said the lawyer, who asked not to be named for professional reasons.

CLOSE LOOPHOLES

The lawyer said that the new regulation sought to close "some of the loopholes possibly highlighted by the *New Nation* case", referring to the application brought by the Johannesburg newspaper to have its warning set aside.

"The Minister realises that he has to close those loopholes if he is to utilise this legislation effectively in future," the lawyer said.

The Cape newspaper *South*, the periodical *Work in Progress* and the right-wing publication *Die Stem* have all entered the second phase of the "slow-motion censorship" in receiving formal, gazetted warnings.

Die Stem has closed down, claiming to have been threatened with censorship, which the Government denies.

The *New Nation* and the *Weekly Mail* have both received lists of material which the Minister finds objectionable. *New Nation* has responded with the court application, while the *Weekly Mail* has replied in writing to the Minister, informing him that it "cannot even understand" the warning.

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Activists, diplomats at Qoboza's funeral

SOWETO — Anti-apartheid activists and diplomats paid tribute yesterday to Percy Qoboza

Approximately 1500 mourners crowded into the Regina Mundi Catholic Church here for a four-hour service marked by militant anti-apartheid oratory and condemnations of police curbs

A police order prohibited any non-clergyman from speaking at the funeral without permission from Soweto's police commander. The display of banners, flags or placards also was banned

Plans for speeches by officials of the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation, were dropped because of the order

However, a prominent activist not listed

on the funeral programme, Mr Aubrey Mokoena of the Release Mandela Committee, was called to the podium midway through the service and gave a fiery address after telling the crowd that the police restrictions "cannot be tolerated"

Mrs Winnie Mandela, the wife of the jailed ANC leader, entered the church shortly before Mr Mokoena spoke with an escort of youths wearing track suits of gold, green and black — the colours of the ANC

Qoboza began his career as a reporter for the World newspaper in 1963, became its news editor in 1968 and its editor in 1974

The government closed the World in 1977, in the aftermath of the Soweto riots the previous year, and Qoboza was detained for

five months without charge

He next edited the Post, which the government closed in 1980 while he was in the United States as guest editor of the now-defunct Washington Star

In 1984, he joined City Press. Some of Qoboza's political associates were appalled by his decision, but he erased their doubts by demanding and receiving total editorial independence for the paper

The publisher of City Press, Mr Keith Lister, said "This man changed the face of South African journalism and changed the face of South African society. He did it by insisting that his reporters write for their readers and the community they serve"

City Press announced this week that its circulation had topped 200 000 for the first time

An editor and columnist at the Sowetan newspaper, Mr Aggrey Klaaste, said Qoboza "would have relished the ban on his funeral"

"He would have come out (on his edi-



The United States ambassador, Mr Edward Perkins, at the funeral

torial page) with both guns blazing"

A prominent Soweto activist, Dr Ntatho Motlana, said Qoboza's editorials had played a key role in politicising blacks nationwide following the 1976 uprising by black students in Soweto

Dr Motlana also said the late editor had inspired many black youths to consider a career in journalism

"South African journalism, which has suffered much, now suf-

fers more," said a message read at the service from the president of Harvard University, Mr Derek Bok

Qoboza was a Nieman fellow at Harvard in 1975-76

The eulogies were interspersed with numerous hymns and songs, including emotional renditions of Frank Sinatra's My Way and John Lennon's Imagine

The first black US ambassador to South Africa, Mr Edward Perkins, attended the ceremony — Sapa



Mrs Anne Qoboza and her son, Vusumuzi, 19.

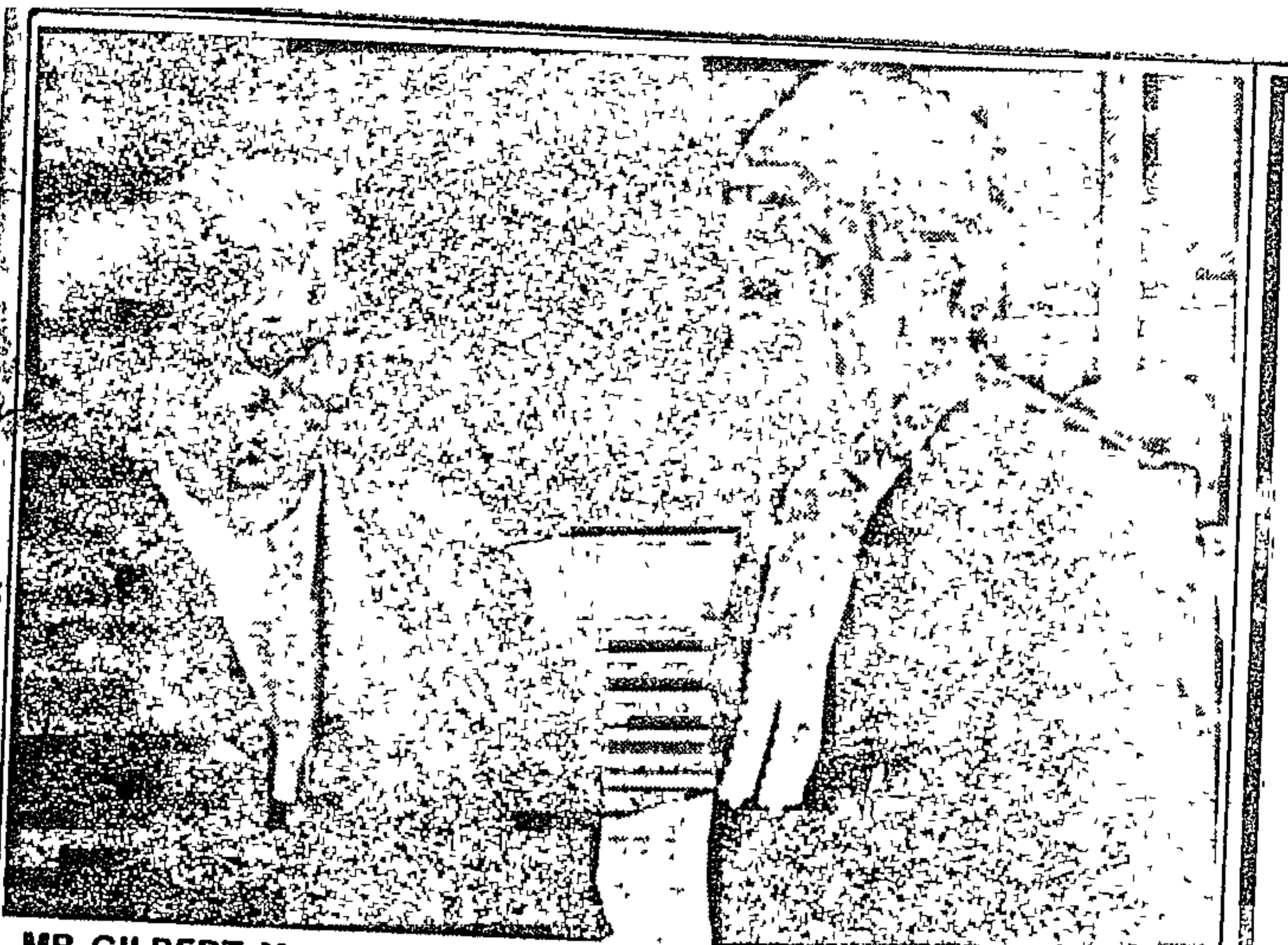
include the rich (funerals); staff associations at South es and South African Airways and the Post workers Unie (Pretoria Portland Cement, associations of City Tramways and Bay ar of new unions have been established, ment of an industrial sector, sometimes , registered union which is perceived as members. The proliferation of unions is in Cape Town, where four small unions last year: the Clothing Workers Union, gain members at the expense of the giant Garment workers union (western Province); the Plastic and Allied Workers Union, which has members in a few plastics factories; the Retail and Allied Workers Union which has members in the commercial sector, but operates primarily among dairy workers; and the Western Province Administration Board Workers Union, whose membership is limited to employees of that Board.

New Nation fights curbs

The Catholic Church-owned weekly newspaper, *New Nation*, today begins a legal challenge in the Rand Supreme Court to Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha's press curbs.

The newspaper is among several which have been warned for allegedly publishing "subversive" material.

New Nation is seeking a court order declaring restrictions issued by Mr Botha on August 28, 1987 invalid. Alternatively it wants the court to declare warnings against it invalid. — Sapa.



MR GILBERT Marcus and Mr Jules Browde, SC, at the Rand Supreme Court yesterday. They are representing the *New Nation*, whose case has been postponed to Monday.

THE *New Nation* case challenging media restrictions has been postponed until Monday at the Rand Supreme Court, a statement from *New Nation* said yesterday.

This follows a consultation between the Judge President of the Transvaal and counsel for the newspaper.

New Nation, a South African Catholic Bishops' Conference publication, was given a warning notice in terms of the emergency regulations in November last year and Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha later indicated he was considering taking further action which could result in a three-month ban or the appointment of a censor.

The newspaper is asking the court to declare media restrictions issued in August last year invalid and unlawful. It is also asking that warning notices issued against the newspaper be declared invalid and set aside.

Bishop Reginald

New Nation case held over

Orsmond, Bishop of Johannesburg, said in an affidavit before the court that the newspaper had asked for a personal audience, because Mr Botha had indicated his door would always be open to editors, but it was refused.

The Minister's refusal to grant an audience and his summary rejection of representations made to him by the newspaper, had made him apprehensive about his future conduct. Bishop Ors-

mond said

He said *New Nation* had encountered genuine difficulties in interpreting the regulations. *New Nation* was completely committed to a peaceful resolution of the conflict in South Africa.

He said the emphasis in the newspaper was on current events which have a particular bearing on the black community.

If the newspaper was suspended, it would have the effect of permanently closing the newspaper. It would lose its advertisers, its readers and possibly its staff.

However, the staff of the newspaper felt it would be intolerable to work under a censor and felt it would "utterly compromise the journalistic profession," Bishop Orsmond said.

Mr Botha said in papers that he had come to the decision that *New Nation* published material which caused a threat to public safety, the maintenance of public order and the termination of the state of emergency.

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Mr Adriaan Vlok

Vlok tells police to find killers of Soweto teenager

The Argus Correspondent
VOLKSRUST. — The Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok has told police to do everything possible to find the murderers of Sicelo Dhlomo, a Detainees' Parents' Support Committee worker whose body was found in Soweto on Monday.

Mr Dhlomo, 18, had appeared in a CBS documentary, Children of Apartheid, where his detention and alleged torture were referred to by the narrator and where he described experiences with the police.

Mr Vlok recounted the circumstances of the murder at a National Party by-election meeting in Volksrust last night, while outlining the "merciless way enemies of South Africa misused children".

"TO THE WORLD"

Without mentioning Mr Dhlomo by name, Mr Vlok said the youth had taken part in the film and told how he was tortured and detained. CBS did not get police comment, the Minister said.

"The boy was put on film and his message was sent to the world. Last week we identified the boy and found out who he was. He voluntarily went with the police to John Vorster Square, where they showed him the film.

"Afterwards he voluntarily made a statement."

Mr Vlok said the boy told the police he was told what to say in the film. "We were investigating the case. He was being misused and told lies against South Africa. On Monday he was murdered.

UAT 11A

"CHILDREN MISUSED"

"I have told the police to do everything possible to find his murderers. We cannot allow this sort of thing, that young children are misused to tell lies to the world against South Africa and then he (sic) is found dead.

"We are not prepared to accept this. This is the strategy used by our enemies.

"They are trying to mobilise the masses to stand up against the Government because the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress soldiers cannot beat the SAP and SADF," Mr Vlok said.

● The murder of Sicelo Dhlomo and police statements about his death have been condemned by a spokesman for the South African Youth Congress. "We are convinced it must have been the work of death squads," the spokesman said, adding that Sayco, from the experience of its own members, believed what Sicelo had said publicly about detention.

"Why do the police issue a statement only now, after his death? They had nearly two months after the TV programme to say which parts of it they considered to be false"

New Nation to court on Monday

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE *New Nation* faces Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha in court on Monday ~~for~~ knowing that it was only this case that stopped him from closing the paper last week.

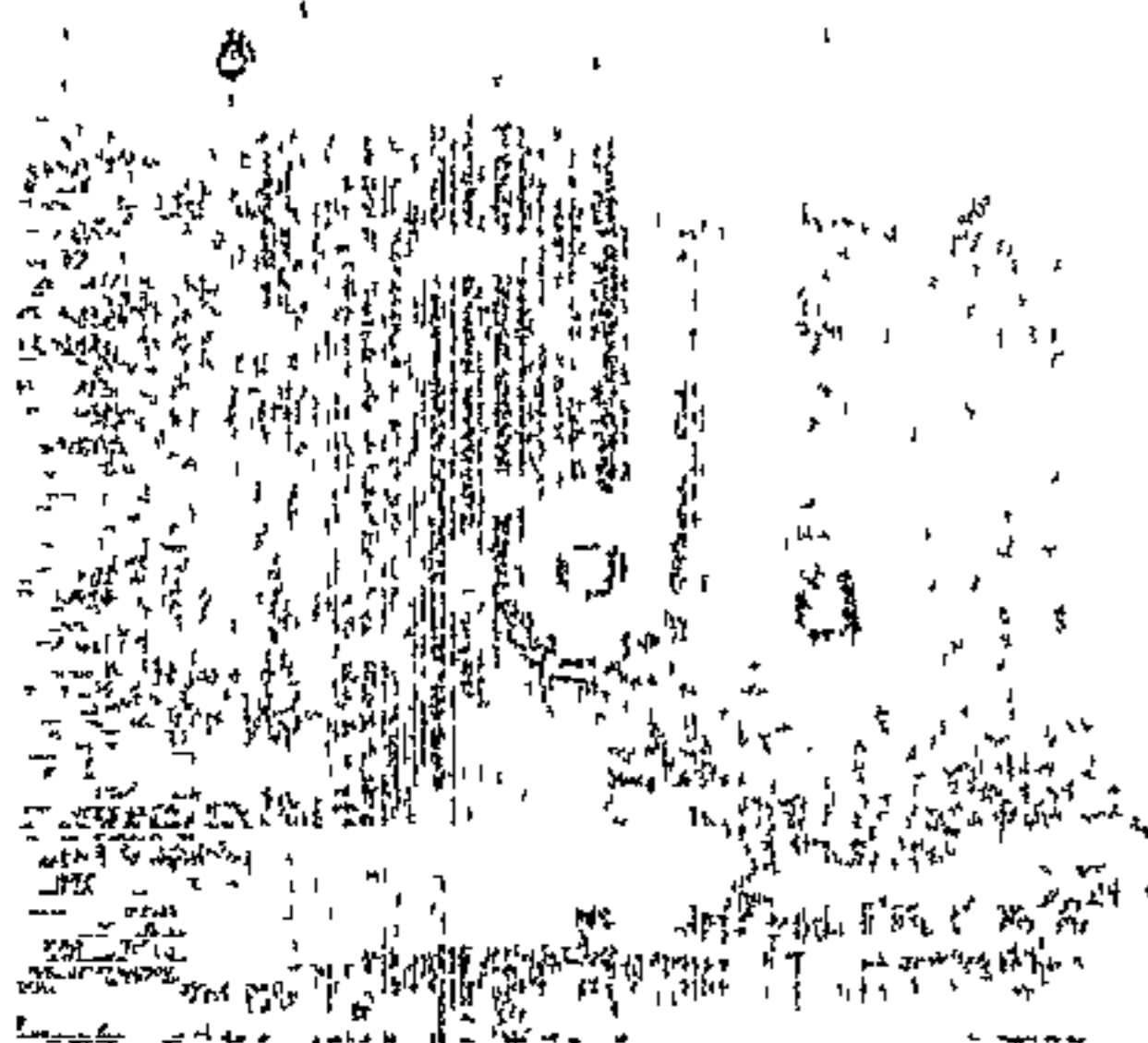
In his reply to the *New Nation's* court challenge to his threat to act against them, Botha said he planned to close the newspaper from January 15 to April 8.

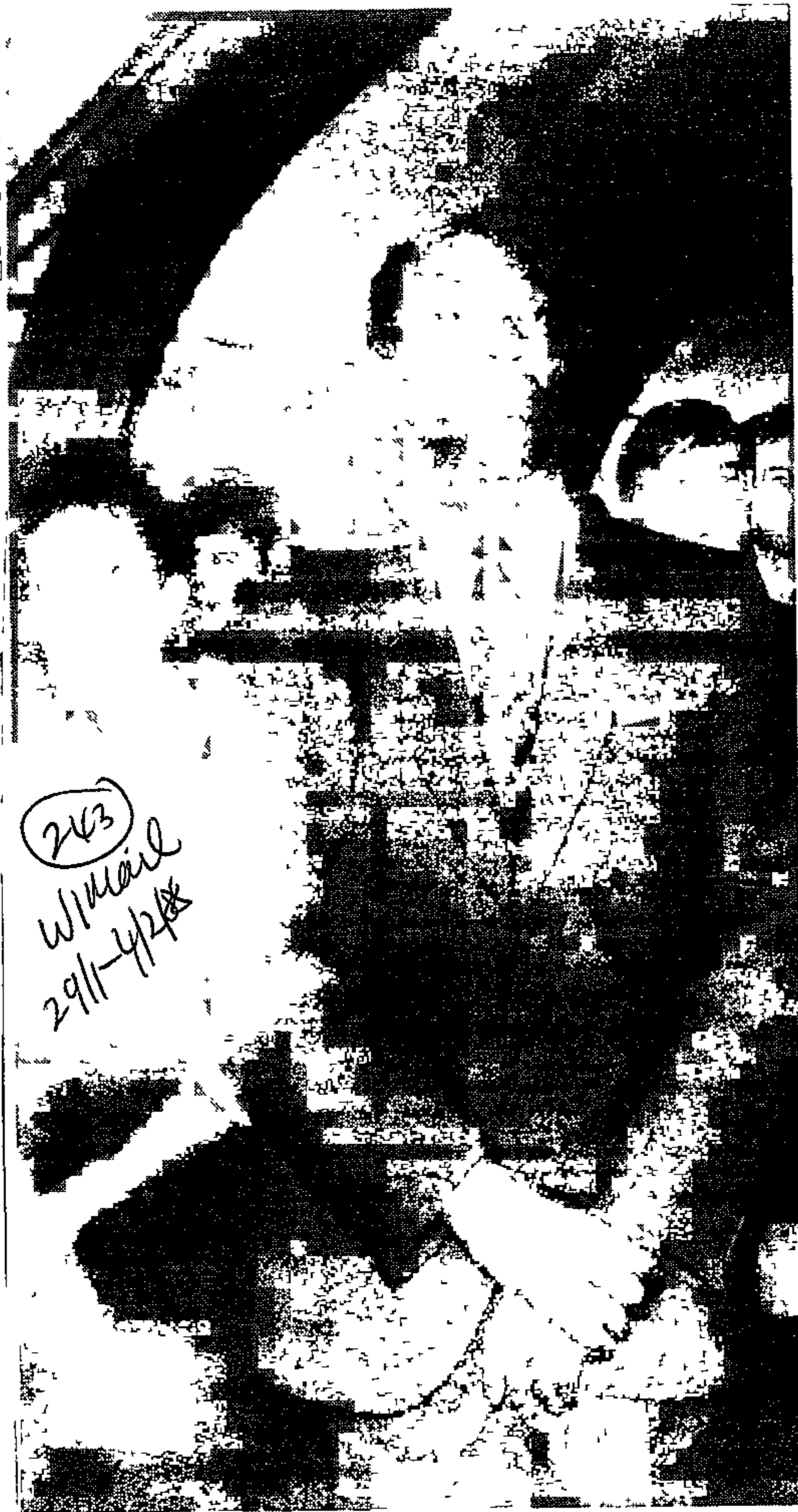
New Nation served papers on the minister only two days before his suspension order was due to be published in the Government Gazette.

The minister told the court he had held back on his decision to close the paper because of the court case, but reserved his right to proceed with action against the publication.

New Nation launched the court action to challenge the validity of the notices Botha had served on them, warning the newspaper of his plan to take action. *New Nation* is also challenging the validity of the media regulations.

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Edward Perkins, US ambassador to Pretoria, was one of the thousands of mourners who came to Regina Mundi in Soweto last Sunday to pay their final tributes at the funeral of City Press editor Percy Qoboza, one of South Africa's best-known journalists.

Picture: Juda Ngwenya, Reuter

THE WEEKLY MAIL CLASSIFIEDS HAVE MOVED TO PAGE 16



Dumakude funeral

A MEMBER of the Media Workers Association of South Africa, Mr Johannes Dumakude (80), who was shot dead near his employer's premises last Saturday, will be buried in Natal tomorrow.

Mr Dumakude of Mahlabathini in Natal, who was a security guard, was shot three times by unknown assailants near Rainbow Print and Plastics in Booysens, Johannesburg, about noon.

A Mwasa spokesman said Mr Dumakude will be buried at Mahlabathini.

Members of the union are expected to leave for Mahlabathini tonight.

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Press curbs worry SA Media Council

CAPE TOWN — The South African Media Council said yesterday it was disturbed by the "increasing tempo and scope of measures investing government authorities with ever greater control over the Press."

In a statement released in Cape Town, the chairman of the council, Mr L de Villiers van Winsen, said over-zealous curbing and censoring of the free exchange of information and opinion deprived the government and the public of early warning signals, without which they could be lulled into a false sense of security

The statement said

"Recent amendments to regulations curbing the media appear to exempt the Minister of Home Affairs from having to state the grounds on which he proceeds against a publication and from having to grant a hearing to affected parties

"This means that publishers could be deprived of guidelines, and will find it even harder to challenge the Minister's actions through the courts

"They therefore face the possibility of drastic sanctions without knowing with any degree of clarity which rules they are supposed to have transgressed, and with severely limited chances of having penalties imposed on them set aside"

When the Minister informed the House of Assembly on August 27, 1987, that regulations placing further curbs on the media would be promulgated the next day, he coupled the announcement with certain assurances

He said "the enforcement of the regulations will be aimed at the optimum maintenance of democratic practices" and that the audi alteram partem rule would be respected

No warning would be issued and no prohibition placed upon a publication "unless the publisher or importer has been informed in writing beforehand, the grounds for the prohibition being stated, and the party concerned given the opportunity to submit written representations within two weeks"

He also said "All interested parties should be assured that my office and I shall be available at all times for discussions on the many issues that could result from the implementation of this measure, and we shall welcome discussion at all times"

The Media Council issued a public statement on August 28, the day the

regulations were published, under proclamation 123 of 1987, describing the measures as stringent and far-reaching, uncertain in scope and relying upon subjective judgments and apparently unnecessary in view of other existing measures.

However, the council welcomed the Minister's assurance in the hope that these would help to establish guidelines for the Media and provided at least some safeguards against arbitrary action

Subregulation (4) of regulation 7a of the regulations promulgated on August 28 does indeed stipulate that the Minister must notify a publisher in advance.

It allows two weeks for written representations before issuing a warning or an order compelling pre-censorship or closure for up to three months of a publication. This has not changed

But subregulation (4a), inserted by the amending regulations, promulgated on January 15, 1988, says the minister need advance no grounds for the proposed action beyond merely listing the items to which he is objecting and giving an indication why each has been taken into account

The next new subregulation (4b) says that, apart from this, "the minister shall not be obliged to give notice of any proposed action under this regulation, or to disclose any grounds for such action, to any person or to give any person a hearing when considering the said proposed action"

Although these two subregulations appear to be, to some extent, conflicting, the wording of (4b) is clear and contradicts the minister's previous assurances.

An aggravating feature of the amending regulations is that they have been made retroactive to cover all actions taken under the regulations since August 28

The Media Council is disturbed by the increasing tempo and scope of measures investing government authorities with ever greater control over the press

Over-zealous curbing and censoring free exchange of information and opinion, within legitimate limits, deprives the government itself and the general public of early warning signals without which they could be lulled into a false sense of security, the council said — Sapa

(243) CBS denies 'coaching' detainee for TV

Staff Reporter
CBS yesterday "categorically denied" that it "coached" Mr Siculo Dlomo — who was found shot dead in Soweto this week — on what to say when they interviewed him for the American television documentary "Children of Apartheid".

When Mr Dlomo appeared in "Children of Apartheid" he claimed he had been tortured by police and had been detained four times.

On January 20 this year, Mr Dlomo was recognized at Khotso House, Johannesburg and accompanied the police to John Vorster Square, according to a statement issued by the SAP Public Relations Division in Pretoria on Tuesday.

In a sworn affidavit he said he was interviewed by "a certain news agency director" who instructed him to tell, into the camera, how, and when he had been detained and to say that he had been manhandled and beaten, police said.

In a statement from New York, CBS spokesman Mr Tom Goodman yesterday said that "under no circumstances" did CBS instruct interviewees, or Mr Dlomo in particular, on what to say.

'Saddened'

"Indeed this would be contrary to all CBS codes of conduct and all recognized standards of journalism."

He said CBS was "deeply saddened" by the death of Mr Dlomo. Meanwhile, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has ordered the police to "do everything possible" to find Mr Dlomo's murderer.

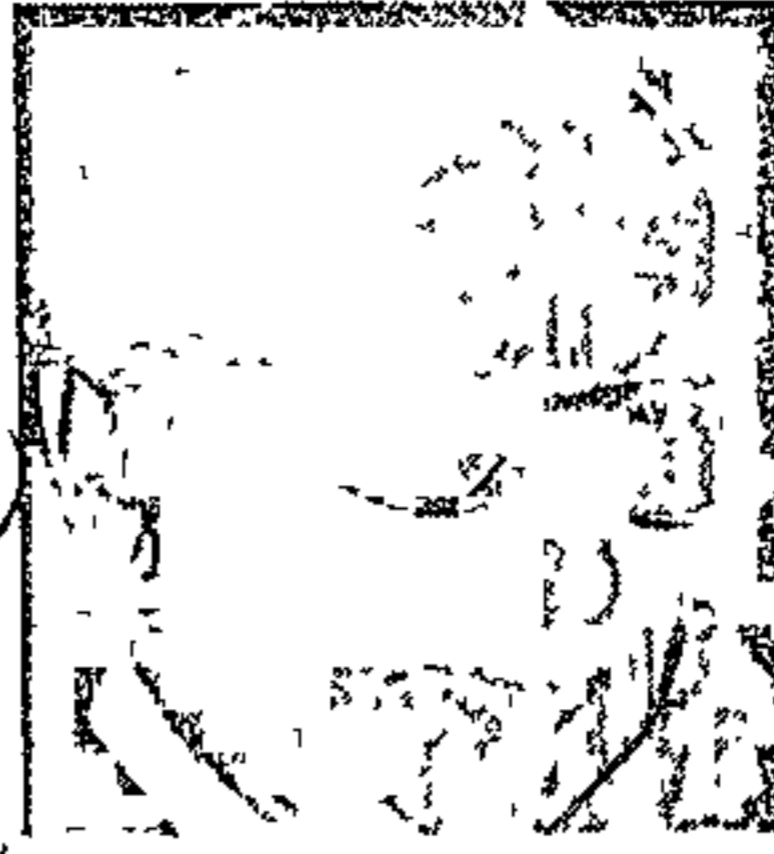
Mr Vlok, speaking on Wednesday night at a political meeting, said Mr Dlomo voluntarily told police he had been coached.

Mr Vlok added that CBS did not attempt to contact police for their side of the story. The South African Council of Churches said in a statement that the murder of Mr Dlomo called for an urgent, full police investigation, UPI reports.

The SAC said that unless an investigation was carried out "and the murderous culprits brought to book, speculation about the probable perpetrators of this diabolical deed is bound to prevail."

Mr Tark
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'Increasing tempo' of press curbs



Mr L de V van Winsen

THE South African Media Council yesterday said it was disturbed by the "increasing tempo and scope of measures investing government authorities with ever greater control over the press".

In a statement released in Cape Town, the chairman of the council, Mr L de V van Winsen, said over-zealous curbing and censoring free exchange of information and opinion deprived the government and the public of early warning signals, without which they could be lulled into a false sense of security.

The text of the statement also said, in part, that. Recent amendments to regulations curbing the media appear to exempt the Minister of Home Affairs from having to state the grounds on which he proceeds against a publication and from having to grant a hearing to affected parties.

This means that publishers could be deprived of guidelines and will find it even harder to challenge the minister's actions through the courts.

They thus face the possibility of drastic sanctions without knowing with any degree of clarity what rules they are supposed to have transgressed and with severely limited chances of having penalties imposed on them set aside.

When the minister informed the House of Assembly on August 27, 1987 that regulations would be promulgated next day to place further curbs on the media, he coupled the announcement with certain assurances.

Subregulation (4) of regulation (7a) of the regulations promulgated on August 28 does indeed stipulate that the minister must notify a publisher in advance and allow two weeks for written representations before issuing a warning or an order compelling pre-censorship or closure for up to three months of a publication. This has not changed.

But subregulation (4a), inserted by the amending regulations, promulgated on January 15, 1988, says the minister need advance no grounds for the proposed action beyond merely listing the items to which he is objecting and giving an indication why each has been taken into account.

The next new subregulation (4b) says that, apart from this, "the minister shall not be obliged to give notice of any proposed action under this regulation, or to disclose any grounds for such action, to any person or to give any person a hearing when considering the said proposed action".

Though these two subregulations appear to be to some extent conflicting, the wording of (4b) is clear and contradicts the minister's previous assurances.

An aggravating feature of the amending regulations is that they have been made retroactive to cover all actions taken under the regulations since August 28.

The Media Council is disturbed by the increasing tempo and scope of measures investing government authorities with ever greater control over the press. — Sapa

SABC crackdown after blunders

by IAN GRAY

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — SABC Director-General Riaan Eksteen has called a meeting on Monday of the corporation's news staff amid fears of a new clamp "on instructions from P W Botha"

However, I understand that Mr Eksteen will address the news staff not on political coverage but on the number of factual inaccuracies in radio and television news bulletins recently

In one embarrassing incident this week news staff incorrectly reported the date and time of the funeral of an SABC staff member in Bloemfontein

Carter Ebrahim

Last week Mr Eksteen issued a personal apology in radio and TV news bulletins to then Labour Party Cabinet Minister Carter Ebrahim after it was said in an earlier bulletin that there had been several "blunders" in his department over the years

It was believed at the time that the apology had been instigated by the State President who backed Mr Ebrahim against party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, but this was discounted by SABC staff who said the instruction to apologise came directly from Mr Eksteen immediately after he heard it broadcast for the first time

In addition to factual errors, television news bulletins and the nightly *TopSport* have been plagued by frequent technical mistakes

D10 30/1/88
Beeld journalists cleared of bribery (243)

PRETORIA — Three employees of the Afrikaans daily newspaper, Beeld, were acquitted yesterday on 13 charges of bribing police officials for information

The Magistrate, Mr D J Pieterse, said the State had not proved that Mr Johannes Petrus Ackerman (administrative manager of Beeld), Mr Gabriel Daniel Stolts (a news editor) and the newspaper's chief crime reporter in Pretoria, Mr Jan Taljaard, intended to bribe the four policemen they paid for information

He said the payments Beeld made to constables Mark Montgomery, Daniel Oosthuizen, Hermanus Venter and Marais Wolmarans had been done quite openly

Mr Pieterse said it seemed normal practice for newspapers to pay for tips and to entertain members of the police with the intent to create goodwill

However, he added, the court could not condone this practice The police after all worked for the State

The three men were also acquitted on alternative charges of corruption, while charges against the four policemen who received payment from the newspaper were withdrawn

Constable Wilhelm Hendrik du Preez, who worked at the State mortuary in 1986, when the payments were made, yesterday testified that Mr Taljaard had contacted him to obtain names of the policemen who worked at the mortuary

Const Du Preez said Mr Taljaard asked him to come to Beeld's office on April 22, 1986 There he was given a cheque for R120 and told that the money should be used for a party for the Mortuary's police staff

Const Du Preez admitted that he usually only supplied "minor" information about accidents — which he also gave to other newspapers who phoned the morgue

Doctor Petrus Johannes Muller, who was the head of Beeld's Pretoria editorial staff in 1986, testified that it was a laborious exercise to obtain information from the police, because one was supposed to receive information only through an officer

He said any news tips from constables had to be cleared first with an officer

Dr Muller testified that it was normal practice for newspapers to pay for tips

Dr Muller said he launched his own investigation when it came to light that the police were investigating charges of bribery against Beeld He was satisfied that there had not been any irregularities concerning payment for news tips

Neither Dr Muller nor any of Beeld's other senior officials saw payment to the police as illegal, as it had been standard practice for many years

He said the whole newspaper industry was surprised to hear that the police were investigating the case — Sapa

Now a new voice for the 'independent right'

Star 1/4/88 By Mark Gleeson

243

Only weeks after the closure of *Die Stem*, the rightist, neo-Nazi newspaper published by former Rand Afrikaans University professor Robert van Tonder, a publication *Die Volkstem* has appeared in its place

Die Stem, which was threatened with temporary closure or the imposition of a censor by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, under the media restrictions announced in August, closed after alleged intimidation by the Minister, according to Mr van Tonder.

The new publication describes itself in the first issue as "independent right".

Published by *Boerestaat Uitgewers* in Braamfontein, it says it supports the Conservative Party, the Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging, Blanke Bevrydings Beweging, the Oranjerwerkers, and the Volkswag.

Among the articles carried was a lead story on a new "unity" among Afrikaners in the face of attempts by the "leftist" Mr P W Botha and his "liberal lackies" to divide the nation, a tribute to Dr Connie Mulder who died last month, and a story on a "Soweto" Christmas party in Paris, host-

ed by Mrs Danielle Mitterrand and poet Breyten Breytenbach, under the headline "French interfere in South African affairs".

The newspaper's editorial urges British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher to visit South Africa, but "not for the reasons that the leftist National Party think".

She must travel to South Africa, says the newspaper, so that she can be told of the burning streets in Brighton, Liverpool and London and the racial polarity in Britain

"You have your discrimination against Pakistanis and Africans Your snobbishness is worse than our race problems."

New Nation survives until media regulations verified

243 Daily Dispatch
Correspondent

2/2/88 D/O
JOHANNESBURG
The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said through his legal counsel yesterday that he would not issue an order prohibiting publication of the New Nation newspaper until an application challenging the validity of the regulations empowering him to do so had been heard by a full bench or another court.

The New Nation's owners, Catholic Bishops' Publishing Company, have applied to the Rand Supreme Court for an interdict preventing Mr Botha from issuing an order banning the newspaper for a period not exceeding three months.

They have also asked the court for an order declaring invalid and of no force and effect in law the regulations promulgated by the State President which empower the Minister to warn and then ban a publication.

In terms of the media

regulations amended last August, the Minister is entitled to study a series of issues of a periodical to ascertain whether there has been a systematic publishing of matter calculated to threaten the safety of the public or maintenance of public order.

If he forms this opinion he is empowered to issue a warning to the periodical concerned and then ban publication for a period not exceeding three months if publication has continued.

The Catholic Bishop of the Johannesburg diocese, The Reverend Reginald Orsmond, said that one of the three issues initially examined by the Minister last year, appeared before the promulgation of the regulation when it was impossible for the publishers to regulate conduct in accordance with the strictures of the relevant proclamation.

The Bishop said the powers purportedly vested in the Minister by the State President exceeded those authorised

by the Public Safety Act and were therefore invalid and of no force and effect in law.

In answering affidavits the State President and the Minister denied they had acted in bad faith or with ulterior motives either in the promulgation or implementation of the regulations.

After argument began yesterday, Mr Justice van Niekerk adjourned the case to allow counsel time to consider whether there would still be a dispute over the validity of the regulations if an interdict was granted against the minister.

The New Nation's counsel, Mr J Browde SC, told the court he would like to make it clear the interdict itself did not relate to the validity of the regulations but only to the manner in which the Minister carried out his duty with regard to a series of issues of New Nation.

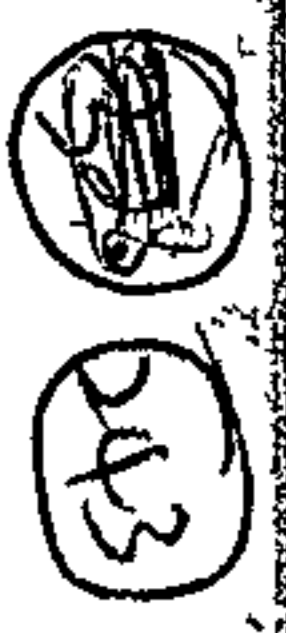
Mr Justice van Niekerk noted the minister's assurances and no order was made.

**New Nation has
plea postponed**

An application by the
New Nation to prevent
the Minister of Home Af-
fairs, Mr Stoffel Botha,
from suspending it for
three months was post-
poned yesterday so that it
can be referred to a Full
Bench of the Transvaal
Provincial Division.

Mr Justice van Nie-
kerk said he would ap-
proach the Judge Presi-
dent to convene a Full
Bench.

2/2/88



New Nation seeks interdict to prevent ban

HOME Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha will not prohibit publication of New Nation newspaper until an application challenging the validity of the regulations empowering him to do so have been heard by a full bench or another court, his legal counsel said yesterday.

New Nation's owners, Catholic Bishops' Publishing Company, have applied to the Rand Supreme Court for an interdict preventing Botha from issuing an order banning the newspaper for up to three months.

SUSAN RUSSELL

They have also asked the court for an order declaring invalid the regulations promulgated by the State President which empower the Minister to warn and then ban a publication.

In terms of the media regulations amended in August the Minister may study a series of issues of a periodical to ascertain whether it has been systematically publishing matter calculated to threaten public safety or the maintenance of public order.

If he forms this opinion he may warn the periodical. Thereafter he may ban publication for up to three months if publication of the offending matter has continued.

The Catholic Bishop of the Johannesburg diocese, Reginald Orsmond, said in an affidavit New Nation was threatened with an order of closure.

The Bishop said the powers purportedly vested in the Minister by the State President exceeded those authorised by the Public Safety Act and were therefore invalid.

In answering affidavits the State President and the Minister denied they had acted in bad faith in the implementation of the regulations

Emergency regulations under fire

Court asked to declare curbs on media invalid

2/2/88
Sowetan
243

THE emergency regulations empowering the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, to restrict and control newspapers represented such inroads into the lives of people producing newspapers in South Africa that they should be struck down, it was argued in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Jules Browde, SC, was arguing in an application by the *New Nation* newspaper which seeks to prevent Mr Stoffel Botha and the State President from suspending the newspaper.

New Nation, a Catholic Bishops Conference publication, is asking the

court to declare media restrictions issued in August last year invalid and unlawful

It is also asking that warning notices, issued against the newspaper last year, be declared invalid and set aside

Yesterday, Mr Browde argued that the censorship provisions were not only "oppressive interference" but so badly worded that they were difficult to interpret

He said the regulations required Mr Stoffel Botha to look at at least three issues of a publication before taking action against it

Although Mr Botha had looked at three issues of *New Nation*, one of those issues had been published before the censorship provisions were promulgated.

This meant that *New Nation* was being punished for an act which was not punishable at the time it occurred, Mr Browde argued

The Minister has said in an affidavit before the court that he was planning to suspend *New Nation* for three months

The hearing continues
— Sowetan Correspondent

243 SML 3/2/88

CP fights Beeld's 'Iron Curtain style'

By Carina le Grange

The Conservative Party is at loggerheads with the morning newspaper *Beeld* after weeks of what it calls "Iron Curtain-style disinformation" reporting.

Beeld has prominently and consistently linked the Conservative Party with the militant "cultural" organisation the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) in past weeks.

The reports have been triggered by the by-elections in Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke, both won by the CP in last year's general election.

The media spokesman for the CP, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, MP, has lodged a complaint with the Media Council about

the "disgraceful journalistic sleight of hand perpetrated by *Beeld*".

The editor of *Beeld*, Mr W J Wepener, was approached by *The Star* for comment yesterday, but said through his secretary that he could "unfortunately not comment since any comment he had would be made in *Beeld*".

In a short statement, Mr Derby-Lewis said the CP was compelled to take "drastic action" against the newspaper to "stop Iron Curtain-style disinformation".

The letter to the Media Council claimed that *Beeld's* sources for one report were dubious and that a document referred to in the report was bogus.

(203) SPAN 3/2/88

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By Lesley Cowling

An application by the newspaper, *New Nation*, which seeks to prevent its suspension, challenges not only the actions of the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, but the emergency regulations which empower his actions

New Nation's application is standing down until a full Bench or a single judge is appointed to hear it and the Minister has said that he will not act against the newspaper until the matter is decided.

Mr Jules Browde, SC, for *New Nation*, said in the Rand Supreme Court on Monday that he would argue that the Minister's actions against the newspaper were unlawful. The emergency regulations issued in August last year that empowered these regulations were also unlawful and should be set aside, he said

New Nation's application was standing down until a full Bench or a single judge was appointed. He would argue that the Minister's actions against the newspaper were unlawful. The emergency regulations issued in August last year that empowered these regulations were also unlawful and should be set aside, he said.

Mr Browde said the regulations authorised the Minister of Home Affairs to examine at least three issues of a periodical to establish whether there was systematic or repeated publishing of matter which threatened public safety or the maintenance of public order or delayed the termination of the state of emergency.

The Minister could then issue a warning stating that the matter published was having this effect. If, in his opinion, the publication of such material continued, he could order a three-month suspension of the publication or appoint a censor, Mr Browde said.

Before a warning or order was issued, the publisher had to be given notice in writing that such action was being considered and the publisher had to be given the opportunity to submit representations.

New Nation, a Catholic Bishops' Conference publication, was issued with a warning notice in November last year and, according to Mr Botha's affidavit before the court, he planned to issue a three-month banning order against *New Nation* on January 15.

Mr Browde argued yesterday that the regulations required Mr Botha to look at a minimum of three issues of a publication before taking action against it.

Although Mr Botha had looked at three issues of *New Nation*, one of those issues was published before the censorship provisions were promulgated.

This meant that *New Nation* was being punished for an act which was not punishable at the time it occurred, Mr Browde argued. By doing this, the Minister had acted unlawfully.

But the emergency regulations empowering him to restrict and control newspapers represented such inroads into the lives of people producing newspapers in South Africa that they should be struck down, he argued.

Mr Browde said that the censorship provisions were not only "oppressive interference" but so badly worded that they were difficult to interpret.

They should be declared void for vagueness, he said.

Bishop Reginald Orsmond, Bishop of Johannesburg, has said in an affidavit that *New Nation* encountered genuine difficulties in interpreting the regulations.

The bishop said that the newspaper was committed to a peaceful resolution of the conflict which beset South Africa. The emphasis in the newspaper was on current events which had a particular bearing on the black community.

building deal

CP demands funds be frozen on SAAN

243

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

The Conservative Party has demanded the freezing of all funds connected with the sale of the South African Associated Newspapers (Saans) building in view of the many claims and litigation arising from the controversial transaction.

Mr Fred Rundle, acting chairman of the CP's Johannesburg regional council, said the CP deemed this prudent until a judicial commission of inquiry has ruled on the subject.

Asked if any money had changed hands, manager of the Johannesburg Municipal Pension Fund, Mr Willie Siebert, said further comment should come from the fund's chairman, Mr Nols Cronje, Mr Cronje was not available for comment.

The demand followed mounting media disclosures about the sale of the Saan building to the pension fund by Johannesburg Mining and Finance chairman, Mr Joe Berardo, last year.

The storm broke when the Progressive Federal Party alleged in the Johannesburg City Council that Mr Berardo acted on leaks from the management committee meeting of November 24 and bought the building for R5,5 million on November 25, for immediate resale to the fund for R7,25 million.

The PFP called for a commission of inquiry, which the National Party-controlled ruling coalition rejected.

It was said that the agent in the transaction was NP management committee member and chairman of the city's planning department, Mr Henne Schoeman, who was not a registered estate agent. He registered his close corporation, H J Schoeman Konsultant and Stadsbeplanner, on January 28, said Mr Andrew Harrison, manager of the Estate Agents Board.

Mr Schoeman requested a commission of inquiry — which the management committee agreed to.

The next row was when a Pretoria firm said it was planning to sue Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, the owners of the Saan building for R3,75 million damages, because they had bought the building from JCI before it was sold to Mr Berardo.

Mr John Barry, investment manager of F and S Consultants said his firm signed a deed of sale for R6 million on November 18 in his office, and sent it over to JCI on November 20. JCI said they would not deal on that contract, preferring to draw up a new contract.

Showing Saan as the seller and JCI as the outgoing party.

Two days later the document was produced by JCI attorneys, and F and S agreed to a meeting with JCI on November 24.

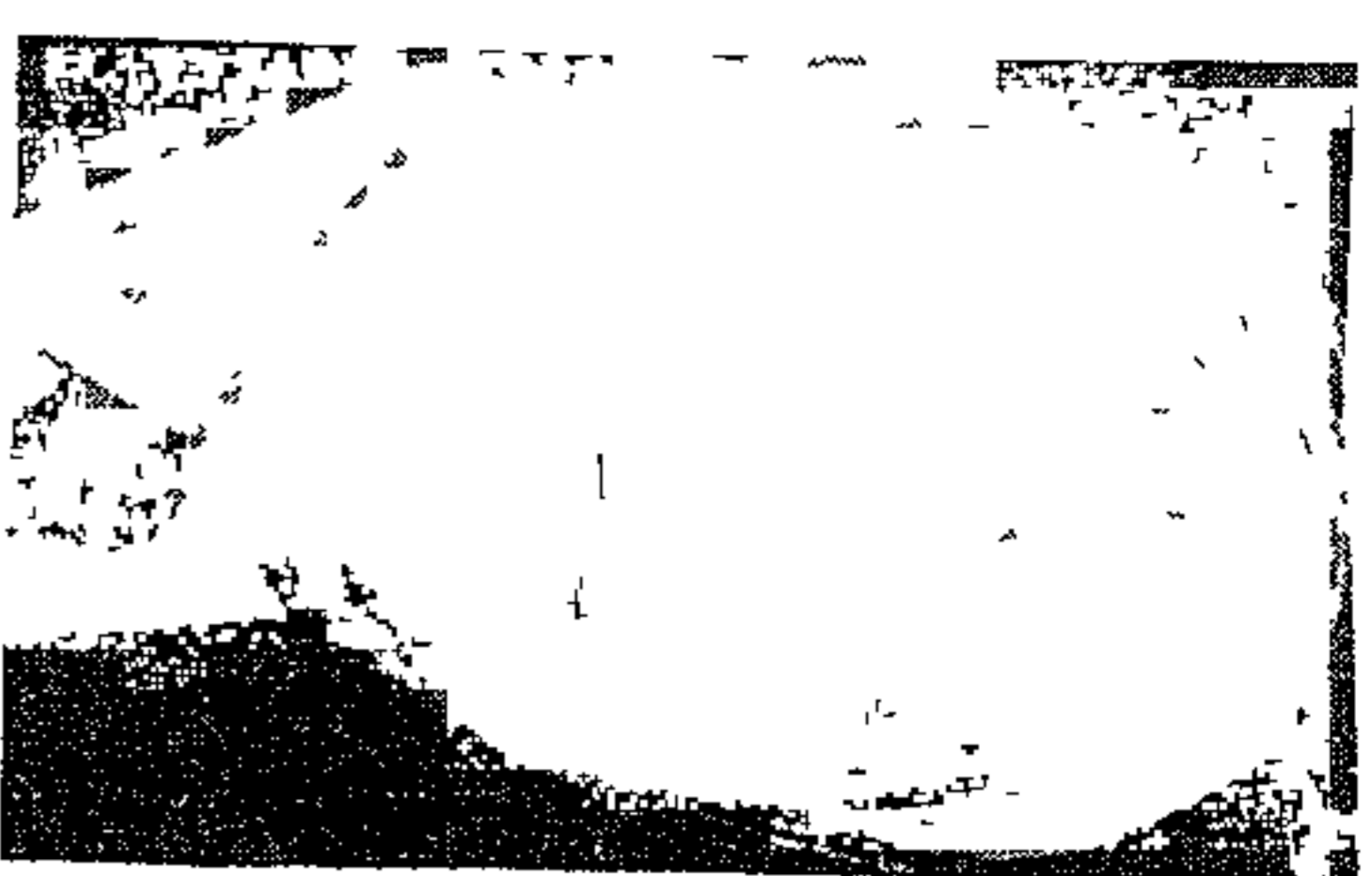
On November 25 JCI sold the building for R5,5 million to the Johannesburg Mining and Finance chairman, Mr Barry said.

JCI general manager of finance, Mr David Kovarsky, said JCI concluded a deed of sale with Mr Berardo on the same afternoon that the property divisions' director, Mr Ian McPherson, and commercial property director, Mr Russell Jackson, witnessed an F and S deed of sale.

Yesterday a Cape Town-based firm of estate agents, DCF Properties, confirmed that they were demanding commission on the sale of the Saan building to the pension fund because one of their agents introduced the 171 Main Street property to the traffic and security department as early as March last year.

Managing director, Mr Peter Irvine, said: "We have an interest in the matter and are pursuing that interest. It is well documented that the Saan building was introduced to the traffic department in March. We say we are the original agent."

Mr Schoeman not registered estate agent.



[Handwritten signature]



Mr Berardo quick profit.

Newspapers are thriving

874 6/2/88

(243)

Before getting on to the positive side of newspapers I make the following observations on Mr Louw's statements.

1 — He focuses on "national" newspapers. In this country only the *Sunday Times* and *Rapport* are true nationals, the rest are regionals, although *The Citizen*, which appears to have a shotgun approach to distribution, is somewhere in between. The Argus papers are all "metropolitan" dailies or weeklies concentrating distribution in tightly defined regional areas

2 — Mr Louw states that "the ratio of advertising to news has become too dominant a factor" This, he alleges has made the press uninteresting and unattractive to both advertiser and reader. Yet the percentage advertising content of Argus company newspapers is lower today than it used to be.

Not long ago *The Star* ran at 66-67 percent Today it averages 61-62 percent. The *Sunday Star* registers about 30 percent advertising content and I have yet to hear anyone complain that ads dominate the paper!

One of the problems newspapers have is that advertisers and agencies all want Page 3, Page 5 and Page 7. This advertising pressure generally results in a greater volume of advertising in the front half and fairly open pages behind the fold with sports pages usually wide open

3 — The reference to local and regional newspapers I take to mean "community" newspapers We don't see these as attracting national advertising "at the expense of" metropolitan newspapers. They do a complementary job and our sales people are quite comfortable and effective in selling the Caxton/CTP communities with Argus metropolitans in order that advertisers may maximise coverage of local markets.

4 — "Newspapers have lost touch with the real world and how to report it — "Newspapers have been slow in meeting challenges and opportunities of electronic technology and changes in readers' lifestyles and values — "There seems to be a communication gap between newspapers and their readers"

Fairly breathtaking and damning stuff Would Mr Louw care to provide explanations to back his blandly stated views?

5 — "Newspapers seem to have adopted a defensive attitude and are scared to go on the attack" — what does Mr Louw mean?

Last week Nic Louw, media director of Lindsay Smithers-FCB suggested that national newspapers were losing touch with the real world and among other things, that newspapers had themselves to blame for a decline in advertising support. This reaction comes from Peter McLean managing director of Argus Newspaper Division.

6 — "Adjusting newspaper rates claiming rising costs has for too long been used to inflate revenue." Does anyone's costs not rise? Isn't Mr Louw paying higher prices for everything he buys? If SA's inflation rate was lower so would newspaper rate increases

7 — What does Mr Louw mean when he states that newspapers "cannot, for many more years, continue to suffer the financial squeeze".

Argus company papers are trading rather well at present and the financial figures of the other major newspaper groups indicate a similar experience

Now for the positive side. I will confine my remarks to refuting Mr Louw's statement that the press has become uninteresting and unattractive to both advertiser and reader

Impressive sales

Argus Company newspapers are doing exceptionally well and we are pleased with most of the ABC figures for July to December 1987 which will be published shortly

In an average week Argus newspapers sell 3,8 million copies with buyers spending R1,5 million for their reading pleasure. In a country the size of South Africa and given the high levels of illiteracy and poverty which exist in many areas, I submit that our sales performance is quite impressive

If the rest of the country's newspapers are added the figures would probably double and thus provide further strong evidence that readers are not finding newspapers uninteresting nor unattractive

We conduct a good deal of market research in the Argus Company to find out what readers and non-readers think of our papers This is an on-going process Markets are not static and stationary Tastes, fashions and needs change Literacy levels improve, as they have undoubtedly done in metropolitan black areas leading to the recent surge in circulation of *Sowetan*, *Ilanga* and *City Press*

The editors of our papers are very

mindful of market research findings and changes in the content, format and marketing thrust of our newspapers are invariably made against a background of meticulous research. We try to serve the markets we circulate in as best we can by being as relevant as possible to the lifestyles and the psychographic profiles of readers.

There is no truth whatsoever in the assertion that newspapers have become uninteresting and unattractive to advertisers In fact Mr Louw's statement is nonsense.

For as long as newspapers achieve satisfactory levels of penetration in markets advertisers are interested in, they will remain of relevance and interest to advertisers. This is the major task all newspapers everywhere face.

Argus Company executives have this major focus in mind constantly. We study market needs, we study methods of meeting market needs, we look abroad for ideas, we bring experts in to help us, we talk to advertisers about their needs and how we are meeting them, we sell our papers in combination with other media, for example; an Argus regional daily with one or more Caxton community papers. We believe that television and newspapers work better together than individually and push the combination

The trouble with sweeping generalisations is that they tend to obscure important facts Major newspapers are certainly not unpopular with advertisers. Argus newspapers have seen revenue from ad agencies and major direct customers increase at a faster rate than the overall market increase, for each of the last three years

In the nine months to end December 1987, actual Argus revenues from these sources were up 25 percent, substantially more than the market average, and most other media This is consistent with trends around the world which show that in most countries the newspaper medium is still far and away the biggest ad medium, with strong and consistent revenue growth.

IN A COUNTRY where the media faces constant obstacles, no one has it tougher than South Africa's black journalists. Yet they consistently produce some of the most detailed reporting on the complex situation in this deeply divided country, and play an increasingly prominent role in the anti-apartheid movement.

Several journalists have been among the thousands of black activists detained during a 19-month-old state of emergency. Freelance journalist Brian Sokutu has been held for the entire period without charge.

The Government also has threatened to close leading black-orientated newspapers, but they continue to direct harsh criticism at the white authorities.

"Since there are limited outlets for black expression in South Africa, black journalists play a particularly important role in articulating black aspirations and frustrations," said Mr Keith Lister, publisher of *City Press*.

Black journalists make up virtually the entire staff of black-orientated — but white-owned — newspapers such as *City Press* and the *Sowetan*. A handful of blacks have prominent editing and writing posts at "white" newspapers like *The Star*, the nation's largest daily and a frequent Government critic.

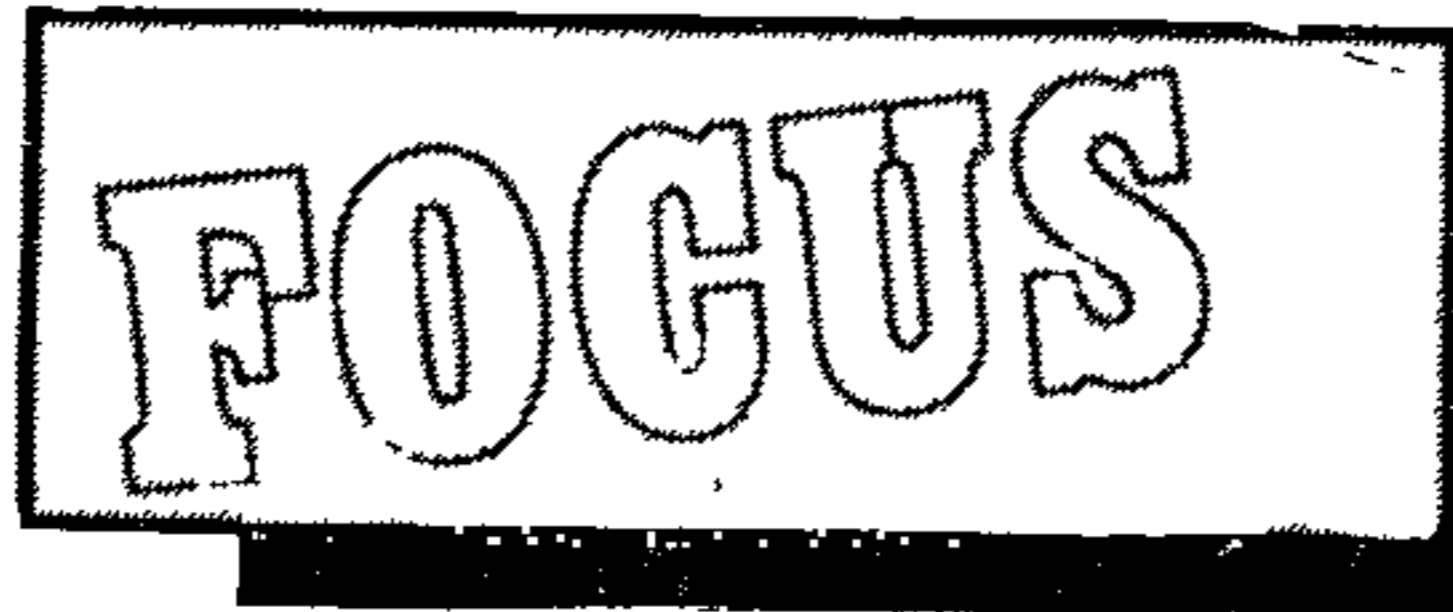
Finance

However, numerous attempts over the years to establish nationally circulated, black-owned publications have failed, usually for financial reasons.

Until the 1970s, blacks wrote almost exclusively for black publications that focused on the black social scene and sports, and had little political content.

Only in the past two decades have mass-circulation black publications become overtly political and regularly challenged the white-led Government's apartheid policies of racial segregation.

"Our young reporters now consider themselves blacks first and journal-



GREG MYRE of Associated Press writes of the difficulties facing black reporters in South Africa. Detention and emergency regulations are just two of the obstacles they have to contend with.



AGGREY Klaaste

PERCY Qoboza

Black

reporters in SA have a tough job

JON Qwelane

imagine," he said. "But if I condemn it in print, some groups would say I'm not supporting the struggle. I admit it, I feel intimidated."

In a recent column, Mr Qwelane expressed his public ambivalence toward the issue of violence.

"I am not advocating violence here. If the truth must be told, I am not condemning it, either."

Despite the difficulties they face, black reporters have unique advantages in covering racial turbulence in South Africa. They live in the townships and under the same apartheid laws on which they report.

They often speak several African languages and are well known and respected in their communities.

Suspicion

White reporters do not cover the communities on a regular basis.

When white journalists travel to the townships, they sometimes are greeted with suspicion and may face a language barrier.

Despite their allegiance to their readers, black publications often are critical of their own community.

Most black newspapers have condemned the black-on-black violence in the south-eastern city of Maritzburg, where about 400 people have died since early last year.

Although the size and influence of the black Press is growing, few blacks write for publications read by whites.

ists second," said Mr Aggrey Klaaste, Editor designate of the *Sowetan*.

"They see their work as part of the political struggle in South Africa."

Like all South African journalists, black reporters are bound by the extensive Press restrictions and state of emergency regulations that limit reporting on unrest, security force actions and a host of

politically sensitive matters.

But black journalists face additional difficulties.

Several publications aimed at blacks, including *New Nation* and the *Sowetan*, are on the brink of closure for allegedly promoting organisations such as the outlawed African National Congress.

The *New Nation*, a weekly financed by the Roman Catholic Church, appears closest to being shut down. It has challenged the Government regulations in court.

Radical

"It's a no-win situation," said Mr Klaaste. "If we report aggressively, we're going to be closed down. If we play by the Government's rules, we lose credibility in the black community."

"White readers complain that I'm too radical, and black readers say I'm not radical enough," said Mr Jon Qwelane, a reporter and columnist of *The Star*.

Mr Qwelane and others say black reporters bristle when white editors start talking about traditional journalistic objectivity.

"My house was bulldozed in a forced removal when I was 10," Mr Qwelane said.

"I've been arrested, forced to ride on 'black' buses and trains, denied the right to vote. How can I divorce my personal experiences from my reporting? I know what these people are feeling because I'm in the exact same situation."

Many leading black journalists have been detained or arrested.

Mr Klaaste and Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of *City Press* until his death on January 17, were held without charge for five months in 1977. Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, editor of *New Nation*, has been detained since December 1986.

Mr Qwelane says that strictly for concern of his own personal safety, he had not written a column condemning "necklacing" and it's the most horrible thing you can

Media fanning revolt — Botha

243
Bickins

Press slammed for subjective interpretations

12/2/88

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha lashed out yesterday at segments of the SA media for seeing themselves as agencies for change and attempting to influence their readers by practising "advocacy journalism".

During the no-confidence debate Botha said there were enough examples in newspapers of negative and contentious reporting and comment on the emergency regulations to show the extent to which this new breed of journalist was active in not reporting facts objectively but presenting material it wanted people to believe.

Botha called on the SA Media Council to give attention to its responsibilities and promote its code of conduct in a manner that would cause the Press to use its powers more positively.

He said some newspapers were, wittingly or unwittingly, playing a role in the worldwide propaganda war against SA by helping to fan the attempted revolution against the entire SA system.

Botha said the application of the

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

emergency regulations and their validity were currently the subject of court proceedings and he would not comment further on them.

He had, however, taken note of relevant comments published in various newspapers, describing them as an attempted "trial by newspaper".

He was aghast, in this regard, at the Press statement made on January 28 by SA Media Council chairman Mr Justice Louis van Winsen, believing it to be in contravention of the *sub judice* rule.

Botha said the various newspaper comments on the manner in which the emergency regulations would be applied to the media were mainly thumb-suck, contrived and aimed at misleading the public and placing government in the worst possible light.

He said there was no question of government wanting to control what people might know, nor was there any way in which government could control people's knowledge.

Argus group under attack

Star 12/21/88

243

Political Staff

The latest attack on the media from Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha was aimed not predominantly at the "alternative press", as before, but at the Establishment press, especially the Argus Group.

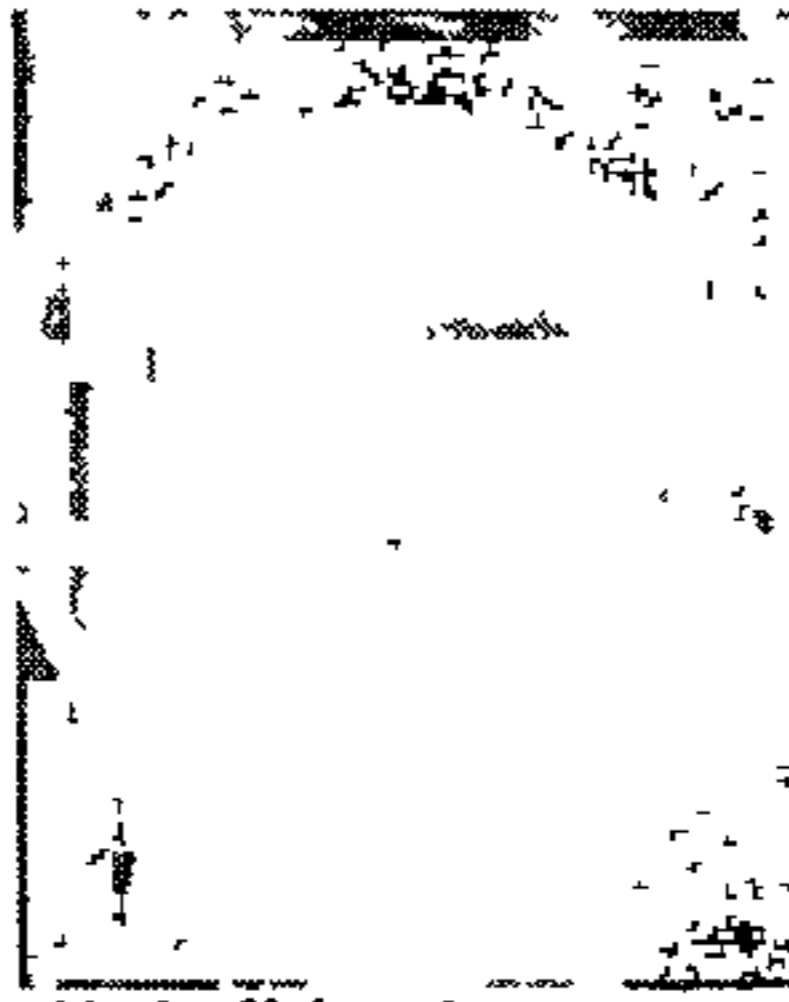
"The newspapers of the Argus Group have been particularly prominent and venomous in their campaign, their vendetta, against the emergency regulations and those who have to administer them," he said, speaking during the no-confidence debate in the House of Assembly yesterday.

An editorial in *The Argus* of August 28 last

year had interpreted the then latest imposition of media restrictions, saying "the new rules mean that the level of public dissent and the expression of views contrary to the official line is going to be forcibly muted"

Mr Botha said "In what way, Mr Speaker? Where do the regulations refer to views contrary to the official line being forcibly muted There is nothing whatsoever in the regulations on which such a statement can be based."

He quoted *The Sunday Star*, which accused the Government of an "insatiable desire to control what people may know"



Mr Stoffel Botha ... criticised Argus papers.

Mr Botha continued his quotation "From now on, a group of faceless 'experts' — in quotation marks, Mr Speaker — 'meeting in private and headed by a bureaucrat answerable to the Minis-

ter of Home Affairs, will sit in judgment on what should and shouldn't be published in South African newspapers"

"There is no question of the Government wanting to control what people may know," said Mr Botha. "What we are concerned with here is that newspapers should not publish subversive material aimed at the violent overthrow of the South African system"

Mr Botha singled out Mr Harvey Tyson, the Editor of *The Star*, who, in the Robert Godlonton Lecture he delivered last year, said South African security problems posed a threat the size of an ant compared with the security problems faced by Israel.

"And Israel does not gag the mainstream media or attempt to blindfold the people," said Mr Tyson

Journalists were also criticised for practising "advocacy journalism".

Said Mr Botha: "A new breed of journalists is active, journalists who portray a belief that their duty is not to report news but to make news, not to observe objectively and report the facts, but to present material which they want people to believe.

"They see themselves as agents for change with a mission to influence their readers to their way of thinking."

Mr Botha also accused the Media Council of being powerless to control "those destructive elements" of the press

"Where does the negative press want to go with South Africa? What do they want to achieve?"

11/12/88 (243)

Argus Group slammed by Stoffel Botha

By DALE LAUTENBACH,
Parliamentary Staff

THE latest attack on the media from Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha was aimed at the "establishment Press", especially the Argus Group, not predominantly at the "alternative Press" as previously.

"The newspapers of the Argus Group have been particularly prominent and venomous in their campaign, their vendetta, against the emergency regulations and those who have to administer them," he said, speaking during the no-confidence debate in the House of Assembly yesterday

An editorial in The Argus of August 28 last year had interpreted the then latest imposition of media restrictions saying "the new rules mean that the level of public dissent and the expression of views contrary to the official line is going to be forcibly muted".

Having singled out this quotation, Mr Botha said: "In what way, Mr Speaker? Where do the regulations refer to views contrary to the official line being forcibly muted? This is just a thumbsuck, a contrived statement aimed at misleading the public and placing the Government in the worst possible light. There is nothing in the regulations on which such a statement can be based".

He went on to single out the Sunday Star for accusing the Government of an "insatiable desire to control what people may know".

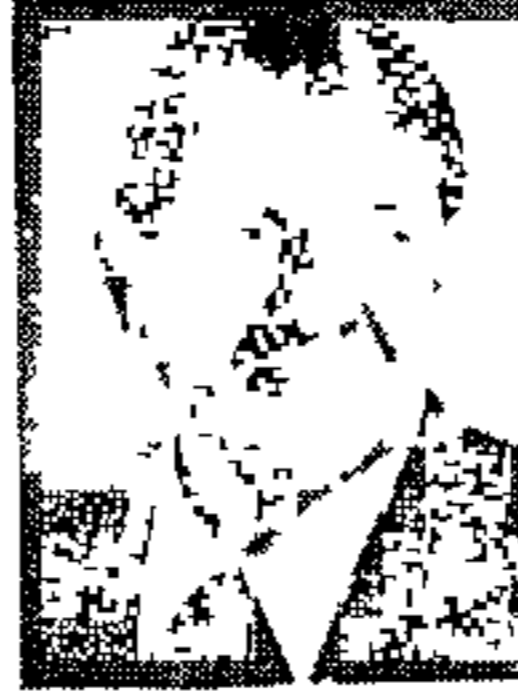
Mr Botha continued his quotation "From now on a group of faceless 'experts', — in quotation marks, Mr Speaker — meeting in private and headed by a bureaucrat answerable to the Minister of Home Affairs, will sit in judgment on what should and shouldn't be published in South African newspapers".

"There is no question of the Government wanting to control what people may know," said Mr Botha. "It is not a question of what should or should not be published in South African newspapers. What we are concerned with here is that newspapers should not publish subversive material aimed at the violent overthrow of the South African system".

"This comment is an example of gross exaggeration and misrepresentation of the facts."



Mr Botha



Mr Coetsee

"Sheer cynicism"

Mr Botha said it was false to create the impression that the individual's right to know was being affected in "fields wider than subversive propaganda".

Mr Botha singled out Mr Harvey Tyson, editor of The Star, too, accusing him of a degree of "sheer cynicism" that was "almost beyond belief".

Mr Tyson, in the Robert Godlonton lecture he delivered last year, said South African security problems posed a threat the size of an ant compared to the security problems faced by Israel.

"And Israel does not gag the mainstream media or attempt to blindfold the people," said Mr Tyson.

Journalists were also criticised for practising "advocacy journalism".

Said Mr Botha "A new breed of journalists is active, journalists who portray a belief that their duty is not to report news but to make news, not to observe objectively and report the facts but to present material which they want people to believe".

Mr Botha also accused the Media Council of being powerless to control "destructive elements" of the Press "and I include in that elements of the establishment Press".

"The Press has huge power. Like nuclear power it can do bad or good. Now comes my question: why is there such a large portion of the South African Press which wants to use its power to break down and destroy? Where does the negative Press want to go with South Africa? What are their motives? What do they want to achieve?"

Demands to free Mandela a huge bluff, says Coetsee

THE demand by the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front for the release of Nelson Mandela was in reality merely a huge bluff, as Mr Mandela and his fellow prisoners were worth far more to them in jail than out of it, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said.

Speaking in the no-confidence debate, he said that the renunciation of violence could never be the sole condition for determining the release of long-term security prisoners, and took second place to tactical considerations in the best interests of the country.

The ANC had built up such an image of resistance and martyrdom around the imprisonment of Mr Mandela and the ANC "old guard" that it had become a more effective instrument for their cause than even armed terrorism.

Their release could also threaten established positions and directions of thought within the organisation.

It followed that the release of such people could be a tactical and strategic step whereby the Government could deal its enemies a resounding blow.

The release of Mr Govan Mbeki had likewise caused a flutter in the ANC dovecot, and had proved that not only did the Government have the arsenal to handle any situation, but the will to use it in the best interests of the country — Sapa

'Alarm' at Botha's attack on press

CAPE TIMES 15/2/88 (243)

JOHANNESBURG — The Anti-Censorship Action Group (ACAG) said at the weekend it viewed the statement made by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, in Parliament last week with alarm.

In a statement, the ACAG said that in his speech, Mr Botha attacked a "new breed of journalist" and journalism which he saw as subversive, and then attacked Argus company newspapers, the Sunday Times and the Media Council, which he then urged to be more vigilant.

"(Mr) Botha candidly admitted that the emergency regulations which gag the media were intended to 'maintain the system during the process of reform', according to reports.

"ACAG sees (these) comments as part of the growing threat to freedom of expression and of the press. It rejects with contempt (Mr) Botha's assurance to Parliament that 'there is no question of the government wanting to control what people may know'."

The statement said Mr Botha's remarks were made "while action is being taken against the so-called 'alternative press' and before the outcome of the New Nation's legal test of the regulations — a test which may well lead to the closure of that newspaper".

The president of the South African Society of Journalists, Ms Pat Sidley, said in a statement at the weekend that Mr Botha's views as expressed to Parliament were both alarming and contemptible.

"We reject with contempt (Mr) Botha's attack on journalists, the Argus company and the Sunday Times. We know it futile to appeal for some sanity in the situation, but the minister would be well advised to heed the criticism and note that it does not come from revolutionaries," Miss Sidley said — Sapa

Media watchdog lists increasing attacks on Press

6/5/2/88 Star
243

The Anti-Censorship Action Group (Acag) has expressed alarm at Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha's recent attack on a "new breed of journalists" in South Africa.

Acag yesterday said that, in his speech to Parliament last week, Mr Botha attacked a "new breed of journalist," and journalism which he saw as subversive. He also attacked Argus company newspapers, *The Sunday Times* and the Media Council, which he urged to be more vigilant.

The Acag statement said "Botha candidly admitted that the emergency regulations which gag the media were intended to 'maintain the system during the process of reform,' according to reports

"Acag sees Botha's comments as part of the growing threat to journalists, journalism, cultural and media workers — a threat to freedom of expression and of the Press

"Acag rejects with contempt Botha's assurance to Parliament that 'there is no question of the government wanting to control what people

may know'."

The statement said Mr Botha's remarks were made "while action is being taken against the so-called 'alternative Press' and before the outcome of the *New Nation's* legal test of the regulations — a test which may well lead to the closure of that newspaper"

Acag said recent action by the State included the following

- "The Government has published a new Bill intended to further restrict publishable information — this is the National Supplies and Procurements Amendment Bill
- "On February 5, Kgalade Kekane, the Northern Transvaal organiser of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) was detained under emergency regulations
- "In January, poet and cultural worker Mzwakhe Mbuli was detained
- "Exiled poet Breyten Breytenbach was refused a visa to receive an honorary doctorate
- "Five journalists are in detention, one for more than 18 months. They are

- Brian Sokutu, a Port Elizabeth freelancer, detained on June 16, 1986
- Zwelakhe Sisulu, editor of the *New Nation*, detained since December, 1986
- Themba Kumalo, a Soweto freelance journalist, working for the Canadian company, Southam News, detained in June 1987
- Umbulelo Grootboom of Saamstaan project in Oudtshoorn, who has been detained several times and free for only three of the past 18 months. He is currently being held under emergency regulations
- Vincent Umfundisi, a Mwasa official working for the SABC, held since October 2 last year.

Suttner allegations 'devoid of truth'

By Gary van Staden

South African Government claims that detainee Mr Raymond Suttner propagated the establishment of "people's courts" were devoid of truth and merely an excuse for his continued detention, his attorneys said this week

The attorneys — speaking after consultations with Mr Suttner — were reacting to comments made by SA Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha to the Bavarian Premier, Dr Franz-Josef Strauss

During his recent visit to South Africa, Dr Strauss apparently made representations to the Government for the release of Mr Suttner, who has been detained without trial since June 1986

In his written reply, Mr Botha said that it was not possible to release Mr Suttner as he had "propagated the establishment of illegal structures such as the so-called people's courts which were responsible for so many hideous executions and necklacings of law-abiding black citizens".

DENIES HE PROPAGATED PEOPLE'S COURTS

The attorneys said that Mr Suttner had denied the allegations

"Insofar as Mr Suttner has expressed any views on this subject, this was in an academic paper which is in the possession of the security police," the attorneys said

"It is clear from a reading of this paper that his conception of popular justice is completely unrelated to illegality or violent activities," the attorneys added

"In no writing or speech has Mr Suttner called for the establishment of people's courts"

The attorneys said that if there were any truth in Mr Botha's allegations, then Mr Suttner would certainly have been brought to trial instead of remaining a detainee

DEATH IN DETENTION

Other cultural and media workers in detention included

● Jaki Seroke, poet and editor at Skotaville publishers, and a Mwasa organiser, Marropodi Mapalakanye, who was to have been a witness into the inquest of the death in detention of Soweto journalist Lucky Kutumela

"Acag believes the Minister is correct when he says action against the media is intended to maintain the system. We also believe the detention of those listed above fulfills the same purpose" — Sapa

2/13

Sibiya takes over as City Press editor

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JOHANNESBURG — Mr Khulu Sibiya has been appointed editor of the black weekend newspaper, City Press, and takes over from Mr Percy Qoboza, who died last month

1/2
1/2

Mr Sibiya, 39, was a professional soccer player and worked for the now defunct Rand Daily Mail for 13 years before joining City Press about five years ago

Born near Nigel, he grew up in Soweto and matriculated at Orlando West in 1968. He later became a professional soccer player and played for Orlando Pi-

rates and Moroka Swallows

He and his wife, Esther, have three children

Mr Sibiya was initially a political reporter at City Press. He later became news editor and eventually assistant editor under Mr Qoboza

He has definite views on the future of South Africa. "We are a country of black and white people and will have to sort out our problems together. However, I am hopeful that this will be done together peacefully," he said — Sapa

PFP attacks Govt on its 'desire for a lame press'

GRAHAMSTOWN — The Government's desire to have a "lame and compliant" press could not be satisfied by the Media Council, and it finally imposed "very serious restrictions" on what might be published in terms of the emergency regulations, PFP spokesman on home affairs, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said yesterday

Speaking at a meeting at Rhodes University, Mr van der Merwe said it had to be a measure of the degeneration that freedom of the press had suffered at the hands of the Government, that the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, had found himself "in serious conflict" with the chairman of the Media Council.

"It should be remembered that the Media Council was established at the insistence of the Government with the clear purpose that it should exercise some control over the press."

The council's potential to infringe on press freedom was recognised and criticised by both English and Afrikaans newspaper interests, yet the

council had now become a "constant critic of the emergency regulations"

This had irritated Mr Botha into launching an attack on Media Council chairman, Mr Justice van Winsen, in Parliament, accusing the judge of being biased and of ignoring what Mr Botha called the "State President's considered opinion" on why the emergency regulations were necessary

"Obviously Mr Stoffel Botha feels that the 'considered opinion' of Mr P W Botha is a criterion of greater validity than the universally recognised standards of press freedom"

Members of the Government and its officials had persistently accused the press of propaganda, bias, lies and fomenting hostility

Allegations, revealed by the press, of "ghastly atrocities" committed by some members of the police in the course of unrest in the past three years were denied by the Government, yet a number of court decisions had proved that it was the Government that had lied, not the press.

Board lifts bans

Spectrum 22/2/88
THE Publications Appeal Board has lifted the ban on the August edition of *South*, a Cape Town newspaper.

South, together with *Work In Progress* and *Die Stem* received formal warnings from the Government last year in terms of the latest media

curbs. The board also lifted the ban on the January 1988 (Vol 5, No 1) edition of *Bunny Girl* produced by Republican Press in Durban.

A publications committee has also ruled that *The Eye* and *The Sun* by S Vavilov is not undesirable. It had been declared undesirable under the Repealed Customs Act, 1955 by the Minister of the Interior — Sapa.



INKATHA SLAMS 'MEDIA BIAS'

Buthelezi blames UDF for on-going strife

THE Pietermaritzburg violence had led to such media bias against Inkatha that the UDF wanted the strife to continue, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Ulundi at the weekend.

He accused the media of giving credibility to false claims that the disturbances were caused by Inkatha's use of violence and intimidation in recruitment campaigns

The KwaZulu chief minister was making his presidential address to the conference of Inkatha National Cultural Liberation Movement.

All the information open to him emphasised that the ordinary people of Pietermaritzburg, "the peasants and labourers", were sickened by the carnage, Dr Buthelezi said

Backlash

They were participating in "a very justifiable backlash" against orchestrated political violence and were disgusted by the behaviour of UDF youth.

The UDF and Cosatu were "fetch and carry boys" for the ANC who were attacking Inkatha because they wanted to

see the revolutionary organisation as the only real force in the field

"I think there is very little doubt that thus far we are losing the media battle. The media is on the side of those who set out to kill Inkatha's members"

Dr Buthelezi said he was "terribly concerned" about media treatment of the violence. He could see the effects of the "media bias" when he talked to ambassadors, businessmen and others

"I can see by the way that they talk and the questions they ask that the UDF's propaganda is costing us dearly in terms of the image of Inkatha as portrayed in the media

"It is because Inkatha is suffering by the way the media is treating the Pietermaritzburg violence that the UDF actually wants violence to continue, whatever they say publicly about the matter," he said — Sapa

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MATTER OF FACT

23/2/88
243
Opinion

THE Department of Home Affairs has laid a complaint with the Media Council concerning the *Sowetan's* publication of two items on 28 and 29 January 1988, respectively.

The department contends that the cartoon on page 10 of the January 29, 1988 edition is inaccurate in that it distorts the facts surrounding the closure of *Die Stem* to the extent that the cartoon implies that the Minister of Home Affairs was responsible for the closure of *Die Stem*. The *Sowetan* withdraws the innuendo and places on record that the Minister of Home Affairs has denied any responsibility for its closure. The newspaper, in fact, suspended publication of its own accord.

The Department of Home Affairs has also complained of a column published under the heading 'Talk Of The Town' in the January 28, 1988 edition of the *Sowetan*. The department complains that certain of the comments contained therein were not fairly and honestly made and were not an honest expression of opinion without malice.

Generalisation

The column indicated that every person who had ever been to the offices of the Commissioner of Bantu Affairs to apply for a pass or birth certificate knew what bribery was all about.

In the hyperbole frequently used by columnists — 'everyone believes no right-thinking person would . . . every South African must be . . . etc' — statements which could be regarded as 'sweeping' do occur. One must especially view this against the tone of the column which cannot be viewed as a 'serious' approach.

The *Sowetan* accepts that the statement was a generalisation. It was not intended to create the idea that every person had somewhere in the past to use bribery to obtain documents but that this had happened in specific cases and many people knew about it.

Howard

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

	(a)(i)	(ii)	(b)
KwaZulu	1 604 159	1 580 301	2 005
Lebowa	278 210	1 164 454	356
Owagwa	164 664	873 222	1 022
Gazankulu	98 444	416 522	44
KaNgwane	4 574	536 663	0
KwaNdebele	36 026	335 246	622

The figures furnished under (a)(ii) are projections based on the 1985 census figures as supplied by the Central Statistical Service

Professionally qualified persons: emigrated/immigrated

97 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs

How many (a) doctors, (b) dentists, (c) lawyers (d) architects (e) social workers, (f) quantity surveyors, (g) scientists and (h) other specified professionally qualified persons (i) emigrated from and (ii) immigrated to South Africa in 1987?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

	(i)	(ii)
(a) Doctors and specialists	93	52
(b) Dentists and dental specialists	13	8
(c) Attorneys and advocates	51	1
(d) Architects and town and regional planners	28	10
(e) Social workers	11	5
(f) Quantity surveyors	21	9
(g) Scientists	133	86
(h) Engineer engineering technician and related occupations	481	351
(i) Medical, dental and related health service occupations (excluding (a) and (b))	274	142
(j) Mathematical and related occupations and computer sciences occupations	131	65
(k) Accountant and related accounting occupations and economic occupations	222	64
(l) Legal occupations (excluding (c))	8	2

Howard

	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Education and related occupations	253	91	45	48	34	16	36
Religious professions	45	48					
Author and related occupations	34	16					
Artist, plastic arts and designer	45	36					
Artist, performing arts and related occupations	37	31					
Sports occupations	7	9					
Professional, semi-professional and technical occupations	86	45					

Immigrants/emigrants

98 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs

(a) What is the estimated number of (i) males and (ii) females who (aa) immigrated to and (bb) emigrated from the Republic in the latest specified period of 12 months for which figures are available and (b) how many such (i) males and (ii) females were 17 years of age or younger?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

	Jan-Dec 1987	
	(i)	(ii)
(a) (aa)	4 042	3 911
(b) (bb)	5 443	5 731
(c) (aa)	821	753
(d) (bb)	1 892	1 863

Illegal immigrants: deported/repatrated

99 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs

- (1) Whether any persons who were arrested on suspicion of being illegal immigrants were deported or repatriated in 1987, if so, (a) how many and (b) to which country was each deported or repatriated.
- (2) whether any of these persons were in possession of illegal (a) reference or (b) identity books if so (i) how many, (ii) of which countries were they purported to be citizens (iii) (aa) by whom and (bb) how was it determined that the documents were illegal and (iv) in terms of what statutory provisions were they deported or repatriated?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

	(1)	(2)
(a) 37 423	3 124	26 870
(b) Zimbabwe	2 669	3 308
Mozambique	1 349	99
Botswana	1	1
Lesotho	1	1
Swaziland	1	1
Malawi	1	1
Zambia	1	1
Tanzania	1	1
Zaire	1	1
Gambia	1	1

(1) Yes, but only after it had been confirmed that they were prohibited persons

(2) (a) and (b) Yes, some of the persons mentioned in paragraph 1(a) were in possession of false reference books and identity documents
 (i) and (ii) Statistics in this regard are not being kept by the Department
 (iii) (aa) Immigration- and Police Officers
 (bb) By means of examination in terms of the relevant legislation

(iv) In terms of section 16 of the Admission of persons to the Republic Regulation Act 1972 (Act 59 of 1972)

Renewal of Aida Parker Newsletter

108 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Defence

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 933 on 2 May 1986, the South African Defence Force has renewed its subscriptions to the Aida Parker Newsletter, if so, (a) for how many copies, (b) for what period, (c) at what cost and (d) for what reason?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE

- (a) 3 subscriptions
- (b) 1 March 1987 to 29 February 1988
- (c) R89,00 per subscription
- (d) To keep up to date with the opinions expressed therein

Self-governing territories: resettlements

172 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid

Whether he will furnish information on the number of Black persons resettled in the self-governing territories in 1987, if not, why not, if so, (a) what total number of Black persons in these territories was resettled in that year (i) in the Republic, (ii) within (aa) the same and (bb) another self-governing territory and (b) (i) from what places were they removed, (ii) in what places were they resettled and (iii) for what reasons were they resettled, in each case?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID

(a) and (b) The power to settle Blacks in the self-governing territories vests in the governments of the territories concerned. The Department of Development Aid has no information regarding such settlement actions, but, at the request of the heads of the families themselves, resettled 69 families from Moutse KwaNdebele, in the Immerpan/Salesfoot area, which is later to be incorporated within Lebowa

Black spots removed

173 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid

(1) (a) How many Black spots were removed in each (i) magisterial district and (ii) province in 1987 (b) what was the (i) name and (ii) population of each such Black spot and (c) where were the inhabitants of each spot resettled

(2) what was the total (a) amount paid out in compensation for and (b) cost of removing each of these Black spots in that year?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID

- (1) (a) None
- (b) and (c) Fall away
- (2) Falls away

Land for consolidation purposes' cost

176 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid

What was the cost of purchasing land for the purposes of consolidation in respect of each (a)

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25/2/88
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130
**186 press
visas refused**

Political Staff

APPLICATIONS by 186 foreign journalists for visas to visit SA were refused last year, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday.

But he declined to disclose the names of the newspapers or media organizations involved or what the main reasons were for refusing the applications.

Mr Botha said in reply to a question by Mr Peter Soal (PFP, Johannesburg North): "It is not considered expedient to disclose information of this nature, as an application for a visa is a personal matter between the applicant and the Department of Home Affairs."

KHULU SIBIYA

It is unusual for an ex-pro football player to become a newspaper editor. But such is the status of the game in the black community that Khulu Sibiyá, new editor of *City Press*, sees it as an almost logical progression.

Sibiyá (39) matriculated from Orlando



West High School and, after playing for the Orlando Pirates and Zulu Royal — and working for property company JH Isaacs — joined the *Rand Daily Mail* as a general reporter and sportswriter.

"It used to annoy me that most sportswriters had not played the games they wrote about or even knew the rules. I

used to be consulted for my opinions and quoted in the press, and in 1975 I was offered a job as a journalist."

From there he "inevitably," as he says, moved on to political writing: "It's impossible for a black not to be political."

In 1983 he joined *City Press*, which he sees as the voice of the "voteless black community," but he has no illusions about the role of journalism. "The primary purpose of a newspaper is to report fairly and impartially on the news. It cannot dictate views."

Although he was a supporter of Black Consciousness and was involved in the Black People's Convention, all that has passed and Sibiyá now says, "I'm not prepared to play off one organisation against another. For example, some may label Buthelezi a stooge or collaborator but he is still a significant leader."

Sibiyá says he found his reputation for impartiality most useful when he was working in the US on the *Detroit News* in 1986. He was able to talk to both the ANC and PAC hierarchies and gain their respect and confidence.

Sibiyá has strong ideas on the issue of press censorship. "If we aren't allowed to give the full picture of events in the townships, it gives the whites a false sense of security. And if we could, the government might start to know what's happening."

That's straight talking from a plain-spoken man — less idealistic, certainly, than his predecessor Percy Qoboza.

And although he is realistically prepared for the role of Messianic community leader that goes with his editorship, he is intent on remaining his own man: "I refuse to be a propagandist," he insists.

Journalists 'appalled'

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24

THE Southern African Society of Journalists is "appalled at the period of darkness" South Africa was now entering following the government's effective banning of 17 organisations and placing severe restrictions on another

"Journalists do not for one minute believe that all opposition activity will end because the government has so decreed. Instead, it will be driven underground... And journalists will be unable to tell readers what is happening in this society," said the

SASJ in a statement.

With the bannings, the government "is trying to silence the voice of the majority of the country - much of it already silenced through restrictions on the media".

The SASJ felt the restrictions would lead to an acceleration of violence in the Maritzburg area.

"We hope the action taken against the UDF and Cosatu, which has not been extended to Inkatha, will not provoke further carnage," said the SASJ statement. - Sapa

28/2/88

WORLD PRESS

International Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners

From 10 February 1987 to 31 January 1988 small quantities of tear-smoke sprayed by hand used on seven occasions and tear-smoke cartridges were used on two more serious occasions to calm down emergency regulation detainees and to effectively defuse potentially dangerous situations. The particulars are as follows [Remainder of reply laid upon the Table with leave of House]

- (1) Durban Medium B Prison
Date 16 February 1987
Detainees acted riotous refused to come out of their cells and blocked their cell doors with beds. Tear-smoke cartridges were used.
- (2) Modderbee Medium Prison
Date 12 March 1987
I dealt extensively with this incident in this House in reply to Oral Question No 1 on 4 August 1987
- (3) Middelburg Prison (CP)
Date 15 March 1987
Detainees shouted slogans, acted riotous and refused to respond to requests to calm down. Tear-smoke in an aerosol spray can was used.
- (4) Potchefstroom Prison
Date 16 March 1987
A detainee broke the toilet in his cell on purpose and threatened to assault members of the staff with it should they enter the cell. Tear-smoke in an aerosol spray can was used.
- (5) Vereeniging Prison
Date 4 April 1987
Detainees swore at the personnel and set fire to towels creating a fire hazard which may have threatened many lives. Tear-smoke in an aerosol spray can was used.
- (6) Johannesburg Prison
Date 1 May 1987
Detainees refused to enter their cells and swore at the personnel. Tear-smoke in an aerosol spray can was used.
- (7) Durban Medium B Prison
Date 5 May 1987
I dealt with this incident in this House on

26 May 1987 and 11 August 1987 in reply to Oral Questions No 11 and No 13 respectively.

The applicants withdrew their motion application which was brought before the Supreme Court in Durban on 1 September 1987. The circumstances of this incident forms part of the plea which is public information and which cannot be dealt with in full within the scope of this reply due to the volume thereof. Tear-smoke cartridges were used.

- (8) Grootevlei Maximum Prison
Date 11 May 1987
Detainees swore at the personnel and acted aggressively by kicking and hitting at members of the staff. Tear-smoke in an aerosol spray can was used.
 - (9) East London Medium A Prison
Date 12 May 1987
A detainee acted aggressively and assaulted personnel. Tear-smoke in an aerosol spray can was used.
- In all the above-mentioned cases where necessary medical treatment was given to detainees after the use of tear-smoke.
- Magazine, Contact article on communist onslaught
- *24 Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Defence +
- (1) Whether an article on the communist onslaught against South Africa which appeared in the Christmas edition of a certain magazine particulars of which have been furnished to the South African Defence Force for the purposes of the Minister's reply meets with the approval of the Defence Force, if so what is the name of this magazine.
 - (2) whether he will comment on the statement made in this article about Russia and its conspirators further particulars of which have been furnished to the Defence Force.
 - (3) whether the article on the strategy of the revolutionary elements in the Republic which has been planned for subsequent

issues of the magazine concerned meets with the approval of the Defence Force?

†The MINISTER OF DEFENCE

- (1) Yes, "Contact"
- (2) It represents the personal opinions of the writer and is not necessarily the official viewpoint of the South African Defence Force.
- (3) The article has not yet been drafted.

Mr Robert Von Palace Kolbatschenko

*25 Mr D J N MALCOMMESS asked the Minister of Home Affairs

- (1) Whether a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, was granted permanent residence in South Africa, if so (a) when and (b) what is his name.
- (2) whether this person stated in his application for permanent residence that he had a prison record, if so what was the nature of this record, if not.
- (3) whether his Department subsequently found out that this person had such a record, if so (a) when and (b) what action was taken as a result.
- (4) whether any South African citizens gave any (a) warranties concerning and (b) promises of employment for this person, if so (i) who and (ii) when.
- (5) whether any court case is pending against any employees of his Department in connection with the permanent residence permit of this person, if so (a) what positions did these employees hold, (b) what are their names and (c) what are the charges against them?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

- (1) to (4) The person involved is Mr Robert Von Palace Kolbatschenko who according to the records of the Department was granted a permit for permanent residence on 21 December 1987.

It is my intention to make public as soon as possible all relevant facts at the Department's disposal. I have been advised not to do so at this stage due to a police investigation which is presently being con-

ducted. The premature disclosure of these facts may prejudice the investigation.

The Department of Home Affairs is giving its full co-operation to the SA Police in its investigation, and has already supplied the Police with all the available information in this matter.

- (5) One official of the Department has been arrested but no charges have been formulated as yet.

- (a) Clerical
- (b) J D Scheffer
- (c) Falls away

Mr D J N MALCOMMESS: Mr Chairman arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I think the hon the Minister gave the name of this person as Mr Kolbatschenko. As far as I am aware this gentleman has been named in the Press as Mr Palazzolo. Is that purely a pseudonym?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, in the records which we have in the department the name is the one I read now. I believe the name to which the hon member referred was also used.

Organized crime syndicate/certain person's connections

*26 Mr D J N MALCOMMESS asked the Minister of Law and Order

Whether the South African Police are conducting an investigation into alleged connections between any organized crime syndicate and a certain person whose name has been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, if so (a) what progress has been made in this investigation, (b) what are the circumstances surrounding this investigation, (c) when is it anticipated that the relevant docket will be handed to the Attorney-General and (d) what is the name of (i) this person and (ii) the syndicate in question?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

No, but enquiries are presently being conducted to establish whether any criminal offences were committed by any person I am not prepared to furnish information regarding these enquiries as it will defeat the purpose of such enquiries.

- (a) to (d) Fall away

Therefore action is being taken against the transgressors in the interests of the residents of the area and the law abiding persons who visit the beach

Mr D J N MALCOMESS Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can he perhaps inform us how the police decided that the men who were flocking to the beach were of dubious character? [Interjections]

Mr C W EGLIN Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, have there been any arrests or have the police acted in any way against these gentlemen of dubious character, or have they only acted against the topless sunbathers?

The MINISTER Mr Chairman the hon member is now after something that is not clear to me [Interjections] People flock to the beach and the local residents complain to us that there are unsavoury characters in the neighbourhood. Therefore we act against those people who cause the influx of unsavoury characters. Now the hon member is angry with us now he is at loggerheads with us. I do not want to spoil the hon member's fun. I do not think that the hon member will be seen in that light when he pays a visit there.

Mr C W EGLIN Mr Chairman further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, may I ask whether he is saying that although he has said across the floor of the House that the result of this is that a lot of insalubrious characters have arrived there, the police have taken no action against those other people?

The MINISTER Mr Chairman if the people who flock there do not commit an offence why should we pick them up?

Topless bathing/sunbathing directives to members of SAP

*12 Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Law and Order

Whether any directive has been issued to members of the South African Police regarding topless bathing or sunbathing if so (a) what is the content of the directive and (b) (i) by whom and (ii) when was it issued?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER
No

(a) and (b) Fall away

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Seating arrangements: non-Whites in back two rows of aircraft

*13 Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs

(1) Whether, on flight SA 314 from Cape Town to Johannesburg on 10 February 1988, the back two rows of the aircraft were occupied by persons who are not White, if so,

(2) whether these persons requested to be allowed to sit in these rows, if not,

(3) whether this represents a change in the policy of the South African Airways in regard to seating arrangements for persons who are not White, if so (a) why and (b) who took the decision in this regard, if not, what is the policy of the Airways in regard to the seating of persons of different race groups in their aircraft?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS

(1) Particulars of the race of air passengers are not recorded on passenger records

(2) Particulars of requests for specific seats are not kept

(3) No uniform policy in respect of seating allocations in the economy class viz a choice of seat during check-in or if such a choice is not made, at random by computer is applied

Ballot papers security measures

*14 Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Home Affairs

Whether any security measures are taken to ensure that ballot papers are not tampered with after a general or by-election, if not, why not if so what security measures?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

Yes. The hon member's attention is invited to section 80 read with section 107 of the Electoral Act, 1979 (Act 45 of 1979). Marked ballot papers and the counterfoils of such ballot papers are sealed separately in the presence of representatives of political parties. The marked ballot papers are kept in the sealed packets by the Returning Officer and the counterfoils are kept in the sealed packets by the Chief Electoral Officer in Pretoria for a period of twelve months before they are destroyed. All these documents are kept in safe custody for the said period. Access to such ballot papers may be granted only by an order of the Supreme Court.

of twelve months before they are destroyed. All these documents are kept in safe custody for the said period. Access to such ballot papers may be granted only by an order of the Supreme Court.

Government's economic policy: advertising campaign in Press

*15 Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Deputy Minister of Information

Whether the Bureau for Information is involved in the current advertising campaign in the Press aimed at presenting the Government's proposed economic policy for the Republic to the public at large, if so, (a) to what extent (b) what was the cost of this campaign as at the latest specified date for which information is available (c) which newspapers are involved, (d) what is the combined circulation figure of these newspapers and (e) on whose (i) advice and (ii) authority were these advertisements placed?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION

Yes

(a) The Bureau for Information was responsible for the preparation and placement of the advertisements

(b) R153 768 16 on 1 March 1988

(c) (i) Newspapers

Rapport

Sunday Times

Sunday Tribune

Beeld

Die Burger

The Star

The Argus

The Citizen

Sowetan

Business Day

Oosterlig

Die Volksblad

Civ Press

Ilanga

Imvo Zabantsundu

Eastern Province Herald

(ii) Magazines

Africa Business

Finansies en Tegniek

Finance Week
Financial Mail

(d) 2 123 718 (newspapers only)
2 197 818 (magazines included)

(e) (i) Bureau for Information
(ii) The Deputy Minister of Information

Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS Mr Chairman, arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, may I ask whether he would be prepared to give us an estimated figure as to how much of the new budget is going to be used to promote the image of the hon the State President and the NP?

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE Order! That is not a question arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply

Ellistras new power station

*16 Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology

Whether a new power station is being constructed in the Ellistras area if so, (a) what is its megawatt output, (b) what (i) is its capital cost and (ii) was its original budgeted cost (c) when (i) did construction commence and (ii) was it completed or is it due to be completed and (d) on what date was this power station originally due to start operating?

The MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND TECHNOLOGY

Yes, the Mamba power station.

(a) 3 900 MW on completion

(b) (i) R3 927 million on forecast (in 1988 money values)
(ii) R3 880 million excluding interest charges

(c) (i) 1981
(ii) September 1991

(d) Unit 1 of the power station should have started to operate in September 1986 but was only put into operation in September 1987 and the delay did not increase the estimated final cost of the project. Unit 2 was completed in December 1987.

*17 Mr D J N MALCOMESS—Transport Affairs [Withdrawn]

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

DISP 213/88

Dispatch ahead of forecast

Business Editor
EAST LONDON — Actual results for the six months to December 31, 1987, after title write-off were 17,9 per cent ahead of forecast, it is announced today by Dispatch Media Limited in its first interim report

The company, which

was listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange in October 1987, said the first dividend would be declared in September, payable in November, and the directors expect it will not be less than 4,5 cents a share

The flagship of Dispatch Media is the Daily

Dispatch, which was founded in 1872. Other newspapers published by the company include the Queenstown Representative, the King William's Town Mercury, Indaba, the Mirror. Other interests include distribution, commercial printing and a shareholding in M-Net

Protest over ^{Southern} Govt ^{3/3/88} curbs ⁽²⁴³⁾

FOUR media organisations are hosting a public meeting today to protest last week's banning of 17 organisations and prominent individuals as well as the curbing of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

The meeting is at the Central Methodist Church in Pritchard Street, Johannesburg, at corner of Von Brandis Street, and near the Rand Supreme Court

The four organisations, the Anti-Censorship Action Group (ACAG), the Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ), the Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ) and the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa), have called the meeting in the belief that these latest curbs are yet another infringement of the people's right to be heard, and to be informed.— Sapa

THURSDAY 3 MARCH 1988

Howard

(ii) Afrikaans copies of the booklet were produced (c) to whom were copies of the booklet sent and (d) what was the total cost of producing, printing and distributing the booklet

(2) whether tenders were invited for the printing of the booklet, if not why not, if so (a) when (b) by what means was the call for tenders publicized (c) how many tenders were received (d) from whom were they received (e) what was the amount of each tender and (f) who was the successful tenderer?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION

(1) Yes

(a) The booklet comprises 16 pages

(b) (i) 80 100 English and

(ii) 21 850 Afrikaans copies were produced

(c) To contacts of the Bureau for Information's 13 regional offices and on public demand

(d) The total cost of producing and printing was R32 739. The distribution cost cannot be calculated separately as it forms part of the Bureau's total postal distribution cost

(2) Tenders for printing contracts are handled by the Government Printer

(a) (b) (c) (d) (e) and (f) Fall away

Booklet "Meeting the Economic Challenge"

437 Mr P G SOAL asked the Deputy Minister of Information

(1) Whether the Bureau for Information was responsible for the compilation and distribution of a booklet entitled "Meeting the Economic Challenge" and subtitled "An address by State President P W Botha at the Opening of Parliament on 5 February 1988" if not who is responsible for this booklet if so (a) how many pages does the booklet comprise (b) how many (i) English and (ii) Afrikaans copies of the booklet were produced (c) to whom were copies of the booklet sent and (d) what was the total cost of producing, printing and distributing the booklet

HOUSE ASSEMBLY

(2) whether tenders were invited for the printing of this booklet if not why not, if so,

(a) when, (b) by what means was the call for tenders publicized (c) how many tenders were received (d) from whom were they received (e) what was the amount of each tender and (f) who was the successful tenderer?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION

(1) Yes

(a) The booklet comprises 16 pages

(b) (i) 34 500 English and

(ii) 20 000 Afrikaans copies were printed

(c) To contacts of the Bureau for Information's 13 regional offices and on public demand

(d) The total cost of producing and printing was R30 000. The distribution cost cannot be calculated separately as it forms part of the Bureau's total postal distribution cost

(2) Tenders for printing contracts are handled by the Government Printer

(a) (b) (c) (d) (e) and (f) Fall away

1988 calendar - South African Milestones

438 Mr P G SOAL asked the Deputy Minister of Information

(1) Whether the Bureau for Information was responsible for the compilation and distribution of a 1988 calendar entitled "South African Milestones" if not who is responsible for this calendar if so (a) how many pages does the calendar comprise (b) how many (i) English and (ii) Afrikaans copies of the calendar were produced (c) to whom were copies of the calendar sent (d) on what date were the calendars distributed and (e) what was the total cost of producing, printing and distributing the calendar

(2) whether tenders were invited for the printing of the calendar if not why not, if so (a) when (b) by what means was the call for tenders publicized (c) how many tenders were received (d) from whom were they received (e) what was the amount of

THURSDAY 3 MARCH 1988

Howard

each tender and (f) who was the successful tenderer?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION

(1) Yes

(a) The calendar comprises 108 pages

(b) (i) and (ii) 15 000 English/Afrikaans copies were produced

(c) Copies were sent to the State President's Office, Members of Parliament, the President's Council, Directors-General and contacts of the Bureau for Information's 13 Regional Offices

(d) Copies were distributed from January 1988 onwards

(e) The total cost of producing and printing of the calendar was R121 000. The distribution cost cannot be calculated separately as it forms part of the Bureau's total postal distribution cost

(2) Tenders for printing contracts are handled by the Government Printer

(a) (b) (c) (d) (e) and (f) Fall away

Bophuthatswana/Ciskei/Transkei/Venda - South African officials seconded

457 Mr R A F SWART asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs

Whether any South African officials had been seconded to the Government Service of (a) Bophuthatswana (b) Ciskei (c) Transkei and (d) Venda as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Yes. The number of seconded officials as on 28 January 1988 was as follows:

(a) Bophuthatswana 299

(b) Ciskei 534

(c) Transkei 102

(d) Venda 223

Regional newspapers published

461 Mr P G SOAL asked the Deputy Minister of Information

(1) (a) How many regional newspapers are

published by the Bureau for Information,

(b) what is the purpose of these newspapers (c) what is the name of each of the newspapers published (d) where is each newspaper distributed, (e) to whom are copies distributed (f) what number of copies of each newspaper is printed (g) what is the total amount allocated to the production and distribution of these regional newspapers during the current financial year and (h) who prints each of these newspapers

(2) whether the printing of each of these newspapers was put out to tender, if not why not, if so (a) from whom were tenders received and (b) what was the amount of each tender

(3) whether these newspapers carry political news if so on what basis

(4) (a) what is the editorial policy of each newspaper and (b) who determines this policy

(5) whether he will furnish the names of the editors of these newspapers if not why not, if so what is the name of the editor in each case?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION

(1) (a) Eight

(b) To act as a means of communication between the Government and the various groups mainly at regional level

(c) 1 Metropolitan Digest

2 Lighth/Khanva

3 Silulu

4 Puzano

5 Karet

6 Umso

7 Phoenix

8 Izindaba

(d) 1 Metropolitan Digest - W. Swartland

2 Lighth/Khanva - Northern Transvaal

3 Silulu - Eastern Transvaal

4 Puzano - Orange Free State

5 Karet - Countrywide

6 Umso - Eastern Cape

7 Phoenix - Countrywide

8 Izindaba - Natal

HOUSE ASSEMBLY

Outraged reaction to Nation silencing

Staff Reporters

Media spokesmen have reacted with outrage to the Government's announcement that it would close the *New Nation*, calling it an attempt to "kill the messenger" rather than heed the message.

Ms Pat Sidley, president of the SA Society of Journalists, said the move "displays the hypocrisy and lack of truth behind statements made in Parliament that the Government does not wish to control what people may know".

Mr Peter Soal, MP, a media spokesman in the Progressive Federal Party said "Instead of closing down the *New Nation* Mr Botha should have released Mr Zweelake Sisulu from detention".

Mr Raymond Louw, a former editor of the *Rand Daily Mail* and a member of the International Press Institute, said "The Minister has not been able to define what promotes revolutionary aims and relies on a secret inquisition to judge this. One of the tests is the tone of a paper. These tests are unacceptable, but of course accord with the Government's need for subservience and obedience from the public."

SYCOPHANTIC

"The only tone that would meet the Government's demand is that prevalent in its own publications — that of sycophancy."

"The *New Nation* did no more than represent the aspirations of black people."

By David Braun and
Claire Robertson

Yesterday's action against the *New Nation* is the culmination of two years of media curbs in which the Government assumed a series of regulations giving it the power to close down South African newspapers.

The *New Nation* fought tooth and nail to prevent the banning Monday's court defeat in which it lost an application to bar its closure, underlines the view that the press is now dealing with "a largely incontestable set of regulations", as a Johannesburg media lawyer described the latest curbs.

The curbs were instituted in August last year and were refined early this year. They follow a series of regulations dating from June 1986, some of which were defeated in court battles between the Government, publishing companies and trade unions. Several were later re-drafted and issued again.

The latest curbs, in terms of which the *New Nation* will be closed, allow Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha to impose Government censorship on the content of newspapers or to close down any publication for up to three months at a time.

The closure of *New Nation* for three months has been on the cards since Mr Botha addressed Parliament on August 27 before announcing the new curbs.

Curbs on publications

Mr Botha told Parliament he would be introducing the curbs on publications that were guilty of the "systematic or repeated" publishing of material which had the effect of "promoting revolution or uprisings in the Republic, the breakdown of public order, the stirring up of feelings of hatred or hostility towards a local authority or security force, promoting the public image of unlawful organisations, the activities of unlawful structures and boycott actions and acts of disobedience".

Mr Botha slammed a section of the press he referred to as the "revolution-supported press", which "support a specific matter and display no qualms of conscience at the use of dishonest and deplorable methods in order to promote their dubious objectives".

Court ruling is major blow to press freedom

Govt wins a long and bitter fight for control

Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha.

Several newspapers have been the subject of the new curbs — including the second largest daily newspaper in the country, the *Sowetan*, a member of the Argus Group.

The powers the Minister assumed to deal with newspapers he found undesirable state that he is obliged to warn the newspaper that specific articles or photographs have met with his displeasure before issuing an official, gazetted warning to the publication that it is in danger of having action taken against it.

He has to give "an indication" of why the articles are objectionable. The newspaper may then make written representations to the Minister, who is not obliged to meet the editors or publishers to discuss his objections.

Mr Botha, who last year assured the press that his "door was always open", has not granted any of the three requests for an audience known to have been made. If Mr Botha objects to a subsequent issue of a "warned" publication he may close or censor it.

Four newspapers are currently involved in the initial steps of the censorship procedure. The Cape newspaper *South* and the periodical *Work in Progress* have received formal, gazetted warnings.

The right-wing publication *Die Stem* closed down following its gazetted warning, claiming to have been threatened with the imposition of a Government censor, which the Government denies. The *Weekly Mail* and *Sowetan* have both received lists of material which the Minister finds objectionable.

Despite killing off the messenger the Government will not be able to prevent these news from being expressed in the community. The danger is that this expression could appear in the form of violence," Mr Louw said.

Mr Rex Gibson, acting Editor-in-Chief of *The Star*, said "The Minister's whim is now mightier than the pen. There is no telling what he will find unacceptable tomorrow."

"With the closure of *New Nation*, the entire press is under new and serious threat. It is the most grievous inroad et into the public right to now."

● The acting president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, Bishop Reginald Ormond (speaking for the publishers, the Catholic Bishops' Publishing Company), said yesterday it was tragic that the Government silenced voices of protest instead of listening to them.

Info published eight
Stev 4/3/88 (243) ~~243~~
regional newspapers

PARLIAMENT — The Bureau for Information was responsible for the compilation and distribution of eight regional newspapers, a 1988 calendar and booklets, the Deputy Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said yesterday in a written reply to questions from Mr Peter Soal (PFP, Johannesburg North).

The purpose of the newspapers, distributed to "all interested parties" in various regions at a cost of R1,8 million, was to "act as a means of communication" between the Government and various groups, mainly at re-

gional level

The calendar, "South African Milestones", was comprised of 108 pages and 15 000 English and Afrikaans copies cost R121 000

Two booklets compiled and distributed by the Bureau, titled "Meeting the Economic Challenge" and "The Group Areas Act," both were comprised of 16 pages

He said 80 100 English and 21 850 Afrikaans copies of "The Group Areas Act" and 34 500 English and 20 000 Afrikaans copies of "Meeting the Economic Challenge" were printed at costs of R32 739 and R30 000 respectively — Sapa

Reporter still jailed

W/maub By PAT SIDLEY 4-10/2/88

AN URGENT application is being brought for the release of a journalist who has been in detention for 352 days.

Themba Khumalo, who worked for various overseas publications, has been detained in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. He has not had access to his lawyer

His attorney, Kathleen Satchwell, said yesterday that a detainees review board had recommended he be released by February 22.

Satchwell said this had not been done so the application, brought by Khumalo's mother, Lena Lebelo, would ask the court to either bring him before a court, grant access to his lawyer or release him as he "could not possibly still be interrogated" after almost a year in detention.

Cape Times 4/3/88

Church won't submit paper to censors

JOHANNESBURG. — The SA Council of Churches has been informed by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stofel Botha, that its refusal to submit copies of the SACC journal, Ecunews, to his department rendered the SACC guilty of a criminal offence.

The SACC said in a statement yesterday that: "On September 26, 1987, we received a telegram from the Home Affairs office warning us that unless we complied with their request, legal steps would be taken against us in terms of Regulation 7B (4) without further notice."

The SACC national executive committee had resolved not to comply with the order because any compliance with the state of emergency proclamation "would negate and militate against the very mission of the church in South Africa". — Sapa

THE WHITE RIGHT

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Fight for the press

The emergence of the Conservative Party as official opposition in parliament has given government yet another headache. What to do about the party's request that their right-wing publication, *Die Patriot*, be granted



Le Grange ... power to decide

press gallery facilities.

So far accreditation for *Die Patriot* has been a see-saw game between the CP and Speaker Louis le Grange. Former party secretary Frans van Staden wrote to Le Grange towards the end of last year, asking for press gallery accreditation for *Die Patriot's* political correspondent, Koos Bester, and reporter Gaye Derby-Lewis (wife of CP MP Clive Derby-Lewis).

As Speaker, Le Grange has the right to accept (after security clearance) or deny press gallery facilities — which include offices, access to the press diningroom and a constant flow of order papers, *Hansard* and official notices. The Speaker also has the right to suspend or withdraw press gallery facilities.

Le Grange made no decision and referred *Die Patriot's* application to the Press Gallery Association. Although there were certain members of the association who opposed the application, it was felt that it was not up to the journalists to make a recommendation. They referred the issue back to Le Grange.

Those who objected said that *Die Patriot*, which is not a member of the Newspaper Press Union, was not a bona fide newspaper

Bester, however, told the *FM* that his paper is registered with the Post Office as a newspaper and that he had worked as a fulltime journalist for *Nasionale Pers's Beeld*, *Perskor* and the SABC (which is also not a member of the NPU)

Bester says that while the issue is still unresolved he has to sit in the public gallery where nobody is allowed to make notes

Meanwhile Le Grange has written a second letter to the CP's chief whip, Frank le Roux, informing him that as the decision lies with the Speaker he has decided against allowing *Die Patriot* accreditation. He gives two reasons.

□ Membership of the NPU is regarded as a prerequisite; and

□ As *Die Patriot* is owned by a political party and has a small circulation, their request could not be considered

CP spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis says his party is now investigating joining the NPU. The CP feels that the denial of press facilities is nothing but party politics and it puts more strain on relations between the official opposition and the Speaker. Looking at how the two Afrikaans press groups and the SABC back the Nats, though seem to have a case

CAMP TRIB 8/3/88

Malan cuts ~~South~~ Argus 243 contact

THE Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, has severed contact with the Argus Group newspapers, a spokesman confirmed yesterday.

He said he was not prepared to discuss the merits of the issue, but confirmed it was as a result of an article lifted from the French magazine Paris Match concerning Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

The spokesman said he could not say what would be required to restore contact with the minister.

Argus Group journalists were not invited to Saturday's press conference with Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi at D F Malan Airport, a Ministry of Defence spokesman confirmed.

It is understood the exclusion stemmed from unhappiness over reports published in Argus Group newspapers and based on an article in the magazine Paris Match, in which Dr Savimbi was quoted as making statements critical of the South African government. — Sapa

Friday March 8 1988

Court told of 'unfettered' powers

Media curbs face a stiff challenge

By Jo-Anne Collinge

If the Minister of Home Affairs followed emergency provisions and appointed unnamed persons to exercise their "entirely unfettered discretion" in censoring newspapers before publication, he would be acting unlawfully, a full Transvaal Bench was told yesterday.

The submission was made in the Rand Supreme Court by Mr Jules Browde, SC, representing the weekly publication *New Nation* in its application against the media curbs introduced last August.

The provisions allow the Minister of Home Affairs to issue orders suspending publications for periods of up to three months if he is of the opinion that they produce material which will fan revolution or uprisings, promote "unrest" or the breakdown of public order, stir up hostile feelings to various authorities, or promote the public image of unlawful organisations.

The Minister forms his opinion by scrutinising a series of issues of the publication. He is obliged to warn the publication by notice in the *Government Gazette* that he is considering acting against it.

He is also bound to give the publishers notice before issuing warnings and suspension orders and to afford them the chance to make written submissions about the proposed actions to be taken against the publication. The suspension is brought into operation if the publication continues to publish material about which the Minister has warned it.

According to court papers, a decision to suspend *New Nation* between January and April had already been taken, but its implementation was preempted by the present court action, which was launched in January and postponed.

As an alternative to suspension, the Minister may order that material to be published be submitted to a censor nominated by himself. Mr Browde argued that the Minister would be acting ultra vires in appointing an unnamed person whose powers would be discretionary.

He said that Parliament had given awesome powers to the State President, and he alone was bound to shoulder them. When he delegated functions, he was obliged to say expressly to whom he was assigning them.

Mr Browde argued that the media regulations were ultra vires because they purported to vest in the Minister, Mr Stoffel Botha, powers which were greater than those vested in the State President.

He said it was not clear whether a publication had to act unlawfully to be considered to be achieving the effects stated in the regulation. In the case of *New Nation*, there was confusion whether it was the subject matter or the presentation of material that rendered it objectionable in the eyes of the Minister.

It was also not clear in what way the newspaper had continued to produce material for which it had been warned — and what precisely had led to the decision by the Minister to suspend it.

The hearing continues.

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SMA
8/3/88

Govt censor appointment 'ultra vires'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, would be acting beyond his powers if he attempted to impose a censor on the New Nation or any other publication, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

It is the first court challenge to the media curbs since they were introduced in August last year.

A FuLi Bench of three judges heard New Nation's application which seeks to prevent the minister from suspending the newspaper for three months.

Mr Jules Browde SC, for the New Nation, argued that emergency regulations imposed in August last year were unlawful.

He said only the State President was authorized to delegate power to specific known persons. These persons could not then delegate this power to further unknown persons, such as a censor, since this was clearly ultra vires.

Purely academic

He argued that the censor's actions could not be purely mechanical. Such a person would undoubtedly administer discriminatory powers, beyond his jurisdiction.

The Bench submitted that the minister had two options available to him in terms of restricting the New Nation — he could either appoint a censor or suspend the paper. Since his intention from the start had been to suspend the paper, the Bench wondered whether Mr Browde's argument on censorship was not purely academic.

Mr Browde responded that the argument was not only applicable to the specific case relating to the suspension of the New Nation, but reflected upon the validity of the media restrictions as generally applied.

The hearing continues today.

Curbs are challenged

AN application by the weekly publication, *New Nation*, to have the latest emergency curbs on the media declared unlawful, was heard by a full Bench in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

The regulations under fire were promulgated in August. They empower

the Minister of Home Affairs to suspend newspapers and magazines if, after being warned by notice in the *Government Gazette*, these publications continue to produce material which the Minister considers fans revolution or encourages

the overthrow of the Government

The *New Nation* is one of several publications which have been warned by notice in the *Government Gazette*. The present application also challenges the lawfulness of this warning

On the Bench are Mr

Justice B J Curlewis, Mr Justice P T Spoelstra and Mr Justice A M van Niekerk

If the Minister of Home Affairs followed emergency provisions and appointed unnamed persons to exercise their

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SOWETAN, Tuesday, March 8, 1988

● From Page 1

"entirely unfettered discretion" in censoring newspapers before publication, he would be acting unlawfully, the court was told.

The submission was made by Mr Jules Browde, SC, representing the *New Nation*

The Minister forms his opinion by scrutinising a series of issues of the publication. He is obliged to warn the publication by notice in the *Government Gazette* that he is considering acting against it

He is also bound to give the publishers notice before issuing warnings and suspension orders and to afford them the chance to make written submissions about the proposed actions to be taken against the publication

The suspension is brought into operation if the publication continues to publish material about which the Minister has warned it

According to court papers, a decision to suspend the *New Nation* between January and April had already been

Paper fights Govt curbs

taken but its implementation was pre-empted by the present court action which was launched in January and postponed

As an alternative to suspension the Minister may order that material to be published be submitted to a censor nominated by himself

Mr Browde argued that the Minister would be acting *ultra vires* in appointing an unnamed person whose powers which were not merely administrative but were discretionary

Parliament, he argued, had given awesome powers expressly to the State President and he alone was bound to shoulder them

The hearing continues

PLE CAL KILI

SOWETAN REP

COMMUNITY organisation appealed to the public for support and unfounded rumours about children.

Police also repeated their residents should report any rumour to their nearest police

The Greater Soweto Chamber of Industries said yesterday that people were "senseless"

The Chamber's president, M said in a statement that his African Funeral Undertakers past identified with the "contributing to the burial of catastrophes and unrest"

"The chamber appeals to people not to heed unfounded rumours," said

The newly-formed Aza Committee called for a firm end to bloodshed

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Court hears New Nation challenge media curbs

BRONWYN ADAMS

HOME Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha would be acting beyond his powers if he attempted to have a censor vet the New Nation or any other publication, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday. It is the first court challenge to the media curbs since they were introduced in August last year.

A full bench of three judges heard the New Nation's application which seeks to prevent the minister from suspending the newspaper for three months.

Jules Browde SC for the New Nation argued that emergency regulations imposed in August last year were unlawful. He said only the State President was authorised to delegate power to specific known persons.

These persons could not then delegate this power to further unknown persons, such as a censor, since this was clearly ultra vires.

Browde said: "It is startling to see what has been set up to help the minister to form his opinions. This structure is not administrative but quasi judicial. Such power cannot be delegated to an unknown person".

Browde argued that the censor's actions could not be purely mechanical. He said such a person would undoubtedly administer discriminatory powers, beyond his jurisdiction.

The bench submitted that the minister had two options available to him in terms of restricting the New Nation — he could either appoint a censor or suspend the paper. Since his intention from the start had been to suspend the paper, the bench wondered whether Browde's argument on censorship was not purely academic.

Browde responded that the argument was not only applicable to the specific case relating to the suspension of the New Nation but reflected on the validity of the media restrictions as generally applied.

The hearing continues today.

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9/3/88
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New Nation given leave to appeal as . . .

Minister's right to censor is upheld

By Jo-Anne Collinge

A full Transvaal Bench has upheld the Minister of Home Affairs' right to suspend publications for periods of up to three months and to install censors in the offices of newspapers and magazines in order to screen them before publication.

These powers, vested in the Minister by virtue of emergency regulations, are applicable only to those publications considered by the Minister to systematically publish material detrimental to public order and which have continued to do so after receiving an official warning.

The judgment — made in the Rand Supreme Court by Mr Justice Curlewis, with Mr Justice Spoelstra and Mr Justice van Niekerk concurring — came half way through the second day of an application by the weekly newspaper, *New Nation*, which challenged the validity of the media curbs imposed in August.

TEMPORARY INTERDICT

The application was dismissed with costs and *New Nation* was given leave to appeal.

The newspaper was also granted immediate relief in the form of a temporary interdict preventing the Minister from imposing an order suspending the paper or appointing a censor for the publication.

This temporary interdict was granted in the light of the fact that *New Nation* had already received a formal warning that the Minister intended to act against it and that the Minister had indicated in the course of the application that he had intended to sus-

pend *New Nation* from January to April.

The bringing of the application had pre-empted the execution of the order.

Mr Justice Curlewis made it clear the interdict applied only to an order made as a consequence of the warning mentioned in the application.

If the interdict were not made, it was possible that the Minister could issue an order in an extraordinary *Government Gazette* and immediately ban the newspaper.

COULD EFFECTIVELY BE BANNED

It would be technically more proper for the interdict to be granted only after a fresh application was brought by *New Nation*, the judge acknowledged. But the practicality was that the newspaper could effectively be banned before it had a chance to return to court.

Mr Justice Curlewis ordered that a formal application to extend the interdict until the Appeal Court sat should be made as soon as possible, and that the applicant should file papers by tomorrow.

The court found that the State President was fully entitled, in terms of the Public Safety Act, to delegate to the Minister of Home Affairs certain functions pursuant to the preservation of public safety.

The judgment added that it was not open to publications to question the grounds on which the Minister formed an opinion that a publication was presenting material that fanned revolution, promoted unrest, caused hostility towards various authorities and promoted the public image of banned organisations.

Release (243) 3/11/88
Sisulu ~~US~~ US
9/3/88

WASHINGTON — The State Department yesterday joined a group of senators in urging the South African Government to release Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, a prominent black journalist.

The department said he had been a leader in trying to solve political problems. — Sapa.

GENEVA — Mr Leonard H Marks, general counsel and treasurer of the World Press Freedom Committee, says that a free Press is becoming an "endangered species" because of increasing news censorship around the world. The World Press Freedom Committee represents 31 international news media organisations.

He made the comment at a Press conference in Geneva. He accompanied representatives of four leading world Press organisations who testified before the UN Commission on Human Rights and urged the principal UN human rights body to consider cases of violation of Press freedom as violations of human rights.

"We have come here, to the Human Rights Commission meeting, for the first time to present illustrations of Press censorship and efforts by governments to control the output of the media," Mr Marks said.

"The reports from all parts of the world are disturbing proof that censorship is increasing to the point that a free Press is becoming an endangered species."

Press censorship is taking three basic forms.

"First, there's outright censorship of copy — South Africa, Nicaragua, and the Eastern European and the Soviet countries are illustrations of that."

"Secondly, intimidating reporters through arrest, beatings and disappearances." Mr Marks said that last year 34 journalists in 12 countries were murdered, 29 were beaten, and 43 were shot. "In Haiti alone, 10 journalists were killed," and "reports from all over the world indicate more than 400 were harassed, arrested or otherwise deterred from getting the story," he said.

"Finally, there are subtler forms of media control," Mr Marks said. He cited the control of newsprint supply, the compulsory licensing of journalists — "if they don't go to the right school and pass an examination by the government they are not permitted to work for newspapers or radio-broadcast stations" — and the refusal to grant permits to import news equipment.

Mr Marks said Article 19 of the UN Declaration of Human Rights pro-

FOCUS

vides that "everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

The media organisations testifying before the commission were the International Press Institute (IPI), the Inter-American Press Association (IAPA), the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (FIEJ) and the International Federation of the Periodical Press (FIPP).

Threatened

Mr Raymond Louw, editor and publisher of *South African Reporter*, also testified. Mr Louw, who came from South Africa to report to the commission on Press conditions in his country, said that "accurate, credible information in South Africa is threatened with extinction."

He said the main threat to Press freedom is

"rigorous censorship." In addition, "unidentified state officials, armed with extremely wide powers under the emergency regulations and operating as the Directorate of Media Relations in secret have the power to recommend the closure of publications for three months or the installation of censors in their offices", he said.

Detention

"Other threats come from harassment and assault of journalists," Mr Louw said. He also mentioned the five journalists currently in detention in South Africa, "under various security laws" and others held for various periods "sometimes interrogated, sometimes threatened."

Deportation of foreign correspondents has become a "major feature" of censorship in South Africa", Mr Louw said.

Peter Galliner, director of the International Press Institute, told the commission that "harassment and persecution of journalists continued" in 1987, and that over the last 12 months the IPI sent out 63 protests to 31 countries.

"The situation in countries such as Chile and Paraguay in Latin America, and South Africa and some countries in black Africa continues to be of special concern," he said. "In Malaysia the government, in November, imposed prison sentences of up to three years for news coverage considered 'maliciously false', that is 'likely to alarm public opinion'."

"In China the correspondent of AFP (Agence France Presse, the French news agency) was

expelled for 'unacceptable activities' inconsistent with the status as a journalist," Galliner said, adding that the correspondent had apparently only reported on student demonstrations.

"In India, there is a call for penal measures against 'false reports' or a smear campaign directed at public figures."

Welcoming the "new spirit of openness" in the Soviet Union, Mr Galliner expressed the hope that the international conference on human rights, which the USSR is hoping to host in Moscow next year, will discuss "violations against journalists, including arrests and imprisonments, the closing down of publications, expulsion of foreign correspondents, censorship and related issues."

Light

Mrs Diane Selgsohn, speaking on behalf of the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (FIEJ), focused in particular on the lack of Press freedom in the Soviet Union and other East bloc countries.

She welcomed the new policy of *glasnost* (openness) in the Soviet Union, but warned that it is a "chink of light in an otherwise black picture" as far as Press freedom is concerned.

"With one or two exceptions, all accepted media are owned and run by states for their own ideological purposes and any independent attempts to spread and interpret information are fiercely repressed," she said.

For example she said, in October 1987, the Soviet Council of Ministers decided to outlaw the creation of independent publishing

and printing co-operatives, which had been formed in several Soviet cities in response to legislation promoting private businesses.

"Despite the official policy of *glasnost*, it seems that the Soviet Union has no intention to permit the free publication of independent general circulation newspapers or magazines," she said.

Mr Ignacio E Lozano, president of the Inter-American Press Association, told the commission about the state of Press censorship in Latin America. He first drew attention to the case of Cuba, "which for nearly 30 years has enjoyed no freedom of expression and no independent Press at all."

He said that Press freedom is also absent in Paraguay, Chile and Panama, and that the IAPA is watching carefully the situation in Nicaragua and "the relaxation of government control over the Press" — Courtesy of USIS.

Lest we forget

THE *Sowetan* today remembers journalists around the country who are in detention.

• Zwelakhe Sisulu, Editor of the *New Nation*, who has been in detention under the emergency regulations for 450 days;

• Brian Sokutu, Eastern Cape freelance journalist, 634 days;

• Vincent Mfundisi, of SABC-TV, has been detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act for 158



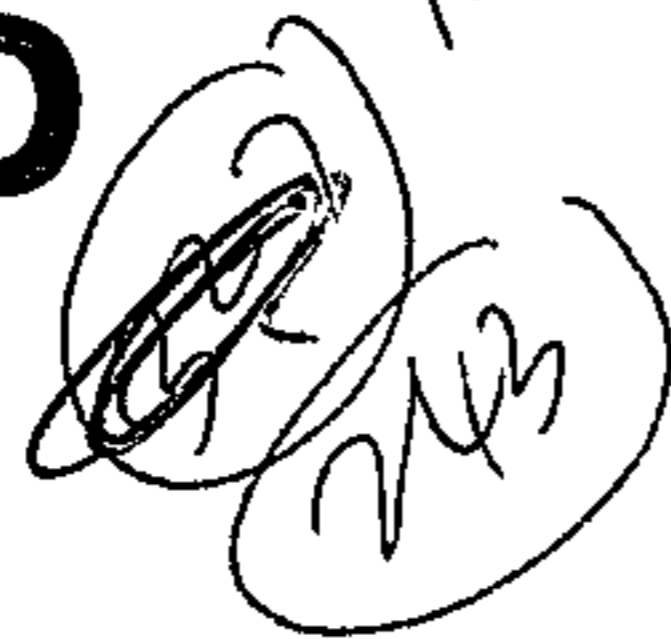
Censorship threat to world Press

Sowetan 9/3/88

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New Nation bid to stay closure

*South
76/14/3/88*



JOHANNESBURG. — New Nation will make another court bid this week to stay government attempts to shut down the newspaper for three months.

Earlier, an application before the full Bench of the Rand Supreme Court to halt the closure was dismissed with costs.

However, leave to appeal was granted and the paper will apply for a temporary interdict to stay the closure pending the outcome of the appeal. Papers have to be submitted by noon on Thursday.

Pending the decision on the temporary interdict, the respondent is prohibited from issuing an order suspending the newspaper.

New Nation's application was the first court challenge since the new curbs on the Press were introduced in August last year.

New Nation challenged the validity of the regulations that empower the Minister of Home Affairs to appoint a censor at his own discretion. New Nation said the regulations were vague and uncertain and that the State President had acted mala fide (in bad faith).

Political Issue

Mr Justice D J Curlewis, assisted by Mr Justice T T Spoelstra and Mr Justice A M. van Niekerk, said if the State President had decided he was going to make a regulation giving the Minister the power to pass an opinion on the newspaper then it was "legally correct".

"The issue being dealt with is not a legal issue. It is a political issue."

On the allegation that the wording of the regulation was "vague and uncertain", Curlewis said the regulation was "abundantly clear" so that the person concerned with the censoring, be it the Minister or an appointed censor in a newspaper office, could concern themselves solely with the regulation and the affect on public safety.

He added the Minister did not have to give reason why certain matters offended him. "He doesn't have to give a judgment."

Curlewis said the applicant had not shown that the opinion of the Minister was not bona fide. Mala fide was also not proved.

The Minister, Mr Stoffel Botha, examined three issues of New Nation last year, one before the media curbs were promulgated on August 28 last year.

Media curbs

He decided there was a systematic publication of material which could affect public safety and communicated this to New Nation on October 1 last year.

After correspondence between the Minister and New Nation, a warning to the newspaper was published in the Government Gazette on November 27.

On December 5 the Minister told the publishers of New Nation that he had examined the December 3 issue and was considering steps against the newspaper.

The newspaper then decided to challenge the media curbs and impending three month suspension.

Mr Jules Browde, SC, for New Nation, argued the regulations were unlawful as "only the State President was authorised to delegate power to specifically known people."

He said the structure to set up to "help the Minister form his opinions" was not administrative but quasi-judicial. Such power could not be delegated to an unknown person.

Curlewis said the fact that the State President had empowered the Minister to act according to his own opinion was not illegal.

Not confusing

He said the regulations were not confusing as put forward by Browde.

"If there are two offending articles in an issue in the opinion of Minister, this could also be considered repetitive or systematic publication of offending material as would two separate articles in separate issues. In every case the matter must endanger public safety."

Curlewis said the real deficiency in the applicant's representation was not so much the alleged failure to understand the regulations, but of a politician he was dealing with.

Censorship was "very much like a guillotine and there is very little use growing honeysuckle up a guillotine."

— Correspondent.

the bath with her head immersed in the water

10.22: Ek Wil Sing

singer who was unjustly imprisoned

A-G probe into Weaver case 'a priority'

Staff Reporter

THE investigation by the Attorney-General into questions raised at the trial in which former deputy news editor of the Cape Times Mr Tony Weaver was acquitted, was still "a priority"

Attorney-General Mr Niel Rossouw ordered the investigation after Mr Weaver's acquittal under the Police Act on September 17 last year.

Mr Rossouw said that because of pressure he hadn't been able to "give full attention to the matter".

"Among all the other things that do have priority, this one also has a priority — we certainly

want to get on with it."

The charging of Mr Weaver under Section 27b (1) of the Police Act, which prohibits publication of "untrue matter about police without having reasonable grounds for believing it to be true", received wide publicity here and abroad

The case centred on Mr Weaver's granting of an interview to the BBC on the killing of seven alleged guerillas by police in a shootout in Guguletu on March 3, 1986

Eye-witnesses to the shootout claimed that one suspected guerilla was shot and killed after attempting to give himself up, and

that another, lying wounded on the ground, was "finished off" by police

The magistrate, Mr J M Lemmer, found that Mr Weaver did have reasonable grounds for believing what he reported to be true and that expert medical evidence contradicted the police version of what happened

Wynberg inquest magistrate Mr G Hoffman found that the seven died of bullet wounds during police activity.

● Mr Weaver is suing the Minister of Law and Order for over R107 000 in damages for "wrongful and malicious" prosecution

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POLICE

The Star



Gagged press hurts State credibility

THE WRITING is on the wall for the *New Nation* newspaper and perhaps the entire press after a full Bench of the Rand Supreme Court this week upheld the Government's right to suspend publications and install censors in the offices of newspapers and magazines.

The *New Nation's* challenge failed when the court found that the Minister of Home Affairs has the power, vested in him by the State of Emergency, to take action on publications that systematically publish material which he considers detrimental to public order.

The newspaper had received a warning from the Minister. It challenged the warning and lost the case with costs. While *New Nation* has sought temporary relief from immediate action pending an appeal, its problems are far from over. The paper has suffered seriously with the continued detention of its editor, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu. To date he has been jailed without trial for 452 days.

The problems of *New Na-*

tion and other papers so far warned by the Minister — besides "alternative" media they include the country's second biggest-selling daily, *Sowetan* — are the most visible symptom of the Government's general assault on the media. Other newspapers will be watching their future anxiously. So will citizens who care about their right to be properly informed about what is happening in the country.

As each new restraint is implemented, inevitably the press, already forced to operate with great caution not to fall foul of the barrage of restrictions, will be able to impart less and less information on matters of vital concern.

Both the suspension of publications or the installation of official censors in their offices would damage their credibility. That is bad enough — from a journalist's point of view. But worse, far worse, is the Government's seeming inability to understand that, without credible media, no one will believe Government statements either.

11/3/88 FM

SUNDAY NEWSPAPERS LIFT OFF

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English-language Sunday newspapers selling in the Johannesburg area have experienced burgeoning circulations this year.

The *Sunday Times*, the national weekly in the Times Media Limited (TML) stable, is adding to its circulation every week — in spite of a 15% increase in the cover price to R1,50 on February 7.

Says TML's MD Stephen Mulholland, "The *Sunday Times* is growing steadily, continuing the trend highlighted in the recent Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC) figures. It's actually gaining in the region of 14 000 new readers a week, and has recorded an increase every week this year."

The Argus's *Sunday Star* is also improving. MD Peter McLean says it has gained 7 000-8 000 new subscribers since December 1987 and has now topped the

100 000 mark.

This means it has reversed the trend shown in the second half of 1987, when its circulation fell 3,3% over the first half of the year to 93 839.

Says McLean "We've been having a major circulation promotion drive on all our newspapers and they are all showing improvements.

"But there is definitely more money being spent in the Sunday newspaper buying market. It's looking very healthy out there right now."

Some other titles are also looking healthy. The audited daily circulation of *Volksblad* for the July-December 1987 period was 26 662 — not 19 434, which is the circulation of its Saturday edition. The ABC table published in the *FM* (*Business* March 4) should be amended accordingly.

AGGREY KLAASTE and JOE LATAKGOMO

Putting on heirs

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In the world of the black press, Percy Qoboza is a hard act to follow. His death left not only a vacant post at *City Press*, but also a hole in the industry that is unlikely to be filled by anyone as colourful or as exuberant.

There are heirs apparent, though — not so much for the job as the unique Qoboza mantle. And two of the most prominent are new *Sowetan* editor-designate Aggrey Klaaste and new *Star* senior assistant editor Joe Latakomo.

They are players in a difficult and often dangerous game that is little understood by any but the initiated.

Newspapers and magazines in SA are as riven with ethnic divisions as the country itself. The black press is, therefore, enormously important to the black people, who see it as one of the few outlets for their frustrations and aspirations. Black editors, consequently, confront great expectations and even greater pressures from rival social and political groups striving to claim their allegiance.

Enter Klaaste and Latakomo.

When Qoboza died, Klaaste faced a choice between two editorships, *Nasionale Pers* offered him the *City Press* job — since assumed by Khuly Sibiyi (*People* February 26), and *Argus* wanted him for the *Sowetan*. He plumped for the latter and formally assumes the post on May 1.

Zola Aggrey Klaaste (48) was born in Kimberley and has lived in Johannesburg since he was five. He matriculated at Madi-bane High near Sophiatown and graduated from Wits in 1962 with a BA (politics and psychology).

While at university he freelanced for Jim Bailey's *Golden City Post* (GCP). He started working at the *World* in 1962, switched to GCP for a year, then worked as a laboratory assistant for a medical firm before rejoining the *World* to become news editor of the daily and weekend editions. When it was banned in 1977, he was detained for six months in Modderbee Prison.

He returned to work later that year as assistant editor on *World's* reincarnation

Post-Transvaal and spent the next year as a Nieman fellow at Harvard. Back home, he was appointed assistant editor of *Post's* replacement, the *Sowetan*.

In his *On the Line* column Klaaste speaks out frankly — often brutally. The slightly aloof, pipe-smoking journalist and father of three is acutely aware of his position. He wrote recently that he felt there was "sweet nothing I could do to personally help or influence events (in SA) except pray."

Klaaste is criticised by some who concede his writing ability, but feel he is not a good communicator. One black journalist even suggests that, while Klaaste has the education most of his black colleagues do not have, he is "weak" in "political commitment and leadership."

The feeling is that he might be swayed by forceful personalities on the newspaper who ardently espouse black consciousness (BC).

In a recent column written in England on a working holiday, Klaaste forestalled the cynics: "I will perhaps come back to fight the battle for the oppressed in general with more gusto and commitment."

In contrast to Klaaste, Latakomo is a more strident proponent of "black writing." He considers his move from the *Sowetan* to *The Star* as a breakthrough for black journalists, who were considered at the end of their career if they made it to editor.

"I'm only 42. If it's perceived that I'm in the chair for the rest of my life, there are

going to be a lot of people around wishing I would drop dead."

This portly father of two from Bantule, Pretoria, is used to breaking new ground. He was the *World's* first black sub-editor and the first black to be accepted for an *Argus* cadet course.

As one of two sons in a family of seven, he was fortunate to gain a good education. After matriculating, he worked as a furniture salesman and spent a year as a clerk in an attorney's office, during which time he began writing short stories. When some were published in the *World*, he was encouraged to freelance for the paper's sports page.

He was offered a full-time job in the sports department and in his first year acted as sports editor.

In 1972, when Qoboza became editor of the *World*, Latakomo took over as news editor and then acting editor. When *Post* was launched, he was the obvious choice for assistant editor/news editor.

The banning of the *World* in 1977 was "the most traumatic day of my life. It vaccinated me against all future shock."

In January 1981 he became editor of the *Sowetan*, a position he says is "the toughest editorship in the country."

"The journalists are known to have BC leanings. Political groups that subscribe to the Freedom Charter and have leanings towards the ANC frequently question whether we can cover township events objectively. On

the other hand, government thinks we are too pro-ANC. Black journalists are squeezed from all sides."

He is a pragmatic man, so it comes as a surprise when he questions the traditional ethic of journalistic objectivity. But he still believes in an independent press and maintains he will never be a "token black" — regardless of the pressures.

Two black journalists, two black editors, two totally different viewpoints — it is at least heartening that in the SA of today they have each risen to a position not only of prominence, but also of influence. ■



Joe Latakomo



Aggrey Klaaste

THE *New Nation* newspaper faces an uncertain future following the Rand Supreme Court ruling this week.

A full bench upheld the opinion of the Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Botha, that three issues of the Catholic Church-owned newspaper had contravened Emergency regulations. This empowers the minister to suspend the publication for three months or to impose a censor on it.

Mr Justice BJ Curlewis, assisted by Mr Justice PJ Spoelstra and Mr Justice AM van Niekerk, dismissed the application brought by Jules Browde SC for *New Nation*, with costs.

The judge also gave the paper leave to appeal and said the court would hear argument on whether the minister could act against the paper while the appeal was pending. He ruled that no action could be taken until this argument had been heard.

The paper has until Thursday to lodge an appeal.

A temporary interdict has been granted to allow an application for

Uncertain future faces New Nation

leave for appeal. This will ensure that the minister does not act against *New Nation* until this application is heard. The *New Nation* has been given until Thursday to file an appeal.

The application was made on the grounds that the regulations were invalid, vague and unreasonable, that the minister had an ulterior motive, was acting in bad faith or had not applied his mind to the matter.

However, the judge waved aside Browde's allegations that the regulations were "vague and uncertain". He said the regulations were "abundantly clear".

Browde had argued that phrases such as "fanning the revolution" were incapable of a precise definition. "Does it not give impetus to revolution already there, as flames in a fire are fanned?"

"The editor cannot publish anything which foments 'feelings of hostility'. How can you define feelings? They

Having lost its court case, *New Nation's* future depends upon one more decision this week.
By KAREN EVANS and MZIMKULU MALUNGA

are a result of emotions which are unpredictable," Browde said.

Delivering judgement, Judge Curlewis said that the minister did not have to give reasons why the three issues of *New Nation* offend him. Applicants failed to understand they were dealing with an opinion and not a court judgement, he said.

"It is not our job to pass opinion on a minister's opinion," he said.

He found that the State of Emergency was a political issue, "not a legal issue". He said the state president was empowered to make such regulations as he considered suitable.

Browde had argued that one of the

offending issues of *New Nation* was published before the new Emergency media regulations were promulgated on August 28 last year. This issue could not be punishable, he said.

Justice Curlewis ruled that "it is not unfair to tell someone what he has done innocently wrong is punishable now".

Browde questioned the right of the minister to appoint an unspecified censor, giving him powers deemed fit only for a state president. Justice Curlewis said in his judgement that when the state president tells the minister to issue an order, he can appoint anyone to do "what an editor should be doing" in stopping articles which fanned revolution, promoted unrest, caused hostility towards authorities or promoted the public image of "unlawful organisations".

"In my opinion" the judge said, "the editor should know what words mean and, if in doubt, don't publish. There

is no way of knowing exactly the opinion of the minister."

"The *New Nation* should not publish what could be offendable. The editor will have to speculate, but speculation does not arise from a vagueness of the regulations," the judge said.

Browde had argued on Monday that the presence of a censor is "clearly *ultra vires*".

"We don't know who the man is and have to assume he'll do the job properly. The censor will have to decide what is against public safety and what is not," he said.

On the minister's suggestion that the *New Nation* had published "negative" statements on the police, Browde said there was no legislation which prohibited people from making derogatory statements about the police.

He added that he could not see how publishing ANC president Oliver Tambo's photograph could be considered to be furthering the aims of the ANC.

Growing honeysuckle on the guillotine

THERE was a sad irony watching four trainee journalists in the press gallery at this week's *New Nation* court case.

Their jobs — and their future as symbols of the independent press — were being placed on the line by the judgement, one of the most severe during this State of Emergency.

The four were covering the court case as part of a newspaper training project.

A full bench of the Rand Supreme Court decided the Catholic Church-owned newspaper, *New Nation*, had no case in either trying to stop the Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Botha, from closing the paper (as he had told the court he hoped to do) or in contesting the validity of the regulations he was using against them.

It has opened the way for Botha to proceed towards closing the publications he had warned in terms of the regulation: *New Nation*, *Weekly Mail*, *South*, *Work In Progress* and the *Sowetan*.

The judgement had several other consequences. For one thing, Mr Justice BJ Curlewis defined "constitutional activity" — the activity the government keeps referring to as legitimate and legal. His definition is narrow: activity aimed at persuading people how to vote.

And this bench of the court believed the meaning of the word "revolution" was clear and did not have to have the word "violent" before it to make it understandable to an editor.

At the time the regulations were promulgated in August last year, the minister told editors that these terms could not be easily defined and he could only recommend a reading list to give them an idea of what was in his mind on such topics as "revolution".

The judgement took an hour of quick reading, interspersed with a few remarks, and came after a break of only half an hour at the end of the argument.

The state's argument was cut short, with the judge saying he and his colleagues had made their minds up on most issues from the papers filed and from the argument presented by the *New Nation's* counsel, Jules Browde SC. This set the tone, along with some of the judge's remarks.

"Censorship is like a guillotine," the judge said. "And there is very little use growing honeysuckle up against a guillotine."

Earlier, he had asked Browde what he thought the point was in the minister asking for representations from the newspaper when he issued a warning to it. "There is very little you can do about it."

What the judgement did, in essence, was uphold the concept that whatever is in the minister's mind by way of an opinion on public safety can legally be held against the newspaper.

The judge said *New Nation's* case was deficient. "It is not so much a failure to understand the regulations as a failure to understand that he

Censorship is like a guillotine, says the presiding judge in the *New Nation* case, and there is no using growing honeysuckle up it.
PAT SIDLEY reports

(Browde) was dealing with the opinion of a politician and not the judgement of a court of law."

He dismissed *New Nation's* submissions that the regulations are too vague and uncertain to work with, they had not been carried out correctly in any event and they were so grossly unreasonable that parliament could not have intended them to be used in this way.

It was irrelevant, the judge said, what may pose problems, the judge said, was the fact that an opinion formed in terms of the regulations would depend on where one was in the political spectrum and whether one was white or black.

For much of the rest of *New Nation's* arguments, there was an "extraordinary unreality with which words or phrases are dealt with in those judgements (referred to by Browde to support his argument)".

Ironically, *New Nation* had been arguing that the regulations should allow other factors to be taken into account. The regulations did not allow it, but the minister had nevertheless brought other factors into his argument, such as a document produced by a group of rightwing Catholics claiming the *New Nation* was an exponent of liberation theology and international communism.

After years of ceaseless endeavour to hobble the press, fighting to make its views paramount over all others, South Africa's Nationalist Government has almost certainly come closer now to controlling the minds of white South Africans than at any time in its long-drawn-out fight against those who write and speak out in opposition.

How that point has been reached, how the noose has been systematically tightened in the face of strenuous opposition by some courageous newspaper editors — with an ignominiously willing SABC always playing a central and diabolically clever, mind-bending role — is the subject of an important and revealing study by an American author, Professor John M Phelan.

Professor Phelan, who is professor of communications and director of the McGannon Communication and Research Centre at Fordham University in New York, has written not only about South Africa and racism, but also about the United States — and etches some remarkable similarities.

Both countries, he points out, share a similar moral and legal heritage of personal freedom — South Africa certainly before less than scrupulous Nationalist politicians started to chip away its edges from the 1950s onwards.

And both, of course, have a legacy of racism.

From that perspective, Professor Phelan is able to write with deep professional knowledge, and with some sympathy. What he has to say is not "critical", if that means con-

SA loses war of images



(52) 14/3/88

A John Dugard (right) or a Percy Qoboza (left) could simply not exist in Albania or Uganda or Iran, says Professor John M Phelan in "Apartheid Media: Disinformation and Dissent in South Africa", recently published in the US — but not yet available in South Africa.



ventional sniping at a country all too easily sniped at.

Nor is it a scholarly tome intended for students of "media communications", which American educators seem to have elevated to a Nobel science.

Though he places a special focus on its sad and perhaps historically significant decline in South Africa, what he presents is a fascinating story of a real world struggle embracing freedom of expression across the globe.

One critic makes the point that in the complex assemblage of mechanisms which maintains apartheid, none is more crucial than govern-

ment management of the mass media.

Professor Phelan's first-hand study of the subject is perhaps the most comprehensive — and telling — commentary yet written on how this battle is being fought and, in his view, still being won through the courage of journalists and others who refuse to submit to powerful and persistent government pressure.

Professor Phelan, a self-described "student of media wars", believes, in fact, that the South African government has lost the media war on two fronts: domestic and international.

In his estimation, the "victory" for a free press he sees in South Africa, the refusal of newspapers to be effectively muzzled, needed two factors.

First, journalists who were and are willing to go to jail, to lose their jobs, to lead unglamorous, impoverished lives in order to tell what they see as a political truth; second a government that keeps a scintilla of respect for the idea of a free press always holds back from the ultimate solution unmitigated totalitarianism.

Both elements, he asserts, remain in South Africa.

He adds "A John Dugard or a Percy Qoboza could simply not

exist in Albania or Uganda or Iran and, *per impossibile*, if such a one ever did, his or her career would be short and silent.

"To imagine a Pol Pot government expelling the *New York Times* bureau chief requires patently absurd presuppositions about the prior establishment of a bureau."

"On the international stage, he believes Pretoria has lost the war of images, principally among American public opinion leaders, "the arena they are most concerned with, because the odds against them were overwhelming and because they have neither the skill nor the stomach for the slick public relations stratagems that might have given them a limited chance to kill the sanctions movement in Congress."

"Finally, they pitted themselves against both ends of the international media world. Mainstream high-tech information conglomerates like the BBC, The *New York Times*, the major wire services, American television networks and European state-operated electronic news-gatherers on the one hand, and small-bore 'liberationist' journalists from churches and new-Left on the other."

This is a view of themselves, their newspapers and of their leaders of which South Africans are, happily, still aware.

Lose the "victory" that Professor Phelan believes is still being achieved in South Africa itself (if not abroad) and even that would be denied.



Newspapers await court's ruling on media curbs

D/D 14/3/58

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JOHANNESBURG — As the New Nation prepares for an appeal against last week's Rand Supreme Court decision which turned down its application for the nullifying of the media curbs and the government warning gazzetted against it, four other publications are watching the developments

with particular interest

The publications — Weekly Mail, Work in Progress, South and So-wetan — have all received notification that the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, was considering issuing warnings against them

The court is to hear argument this week on

whether it should interdict the minister from acting against New Nation pending the appeal

Mr Botha has not issued further warnings against other publications since he undertook not to take action against the New Nation pending the supreme court application
DDC

Inquest decision challenged in court

Supreme Court Reporter

MORE than a mere "mail order inquest" was needed on cameraman George De'Ath, who was slain in KTC in 1986, counsel for his sister, Mrs Elizabeth Tiley, has told the Supreme Court

Mrs Tiley has applied to the court to have the decisions of the inquest on her brother set aside

The application was originally brought by Mr De'Ath's father, Mr William Jesse De'Ath, who has since died

Mrs Tiley asked the court to set aside the findings of magistrate Mr Wessel Marais in August 1987, and his decision not to subpoena for oral evidence people who made affidavits for the inquest

Mr Marais found Mr De'Ath was "extensively assaulted by a person or persons unknown to the State"

Miss Justice van den Heever and Mr Justice Berman yesterday reserved judgment

HEAD INJURIES

Mr De'Ath, 34, and his soundman, Mr Andile Fosi, were assaulted on June 10, 1986. Mr De'Ath died of head injuries four days later

In argument Mr J J Gauntlett, for Mrs Tiley, said Mr Marais had acted beyond the powers of the Inquest Act and had not properly applied his mind to certain evidence

Mr Marais' decision was clearly vitiated because he privately and independently of the court viewed a police video filmed soon after Mr De'Ath was injured

This and the fact that he asked policemen at the unit what had happened to Mr De'Ath's final footage and learnt that "it had been sent to London", was a "serious irregularity", Mr Gauntlett said

In his inquest affidavit Mr Fosi said he could identify three of about 20 men who attacked him and Mr De'Ath, but Mr Marais said he formed the opinion that their identities would not be cleared up by hearing oral evidence

Mr Gauntlett said Mr Marais was not entitled to draw the inference that Mr Fosi could not give him the men's names

DISCRETION

Mr P Hodes, SC, for Mr Marais, said the Inquest Act left the question of oral evidence totally to the discretion of the magistrate

"The sole purpose of the Act is to determine the identity of the deceased, the date and cause of death and whether any act or omission which constituted an offence was responsible for the death

"An aspect of this case is whether it was 'witdoeke' or 'comrades' who perpetrated this foul deed, but to find that out would be a meaningless exercise. It would take the matter no further"

Mr Marais, who denied not exercising his discretion properly, said in an affidavit that in his opinion it was not the aim of the Act and unnecessary for the inquest findings to make decisions on whether police were assisting the "witdoeke" and whether police were involved in "tampering with" Mr De'Ath's last tape

^{D11 15/3/88}
**Gen Malan
severs ties
with Argus**

^{15/3/88}
CAPE TOWN — The
Minister of Defence,
General Magnus
Malan, has severed
contact with the Ar-
gus Group news-
papers (243)

A spokesman said he
was not prepared to
discuss the merits of
the issue but con-
firmed that it was as
a result of an article
lifted from the
French magazine,
Paris Match, con-
cerning the Unita
leader, Dr Jonas Sa-
vimbi

The spokesman said
he could not say
what would be re-
quired to restore
contact with the
minister — Sapa

Major changes to SA labour laws are published

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Major amendments to the Labour Relations Act (LRA), aimed at extending and simplifying South Africa's official dispute settling machinery, were published in Pretoria yesterday

Comment on the draft legislation, parts of which were disclosed yesterday by the Manpower Director General, Mr Piet van der Merwe, has been invited

The new bill provides for the establishment of a special labour court (SLC) to consider appeals from the Industrial Court, allows access to the Appellate Division for appeals against some SLC decisions, sets out new definitions on what constitutes an unfair labour practice (ULP) and an unfair dismissal, and deregulates the establishment of conciliation boards

It contains various other minor amendments

The SLC will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice and will be manned by Supreme Court judges. It will make decisions on the basis of law, justice and fairness. Appeals from the SLC to the Appellate Division will be permitted on questions of law, and not on questions of fact

The new definitions of ULPs and unfair dismissals are based largely on previous Industrial Court judgments. However, there are aspects which are likely to prove highly controversial

Among the proposed ULPs are: failing to comply with prohibitions in the LRA, replacing one employee by another under less favourable conditions, unfairly discriminating on the grounds of race, sex or religion; and unreasonably refusing to negotiate with a representative party.

Others include: concluding an agreement without authorisation from members, failing to comply with an enforceable collective agreement, and unfairly disrupting the business of employers and promoting labour unrest.

Another aspect is a union's support for a boycott of a company not directly involved in a dispute with it. Thus, it appears, unions may not take "secondary" boycott action. Also, a union not directly involved in a dispute may apparently not support a boycott called by another.

No lawful strike can constitute an ULP. The selective re-employment of dismissed workers, too, is not in itself an ULP. However, selection criteria must be objective and fair.

According to the bill, a dismissal is unfair if there is no valid and fair reason for it, the affected employee has not been given a fair opportunity to state his case, and an agreed procedure has not been followed. Retrenchments are unfair where reasonable notice has not been given, selection criteria are not reasonable, and employees or their unions have not been consulted.

The fourth major aspect of the bill is the withdrawal of ministerial prerogative for the establishment of a conciliation board. This is expected to expedite the process. From now on boards will be established, as a right, by divisional inspectors of the Manpower Department, subject only to the applications being technically correct.

Mr Clive Thompson of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand described the bill as "mostly an advance".

However, he added, some aspects should be carefully reconsidered to iron out certain perversions and anomalies.

Dispute Over Savimbi Interview

By GERALD L'ANGE,
Editor Argus Africa
News Service

THE Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has accused the Argus and its sister newspapers of maliciously distorting a report of an interview with him in the French magazine Paris Match to damage relations between Unita and the South African government.

'Ninety-nine percent of what The Argus reported was false," he said. "It was never written."

But, on this page, we reproduce direct translations of extracts of the Paris Match interview showing that the report was an accurate reflection of the published interview.

At his news conference Dr Savimbi said he could understand that The Argus was opposed to the South African government but it was not in South Africa's interests to create this sort of controversy.

No bill

Freedom of speech would always be respected by Unita, he said, but not when it created problems for Unita.

Dr Savimbi denied that he had told Paris Match that South Africa had presented him with a bill for thousands of artillery shells after the fighting at the Lomba River battle. He also denied saying that the interim government in Namibia was a puppet government.



Jonas Savimbi



'Les Sud-Africains nous ont présenté la note de tous les obus qu'ils ont tirés pour nous aider. C'était cher!'



Magnus Malan

Malan drops The Argus

THE Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, has severed contact with the Argus Group newspaper's spokesman confirmed today.

He said he was not prepared to discuss the merits of the issue but confirmed that it was as a result of an article lifted from the French magazine Paris Match concerning the Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

The spokesman said he could not say what would be required to restore contact with the Minister - Sapo

Extracts from Paris Match report

THIS is a direct translation from the interview with Unita leader Jonas Savimbi by interviewer Jean Larteguy published in Paris Match.

Sections of the report on the published interview, by The Argus correspondent in Paris James Tomlins were described by Dr Savimbi as distorted and unfounded, while he had no complaint about the published interview in Paris Match.

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan described the report as 'an effort to drive a wedge between Unita and South Africa.'

The directly translated extracts below show that the report of the interview was accurate to the last detail.

After discussing how Unita managed to knock out the MPLA air support and armoured columns by means of missiles the question of aid from SA arose.

Jean Larteguy: The South African confirmed in an (official) communication that they came to your assistance. Was this direct or logistic assistance?

Jonas Savimbi: The South Africans were aware that this offensive was going to take place and just as concerned as that Unita should not be crushed. Initially they did not move. We knew the offensive was going to take place in June, July, August. They only started moving in September.

Paris Match report

will continue until April this year.

With us the South Africans only lost nine men out of 34 who were killed during the artillery exchanges.

(JL) remarks: This seems to confirm that the SA artillery intervened on the side of Unita. It is also clear that to maintain his image Savimbi would hope for Pretoria to be more discreet. This blunder was due to the politicians and not to the SA army who have a better sense of secrecy.)

Talking about the war in Angola.

JS: We wish we could tell all Africa how much longer is this war going to continue? This war is ravaging our country and will have repercussions throughout Africa. It is blocking the independence of Namibia (which South Africa continues to control under the pretext of defending its territory - JL) and facilitates the assault of the Russians and Cubans on our territory.

Relationship between SA and Unita.

JL: But if nine South Africans are killed fighting on your side that could become a scandal. What exactly is your relationship with South Africa?

JS: (Savimbi recalls the history of Unita and how aid was given by France, Morocco and Saudi-Arabia. After it became impossible to transfer aid to Unita, Savimbi

As published in The Argus

decided to approach SA.)

JS: The only possibility was South Africa. Neither France nor the other countries wanted to deal with SA so I said 'I will talk to SA. They were reticent and blamed Kissinger for having pushed them into Angola and then abandoned them.'

Between 1977 and 1981 SA's only role was to transfer the logistic support destined for us. We even had to buy lorries to transport it. Eventually the South Africans woke up and realised the strategic value of Unita and that the Cubans and Russians were their enemies because of their support of Swapo and the ANC. They decided to help us. But not at any price.

We have diamonds we control 70 percent of production of the Catunza region in the north-west. We have timber, ivory that we have to sell to meet our obligations. The South Africans agreed to give us credit. It was in their interest to maintain Unita.

The disputed quotes

Jonas Savimbi: "I think they are made of the stuff (lit) to defend themselves against the Russians." "They are Russians."

2. "If Unita was eliminated, by some accident, Swapo would take Namibia two months later. On my word of honour! I know how fragile

Pretoria 'had better wake up' - Savimbi

From JAMES TOMLINS, The Argus Foreign Service.

PARIS - Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has harshly attacked the South African Government.

He said that Pretoria "had better wake up" to reality and criticised South Africa for making Unita pay a high fee for its military aid, for maintaining a puppet regime in SWA/Namibia, for intensifying misunderstanding and mis-takenly believing the SADF could take on the Soviet Union single-handedly.

The interview appeared in the mass-circulation weekly magazine, Paris-Match, and is the first time that the Unita leader has ever voiced in public such a torrent of criticism against his main ally.

He said Pretoria was wrong in thinking that they are strong enough to fight the Soviet Union alone. He added: "If Unita is wiped out, then Swapo would take Namibia two months later. On my word of honour."

3. "Swapo is not strong in military terms. It may even be weaker than before. But it has the population behind it. The multiracial interim government installed by the South Africans represents nothing because it governs nothing and the Namibians regard its members as lackeys."

4. "The laws are made and the decisions taken in Pretoria. I hope the South Africans will wake up and understand that the war happening here does not only concern the Angolans but the whole of Southern Africa."

5. "I recognise a certain evolution in the mentality of the South Africans. But that is not enough. They must look at the problem in all its aspects. And the geo-strategic importance of Angola still escapes them."

6. "During the offensive and at the battle of Lomba when they were showering bombs and shells on the enemy - 2 000 to 3 000 shells in the course of night - then listed everything we owed them. And at the end of the offensive, they presented it to us. And it was a lot. "We need our friends to help us settle the account. That is not to say they did not supply us with certain forms of assistance free of charge. These were orderlies who operated on the wounded at the front and supplies for our hospitals."

7. "The South African Government has severely criticised Swapo and taken the side of the apartheid factor. But it is not the intention of the South African Government to support the apartheid factor. The Unita leader has once again voiced in public such a torrent of criticism against his main ally."

8. "The South African Government has severely criticised Swapo and taken the side of the apartheid factor. But it is not the intention of the South African Government to support the apartheid factor. The Unita leader has once again voiced in public such a torrent of criticism against his main ally."

9. "The South African Government has severely criticised Swapo and taken the side of the apartheid factor. But it is not the intention of the South African Government to support the apartheid factor. The Unita leader has once again voiced in public such a torrent of criticism against his main ally."

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Cape Times 16/3/88

Defence mum on Unita row

Political Staff

THE Department of Defence has withdrawn from the dispute over a controversial interview with Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi by the French weekly Paris-Match.

The ministry and the Unita leader earlier announced that they had severed contact with the Argus group newspapers after the published interview was disputed by Dr Savimbi.

Dr Savimbi claimed that the reports were a distortion of what he had said in the interview. The Argus and Star newspapers yesterday carried the excerpts of the original text to show their reports had been correct.

However, a spokesman for the Ministry of Defence said yesterday: "All further inquiries on the Paris-Match interview and reports in newspapers of the Argus Group on the interview should be directed to Dr Savimbi."

And, in an accompanying statement, the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, said he had no reason to dispute Dr Savimbi's intentions or

motives towards South Africa.

"His exposition to me and what he said at the news conference afterwards corresponds with his style and philosophy," he said.

Dr Savimbi had also repeated at a news conference in Jamba, which Argus newspapers were barred from attending, that South Africa had not presented him with a bill for its limited aid to him in Angola.

Mr Dave Dalling, PFP media spokesman, yesterday told Sapa that General Malan should lodge a complaint with the Media Council if he disputed the accuracy of reports published by the Argus Group.

"If he disputes the accuracy of the relevant Argus report, the minister should avail himself of the normal channels to obtain redress.

"The latest step by the Defence Department, apart from displaying an official intolerance, can only further damage the cause of press freedom in South Africa and should be revoked immediately," Mr Dalling said.

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December 1987

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2 045 184	+138
1 861 962	
899 63 309*	+124
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6 563 13,7 5,5	+80

ferred to below.

PFP slates Malan for Argus move

Political Staff

THE PFP yesterday described the decision of the Ministry of Defence to sever contact with the Argus group of newspapers as "an unwise and capricious step."

The action follows reports in Argus group newspapers last week dealing with remarks attributed to Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

PFP media spokesman David Dalling said Defence Minister General Magnus Malan should remember that his quarrel with a single report was denying hundreds of thousands of newspapers readers around the country access to news.

Dalling said that if the Minister disputed the accuracy of the report, he should seek redress through the normal channels by lodging a complaint with the Media Council.

"This latest step by the Defence Department, apart from displaying an official intolerance, can only further damage the cause of Press freedom in SA, and should be revoked immediately," he said.

b/dwy 16/3/88

IN BRIEF

New Nation waits for axe

JOURNALISTS on the Johannesburg-based newspaper New Nation completed on Wednesday night what is likely to be their last edition for three months — with a defiant swipe at President PW Botha's government.

Nation, whose editor, Zwelakhe Sisulu, has been in detention without trial for almost 460 days, is one of four papers facing closure under sweeping censorship powers.

The others are South, Work in Progress and Weekly Mail.

Government censors had planned to sus-

pend Nation for three months on January 15 after "considering" the obligatory three editions

But the paper's lawyers pre-empted the action by applying for a Supreme Court ruling on the legality of the censorship regulations

Last week Mr Justice David Curlewis rejected the application, but ordered the authorities not to suspend Nation until he had heard argument today on whether he should grant a stay of execution until the Appeal Court has considered the paper's applica-

tion.

The application will be heard on Monday, but legal experts believe there is little reason for optimism. They believe the ruling will go against the paper. And when that happens, they say, a three-month suspension is likely to follow hours later

But the two-year-old paper did not go down without a fight.

This week's front page is a defiant copy-cat version of Botha's "Actions, Speak Louder Than Words" advert which appeared in the country's major commercial papers.

South

~~South~~

(243)

17-23/3/88

Argus gets assurance on SADF information

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, has given the assurance that Argus Group newspapers will continue to be invited to news conferences and be provided with information meant for general public release.

The Minister and an editor who represented the Argus Group editors met this week after the recent publication of extracts from an interview which Dr Jonas Savimbi gave to an international magazine.

The Minister reaffirmed his confidence and trust in Dr Savimbi and was critical of the newspapers concerned for a style of reporting which, he said, could among other effects, drive a wedge between South Africa and Unita. He also criticised the newspapers for failing to take proper account of South Africa's national and security interests.

The newspapers reiterated their view that it was ordinary professional practice to republish newsworthy aspects of major interviews which appeared in foreign publications. They said that publication had been in the public interest.

A further meeting has been scheduled to discuss the handling of national security matters.

2/13

18/3/88

18/3/88

Journalists' union elects new president from E. Cape

D.I.D. 18/3/8

JOHANNESBURG — 'of 16 when he started out as a copy boy in the Southern African Society of Journalists Scotland. (243) has elected a new president, who will take office after the SASJ's annual congress in May.

He is Mr Bob Kernohan, 39, who is presently the Eastern Cape vice-president of the SASJ.

Mr Kernohan, who is the business editor of the Weekend Post, has been associated with journalism since the age

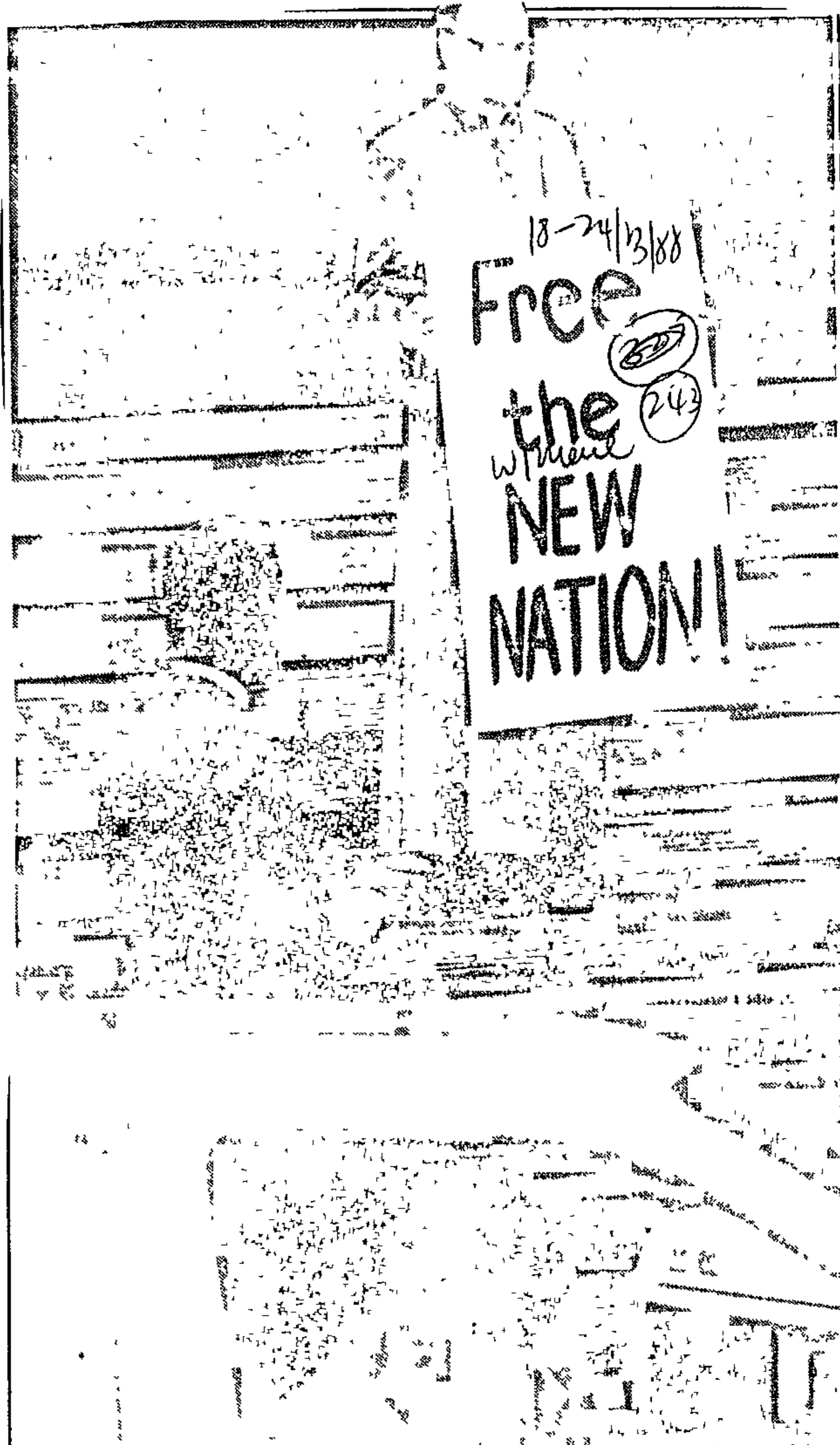
In his election manifesto, Mr Kernohan said he believed "the SASJ should endeavour to harness the efforts of members, the media, and similarly interested organisations and individuals in opposing existing and future restrictions of the media".

He identified three main challenges:

● To achieve improved working conditions, salaries, fringe benefits, status and security for journalists,

● To continue the long-standing SASJ tradition of fighting for the rights of the press;

● To identify the challenges before the SASJ, journalists, and to ensure all were prepared for that future — Sapa



Archbishop Denis Hurley protests alone on the steps of the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Johannesburg. Hurley was one of six archbishops who took turns to demonstrate against the state's threat to the New Nation newspaper

Picture: WENDY SCHWEGMANN, Reuter

Winnie Mandela wins R10 for her letter

The managers of a women's magazine who last year forced their editor, Ms Dene Smuts, to resign over a "controversial" article on Mr Dens Worrall that she wanted to publish, have, ironically, donated R10 to the wife of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela

The glossy women's journal, *Fair Lady*, is owned by the Nasionale Pers company — which since its political run-in with its

former editor is said to be bound by National Party politics

But this month (the March issue) featured a letter by Mrs Winnie Mandela and for her trouble the "Mother of the Nation" earned a crisp R10 note

And it seems Mrs Mandela clearly favours the magazine's "new image"

Her "pat-on-the-back-letter" congratulated the magazine "on the strides it had taken in the past years to make us feel a sense of identity with and pride in the magazine"

Signed by "Nomzamo" (Winnie) Mandela it says "This is just to tell you how much we appreciate the present image of this famous women's magazine"

Mandela further compliments it for building interracial bridges

in "a country which is locked in racial strife"

Having toned down her image politically and recently back in business as a social worker at her Soweto offices, Mrs Mandela will probably redirect the token to those more needy

Or it may go towards another worthy cause such as re-establishing the Brandfort clinic in the Free State which she ran after being banished there in 1977

Star
19/3/88 **PAT DEVEREAUX**

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CMT 7mks 21/3/88 (243)

Bans on 3 New Nation editions lifted

THE Publications Appeal Board has lifted the ban on three editions of the New Nation produced by New Nation, Johannesburg, according to the Directorate of Publications

The issues are Feb 19-25 (Vol 2, No 7) 1987, Feb 12-18 (Vol 2, No 6) 1987 and August 27-September 2 (Vol 2, No 34) 1987

A Publications Committee has, on review, ruled that "The Crisis of Britain and the British Empire" by R Palme Dutt and "Social Insurance in the USSR" by Z Mokhov were not undesirable

Two publications were declared not undesirable subject to certain conditions "Let us Speak of Freedom — Book 1 and 2" produced by the History Department of the University of the Western Cape, Bellville, may be distributed only by bookshops, libraries and book distributors, while "Stern Heft Nr 5 28 Januar 1988" produced by Gruner and Jahr AG and Co, Hamburg, may not be displayed in public for purposes of distribution

The Directorate has appealed against a committee decision that "A Roman Tale" by Carroll Baker is not undesirable Interested persons could make representations to the Appeal Board within the next 14 days

The Appeal Board has ruled that two photographic magazines are undesirable and has set aside a committee decision that the publications were not undesirable They are "Squire Guide to Glamour Photography (Vol 1 No 1) Spring 1984, and (Vol 1 No 2) Summer 1984, both produced by Derek Rossenrode

During the past week 26 films were submitted for examination of which 11 were unconditionally and 13 conditionally approved Two films, "Messing Around" and "1990, The Bronx Warriors", which was resubmitted, were rejected

It is now an offence to possess the following publications and it is in the interests of persons who possess copies of these publications to destroy them immediately, unless they are in possession of an exemption issued in terms of the Publications Act (names of author/producer in brackets)

- Wie der Nackte Wind des Meeres (Gustav Sandgren)
- Tagebuch Eines Casanovas (Roman Macek)
- Inferno der Leidenschaft (Siegfried Klaasen)
- Walter der Englische, Casanova mein Geheimes Leben (Carl Stephenson Verlag Flensburg)
- Kuss-Praktiken (G Legman)
- Rosa Fielding Victim of Lust, Maudie, Laura Middleton and the New Epicurean; Lascivious Scenes; Beatrice and Oh Wicked Country (All produced by W H Allen and Co, London)
- Under the Roofs of Paris or Opus Pistorum (Henry Miller)
- Lovers (G M Corrie)
- Joy and Joan (Joy Laurey).
- Locker Room Stud (Matt Carter)

It is now also an offence to import and/or distribute the following publications (name of author/producer in brackets)

The memoirs of Dolly Morton and Three Times a Woman (both produced by W H Allen and Co, PLC, London)

Swapo Information Bulletin November 1987 and October 1987 (Swapo Dept of Information and Publicity, Luanda). — Sapa



married
groom
a Point.
Mrs S
SCOTT

New Afrikaans newspaper

By Esmaré van der Merwe

A new Afrikaans weekly newspaper is being planned by a group of leading South Africans associated with the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa)

The newspaper would be aimed at people striving for a democratic and just South Africa, particularly Afrikaners "aching for information" which neither the Government-supporting media nor the "alternative English press" provided, a member of the committee investigating the viability of such a paper told The Star today.

It would be aimed at "thinking Afrikaners on the platteland and in the Pretoria establishment", he said

Johannesburg export/import dealer Mr Gus Fichardt, one of the committee members, today said the other committee members were Professor Braam Viljoen, Idasa's northern Transvaal director, Professor Jaap Durand, vice-rector of

the University of the Western Cape (chairman), Professor Gerhard Erasmus, constitutional law lecturer at the University of Stellenbosch, Professor Jacques Kriel of the University of the Witwatersrand's medical school, Johannesburg business consultant Mr Christo Nel, poetess Antjie Krog, freelance journalists Mr Henne Serfontein and Mr Max du Preez, and PFP MP Mr Tiaan van der Merwe

Idasa co-director Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert was also nominated, but Mr Fichardt was "not sure" whether he had accepted

Funding would be sought from "sympathetic sources"

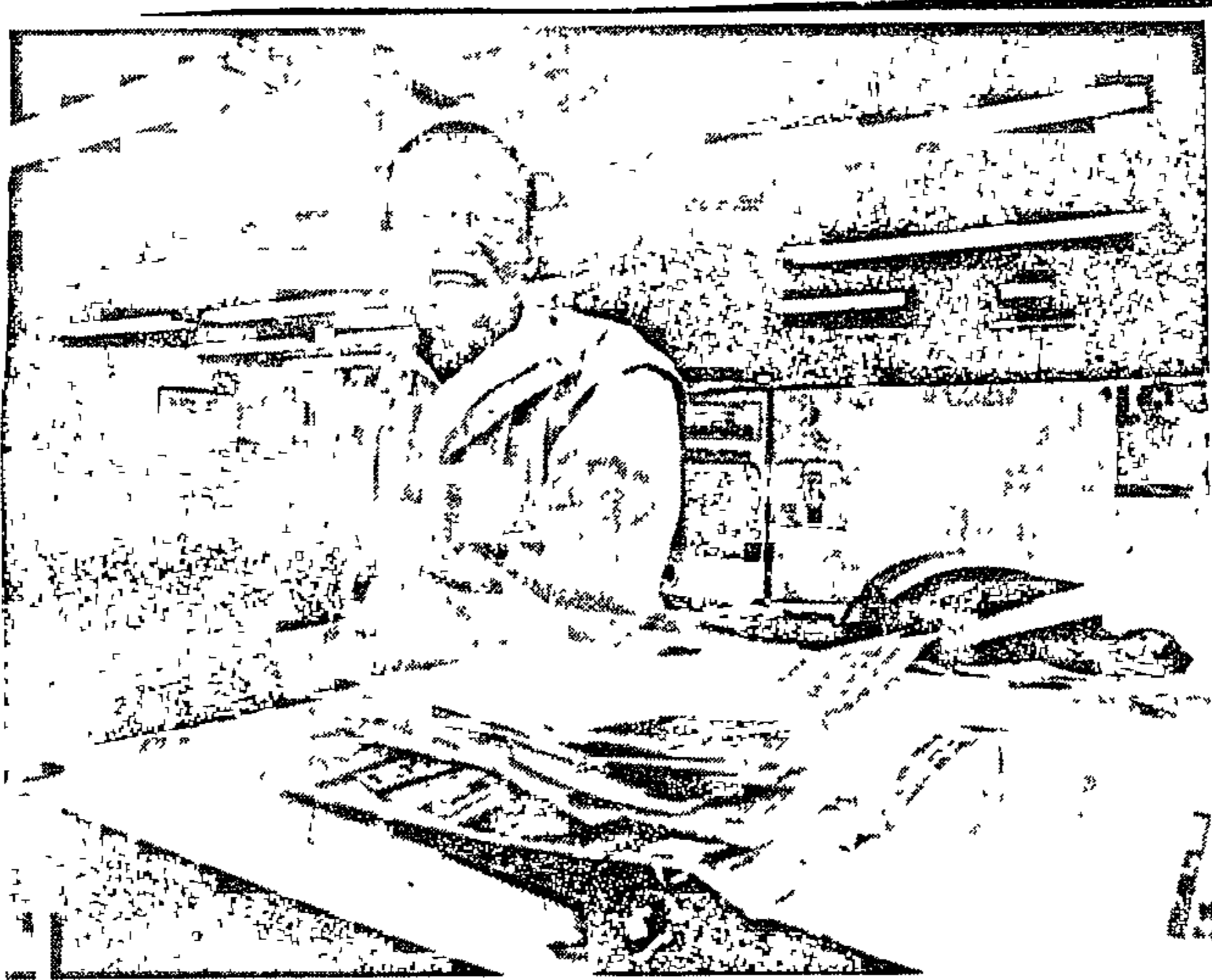
The Star was told that the paper would be started as soon as possible because of the fear that the Government would clamp down on foreign funding, one of the financial sources being investigated

A circulation of 20 000 was projected

22/13/88 Star



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The acting editor of *New Nation*, Mr Gabu Tugwana, was hard at work yesterday despite the threat of closure.

Business as usual for staff of restricted *New Nation*

It was business as usual for *New Nation* staffers yesterday afternoon despite the failure of the Supreme Court bid to block the Government's threatened closure of the Roman Catholic publication.

A Full Bench of the Transvaal Division of the Supreme Court in Pretoria yesterday dismissed an application by the Catholic Bishops Publishing Company to prevent Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha from exercising his powers in terms of the media curbs published in August last year.

In terms of these powers he may impose

pre-publication censorship or close for three months any publication which carries articles, advertisements or photographs which in his opinion are objectionable.

Acting-editor Mr Gabu Tugwana said he had informed his staff of the failed application immediately he received the news.

The failure of the application had attracted inquiries from the international press and Catholic instances world-wide, he said.

"As long as the Government has not published a Government Gazette detailing what steps it is taking against us we

are carrying on as normal," he said.

"The Government Gazette is usually published on Fridays but in special circumstances a special edition can be published.

We do not know whether circumstances are special enough to warrant such an edition.

"We are acting as if there is no threat of banning. If the Gazette comes out all our work will simply be thrown into the dustbin.

"An appeal against the decision becomes academic as the emergency regulations are due to be reviewed on June 12 and we would then be subject to the new regulations."

Sowetan

22/3/88

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Media curbs

THREE South African journalists last week testified on media restrictions in the country when they appeared before an American congressional sub-committee in Washington

Allister Sparks, Ameen Akhalwaya and Irwin Manoim appeared before Congressman Howard Wolpe's sub-committee on Africa House Foreign Affairs Committee

In the presence of television and newspaper reporters, Mr Wolpe welcomed the three as the first South African

journalists ever to appear before the committee

Mr Wolpe stressed that their testimony was for information purposes and that they were not expected to tell Americans what should be done

Testifying in public, Mr Manoim and Mr Akhalwaya said they were there as "working journalists" and not on behalf of their newspapers or other organisations

Mr Sparks spoke about the role of foreign correspondents in South Africa and how media

coverage of South Africa, in the United States had dropped after the Government introduced further restrictions against the Press

Mr Manoim outlined the laws affecting the media and the recent court case involving *New Nation* Mr Akhalwaya said that by restricting anti-apartheid organisations and Press coverage of their affairs, the Government was criminalising people who strove for democracy

AMEEN Akhalwaya ...
editor.

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government will today close down *New Nation*, the Catholic newspaper published in Johannesburg, for three months, Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha confirmed today.

A Government Gazette containing the necessary promulgation was to be published in the course of the day, he said.

Mr Botha's move follows immediately after the failure of *New Nation's* application yesterday against the Minister in the Supreme Court.

Lawyers for the publishers of

New Nation to be closed for 3 months

the newspaper sought an order restraining the Minister from invoking media curbs against the *New Nation* while a Rand Supreme Court ruling was on appeal

The Rand Supreme Court dismissed an application earlier which would effectively have avoided ministerial warnings against the newspaper, issued in terms of the state of emergency

regulations.

Yesterday's ruling in the Pretoria Supreme Court cleared the way for the Minister to prohibit publication of *New Nation* for a three-month period, or to make the publication of each issue subject to prior approval of a Government censor.

This action against *New Nation* is likely to presage similar moves against other alternative media publications

The Government is known to be particularly keen to restrict *Weekly Mail* and *South*, which have also received ministerial warnings.

22/3/80 • See Page 3. Star



REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant Government Gazette

As 'n Nuusblad by die Poskantoor Geregistreer

Registered at the Post Office as a Newspaper

Verkoopprys • Selling price
(AVB uitgesluit/GST excluded)
Plaaslik **50c** Local
Buitelands **70c** Other countries
Posvry • Post free

Vol. 273

PRETORIA, 22 MAART
MARCH 1988

No. 11210

GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWING

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE SAKE

DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS

No. 578

22 Maart 1988

No. 578

22 March 1988

BEVEL KRAGTENS DIE REGULASIES AFGEKONDIG
KRAGTENS DIE WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID,
1953

ORDER UNDER THE REGULATIONS PUBLISHED
UNDER THE PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

Ek, Jan Christoffel Greyling Botha, Minister van Binnelandse Sake, reik hierby kragtens regulasie 7A (3) (b) van die Regulasies afgekondig by Proklamasie R 97 van 1987, soos gewysig deur Proklamasies R 123 van 1987 en R 7 van 1988, die bevel uit in die Bylae uiteengesit

I, Jan Christoffel Greyling Botha, Minister of Home Affairs, hereby issue under regulation 7A (3) (b) of the Regulations published by Proclamation R 97 of 1987, as amended by Proclamations R 123 of 1987 and R 7 of 1988, the order set out in the Schedule

J. C. G. BOTHA,
Minister van Binnelandse Sake

J. C. G. BOTHA,
Minister of Home Affairs

BYLAE

SCHEDULE

Die voortbrenging of publikasie, gedurende die tydperk vanaf die datum van afkondiging van hierdie bevel tot en met 10 Junie 1988, van enige verdere uitgawe van die periodieke publikasie *The New Nation* word hierby geheel en al verbied.

The production or publication, during the period from the date of publishing of this order up to and including 10 June 1988, of any further issue of the periodical *The New Nation* is hereby totally prohibited

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New Nation bid for interdict fails

PRETORIA. — The New Nation's application for an interdict against the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, failed in the Supreme Court here yesterday.

Lawyers for the publishers of the newspaper, the Catholic Bishops Publishing Company, sought an order restraining the minister from invoking media curbs against the New Nation while a Rand Supreme Court ruling is being appealed.

The Rand Supreme Court dismissed an application earlier which would have effectively voided ministerial warnings against the newspaper, issued in terms of Public Safety Act regulations.

The applicants said the regulations were vague, invalid or applied incorrectly.

In passing judgment yesterday, Mr Justice Curlewis said counsel

for the New Nation had not made out a prima facie case about possible hardship for the newspaper resulting from any action by the minister.

He also said an affidavit handed to the court about possible financial damage to the newspaper was based on belief and speculation.

The minister had acted properly, Mr Justice Curlewis said.

The heart of the matter was that the rights of individuals had to give way to the rights of the state.

The newspaper employs 22 full-time staff and 32 correspondents, and has a salary bill of R29 000 a month. Seven employees had already resigned because of the uncertainty of the newspaper's future, according to evidence before the court.

The situation had already led to the newspaper losing advertisers, and 60 000 readers would

lose a source of information if publication of the paper was suspended.

Counsel for the respondents — the State President, Mr P W Botha, and Mr Stoffel Botha — submitted testimony that reports from the New Nation revered the armed revolution in Mozambique, promoted the public image of Mr Govan Mbeki and the ANC and SACP, were aimed at promoting revolution and engendered feelings of animosity towards the security forces.

Yesterday's ruling left the minister in a position to prohibit publication of the newspaper for three-month periods, or to make the publication of each issue subject to prior approval of a government censor.

The regulation which enables him to do this is regulation 7A, gazetted in terms of the Public Safety Act on August 28 last year.

— Sapa

Action against paper on cards for over six months



The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

Political Staff

THE temporary closure of New Nation, as part of the Government's continuing security crackdown on extra-parliamentary opposition, has been on the cards for more than six months.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, gave clear notice of the Government's intentions in this regard when he addressed Parliament on August 27 last year.

- Mr Botha said he would be introducing curbs on publications that were guilty of systematic or repeated publishing of material which, among other things
- Promoted revolution or uprisings in the country;
 - Promoted the breaking down of public order;
 - Stirred up feelings of hatred or hostility towards a local authority or security force;
 - Promoted the public image of certain organisations;

Promoted the activities of unlawful structures, and

Mr Botha said the Government was under the impression that in general the organised, conventional Press respected its self-imposed code of conduct.

"Recently, however, a completely new and different kind of publication has appeared. These publications appear as newspapers or newsletters that are served by their own news agencies.

"They are easily recognised by their total contempt for the high Press norms that have been laid down over the centuries.

"They support a specific matter and display no qualms of conscience at the use of dishonest and deplorable methods in order to promote their dubious objectives.

"They are active in many spheres and they are to be found on far-right as well as the far-left extremes of the political spectrum.

"I shall refer to this sector as the revolution-supportive Press"

Commenting on the ban today, the chairman of the Catholic Bishops' Publishing Company and acting president of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, Bishop Reginald Ormond, said it was "sad" that the Government was trying to silence the voices of dissenters instead of engaging them in meaningful dialogue.

The company intended retaining the newspaper's staff for the three-month suspension and preparing for the expiry of the suspension.

"It's difficult to forecast whether the Minister will act against the paper again," he said.

The aim of the paper was "to allow the oppressed to voice their grievances" and provide information not necessarily supplied by the "conventional media."

He added, "We are certainly not prepared to depart from our principles."

The president of the Southern African Society of Journalists, Ms Pat Sidley, said of the owners' unsuccessful court application: "The courts have upheld quite the most undemocratic principles that the Government could have dreamed up."

Freedom of expression was "a basic human right" that was being ignored by the Government, she said.

A spokesman for the Anti-Censorship Action Group, Mr Anton Harber, condemned the suspension "in the strongest possible terms."

The Government's action against New Nation was "an action against all the Press — now it's deaf as well as it tries to cut off its ways of hearing what people are saying."

A Labour Party spokesman, Mr Peter Hendrickse, condemned Mr Botha's move against New Nation.

He said the party believed in freedom of speech and of the Press.

D/D 22/3/88

Stoffel may prohibit publication of paper ⁽²⁴³⁾ resulting from ministerial action.

PRETORIA — The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, may suspend further publications of the New Nation at any time from today, following an unsuccessful application for an interdict against the minister in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

Lawyers for the publishers of the newspaper, the Catholic Bishops Publishing Company, sought an order restraining the minister from invoking media curbs

against the New Nation while a Rand Supreme Court ruling is being appealed.

The Rand Supreme Court earlier dismissed an application which would have effectively voided ministerial warnings against the newspaper.

In passing judgment, Justice Curlewis said that counsel for the newspaper had not made out a prima facie case about possible hardship

He also said an affidavit handed to the court about possible financial damage to the New Nation was based on belief and speculation.

The newspaper employs 22 people full-time and 32 correspondents, and has a salary bill of R29 000 per month

The ruling left Mr. Botha in a position to prohibit publication of the newspaper for three-month periods, or to make the publication of each issue subject to prior approval by a government censor — Sapa

Court action against media curbs fails

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22/3/88

PRETORIA — Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha may suspend further publication of the New Nation at any time from yesterday after an unsuccessful application for an interdict against the minister in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

Lawyers for the publishers of the newspaper, the Catholic Bishops Publishing Company, sought an order restraining the minister from invoking media curbs against the New Nation, while a Rand Supreme Court ruling is taken to appeal.

The Rand Supreme Court earlier dismissed an application which would have effectively voided ministerial warnings against the newspaper, issued in terms of Public Safety Act regulations.

The applicants said the regulations were vague, invalid or applied incorrectly.

In passing judgment in Pretoria yesterday, Mr Justice Curlewis said counsel for the New Nation had not made out a prima facie case about possible hardship for the newspaper resulting from any action by the minister.

He also said an affidavit handed to the

court about possible financial damage to the newspaper was based on belief and speculation.

The minister had acted properly, the judge said.

The heart of the matter was that the rights of individuals have to give way to the rights of the state.

The newspaper employs 22 fulltime employees and 32 correspondents, and has a salary bill of R29 000 per month. Seven employees had already resigned because of the uncertainty of the newspaper's future, according to evidence before the court.

The situation had already led to the newspaper losing advertisers, and 60 000 readers would lose a source of information if publication of the paper was suspended.

The ruling left the minister in a position to prohibit publication of the newspaper for three-month periods, or to make the publication of each issue subject to prior approval by a government censor. — Sapa.

SS.

By ALINAH DUBE

THE *New Nation* newspaper's application for a stay of a pending three-month suspension of its publication in terms of the Government's media restrictions was yesterday dismissed with costs by a Full Bench of the Transvaal Division of the Supreme Court in Pretoria.

The application against the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, was brought by the newspaper's publishers, the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference

The application follows an earlier threat by Mr Botha that he intended suspending the newspaper for a period not exceeding three months in terms of the media restrictions

The SACBC asked the court to stop the Government's action pending the outcome of

New Nation

Soweto 22/3/88

application

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dismissed

an appeal

Mr Justice Curlewis, with Mr Justice Spoelstra and Mr Justice van Niekerk concurring, presided over the matter

The *New Nation's* publishers stated in papers before court that such action against the paper would cause enormous financial difficulties and more inconveniences to them than it would to the Minister

Mr Curlewis, quoting

from the Minister's answering affidavit, said the *New Nation* continued to publish material "objectionable" in terms of the media curbs in spite of a warning that the paper would be closed or censored.

The Minister said "I am further convinced that the intended result would cause a threat to public safety and the maintenance of order and a delay in the ending of the State of Emer-

gency"

"I therefore believe that the steps in terms of a regulation which prohibits the production, importation to the Republic or publication of any newspaper for a period of not more than three months are not only justified but necessary"

Dismissing the application, Mr Curlewis said the State had a right to defend itself in any manner at its disposal

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22/3/88

Media Council 'a judge not an accuser'

CAPE TOWN — The SA Media Council's primary function was reactive and not pro-active, was the consensus reached by members at the ninth council meeting yesterday

Council chairman Louis de V van Winsen said Home Affairs and Communications Minister Stoffel Botha wanted the council to act more proactively and to monitor newspapers, to see that they abided by the council's code of conduct

He said the council could not fulfil a dual function by acting as the accuser as well as the judge

No final resolution was adopted and the matter was referred to the executive. — Sapa.

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ANGER OVER SUSPENSION

Sowetan 23/3/88

THERE was widespread anger yesterday following the Government's closure of the *New Nation* for three months.

Organisations and individuals criticised the Government and expressed doubts about the freedom of the Press in South Africa

Mr Joe Latakomo, the editor of the *Sowetan*, said the three-month closure is a devastating blow to Press freedom in this country. He said the action demonstrated that the Government will not brook any criticism by anybody, particularly if they were representative of the voteless millions of this country.

"The fact that the charges against the *New Nation* have not been taken to court is an indication of how doubtful the legal grounds are — outside of the emergency regulations. Indeed, the Government has unleashed a total administrative onslaught against newspapers."

The South African Society of Journalists said the closure of the *New Nation* by the Government had snuffed out a basic human right enshrined in Article 19 of the Declaration of Human Rights, to

Sowetan Reporters

receive and pass on information and views

The Media Workers' Association of South Africa challenged the Government on democracy following the *New Nation's* three-month ban. In a statement, Mwasa's general secretary, Mr Sithembele Khala said

"We register a strong protest on the high-handed fashion the Government has chosen in dealing with the Press. The Government has chosen a course of destruction and is bent on destroying any credible source of information."

"Mwasa challenges the Government to prove and substantiate its claims of democracy. If South Africa is democratic then the former military junta of Argentina was no less democratic regarding the suppression of information. We call for the unbanning of the *New Nation*."

A spokesman for the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, Mr Gabriel Mokgoko, said it was regrettable that the *New Nation* should be penalised for echoing and revealing the ills of the South African nation.

"Such censorship runs counter to freedom of speech and access to information and only encourages the underground circulation of information which South Africa can hardly control," he said.

Mr Khulu Sibiyi, the editor of *City Press*, said the banning of the *New Nation* or any other publication was not solving problems but compounding them.

"We know that other black publications are going to face the wrath of the Government soon. This is the time when all black people should be united and fight for their last remaining rights — to know the truth. The Government will soon realise that its action deprives itself of a chance to know what blacks think."

The Anti-Censorship Action Group said the absence of the *New Nation* would be felt with discomfort by all except the Government which does not in any way wish to know what people are saying and feeling.

"We have long had a Government that was dumb — but now we have a Government that is to be rendered deaf as well, because it is trying to silence voices it ought to hear."

Govt bans New Nation

CRK TRIP
22/3/88
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FAILURE by the government to act against the Roman Catholic weekly New Nation would have meant the resurgence of growing resistance, violence and disorderliness in the country, the Deputy Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said yesterday

He was addressing a press briefing after yesterday's order in terms of the emergency regulations under which publication of the newspaper is suspended for three months

Earlier the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, invoked the Public Safety Act media regulations to publish an order in the Government Gazette in Pretoria, prohibiting the newspaper from being published till June 10

Mr Botha chose the harsher of two options — he could have appointed a government censor to vet each issue of the newspaper.

No reasons for the ban were set out in the Gazette, but counsel for Mr Botha this week submitted testimony in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, that New Nation reports revered the armed revolution in Mozambique, promoted the public image of Mr Govan Mbeki, the ANC and SACP, were aimed at promoting revolution, and engendered feelings of animosity for the security forces

The order follows an unsuccessful application by the New Nation's publishers, the Catholic Bishops Publishing Company, in the Pretoria Supreme Court on Monday.

Protesting at the ban yesterday

The Sowetan said in an editorial prepared for today that "with all the laws at its disposal, the government is not prepared to test the cases it has made out against newspapers in a court of law and outside of the media regulations

"We challenge the minister (of



BANNED ... Acting editor of New Nation Mr Gabu Tugwana with a front page that won't hit the streets.

Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha) to do just this"

In an editorial to be published today the Star says press freedom is not an abstract concept, nor a freedom that concerns merely the publishers or readers of a particular newspaper

"Fundamentally it concerns the right of the public at large to know what is happening in the country and to read and express views that may be different from those of the government of the day This right took a savage and ominous blow yesterday with the closure of New Nation"

The Anti-Censorship Action Group said the silencing of the newspaper would "leave an obvious vacuum for it offered readers a particular type of news cover-

age and analysis of current events and culture which is not available to them in any other newspaper"

The Media Workers' Association challenged the government's stand on democracy, registering "a strong protest regarding the high-handed fashion the government has chosen in dealing with the press"

The Southern African Society of Journalists said the ban "displays the total hypocrisy and lack of truth behind his (Mr Botha's) statement to Parliament that the government does not wish to control what people may know"

The International Federation of Journalists was "appalled", saying the action in closing the newspaper was "unbelievable" despite appeals from the Free World to which South Africa claims to belong

The National Democratic Movement said that by crushing the opposition and the free flow of information in South Africa, the government was deliberately destroying all chances of a negotiated future

The chairman of the New Nation's publishing company, Bishop Reginald Orsmond, said the government should not be silencing dissent but taking note of what people were saying so that meaningful negotiation could take place

Bishop Orsmond said the Catholic Bishops Publishing Company intended to retain the newspaper's staff if the newspaper was restricted for a three-month period, but it was "impossible to tell" what would happen if government extended the restrictions beyond three months

Mr Gabu Tugwana, the newspaper's acting editor since Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu was detained almost two years ago, said he regarded the closure as "a backward step", especially as there were many stories concerning "reform" that needed to be written — Sapa

New Nation 'the first target' in state assault

JOHANNESBURG — In the two years of its existence, the New Nation has had four editions banned and two seized, been raided by police and repeatedly threatened by officials.

The government has made the church-funded paper aimed at black readers its first target in a campaign to silence the country's "alternative press"

The Rand Supreme Court decided two weeks ago that the government could close New Nation or censor it without giving explanations The court also refused an application for an interdict restraining the government from closing the paper while the case was being appealed.

The government's objections include a reference to the African National Congress's 1955 school boycott, a picture of exiled ANC president Oliver Tambo

opening a new office in Nairobi and a report about the ANC's condemnation of "necklace killings" The newspaper was launched on January 16 1986 by the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference

New Nation editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, detained without charge for 16 months, was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University Although he held the title of editor, the newsroom was run as a "collective", with joint decisions on who should cover a story and how it should be written

The New Nation started as a bi-weekly, then became a weekly, claiming a circulation of about 60 000

The last issue quoted Mr P W Botha as saying "I believe in a free press and in free news media" — Sapa-AP

New Nation took red line says minister

DD 23/3/88
~~223~~ 243

CAPE TOWN — Failure by the government to act against the Catholic weekly, *New Nation*, would have meant the resurgence of growing resistance, violence and disorderliness in the country, the Deputy Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said at a press briefing yesterday.

This followed yesterday's order, in terms of the emergency regulations, under which publication of the newspaper is suspended for three months.

Mr Van der Merwe said that what the government was trying to root out was not criticism as such, but "that sort of propaganda which does not lead people to try to change the government (by democratic means) but to overthrow it by violence"

He said that, after careful study over months and months, the government had come to the conclusion that the actions of *New Nation* were aimed at stimulating revolution. This was the crux of the matter.

The newspaper had absolutely identified itself with communism, Dr Van der Merwe said.

He read extracts from articles which he said praised both the ideology and leadership of the late President of Mozambique, Mr Samora Machel, and which detailed the lives of unionists such as Mr Solly Sacks and JMr . B. Marks.

There had been repeated instances of this

sort of line, he said. Addings absolutely astonishing that a publication issued under the name of a Christian organisation should act in this way.

Mozambique was the place where churches had to be state property and children under eighteen were forbidden to receive religious instruction.

One could not avoid the conclusion that writers in *New Nation* intended not to bring another political party into parliament or to bring about political participation for blacks, but to overthrow the government and the entire state and replace it with a socialist order, Mr Van der Merwe said.

He said it was accepted that the greatest possible measure of freedom of the press was necessary for the creation and maintenance of democracy.

However, it was also a fact that, in situations where the freedom of the press had been used to contribute to revolutionary change, one of the first victims of the revolution had been freedom.

Dr Van der Merwe said the action against

New Nation had not been the result only of a decision taken by "a little group of people who get round a table in Tuynhuys" but had been asked for by numbers of other people.

The chairman of *New Nation's* publishing company, Bishop Reginald Orsmond, said yesterday that the government should not be silencing dissent but taking note of what people were saying so that meaningful negotiation could take place.

The acting editor of the newspaper, Mr Gabu Tugwana, said he regarded the closure as a backward step, especially as there were many stories concerning reform that needed to be written.

He said that, although the newspaper would not be printed for three months, staff would be going to the newspaper's offices for study and training.

Archbishop Denis Huiley said the closure was sad and disappointing, but expected.

The International Federation of Journalists said from its Brussels headquarters that it was appalled at the banning.

The National Democratic Movement said that, by crushing the opposition and the free flow of information in South Africa, the government was deliberately destroying all chances of a negotiated future.

The Anti-Censorship Action Group said the silencing of the newspaper would "leave an obvious vacuum for it offered readers a particular type of news coverage and analysis of current events and culture which is not available to them in any other newspaper".

The Southern African Society of Journalists said the announcement "displays the total hypocrisy and lack of truth behind the statement to parliament that the government does not wish to control what people may know".

"The absence of this voice will be felt with discomfort by all except the government."

The Media Workers' Association registered "a strong protest regarding the high-handed fashion the government has chosen in dealing with the press" — DDC-Sapa.

Capt. Tois 23/3/88
Minister warns 'subversive' Grassroots

(243) Staff Reporter ~~237~~
CAPE TOWN'S Grassroots community newspaper was yesterday told by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, that he was considering issuing a gazetted warning against the paper for publishing "subversive propaganda".

Grassroots is the sixth publication to receive such a written notice from the minister. New Nation (now suspended), Week-

ly Mail, South, Die Stem and Work in Progress have received similar notices.

According to a letter to the newspaper, received yesterday, the minister examined some Grassroots issues and had found 23 instances in which the paper contravened media regulations under the Public Safety Amendment Act.

© Govt bans New Nation —
Page 2

(243) b/day 23/3/88

New Nation closed for three months

NEW NATION became the first victim of government's emergency Press curbs yesterday and will disappear off the streets for three months

The newspaper closed its offices yesterday, after notice from Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha that he intended publishing a Government Gazette notice banning the newspaper for three months in terms of Press regulations published last year

Botha apparently chose to disregard the option of appointing a censor to vet the publication for three months.

The ban followed New Nation's unsuccessful application to the Pretoria

SOPHIE TEMA

Supreme Court earlier this week for an interdict to restrain the minister from issuing an order suspending the newspaper while an appeal against a Rand Supreme Court ruling was pending.

Sapa reports Deputy Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe said the failure by government to act against New Nation would have meant the resurgence of growing resistance, violence and disorderliness in the country.

He said government was not trying to root out criticism as such, but "that sort

of propaganda which does not lead people to try to change government (by democratic means), but to overthrow it by violence".

After careful study over "months and months" government had come to the conclusion that the actions of New Nation were aimed at stimulating revolution. He said it had identified itself with communism.

Van der Merwe said the action against New Nation had not been the result only of a decision taken by "a little group of

● To Page 2 →

(243) b/day 23/3/88

Govt clamps 3-month ban on New Nation

people who get round a table in Tuynhuys", but had been asked for by numbers of other people

He said the United Christian Action organisation, which said it represented 14 organisations and 4-million South Africans, had asked that the newspaper be banned because it carried communist propaganda

Asked if similar action was contemplated against other publications, he said there was an ongoing investigation into particular publications. It was not in his brief to give their names.

Four other publications facing closure by the minister are the Weekly Mail, South, Work in Progress and the Sowetan

Bishop Reginald Orsmond, chairman of the Catholic Bishops Publishing Company which publishes New Nation, yes-

← ● From Page 1

terday assured the newspaper's 22 full-time employees and 32 correspondents they would be retained and would earn their full salaries during the ban

Orsmond said "There is no way we can predict what will happen in the future, but we will not be prepared to abandon our original purpose"

Acting editor Gabu Tugwana said staff training courses would be run during the ban.

Sapa reports that the Media Workers' Association (Mwasa) and the South African Society of Journalists (SASJ) condemned the three-month ban.

New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu has been in detention under the emergency regulations since mid-1986

Govt suspends newspaper for 3 months

NATION IS SILENCED

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Mr GABU Tugwana . . .

By SELLO RABOTHATA

THE Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, yesterday closed down the *New Nation* newspaper for three months.

The banning of the newspaper follows a letter from Mr Botha to the publishers, the Catholic Bishops Publishing Company, that after examination of three issues last year, he was of the opinion that they published subversive material. He also said he was of the opinion that there was a systematic and repeated publishing of matter which had or was calculated to have one or more of the effects contemplated by regulation 7A(1) of the state of emergency.

The action on the newspaper also follows an unsuccessful Supreme Court application by its publishers to restrain Mr Botha from invoking the media curbs under the state of emergency. The Home Affairs Minister

served the notice on *New Nation* in an extraordinary edition of the *Government Gazette* published at lunchtime yesterday.

The newspaper will be able to publish again after June 10, but if it still does not meet the Government's expectations, it will be closed down again for another three months.

The offices of *New Nation* were busy as usual yesterday with reporters pounding away at typewriters in preparation for this week's issue — until midday when news of Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha's decision to close the newspaper down for three months reached them.

It was suddenly not necessary to write the stories as there would be no newspaper until June 10.

The acting editor, Mr Gabu Tugwana, had gone out to seek legal advice. He was gone for the better part of the day and his staff waited for him and spoke about what they would do for the next three months.

Bishop Reginald Orsmond, chairman of the newspaper's publishing company, yesterday said the entire staff would be retained. "There is no way that we can predict what will happen in the future but we will not be prepared to abandon our original purpose," he said.

Bishop Orsmond said the Government should not be silencing dissent but taking note of what people were saying so that meaningful negotiation could take place.

THE United Christian Action, led by Bishop Isaac Mokoena, teleaxed the Government with an appeal to ban *New Nation* because of its incessant communist propaganda. Deputy Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday.

He told a Press conference in Cape Town that this proved it was not just a group of people who sat around the Cabinet table in Tuynhuys who were concerned about *New Nation*.

Page One Comment

THE axe has finally fallen on *New Nation*. The notice to close down this newspaper for three months was not totally unexpected, particularly following *New Nation's* failure to obtain a court order restraining the Minister of Home Affairs from acting against it pending the hearing of an appeal.

Since the introduction of the new media curbs, the Government has been vigorously trying to force newspapers to toe the line, or else. The restrictions have been largely criticised, and in many instances, the Government has virtually accused newspapers of committing crimes.

And yet, it seems that in spite of all the laws at its disposal, the Government is not prepared to test the cases it has made out against newspapers in a court of law, and outside of the media regulations.

We challenge the Minister to do just this. That he chose to pursue the administrative route to discipline newspapers is a clear

indication that he knows that the accusations cannot stand up against the test of the law.

We do not accept his theory that the legal process can drag on when there is a need for immediate action. It is simply a matter of due process being thrown out the window.

Closing down a newspaper for three months is, in effect, sounding its death knell. This is obviously the intention of the Government, and they are just making it sound decent and acceptable by couching it in these terms.

The fact is that the intention is to punish those who do not toe the line, and the Government seems determined to do it vigorously.

The World and *Weekend World* were closed down by administrative edict. *Post* and *Sunday Post* faced the same prospect. And now, *New Nation* has been given the chop. The next victim could be anybody. Yet we keep telling the world that we are a democracy.

• See Page 2.

"I can never recall whether the tines of my fork point upwards or downwards when I've eaten the course. But I know which cigarettes are called for meal."



* According to a well-known socialite of London's West considered good form to leave the tines pointing upwards. Etiquette also dictates that one should make a point of one's guests with Mills Special cigarettes. The pleasure by their fine, expensive tobaccos is well worth the little one has to lay out.



Our plea to the world

OUR plea today is to the world to help save the alternative press in South Africa.

The New Nation has been banned and the same fate awaits SOUTH, the Sowetan, Cosatu News, Work in Progress, Weekly Mail, Grassroots, Izwilethu (Nactu News) and Azanian Focus.

Already, eighteen anti-apartheid organisations have been restricted, seriously narrowing the space for non-violent protest in this country.

The Sharpeville Six have not been reprieved and court intervention has halted threats to act against universities.

The State of Emergency persists, thousands are either detained or imprisoned for political crimes, and Nelson Mandela, Zeph Mothopeng, Khotso Seathlolo and others remain in jail.

Suicidal course

In the face of world pleas for change, the arrogant Botha regime is set on its suicidal course of apartheid, exploitation and repression.

The European Economic Community (EEC) has an interest in many alternative papers, being financial backers of the papers or its sub-projects.

We urge foreign governments trading with apartheid South Africa and which maintain diplomatic missions here to act to bring Pretoria to its senses.

Protests at ambassadorial level are not sufficient. We need decisive action.

We also appeal to all overseas organisations including trade unions, religious bodies and anti-apartheid groups to campaign against the banning of New Nation and the threatened closure of other anti-apartheid newspapers.

(The above statement has been undersigned by several organisations, religious leaders, and newspapers including SOUTH).

24-30/3/84 South 2-43



Allie Parker with his wife, Rashieda, left, and children, Roshni, Qayyum and Fairuz.

Printer charged after release

By AYESHA ISMAIL

ELSIES River printer Allie Parker was released from detention this week and charged with printing "subversive pamphlets".

Parker appeared in the Goodwood Magistrate's Court after being held under Emergency Regulations at Pollsmoor Prison since January 22.

The case was postponed to May 5 and Parker was not asked to plead.

Speaking from his home, a relieved Parker said "I did not know I was going to be released. A policeman came to me at Pollsmoor on Monday morning saying 'Parker, pack your bags. You are being taken to Victor Verster'.

"After I had seen a prison doctor I heard I was going to be released."

He said the nine remaining detainees sang for him as he left. It made him sad to leave them behind.

"I am in good health even though I have lost some weight.

"I was taken to Valkenberg Hospital twice where I was treated for depression."

Now that he has been released he will return to his printing press.

"I will always print within the framework of the law and for a free and democratic South Africa."

He described detention without trial as "barbaric".

His wife, Rashieda, had only two words about her husband's release — "relieved and ecstatic".

An application for his release was heard in the Supreme Court, Cape Town on February 9 and judgment reserved.

20/3/88 Sent

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P/D 24/31,88 (243)

Sowetan's assistant editor wins award

JOHANNESBURG — The assistant editor of the Sowetan, Mr Joe Thloloe, was yesterday awarded the 1988/89 Nieman fellowship.

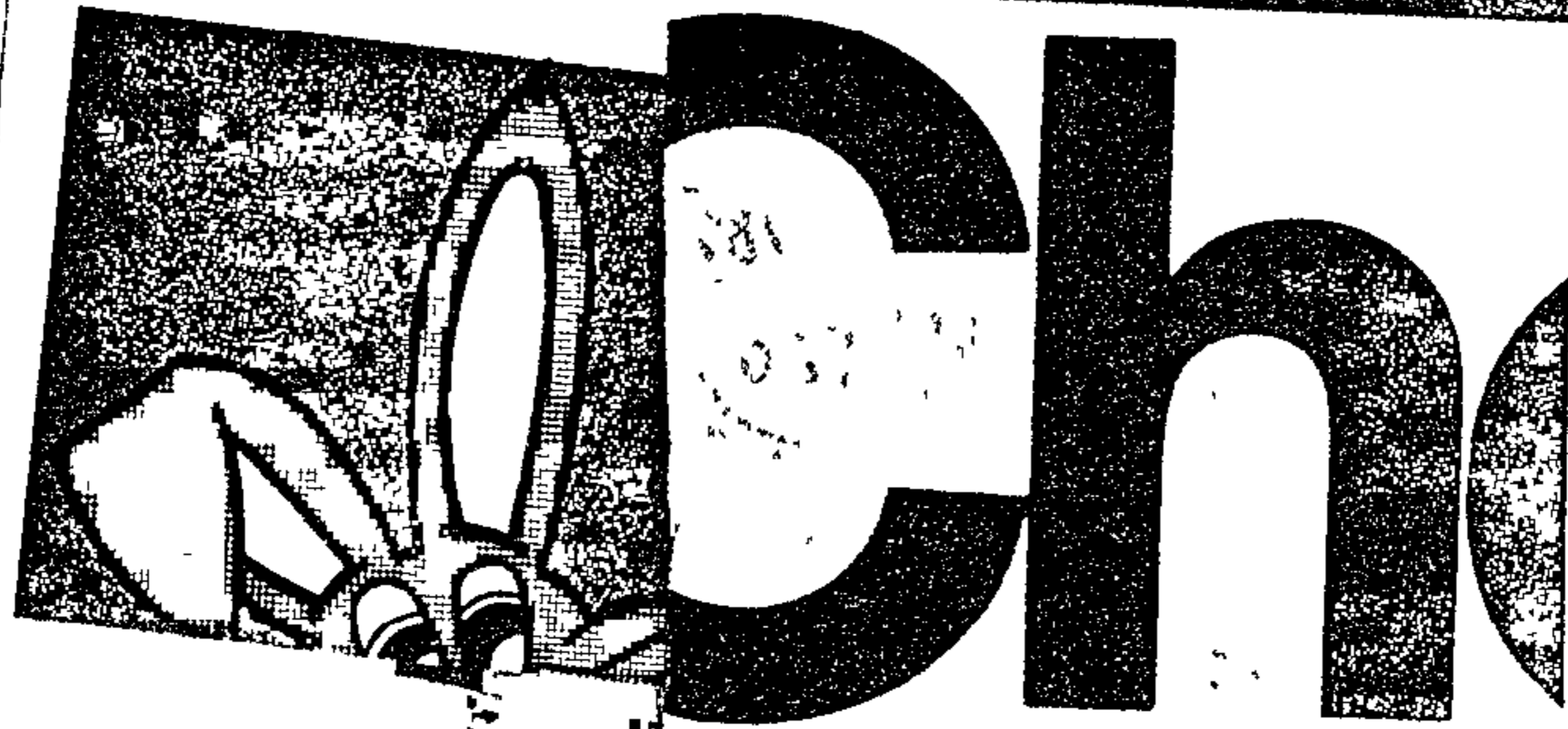
"No other journalism award enjoys the same international prestige and recognition as the Nieman fellowship," the announcement said.

The United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Programme (Us-salep) and the Nieman Foundation said the purpose of the fellowship was to provide for a year's academic study at Harvard University.

Mr Thloloe will join media people from several other countries.

They will be free to attend classes in all Harvard's schools and to plan study programmes to suit their individual needs. — Sapa

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South 24-30/3/08

SOUTH

Journalists before US committee

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THREE South African journalists last week gave evidence before an American congressional sub-committee in Washington on the Government's media restrictions.

Allister Sparks, former editor of the Rand Daily Mail, Ameen Akhalwaya, editor of the Lenasia-based newspaper Indicator, and Irwin Manoim of The Weekly Mail appeared before congressman Howard Wolpe's sub-committee for African affairs.

In the presence of television and newspaper reporters, Mr Wolpe welcomed them as the first South African journalists to appear before the committee.

Sparks spoke about the role of foreign correspondents in SA and how media coverage in the United States had dropped after the Government introduced further restrictions against the press.

Manoim outlined the laws affecting the media and the recent court case involving New Nation.

Akhalwaya said by restricting anti-apartheid organisations and press coverage of their affairs, the SA government was criminalising people who strove for genuine democracy.

"If we are to be criminalised for trying to write the truth then we are proud to be criminals," Akhalwaya added.

The continued detention of New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu was also raised.

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EAST LONDON — A former Indaba columnist and Probe writer, Mr Lawrence Tutu, has published a collection of his works entitled, *Twilight of the Struggle*.

Included in the book will be his article *Letter to my Son* for which he received many requests for reprints.

Others include, *The Disinvestment Debate*, *Black Capitalists*. An open letter to P W Botha, A letter to the De-

partment of Constitutional Development and Planning, Wither Christy.

The book was printed by Lovedale Press and Mr Tutu obtained an interest-free loan from his current employers, Johnson and Johnson, to cover the costs.

His script narrowly missed being destroyed in an October 1986 fire at Lovedale.

PI D 24/3/88 man publishes book

"I am grateful to the editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Glyn Williams, a former editor, Mr Donald Woods, and its cartoonist, the late Mr Don Kenyon, who encouraged me to write," he said.

Mr Tutu, who lives in Duncan Village, said he approached Mr Kenyon to do some drawings for a script he had written, and Mr Kenyon had introduced him to Mr Williams. Before this he had written many essays, but had always thrown them away, he said.

Mr Tutu worked as a freelancer for the Daily Dispatch for five years, and his columns in Indaba were well-read.

After this he worked for the magazine *Probe* for eight years. Mr Tutu is an organizer for the Assembly of God church and is visiting other churches.

"I hope through my book to help educate white people who most of the time listen to radio and television

propaganda and never come into direct contact with blacks," he said. Propaganda has been so bad that some whites when they see a black man see a potential danger and don't see a fellow South African, who would someday, when everyone is free and there is no more apartheid, stand, fight and die by his side or live with him peacefully as a citizen of the same country."



Mr Lawrence Tutu who has published a book called *Twilight of the Struggle*

DJP 24/3/88

Lawyers slam paper ban, trial move

PRETORIA — Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) have criticised the banning of the New Nation newspaper and the presidential intervention in a murder trial in Windhoek

The LHR said in a statement that the action would increase polarisation, confrontation and human suffering.

The LHR described as "devastating" President P W Botha's issuing of a certificate to stop the prosecution of six soldiers who allegedly murdered a Swapo leader

"Seen against his decision to grant clemency to a Mamelodi policeman who had been found guilty of murder and sentenced to death, and his refusal to intervene in the Sharpeville Six case, the State President has added to his office the portfolios of attorney-general, prosecutor, judge and executor

"We as lawyers condemn his involvement in judicial matters which is based unscientifically, and politically motivated"

The Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ) said in a statement

yesterday that the suspension of the New Nation was not the first action by Pretoria against the media nor would it be the last

"Whenever a publication has arisen in South Africa which spoke fearlessly of the needs and demands of the voiceless majority, the authorities have moved swiftly to silence it," the ADJ said

In Cape Town, the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on the media, Mr Dave Dalling, said the banning of New Nation smacked of political persecution and seemed far removed from the democratic principles which were supposed to govern South Africa

If New Nation was guilty of any of the actions ascribed to it its editor and publishers should be charged before a court of law

● Meanwhile, the Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange, said yesterday, Mr Dalling had apologised to him in accordance with paragraph seven of the report of the select committee on a question of privilege — Sapa

Anger over ban on Nation

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WIDESPREAD anger has followed the three-month ban of the Catholic-funded weekly newspaper New Nation

Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha has shut down the paper for three months under the Emergency powers promulgated against newspapers in August last year

Mr Dullah Omar, president of the Democratic Lawyers Organisation, said the banning was not only an attack on the independent press but an attack on "all our people and their right to know the truth"

It was another disgraceful act to subvert the minds of South Africa's people

"This reflects the bankruptcy of the Government and its total failure to win support

among the oppressed for its ethnically-based strategies and initiatives," said Omar

Mr Yusuf Gabru, president of the Western Cape Teachers Union (Wectu), said his organisation declared its "total solidarity" with New Nation, a newspaper "committed to the liberation of the oppressed people of South Africa"

"We consider the staff of New Nation as comrades in arms and salute them as they join the growing list that have been banned in the pursuit of freedom and justice for all," said Gabru

"The State has the power to ban our newspapers but not our determination to be free"

Mr Franklin Sonn, president of the Cape

Teachers Professional Association (CTPA), said the closure of the paper was "one more action in the litany of repression as we slide to a totally closed system in South Africa"

Independent MP Mr Jan Van Eck said the ban was a "desperate act by a scared Government to prevent the ugly reality of repression from being exposed

"It sets in motion a process that will not only affect New Nation and all other publications that dare publish the truth, but also those people active in the political process - outside and inside Parliament"

Mr Wynand Malan of the National Democratic Movement said suppressing someone's views or politics

did not remove those or politics "It only impoverishes society as a whole"

The editor of the Sowetan, Mr Joe Latakomo, said the closure of the paper was a devastating blow to press freedom

The action taken by the Pretoria authorities demonstrated they would not brook any criticism by anybody, particularly if they were representative of the voteless millions in the country, he said

City Press editor Mr Khulu Sibiyi said the banning was not solving problems but rather compounding them

Face wrath

"We know that other black publications are going to face the wrath of the Government soon. This is the time when all black people should be united and fight for their last remaining rights - to know the truth"

The Anti-Censorship Action Group (ACAC) said "We have long had a government that was dumb - but now we have a government that is to be rendered deaf as well, because it is trying to silence voices it ought to hear"

The Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) said Pretoria was bent on destroying any credible source of information

CAH 1.015

25/3/88

Protest demo at ban on 'Nation'

JOHANNESBURG — Activists, students and journalists held rallies and demonstrations here yesterday to protest against the government's three-month ban on the New Nation newspaper.

The newspaper would have gone on sale yesterday but on Tuesday the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, shut down the paper for 12 weeks, saying it had published "subversive propaganda" in violation of state-of-emergency regulations.

More than 30 journalists from several newspapers staged a demonstration in support of the New Nation. They wore handkerchiefs over their mouths to symbolize the gagging of the press.

Black ribbons of mourning were draped from the windows of the New Nation's offices.

Students were addressed by the Rev Frank Chikane, secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, who said South Africa was experiencing "its worst period of oppression".

Silenced

"Even whites are going to be silenced. The newspapers are going to be silenced. Everyone is going to find himself in the same bath," he said.

Meanwhile, the United Nations special committee against apartheid says it is deeply concerned about his week's banning of the New Nation, chairman Major Joseph Garba said in a message to the newspaper.

The International Press Institute said yesterday that it had protested to the South African government —
Sapa-Reuter-AP

AFRIKAANS PRESS

Vosloo's ace

The results of the Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke by-elections may have claimed another victim, in addition to the National Party (NP). Until recently, *Beeld* senior assistant editor Wilhe Kuhn was widely acclaimed as the natural successor to editor Willem Wepener. This week he was overlooked for the top job, with the announcement that Salie de Swardt, editor of *Finansies en Tegniek*, will take over from Wepener next year.

Kuhn, who is responsible for *Beeld's* politi-

cal comment, had been the main force behind the newspaper's relentless war of words against the Conservative Party's association with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging. However, in some newspaper circles it was felt that the paper was over-killing the issue and in effect alienating border case vote from the NP.

Kuhn, while assistant editor at *Die Volksblad* in 1981, issued a directive to political writers on how to report on the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP). The directive and its intended bias was exposed by HNP leader Jaap Marais in the party's mouthpiece *Die Afrikaner* and caused considerable embarrassment to Nasionale Pers (Naspers).

De Swardt's appointment indicates a new strategy by Naspers. A close confidant of MD Ton Vosloo, and respected in financial circles, De Swardt is expected to produce editorials that will highlight Pretoria's new economic reforms, rather than concentrate on petty politics.

Together with the appointment of *Volksblad* editor Hennie van Deventer — also a Vosloo protégé — to Naspers's board of directors, the reshuffle is a triumph for Vosloo, himself a former *Beeld* editor. De Swardt and Van Deventer are verligte thinkers — both were recipients of the prestigious Niemann Fellowship awards at Harvard University — and they will strengthen Vosloo's hand in his delicate (and sometimes unnerving) relationship with Tuynhuys

FM 25/3/88

The announcement said that until De Swardt takes over, Wepener will devote his time to other editorial matters. Inside sources say he could be asked to keep an eye on the group's struggling Sunday paper *Rapport* (which is partly owned by Perskor). Wepener is certainly a candidate for the position of chairman of either *Rapport* or Naspers.

What New Nation would have said ...



Picture JUDA NGWENYA, Reuters

THEY banned the *New Nation* and damned it to silence because it dared to reflect the violence of apartheid.

They banned it because it gave a voice to the voiceless majority. They banned it because it articulated the aspirations of millions of oppressed people.

But the spirit of resistance it was born into remains deeply rooted in a tradition that refuses to die for as long as apartheid lives.

And it will be naive in the extreme for this government to believe that banning the *New Nation* will resolve the crisis it is trapped in.

In fact it would be political folly to blame this crisis on the *New Nation*.

Centuries of racist rule and exploitation have fuelled a tradition of resistance that is now blamed on the *New Nation*.

But the apartheid government has, in true Nationalist tradition, stubbornly re-

Gabu Tugwana (above), acting editor of New Nation, cannot express his views in his own newspaper, closed by the government for three months. But he can write the same views for other newspapers — and he does so here.

fused to recognise and resolve the contradictions that are inherent in their policy of racial superiority. Instead they have attacked everything that threatens them and their policies.

That apartheid is fatally flawed is a belief that only the suicidal will dare to question. Only the likes of President PW Botha will go a step further and try to entrench it.

And it is precisely this calibre of political leadership, that has intensified the contradictions and deepened the crisis.

The government's claim that its failure to act against

the *New Nation* would have meant the resurgence of growing "resistance, violence and disorderliness" reflects a political immaturity, which in itself represents this government's greatest dilemma.

Resistance, it must be pointed out, is as old as apartheid. It is hundreds of years older than the *New Nation*, which only served to reflect reality: the creation of apartheid.

In fact the *New Nation*, in its current form, would have no place in a truly non-racial, democratic society. Ironically, it is the existence of Botha's apartheid

government that necessitates its existence.

We have warned this government in the past that attempts to ban the reality only serve to project it more boldly. The most recent example played itself out just a few days ago, on Sharpeville Day, March 21.

It came just three weeks after the banning of 18 organisations and the restriction of 18 leaders around the country. Despite this attempt to paralyse the democratic movement, the will to resist was boldly demonstrated in a nationwide show of solidarity.

If there was any lesson for the government to learn, then it must be that the banning of the mass movement did nothing to immobilise it.

And it is in this context that we should view its attempt to silence the voice of the democratic majority by banning the *New Nation*.

'MAIL' SEES LAWYERS OVER WARNING

THE newspaper *Weekly Mail* has been invited by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, to submit further representations on Mr Botha's objections to material in the newspaper, in the light of changes made to media curbs.

Anton Harber, co-editor of *Weekly Mail* yesterday confirmed that in a letter Mr Botha drew the attention of the newspapers to the amendments to the media curbs made in January this year.

The amendments came after *Weekly Mail*, among other newspapers, was warned by the Minister that he objected to certain material. This warning is the first step in a lengthy process by which the Minister is empowered to either

close or censor publications.

The newspaper *New Nation*, banned for three months under the process this week, had also been invited to make further representations following the amendments

After the first letter to *Weekly Mail* some three months ago the paper submitted "160 pages of extensive and exhaustive legal argument" to the Minister, Mr Harber said yesterday

"We are very surprised by this letter"

Mr Botha's letter to the paper

this week points out that the Minister had not invited *Weekly Mail* to speculate on whether individual articles caused a threat to public safety

The Minister was concerned with the cumulative effect of a "systematic or repeated" placing of objectionable articles or photographs, the letter said

"We will consult our lawyers. If we feel there is a need to do so we will make further representations," Mr Harber said yesterday

The newspaper has two weeks in which to reply

Sowetan 25/3/88

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WM receives another missive from Botha

Weekly Mail Reporter

MINISTER of Home Affairs and Communications Stoffel Botha has invited *Weekly Mail* to "supplement or adjust" its representations to him

Weekly Mail's 160-page representations were submitted to Botha in December to counter a threat by him to act against the newspaper in terms of Emergency regulations.

In the three months since then, Botha has not responded to the submissions. However this week he served a new letter on *Weekly Mail*

He pointed out that the Emergency media regulations had been amended since *Weekly Mail* made its representations

He also asked *Weekly Mail* to take into account that he believed he was not required to decide that each individual article that offended him was a threat to public safety. Rather, he said, the accumulative effect of all the articles he listed should be considered.

The *Weekly Mail* is considering how to respond to Botha's letter

Grassroots gets its warning too

By GAYE DAVIS, Cape Town

THE Western Cape community newspaper *Grassroots* is the latest publication to receive a warning from home affairs minister, Stoffel Botha, in terms of the media regulations

Grassroots, established eight years ago to provide a mouthpiece for a number of community-based organisations, has a monthly circulation of about 20 000, mainly in the Cape Town area. It has two weeks to make representations to Botha

In a letter hand-delivered this week, Botha told the paper he is considering gazetting a warning against it for printing "subversive propaganda"

Botha said he had examined five editions, from September to December 1987 and the issue of February 1988.

Among the 23 articles Botha mentioned as causing "a threat to the safety of the public, the maintenance of law and order or causing a delay in the termination of the State of Emergency" was a letter from "Football Crazy Comrade" in the September issue, which "promoted an unlawful organisation" by describing ANC leaders as "our leaders".

w/maail



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25-30/3/88

Other articles cited as boosting the ANC's image included a front-page report in February headed "ANC calls for unity", and a plea — also carried in mainstream newspapers — for an end to the conflict in Pietermaritzburg and in the KTC squatter settlement in the Western Cape.

During its eight years of existence, the newspaper has been subjected to repeated bannings and detentions of its staff. Its offices were destroyed in a mysterious fire in 1985, but it has continued to publish.

Grassroots organiser Mansoor Jaffer said "We reject the right of Stoffel Botha to decide what will be published in South Africa

"The threat to public order and safety in South Africa comes from the minority government of Minister Botha. It is that government which should be closed down, not the *New Nation* or *Grassroots*."

25-392/88

It's perfectly legal only *they* can't say it

w/ mail

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New Nation can't publish the stories its journalists wrote this week. But we can — because they are legal. Below is what the government is trying to hide: what would have been the paper's Page 3

Accused cop's damning claims

SA 'still supplying Renamo bandits'

MEMBERS of the South African security forces are still supplying the bandits of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) group, it was alleged in the Rand Supreme Court last week.

The claim formed part of evidence given by Detective Sergeant Robert van der Merwe of South African Police.

Van der Merwe and the former head of the East Rand Homicide and Robbery division, Captain Jack la Grange, are accused of murdering two drug traffickers, and of attempting to murder a third.

In evidence, van der Merwe said on an unspecified date last year he and a colleague met a certain Commander John Vorster during an official visit to the Eastern Transvaal town of Nelspruit.

"With him there was another individual who said he was responsible for links between a certain organisation — which we understood to be Renamo — and the South African government," said van der Merwe. Renamo is the Portuguese acronym for the MNR.

"As far as we could deduce, he was involved in supplying the Mozambique resistance movement with whatever they needed," added van der Merwe. "I saw various weapons of communist origin in his garage, and I presumed they were destined for that organisation."

Asked what he understood by "clandestine" operations, van der Merwe said they were "secret".

"As I understand it, only the commanding officer and the officer carrying out the operation should know of it," he said. It seems to me that such actions are illegal in terms of law, but I consider them legal in terms of superior orders."

Replying to the direct charges against him, van der Merwe told the court he killed Bernie Alex Ogle and the police informer Peter Piliay — both of whom have been identified in court as drug traffickers — in September and October last year.

He said he killed them because he was convinced they were members of the African National Congress.

He said he believed he was carrying out a "clandestine" mission on orders from police headquarters — which had been transmitted to him by La Grange, his superior (and now co-accused).

Van der Merwe compared the killings with the assassination of three ANC members in Swaziland last July, and the deaths of three Pan Africanist Congress members in a shoot-out with police in Johannesburg a month later.

These were also "clandestine" police operations, said Van der Merwe.

He told the court he had been on duty at the Oshoek border with Swaziland on July 8 last year.

Two days later, the deaths of the ANC cadres was reported.

The thought that the 'Sharpeville Six' would be hanged last week had people in tears at a 'Save the Patriots' prayer service at Sharpeville's NGK church on Thursday. A last-minute court order gave the Six a brief reprieve from the hangman's noose. The meeting was addressed by Rev Frank Chikane of SACC.



'Kitsie' hunted after court finding

POLICE are searching for a Grahamstown municipal policeman, Alpheus David Mthethwa, after an inquest found he was responsible for the death of 31-year-old Mbuleli Nyengene.

Magistrate I Rostow found that Nyengene's death was brought about by an act amounting to an offence in that it appeared as if the policeman had murdered Nyengene.

Nyengene died from a shotgun wound in the abdomen after an incident on July 1 at a councillor's house.

According to the inquest papers, a warrant for Mthethwa's arrest had been issued in January last year after he forfeited bail.

Moses Qangule, son of a community councillor, said he entered the yard of his home with Nyengene (his cousin), when he saw Mthethwa pointing a firearm at them.

Qangule said he had told Mthethwa not to shoot. However, when Nyengene entered the house, Mthethwa shot him in the back for no apparent reason.

In a statement before the court, Qangule states he asked the policeman why he had shot his cousin. Mthethwa had replied because I thought he was a suspect.

PE policeman 'suffers Vietnam Syndrome'

A MEMBER of a Port Elizabeth unrest unit facing two charges of murder is suffering from Vietnam Syndrome, a psychiatrist told the Grahamstown Supreme Court this week.

Dr Anton Potgieter, former head of the psychiatric department at 1 Military Hospital in Pretoria, said he had no doubt Constable David Patrick Goosen, 26, suffered from a post-traumatic stress disorder.

WIDESPREAD

This disorder was found to have been widespread among American soldiers returning home from the

Vietnam war. Goosen and Warrant Officer Leon de Villiers, 36, are charged with two counts of murder, two of assault and one of attempting to defeat the ends of justice.

FUNERAL

The charges relate to an incident in Cradock on July 26, 1986, when the unit under de Villiers' command was sent to Cradock to monitor the funeral of a 'terrorist'.

Potgieter, who is considered a psychiatric expert, told the court of the requirements for making such a finding and said he was satisfied they existed in

Goosen's case.

He admitted these symptoms could be 'faked', but said only an extremely well informed person could give a convincing simulation.

He told the court he was surprised that Goosen could act so calmly while facing such serious charges.

ACCIDENT

Potgieter suggested Goosen had rationalised the situation by convincing himself that the stabbing was merely a reflex self-defence action without serious consequences. He dismissed the shooting as an accident.

The court heard earlier

how Goosen had been involved in the "elimination" of an ANC "terrorist", and defence lawyers suggested he was suffering from nightmares and a "nameless" fear.

NAMELESS FEAR

Goosen told the court that when he took a man (assaulted earlier by himself and de Villiers) down to a river to wash his face, he again experienced the nameless fear.

It is alleged that Goosen shot the man through the back of his neck after being told to do so by de Villiers.

The trial is continuing in the Grahamstown Supreme Court.

Workers show they're no babies

AN Israeli businessman has been shown that "workers in South Africa are not babies", according to the East Rand Regional organiser of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union.

Ccawusa's Mike Mnikina was commenting after some 50 employees at Shevil's Diamond Trading and Polishing Company were reinstated by the

firm after a dispute last week.

A walkout had occurred after three members of the workers' committee had a disagreement over union rights with Robert Nassimov, a co-director of the firm.

The workers claimed they had been dismissed, but Nassimov said "they all just suddenly said they wanted to go, so I said go."

Last week he said there was "no place" for a union at his plant, and he was doing the workers a favour by employing them.

"If you take blacks, they are nice people and good, but they are babies and you must treat them as babies," he said.

Mnikina said he had since received a telex from Shevil's lawyers in which

they asked for proof of membership, offered to meet the union, and asked workers to return the next day.

Mnikina said the outcome of the dispute was a victory for the workers. "He (Nassimov) learned that the workers in South Africa are not babies. Maybe in Israel they are babies."

Sowetan 25/3/88

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Curbs Under focus

THE South African Government's crack-down on the media was the focus of two international conferences — in Lima, Peru, and in London — this month.

The conference in Lima between March 7 and 9 was organised by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid in co-operation with the government of Peru.

A statement released by the UN said participants included journalists from Latin America and the Caribbean, and representatives of liberation movements from South Africa and Namibia, inter-governmental as well as non-governmental organisations, as well as a number of experts and special guests.

In a resolution in support of South African journalists, the Latin American and Caribbean journalists said they

- "express their collegial solidarity with the journalists in SA,

particularly those of the alternative press, who are being subjected to mounting harassment, persecution and detentions by the apartheid regime;

- "salute the courage and determination of their SA colleagues,
- "pledge their moral support and their assistance to the valiant struggle of their SA fellow journalists

Participants reiterated their "firm stand on the principles of freedom of the press and association

The London conference on March 11 and 12 was organised by the Association of British Editors, Harvard University's Nieman Foundation for Journalism, and the African American Institute.

It was opened at Lancaster House by Commonwealth Secretary-General Shridath (Sonny) Ramphal, who said: "Your conference will focus on censorship; but in doing so, you will be responding, inevitably, to the wider crisis in SA of which censorship is now so integral a part."

Another guest speaker was Lord McGregor of Durris, chairman of a Royal Commission on the Press in Britain 15 years ago. He said: "The majority of governments in the world have established censorship But SA's situation is different.

"Indeed it looks to an outside observer as if the SA Government has passed through the stage of being authoritarian and has now become totalitarian," Lord McGregor added.

At a luncheon for delegates hosted by the Association of British Editors at the Royal Commonwealth Society, guest speaker was Mr Thabo Mbeki, director, information and publicity, of the African National Congress. His speech cannot be reported in SA.

Among the 75 delegates (including Commonwealth Secretariat officials and diplomatic representatives) from Britain, the United States and Canada were several SA journalists — Joe Thlolo (Sowetan), Oupa Mmotsa (New Nation), Ameeñ Akhalwaya (The Indicator), Irwin Manoum (Weekly Mail), Rashid Serra (South), Richard Steyn (Natal Witness), Siphon Khumalo (Natal Mercury), Henne van Deventer (Volksblad), Dries van Heerden (Sunday Times) and Tony Weaver (formerly of the Cape Times) — (Indicator News Service)

MORE PROTEST OVER BANNING

It's a
death
sentence
for New
Nation
says the
Black
Sash

Savefan
25/3/88

MORE organisations and newspapers in the country have added their voices in criticising the Government for closing the *New Nation* for three months

The Black Sash in a statement from Johannesburg, described the three-month banning as "tantamount to a death sentence"

"With this action, there is not a single opposition newspaper that is safe from attack. The Government was strangling all opposition, muzzling all dissent, threatening the church, closing its ears and its mind to everything except its own opinion

"Perhaps the Government does not realise that killing the messenger does not kill the message. We shall learn at our cost, as white Rhodesians learnt too late, that self-deception is a dangerous folly"

The Progressive Federal Party spokesman on the media, Mr Dave Dalling, said the banning smacked of political persecution and seemed far removed from the democratic principles which were supposed to govern South Africa

"If the *New Nation* was guilty of any of the actions ascribed to it by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, then its editor and publishers should be

charged before a court of law and punished for criminal activity. The light of Press Freedom has dimmed to a dangerously low point," he said

The Azanian National Youth Unity said the closure was a sign of movement towards real dictatorship and government by decree. It said the courageous reporting of the *New Nation* on real issues affecting society had been made a crime

The National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) said the State's attack on the alternative Press and the closure of the *New Nation* was a clear erosion of the freedom of the Press

"The Government's suppression of the alternative Press reflects its failure to resolve the conflict in our country. By silencing the Press, the State attempts to legitimate its discredited organs."

The Association of Democratic Journalists said the suspension of the *New Nation* was not the first action by Pretoria against the information media in South Africa nor will it be the last

The Lawyers for Human Rights said the effective closure of the *New Nation* would increase polarisation and human suffering

The *Cape Times* said in its editorial on Wednesday that the closure heralds a new phase of authoritarian rule in South Africa in which the entire Press, already



Mr GABU Tugwana... acting editor of *New Nation*.

under siege, is increasingly at risk

The *Argus* (also a Cape paper) said in its editorial on Wednesday that as in all things, there was a cost attendant on this action by the Government

"Aside from promoting public ignorance of what is happening in the country, the action also denies the Government which is already alarmingly isolated, even less access to the views and concerns of a significant community"

Business Day said in its editorial on Wednesday that the decision to close the *New Nation*, confirms what has been plain for sometime, South Africa can no longer have a free Press and in this report, as in others, it has left the ranks of civilised nations

One Afrikaans newspaper, the *Volksblad*, published in Bloemfontein, saw the banning in a different light. In its editorial, also on Wednesday it said it shed no tears over the fate of the *New Nation*

"We object to such newspapers — that enjoy respect especially overseas they do not deserve — helping to draw the net tighter around the Press in general by their irresponsibility"

JOURNALISTS and the Black Sash organisation mounted placard protests in Johannesburg yesterday demonstrating against the closure of *New Nation* by the Government.

New Nation, which publishes about 60 000 copies a week, read by

about 48 000 people, should have gone on sale yesterday. In terms of a Government Gazette notice, however, it will be closed until June

More than 30 journalists held up protest notices on the pavements around the Bree, Sauer and

Simmonds Street intersections, up to Loveday Street. Thousands of people were headed to work at the time

Many of the demonstrators tied handkerchiefs over their faces to ward off the concentrated vehicle exhaust fumes. Staff members of *New Nation*,

Weekly Mail and the *Star* took part on one side with the answer. "You're next" on the other.

The Black Sash also mounted a protest outside the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. Its placards read

Demo in Johannesburg

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Cosatu slams ban on paper

By LEN MASEKO

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions yesterday decried the closure of the *New Nation* newspaper, saying the suspension would be met with anger by the federation's membership.

Cosatu said it appeared that the Government was committed to "either eliminating or harshly restricting all democratic institutions" and to silence the voice of the democratic movement.

The federation was reacting to this week's three-month ban of *New Nation* by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

Cosatu said it was time all South Africans realised that the Government would "stop at nothing" to impose its "unrealistic dreams of a country governed by and for a small minority on the country."

Their (Government's) aim was to create a "cloak of secrecy and ignorance" that would provide cover for more drastic and unconventional "counter revolutionary" measures, Cosatu said.

"We salute *New Nation* for the work it has done in reporting on issues of concern to the majority of people, in exposing repression and in giving a voice to democratic organisations like ours who are denied a say through the official media," the federation said.

DID 26/3/88 (243)

Minister serves another letter on Weekly Mail

JOHANNESBURG — It was not necessary to decide which individual article was a threat to public safety, but the accumulative effect of all articles that had to be considered, the Minister of Home Affairs and Communication, Mr Stoffel Botha, told the Weekly Mail.

The newspaper said in an article yesterday:

"The Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel

Botha, has invited Weekly Mail to 'supplement or adjust' its representations with him.

"Weekly Mail's 160-page representations were submitted to Mr Botha in December to counter a threat by him to act against the newspaper in terms of Emergency regulations.

"In the three months since then, Mr Botha has not responded. However, this week he served a new letter on Weekly Mail.

"He pointed out that the emergency media regulations had been amended since Weekly Mail made its representations.

"He also asked Weekly Mail to take into account that he believed he was not required to decide that each individual article that offended was a threat to public safety.

"The Weekly Mail is considering how to respond." — Sapa

Those who publish the truth will not be spared

When the Government banned the *New Nation* this week, no one could deny that it had dropped all pretences of being ruled by democratic principles.

But the implications of the banning go a lot further than just exposing this Government's determination to entrench apartheid at all costs

By silencing the *New Nation*, it hopes to silence a vast majority that is denied a voice in parliament

It has tried to silence the millions that have been oppressed and colonised for centuries

The vast majority has spoken out against the banning, which came just weeks after the silencing of 19 black organisations and 18 leaders

Conspicuously absent from the rounded condemnation of this senseless action, has been the response of the "liberal" anti-apartheid constituency which in the past has repeatedly shouted slogans against censorship and demanded freedom of expression

Their voice has also been absent from the worldwide condemnation of the continuing detention of our editor, Zwelakhe Sisulu. And we cannot help but be guided by the age-old advice that silence means consent

But there could be one other reason — and that is that the liberal community has not fully grasped the implications of the silencing of the *New Nation*

A cursory examination of this Government's record is enough to convince even the most ignorant that it spares no one that dares to publish the truth

NOTEBOOK

Gabu Tugwana

Acting Editor of *New Nation*



Stoffel Botha's rule is "dissent and be damned" The banning of the *New Nation* is therefore a continuation of the press repression that the Government is hooked on. And in the same way that it has progressively eroded what little democratic space was left, it will relentlessly gnaw away at whatever freedom of expression remains

This Government has a notorious record of repression

Nationalist policies have landed this country in its worst economic recession and the toiling masses have had to bear the brunt

Apartheid has sown the seeds of its own destruction

The detentions of Sisulu and the banning of the *New Nation* serve only to deepen the crisis which threatens the very fabric of society, not only in South Africa but in the entire continent

And if this decay is allowed to con-

tinue uninterrupted, all who remained silent must share in the blame for the destruction of democracy

The Government and its electorate have chosen the fatalistic road. Instead of addressing the stark contradictions in their way, they have chosen to fight every social value that is revered by democrats throughout the world. It has set itself on a collision course. Sanctions and the campaign for the international isolation of apartheid will gain momentum, fuelled by bannings and restrictions

What apartheid stubbornly refuses to admit is that resistance has, over the decades, deeply rooted itself in the oppressed communities

The will to resist oppression cannot be smothered through bannings and detentions. Resistance is a product of oppression. The converse is not tenable. Therefore, unless repression itself is banned and free democratic activity allowed, resistance will continue to haunt the ruling class

The banning of the *New Nation* is no solution

Perhaps many would wish to do something about the issues raised here. For those who think they can still be counted among the democratic-loving people, here is your chance

Write to or cable the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, and express your wish to have freedom of expression restored.

You will not be doing it for the *New Nation*, but for the 250 000 readers who read the 55 000 copies bought every week.

be implemented on May 1 at the earliest: See Personal Finan

'Relief over New Nation ban'

THE United Christian Action group has expressed "gratitude and relief" over the suspension of the *New Nation* newspaper.

UCA executive secretary, Mr G Wielback, said the newspaper was one of the "most scandalous manifestations of liberation theology" in the country.

The paper had also promoted "a value system diametrically opposed to Christian standards and beliefs (sic)," he said.

The closure of *New Nation* for three months was announced by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha. The paper is owned by the Catholic Bishops Publishing Company.

The UCA official said: "The trust which ordinary Christians place into the leadership of their church was abused and manipulated in a way which alarmed Christians of all denominations."

Mouthpiece

"The *New Nation* is not and never was a mouthpiece for black Christians in South Africa. There is ample evidence that the authors of this publication subscribed to the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung which have caused havoc and misery in many parts of this tragic continent Africa (sic)" he said.

Mr Wielback said protests against the banning by certain church leaders did not reflect "pastoral concern but rather ignorance of or sympathy with Marxist convictions".

UCA had expressed gratitude and relief over the banning in a letter to Mr Botha.

Meanwhile, the Reverend Tom Mbabane of the Methodist Church, said it was very strange that "the Anglicans concerned for Truth and Spirituality" should come out in support of the State President against the Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, the banning of 17 organisations and closure of the *New Nation*.

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28/3/82

SOUTH, an independently published Cape Town weekly community newspaper, which received an official warning in the Government Gazette in December last year, has appealed to the world to help save the alternative Press in South Africa

The newspaper was warned that its contents, in the Minister of Home Affairs' opinion, were "causing a threat to the safety of the public or to the maintenance of public order, or was causing a delay in the termination of the state of emergency"

Another Cape community newspaper *Grassroots*, was warned by Mr Stoffel Botha that he was considering issuing a gazetted warning against the paper for publishing "subversive propaganda"

In its plea on the front page, *South* said "The *New Nation* has been banned and the same fate awaits *South*, the *Sowetan*, *Cosatu News*, *Work In Progress*, *Weekly Mail*, *Grassroots*, *Izwilethu (Nactu News)* and *Azanian Focus*

Restricted

"Already 18 anti-apartheid organisations have been restricted seriously narrowing the space for non-violent protest in this country," the newspaper said

"The Sharpeville Six have not been reprieved and court intervention

Paper appeals to the world

Sowetan 28/3/88

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has halted threats to act against universities

"The state of emergency persists, thousands are either detained or imprisoned for political crimes, and Nelson Mandela, Zeph Mothopeng, Khotso Seathlolo and others remain in jail"

Arrogant

South said that despite world pleas for change, the "arrogant Botha regime" was set on its suicidal course of apartheid, exploitation and repression.

The European Economic Community (ECC) has an interest in many alternative papers, being financial backers of the papers or its projects and *South* urged foreign governments trading with "apartheid South Africa and which maintain diplomatic missions here to act to bring Pretoria to its senses"

"Protests at ambassadorial level are not sufficient. We need decisive action"—Sapa

D/D 28/3/68 (243)

Newspaper says it won't be deterred

CAPE TOWN — Grassroots, the Cape Town based community newspaper which has been threatened with government action, says it will continue its commitment to truth — despite the threat.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, has warned the newspaper that he is considering gazetting a warning for the publishing of "subversive propaganda"

Grassroots said it did

not recognise Mr Botha's right to control their views

The newspaper's organiser, Mr Mansoor Jaffer, said they were not prepared to compromise their commitment to publish the truth

"We have a responsibility to the public to report the truth. If 50 000 people are detained we have to write about it. If there are death squads on the loose in the townships we have to write about it," he said —

Sapa

... sunny-side up when they distribute the marshmallows to pensioners.

STP 29/3/88
Paper gets warning

CAPE TOWN — The Oudtshoorn-based community newspaper, *Saamstaan*, has been warned by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, that he is considering gazetting a warning for the publication of "subversive propaganda".

In a hand-delivered letter to the newspaper yesterday, Mr Botha said he had examined the editions of October, November and December 1987.

He took exception to reports on the "honouring" of political activists, public violence, the Harare convention and Mr Govan Mbeki's release.

Saamstaan has two weeks in which to make a written submission. It is the seventh publication to be warned in terms of the state of emergency press curbs. Last week, a similar notice was sent to *Grassroots Publications* in Rylands, Cape Town.

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ANOTHER PAPER GETS WARNING

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The organiser of *Saamstaan*, Mr Derek Jackson, said there was a concerted attack against the newspaper by the State.

Three workers, Mr Reggie Olifant, Mr Mbulelo Grootboom and Mr Jackson, were restricted to Oudtshoorn earlier this month following the restrictions placed on 17 organisations.

Mr Jackson said "The State is out to silence the mouthpiece of the oppressed people of the Southern Cape. They believe that will defeat the people."

He said his organisation had not yet discussed its response to the warning.

"We will do our best to ensure that *Saamstaan* continues to appear," Mr Jackson said.

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MAGS 29/3/88

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CITY/NATIONAL

SABC in court over showing of Pastoors picture

JOHANNESBURG — The SABC has appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on a charge of contravening the Prisons Act on July 9 last year by showing a picture of Helena Pastoors on the 8pm news on TV1.

The SABC, which was represented by Mr Christo Kritzinger, denied that it could be held criminally liable.

After pleading not guilty, defence counsel Mr B Roux placed on record that the pictures in question did not appear as alleged.

Furthermore, the SABC did not have written permission from the Commissioner of Prisons to allow publication of the picture of Pastoors more than 30 days after sentence.

Revealing the basis of the plea, defence counsel informed the court that the picture had not been shown following instructions from the SABC authorities, or in furtherance of SABC service.

Technical evidence

Another fact placed before the court by defence counsel was that neither Mr Kritzinger nor anyone else at the SABC could have stopped the showing of the picture (allegedly this would have been a technical impossibility).

The SABC knew that it was an offence to publish a picture of a convicted person serving a sentence, more than 30 days after sentence, but denied that on July 9 last year there was any knowledge on the part of the SABC that a crime was occurring.

It is disputed that in the instance before the court the SABC can be charged as being the party to be held responsible as set out in the ordinance.

To facilitate the following of technical evidence which is expected to be led by the defence and to be used in cross-examination, the magistrate, Mr P Bredenkamp, and the prosecutor, Mrs T Rossouw, will hold an inspection tomorrow evening from 6pm until after the broadcasting of the 8pm news on TV1 to observe all the technical procedures.

The matter will resume on May 9 — Sapa.

Minister meets editors to discuss Savimbi interview

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The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, met editors of the Argus Group last week. The meeting followed the publication in Argus Group newspapers of excerpts from an interview given by Dr Jonas Savimbi to the French magazine, *Paris Match*.

SK

At their meeting, General Malan said South Africa expected the media, especially in the face of a revolutionary threat, to report cautiously and sensitively on matters regarding security, which included the rights of people to live in peace and prosperity and to be informed.

34/3/88

The editors defended their right to publish extracts from the interview as legitimate news.

General Malan said the public's right to know as a cornerstone of democracy should be executed by presenting matters in a correct perspective. Security interests should be acknowledged and continuously taken into consideration.

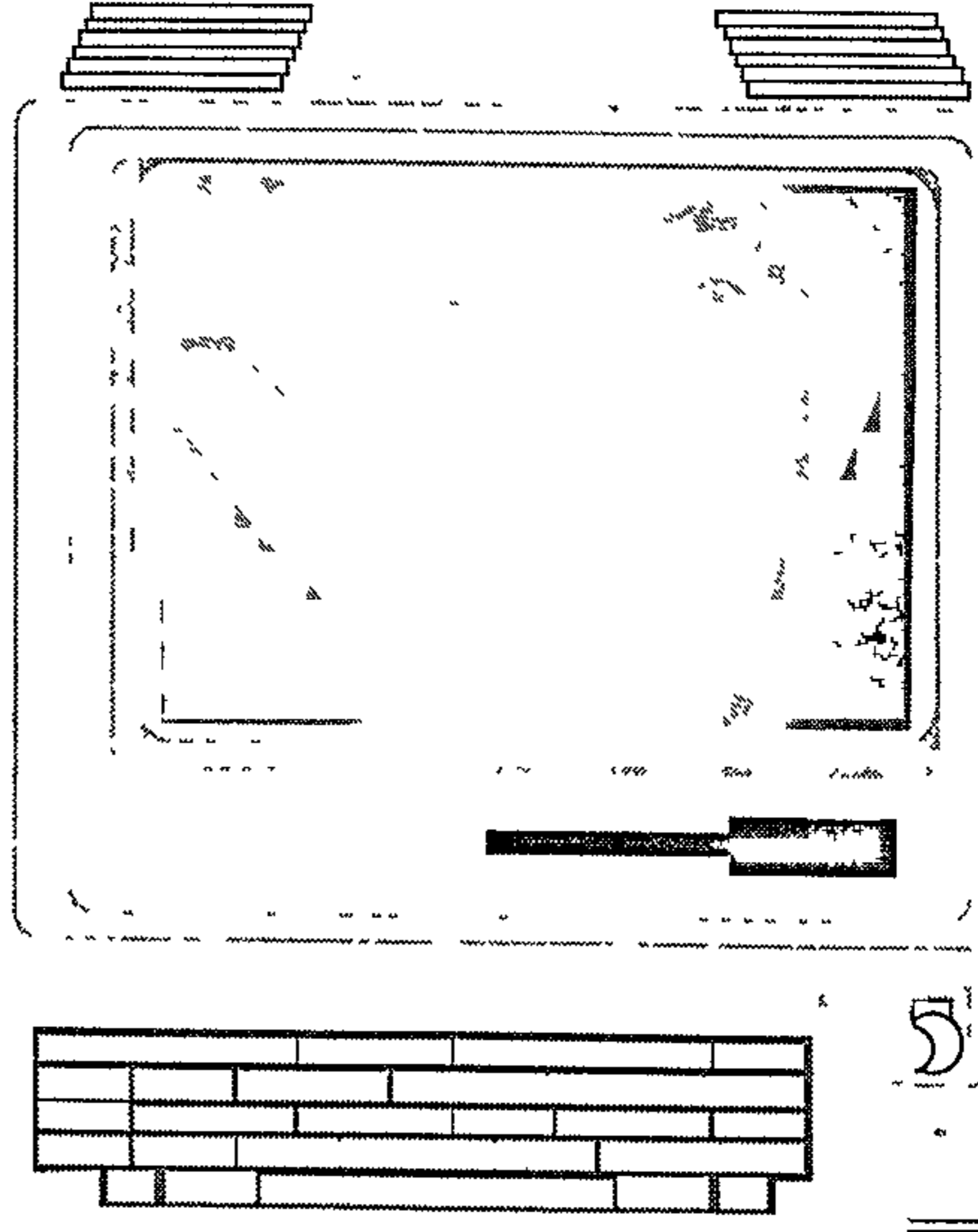
The editors put forward their view that national security was best served by having an informed, and therefore prepared, public and stressed the importance of keeping the public informed.

FOCUS ON THE MEDIA

All's quiet at New Nation.

Only the clatter of another telex from the SADF

The future has seldom looked bleaker for the opposition press. Minister Stoffel Botha (right) has ensured that his presence is felt in every newsroom. But strangely, there is very little despair among the media organisations. Foolhardy bravado, perhaps?
SHAUN JOHNSON reports



GABU TUGWANA, acting editor of the *New Nation*, leans back in a chair in his silent newsroom, reading a telex. It is a press statement from Defence Headquarters in Pretoria. "They're still sending us this stuff," he remarks laconically.

Then he laughs out loud. Tugwana no longer has a paper in which to publish it.

It is the end of the first week of the outspoken newspaper's forced closure, and its offices in downtown Johannesburg are full of such evocative imagery.

Most striking of all is the uncommon quiet, where the intermittent clatter of the telex — usually just a back-drop — is now the most distinctive sound in the room. Empty desks and blank-screened computers provide a visual complement.

Then there are posters, forlorn proclamations of an earlier time: "South Africa's Voice of the Voteless — On Sale Now!" and "Are you part of the big rush for the *New Nation*?"

It is an arresting tableau, because this is normally a loud and bustling place. But the funeral atmosphere is also deceptive, because the *New Nation* story is far from being played out. How will it all end?

Now that the practical effects of the gagging of *New Nation* have set in, says Tugwana, "it feels unreal." But, "there is a spirit of confidence and determination for the future." Morale remains high.

The staff of the *New Nation*, he says, "have observed with great sadness the determination and *kragdadigheid* with which the apartheid machinery is attempting to stifle any dissenting voice. But our message to the emerging media is that we hope this will not discourage them."

The editor-temporarily-without-portfolio is nothing if not defiant. It is clear, he says, that "the voice of the emerging press has grown so fast that the state could not tolerate it any more. But in the end, justice and truth will win."

During the 12-week hiatus, the *New Nation* will embark on in-

house training for its staff, who "will gauge their progress through an in-house newsletter which will publish their stories". The newsletter, says Tugwana, will not be for sale, but will be "kept as a memento".

In broader terms, the three-month closure of the newspaper is, undeniably, a tremendous blow to what has been variously called the "alternative", "progressive", "new" and "emerging" media in South Africa.

It is certainly confirmation of Tugwana's claim that these media, embracing national and localised newspapers, magazines and independent news agencies, have achieved — in the few short years of their flowering — an influence way beyond their modest circulations, shoestring bud-

gets and skeletal staffs. But the fact remains that it is a bleak time for these media. Several newspapers are tagging closely behind the *New Nation* in the snakes and ladders process set down under Emergency media regulations. Newspapers that have had first warnings, in the form of a letter from the minister, are *Weekly Mail*, the *Sowetan*, *Grassroots* and *Saamstaan*. Publications that have reached the second stage — a gazetted warning — are *Work in Progress* and *South*.

Journalists have also faced detentions and bannings — the most prominent example being Zwelakhe Sisulu, the man Tugwana is standing in for. The harsh reality, surely, is that the

state's armoury is more than equal to the task of simply shutting down these intractable dissenting voices.

So is Tugwana's stated commitment to "carry on" — his talk of a future — merely the brave bluster of a man who refuses to acknowledge obvious defeat?

The answer from representatives of a wide range of like-minded media organisations is, unsurprisingly, a resounding "no". They are adamant that Home Affairs and Communications Minister Stoffel Botha's "creeping clampdown" will not change their approaches.

● The Cape weekly *South* says "the bleak atmosphere, in which ours may be the next alternative paper to be shut down, does not alter our pledge

to tell the truth irrespective of the consequences."

● *Grassroots* community newspaper in Cape Town will continue to "reflect South African reality and not distort it. We have no choice. We have to publish the truth and face the consequences. We are keen to link up with other publications to campaign vigorously for press freedom."

● The four members of East Cape News Agencies believe "the state has made it clear it does not plan to stop with this move against *New Nation*. We plan to fight for our right to inform South Africans and others of events in this country."

But there is a more convincing reason for predicting the survival of alternative voices, and it lies in the history of the burgeoning of these media in the past eight years.

A little revolution has taken place in the South African media since the beginning of the decade. The media scenario of today is unrecognisable from that which existed when the *New Nation* was first mooted in 1981.

Then, independent ventures were still feeling their way gingerly forward. *Grassroots* and the South African Student Press Union's *Saspu National* were the mould-breakers, and they had no successful role-models to imitate. They survived, and in the ensuing years, a minor explosion took place. With the help of *Grassroots*, community newspapers such as *Ukusa* in Durban, the *Eye* in Mamelodi, and *Speak* in Johannesburg, were established.

Aided by developments in newspaper technology which brought the production process within the range of small, undercapitalised groups, the concept of independent news organisations moved quickly from the realms of journalists' fancy to hard reality. Within a short space of time, there was a variety of practical alternatives to mere ritual condemnation of the "commercial press".

The development of the "alternative" media was by no means monolithic — many emerged in response to specific local conditions, and included different political and journalistic tendencies. The *Weekly Mail*, for example, was launched by entrenched SA Associated Newspapers journalists in June 1985, after the closure of the *Rand Daily Mail* and *Sunday Express*. The *New Nation* finally made its debut in January 1986, backed by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

Other sources of "alternative" information — not specifically concerned with the dissemination of "news" — ranged from the long-established analytical journal *Work in Progress* to a variety of trade union, church, political and educational publications.

What bound this assortment of publications together was a belief that the established press was not serving the majority of South Africans and was not reflecting the full political reality.

In the process, the oft-cited "need for alternative information" was proved to exist, and the practicability of such media projects was put beyond doubt.

And, as time passed, hundreds of journalists, production assistants and newspaper administrators were drawn into, or moulded by, the "alternative media". The number of readers similarly affected — viewed cumulatively — ran to hundreds of thousands.

It is these on-the-ground developments which will have long-term effects on this country's news flow. Specific titles and agencies may disappear — but their journalists, administrators and readers will not.

The face of the media may — and almost certainly will — change further, but the loose grouping of alternative sources of information is today sufficiently hardy and entrenched to adapt itself to an increasingly inhospitable environment. This is the context, perhaps, in which the silence in the *New Nation* newsroom should be viewed.

A MUSHROOMING OF TITLES ... EXTRAORDINARY DIVERSITY DESPITE THE PRESSURES

GRASSROOTS: Formed in Cape Town in March 1980 with one full-time worker, a small office, and a circulation of 5 000, *Grassroots* has styled itself a "community newspaper". It aims to "articulate the views and aspirations of oppressed communities in the Western Cape, to help in the building of organisations and the promotion of the concept of alternative media". *Grassroots*, "unlike many other commercial papers, has no editors, no directors. It is run on a democratic basis with an emphasis on collective decision-making," according to staffer Mansoor Jaffer.

SASPU NATIONAL: Created in June 1980 as an initiative of the South African Students Press Union, *Saspu National's* initial print runs ranged between 15 000 and 25 000. The paper, put out infrequently by a skeleton staff, is distributed on university campuses and beyond. According to Keith Coleman, one of the founding editors, "we aimed to pick up on issues ignored by the commercial press, and to deal with others in a different way to that press. But the most important thing was our commitment to links with progressive organisations." *National* has had a difficult life, with bannings and detentions, and such a high level of harassment that the maintenance of a permanent office has become impossible.

SAAMSTAAN: Made its debut in Oudshoorn in the southern Cape in 1984, and is published at six-week intervals. *Saamstaan* was established to provide an alternative source of news and information for its community, and has been subjected to pressure as intense as any publication in South Africa. Journalists have been detained and restricted (one reporter was shot by *kustkonnstabels* while covering a story in 1987), offices have been petrol-bombed and editions proscribed. No printer within 500kms would take on the contract to print *Saamstaan*, and en route back from the Cape Town printers, entire print runs have disappeared.

THE INDICATOR: First appeared in May 1985, produced by Ameen Akhalwaya, former political reporter on the *Rand Daily Mail*. It sought to "partially fill the vacuum created by the closure of the RDM", and was canvassed a wide range of political groups, community organisations, trade unions, sporting bodies, and journalists. It aimed, further, to be a "debating forum, particularly for extra-parliamentary organisations — it is strongly pro-human rights and anti-racist." The *Indicator* plans to expand its distribution in Soweto, and eventually go national.

WEEKLY MAIL: Journalists entrenched

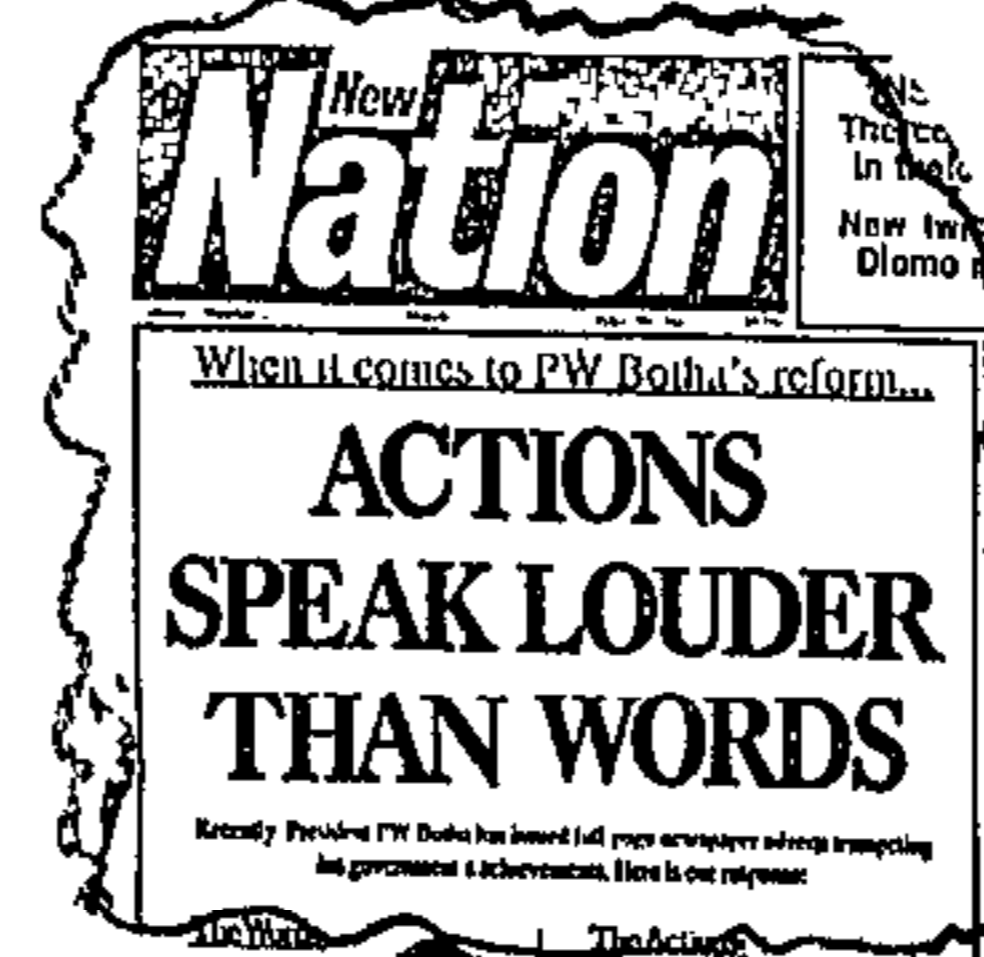
Despite harassment and obstacles, a wide variety of alternative media flourishes in South Africa — most of them started after the first State of Emergency

after the closure of the *Rand Daily Mail* and *Sunday Express* came together to launch this newspaper on June 14, 1985 as an independent voice of critical journalism. The newspaper is owned and controlled by its staff — which has grown from six to 28, with a head office in Johannesburg and bureaux in Cape Town and Durban. It now sells nationally and internationally and has subscribers all over the world. Audited average weekly sales top 21 000 (December 1987). "We started this newspaper because of a concern that many events and opinions — particularly those involving the extra-parliamentary opposition — were not being reflected in the existing press," says co-editor Anton Harber.

NEW NATION: First mooted in 1981 by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, *New Nation* appeared on January 15, 1986, under the editorship of renowned journalist Zwelakhe Sisulu. It aimed to "reflect and enter into the life, struggles, needs and burning aspirations of the majority of South Africa's people." Distributed nationally with a print-run of 60 000, *New Nation* appeared for most of its first two years with its editor in detention, and was recently suspended.

SOUTH: Launched in Cape Town on March 19, 1987, it was the third "independent" weekly newspaper, and aimed to "help fill a countrywide media void created by the closure of outspoken newspapers," according to founding editor Rashid Sena. It serves the Cape Town area and distributes 15 000 weekly. Ultimate control of the newspaper resides with a board of directors and trustees, which include such prominent figures as Dr Allan Boesak and Professor Jakes Gerwel. *South* has also "embarked on an innovative consultation process, opening the entire project to scrutiny by community organisations, trade unions, and religious bodies."

PRESS TRUST: Established in Durban in 1979 by former *Daily News* journalist Manmuthu Subramoney as an "alternative news agency to supply the outside world with news and features from a 'black perspective', as it was believed a one-sided picture of South Africa was being given." Initially supplying radio stations and magazines in Europe, Press Trust expanded its international contacts — notably after Subramoney's banning order expired in 1983.



Press Trust's efforts are still directed towards supplying international outlets, "but the work is hampered by telephone tapping and regular raids on the offices — intensified after the introduction of the national State of Emergency."

AGENDA PRESS: Formed by four journalists in January 1983, Agenda now has offices in Harare and Johannesburg, and serves a wide range of publications in southern Africa and Europe. According to Harare-based staffer Howard Barrell, "we felt that the quality of news coming out of South Africa lacked insight, perception and context. We intervened to improve, in a small way, the quality of information reaching selected magazines and newspapers."

VERITAS NEWS AGENCY: Established as a "non-profit-making community service" by journalists Charles Ngakula and MJ Fuzile in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, in November 1982, Veritas folded after five months of intensive pressure from the "homeland" government. It was revived — with sponsorship — in October 1985 by Fuzile and writer Phila Ngqumba. According to Ngqumba, it was felt "the outside world was being fooled into believing that all is well in South Africa." In addition, Veritas aims to redress the "imbalance" in news coverage of events outside major urban centres, and "to provide an alternative news source, and to disseminate media skills and increase community accessibility to media."

PORT ELIZABETH NEWS: Pen began in 1986, formed by journalists Mike Loewe and Mbulelo Linda, aiming to publish news "not being covered by the mainstream press." It serves a range of local newspapers and magazines, and has contributed to foreign news agencies and radio sta-

Two full-time staffers are responsible for the agency's major output, but selected freelancers use Pen's facilities. Pen regards itself as being integrally linked to its local community, and offers technical assistance to organisations and trade unions.

EAST LONDON NEWS AGENCY: Elnews was set up early in 1986 "in the wake of growing dissatisfaction at news coverage in the established media." A series of discussions involving journalists and community organisations led to the establishment of a local, independent agency which would "assist disadvantaged communities in getting their concerns into print." According to Elnews staffer Franz Kruger, a key belief was that "the local media were uninterested in community concerns, and that the Border region as a whole had all but fallen off the 'news map'." Initially operating out of a converted storeroom in Pefferville, Elnews expanded and moved to the centre of East London in 1987.

CONCORD NEWS AGENCY: Established in September 1986 as a collective of journalists based in Durban, Concord arose out of "a sense of frustration experienced at the intransigence of the commercial press in its coverage of political and socio-economic issues in Natal." According to Concord staffer Fred Kockott, it was felt that "commercial newspapers are traditionally centred on white interests and have never truly reflected issues as they affect the broader society." Concord aims to facilitate the flow of information to the media, especially "news concerning those whose aspirations are not represented in the tri-racial parliament." In its first year, Concord functioned as a loosely-knit group, but in September 1987 a full-time office was opened and a coordinator employed.

THE OTHER PRESS SERVICE: Launched in early 1987 by *City Press* veterans Mono Badela, Chris Vick and David Niddne, Tops is a major supplier of news to international outlets. It concentrates on supplying reports about South Africa's working class to a "chronically unserved" local and overseas audience. Tops also offers media skill assistance to organisations.

ALBANY NEWS AGENCY: Ana filed its first copy from Grahamstown in February 1987, seeking to challenge a situation in which "existing coverage of events, particularly in rural areas, was either biased toward the commercial press or received no coverage at all." Still in a fledgling phase, Ana currently employs only one journalist, Peter AufDer Heyde. It is hoped that a second reporter will soon be hired, thus facilitating more analytical coverage.

New Afrikaans newspaper

AN INDEPENDENT Afrikaans newspaper that "cuts through propaganda from all sides" and is to "fearlessly" inform readers about affairs in SA is to be launched as soon as finance for the publication is available, the committee which studied the feasibility of the project said yesterday.

According to the statement, the

committee found existing Afrikaans newspapers "are aligned with the NP, while Afrikaans radio and television are controlled by the government".

The national weekly envisaged by the committee is to be launched once funds have been raised by selling shares to local business concerns and individuals. — Sapa.

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Court upholds 'Mail' convictions

THE Appellate Division yesterday upheld a conviction for contempt of court against *Weekly Mail* co-editor Anton Harber and reporter Jo-Ann Bekker.

Harber and Bekker were convicted by Mr Justice K van Dijkhorst during the "Delmas" treason trial on May 7, 1986.

The judge had objected to a report on the trial headlined "A judge's own notes on police activities", two sentences in a report headlined "Commission shuns 'agitator' thesis" and another report headlined "About-face from a key state witness".

Harber was fined R750 or three months' imprisonment and ordered to

Weekly Mail Reporter

publish a correction, and Bekker was fined R200 or one month's imprisonment, suspended for two years.

The appeals were dismissed by a majority decision of Mr Justice Vivier, with the concurrence of Acting Chief Justice Mr Justice Rabie, Mr Justice Jansen and Mr Justice Viljoen.

Justice van Heerden filed a judgment that dissented from the others in some respects.

Harber and Bekker were represented by Dennis Kuny SC, assisted by Gilbert Marcus.

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doors, but at sunset "comrades" had residents as "bloomers".

'Mail' man held ...but not held

POLICE yesterday denied holding David Malepane, a *Weekly Mail* staffer — even though he has been visited in detention.

Malepane, 24, a *Weekly Mail* part-time driver, was detained in Johannesburg on March 17.

He was held when police raided the offices of Graphic Equaliser, where he also worked as a camera operator.

According to Malepane's colleagues, police who arrived at the office asked him where "his boss" was. When Malepane said the owners of the office were not in, the police insisted he go around the office with them.

"They held a T-shirt against him

w/ Mail

Weekly Mail Reporter

and took a photograph of him," the source said.

Also held in the same raid were members of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco), though it is known that Malepane had no affiliation with them.

Malepane is believed to be held under Emergency regulations and has been visited in John Vorster Square.

However, SAP representatives in Pretoria yesterday said in a telex to the *Weekly Mail* that he was not in custody. This was later confirmed by telephone.

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New Nation

THE NEW NATION was born into a socio-political crisis that was unprecedented in the history of apartheid.

The political climate was extremely repressive and the government was showing no signs of abandoning apartheid rule.

It was an extremely hostile environment for a newspaper, advocating peace, non-racism and democracy, to be born into. But the plan was, nevertheless, put into motion.

The NEW NATION's editor, Zwelakhe Sisulu, was given a brief to produce a newspaper that would reflect the daily struggles and aspirations of the oppressed majority. And the paper set out to do that from the day it was launched on January 16, 1986.

The newspaper was launched after five years of intense debate, consultation and research.

The need for an alternative to the mainline newspapers owned by large monopolies was debated against the

A tradition of truth and justice

background of growing attacks on the freedom of expression.

After a national tour and consultation with democratic structures around the country, a draft plan of what was required of a national alternative newspaper was drawn up.

The Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC), having studied the proposals and debated the need for an alternative newspaper, set the wheels in motion — and the first copy rolled off the press on the evening of January 15.

Initially only 20 000 copies were printed every two weeks. But it soon became apparent that the demand was grossly underestimated.

The print order was

gradually increased to cope with the growing demand. But increasing print orders alone was not enough — readers demanded that the newspaper be published with increasing frequency. The fortnightly production cycle was abandoned and in January 1987, the NEW NATION went weekly.

That was not the only progress that took place. The newspaper built strong democratic structures in the newsroom, and decisions affecting it were taken collectively.

At the same time, the NEW NATION honoured its commitment to make the newspaper an organ of the voiceless majority. It continued to hold itself accountable to the broad democratic movement and held regular consul-

tations to so as to serve the needs of our communities more effectively.

Communities, both rural and urban, were invited to participate in newsgathering. In this way the NEW NATION gave meaning to the slogan "people's journalism".

During our two years of existence, only the government and its allies have questioned the paper's goals. Institutions around the world have recognised the value of the NEW NATION as a news medium. This recognition has come in the form of a number of prestigious awards, among them the Louis M Lyons Award for "Conscience and Integrity in Journalism" from Harvard University and the Culture in Another SA (CASA) Media Award presented "in recognition of the struggle for a democratic press in SA".

And then the NEW NATION was banned, exactly 26 months after its launch — because, according to the government, it "threatened public safety".

Messages of support

THE following messages were received by the Catholic Bishops Publishing Company:

THE United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid is deeply concerned about the banning of the NEW NATION.

In the face of stringent restrictions on the press and recent bans on anti-apartheid organisations and individuals, the draconian measures taken against the NEW NATION is a further attempt by Pretoria to silence the voice of the black majority and to keep from public scrutiny any and all reports on its inhuman policies.

The Special Committee is confident that the message of resistance and hope for a non-racial, unitary and democratic South Africa, spread by the NEW NATION, will not disappear altogether. Major General Joseph N Garba, Chairman of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid.

WE salute the NEW NATION for the work it has done in reporting on issues of concern to the majority of people, in exposing repression and in giving a voice to democratic organisations like ours, who are denied a say through the official media.

The government seems committed to eliminating or restricting all democratic

institutions.
From: COSATU.

WE join in national and international condemnation of your suspension and express our solidarity with you in your courageous attempts to reflect the truth in our country. A government that does not allow the aspirations of the majority to be harnessed by their leaders is too scared to allow media that will reflect those aspirations.
From: Staff of Indicator.

WE wish to express our total solidarity with you and take this opportunity to state our confidence in and admiration of your tremendous work. The NEW NATION may be off the streets but no one can silence the authentic voice of the South African people.
From: Cafod.

WE extend our sympathies to all on the NEW NATION. May you be back on the streets before three months, solidarity and all the best.
From: The Namibian.

WE are distressed to hear the bad news about the NEW NATION. This will be a terrible loss, not only for the people in SA for whom NEW NATION so steadfastly spoke out. Stay strong.
From: CIIR, London.

WE support you and all those

struggling for a free press in South Africa.
From: Agenda Press Services and The Other Press Service.

THE Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ) in support of the NEW NATION, forward to a free press in a free society!
From ADJ.

WE support the stand made by the NEW NATION in its fight for a free press. We urge Minister Stoffel Botha to reconsider this action, and to allow all South Africans freedom of information.
From: Five Freedoms Forum

AN attack on the NEW NATION is an attack on us all. All of us at the Weekly Mail stand by you.
From: Weekly Mail.

WE demand for the NEW NATION, and for the press as a whole, the right to expose the true face of our society.
From: Black Sash and TRAC.

FREEDOM of the press is indivisible from freedom of the individual. We support the NEW NATION'S right to publish.
From: Kagiso Trust.

SILENCING the NEW NATION would be a denial of the most basic freedoms of expression.
From: Anti Censorship Action

Group.

DON'T close the NEW NATION. We need its voice.
From: The South African Society of Journalists.

WE support the NEW NATION and all those fighting for freedom of expression of the press.
From: Namda.

THE closure of the NEW NATION is a threat to all progressive newspapers.
From: The International Federation of Journalists.

POTWA supports the NEW NATION in its fight for freedom of expression. If the state, in its fight against the press, is to suppress the truth then we view that aggression as a fight against the entire democratic struggle in SA.
From: Potwa.

WE support the NEW NATION in its honest and courageous stand in informing the people of South Africa, of all they need to know and say.
From: Rev Chikane, General Secretary of SACC.

THE New Nation leads the way in breaking the silence around events in this land. We condemn the closure of the NEW NATION.

From: The Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee.

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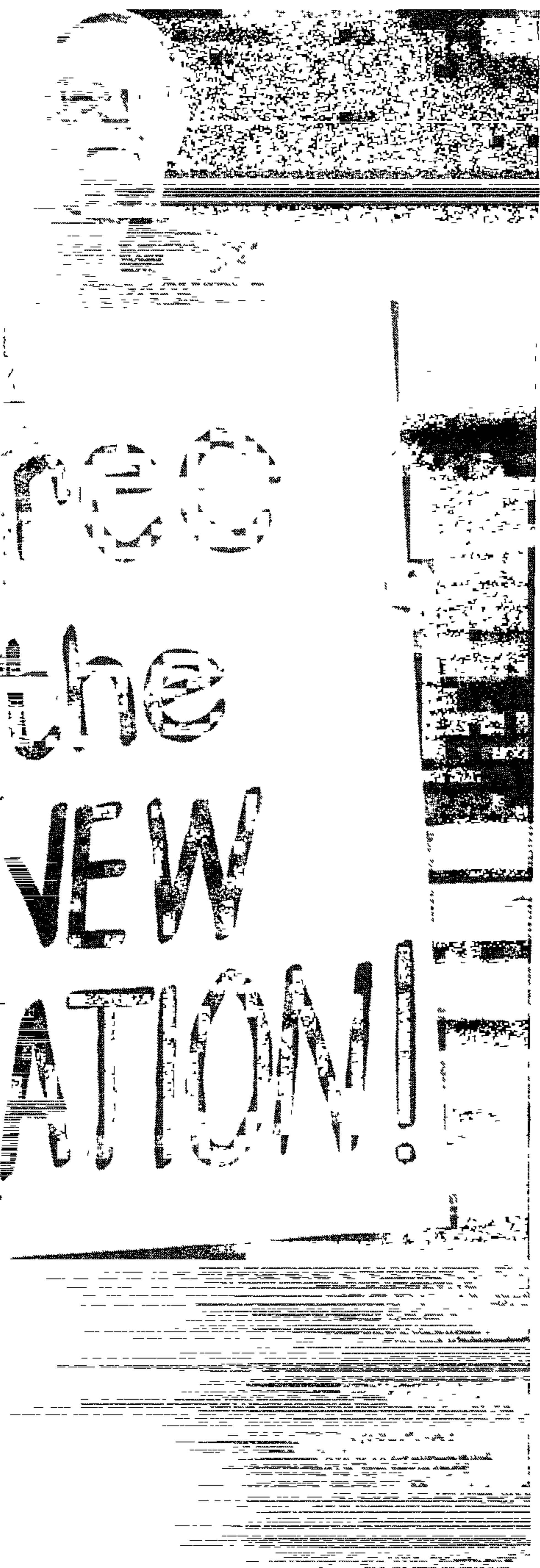
New Nation

Order your 'the New Nation'

Now is your chance to get 'Off the New Nation!' T-shirts below to order yours. Just order or cheque to The New Nation, 10674, Johannesburg 2001. T-shirts cost R12.50 including packaging.

NAME.....
ADDRESS.....

Please send me T-shirts
I enclose postal orders/



the
NEW
NATION!

WHY THEY GAGGED NEW NATION

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In this article we examine the background to the banning.

NEXT Sunday will be exactly three years since the "Winterveld Massacre".

On that day the Bophutatswana army and police shot dead 11 people who had gathered at the local stadium to discuss community issues.

A commission of inquiry was set up — but two years later, we are still waiting for the findings of the commission.

The closure of the NEW NATION means you will not be able to hear what the Bophutatswana government said when asked to comment on why the findings had not been made public.

And last Sunday, a Soweto councillor called a meeting of residents in White City to discuss the sale of houses.

Naturally, people came in large numbers — and the councillor got cold feet.

Because of the banning, the NEW NATION will not be able to tell you why the meeting appears to have been one of several planned by councillors as a build-up to the elections in October.

Neither will it be able to tell you how the people at the meeting planned to react to the Soweto council's attempts to break the rent boycott.

Next Tuesday, 14 people are scheduled to appear in the Wynberg regional court in Cape Town charged with treason and terrorism.

At an appearance last week, one of the accused failed to appear in court and

the police said he was still held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Again because of the banning, the NEW NATION will not be able to tell you that the man had in fact recently been admitted to hospital.

The closure of the NEW NATION is the beginning of the government's attempt to deny you your basic right to be informed.

The government does not want you, the reader, to know what is happening in your own country.

It does not want you to know about vigilante violence against democratic organisations.

The government feels you should not be told about the involvement of Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) supporters and members of tribal organisations in vigilante attacks.

The government does not want you to know about arbitrary bannings of organisations, mass detentions and restrictions.

The government does not want you to know about the conditions under which detainees are held.

It does not want you to know that some detainees are prepared to embark on a hunger strike to demand their release.

Nor are you allowed to know the effects of these hunger strike on detainees, who include our editor, Zwelakhe Sisulu.

In banning the NEW NATION, the government is denying you — and millions of other people — your right to bridge the deficiencies of apartheid education through the Learning Nation.

The government does not want you to get a true history of the country instead of the distorted version published in some history books.

We believe the government is afraid to let you know about developments in the labour movement. To know about the exploitation and racism that still exist in some workplaces.

The government does not want you to know about rent raids and the killing of unarmed victims.

In short, the government wants to pull the wool over your eyes to make you, and the outside world, believe all is well in South Africa.

But the government needs to be warned that the flow of information cannot be suppressed for ever — even in the most repressive societies.

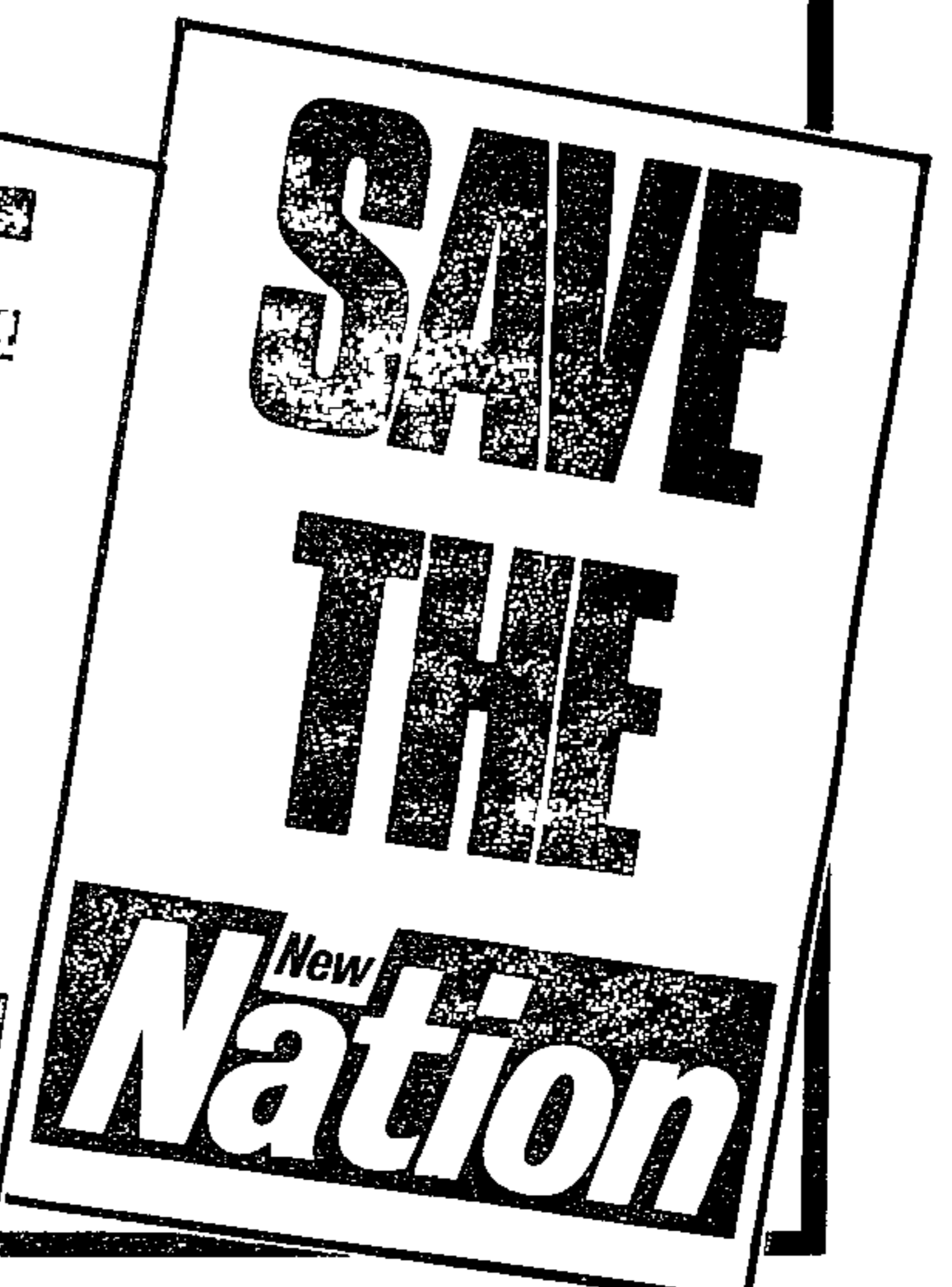
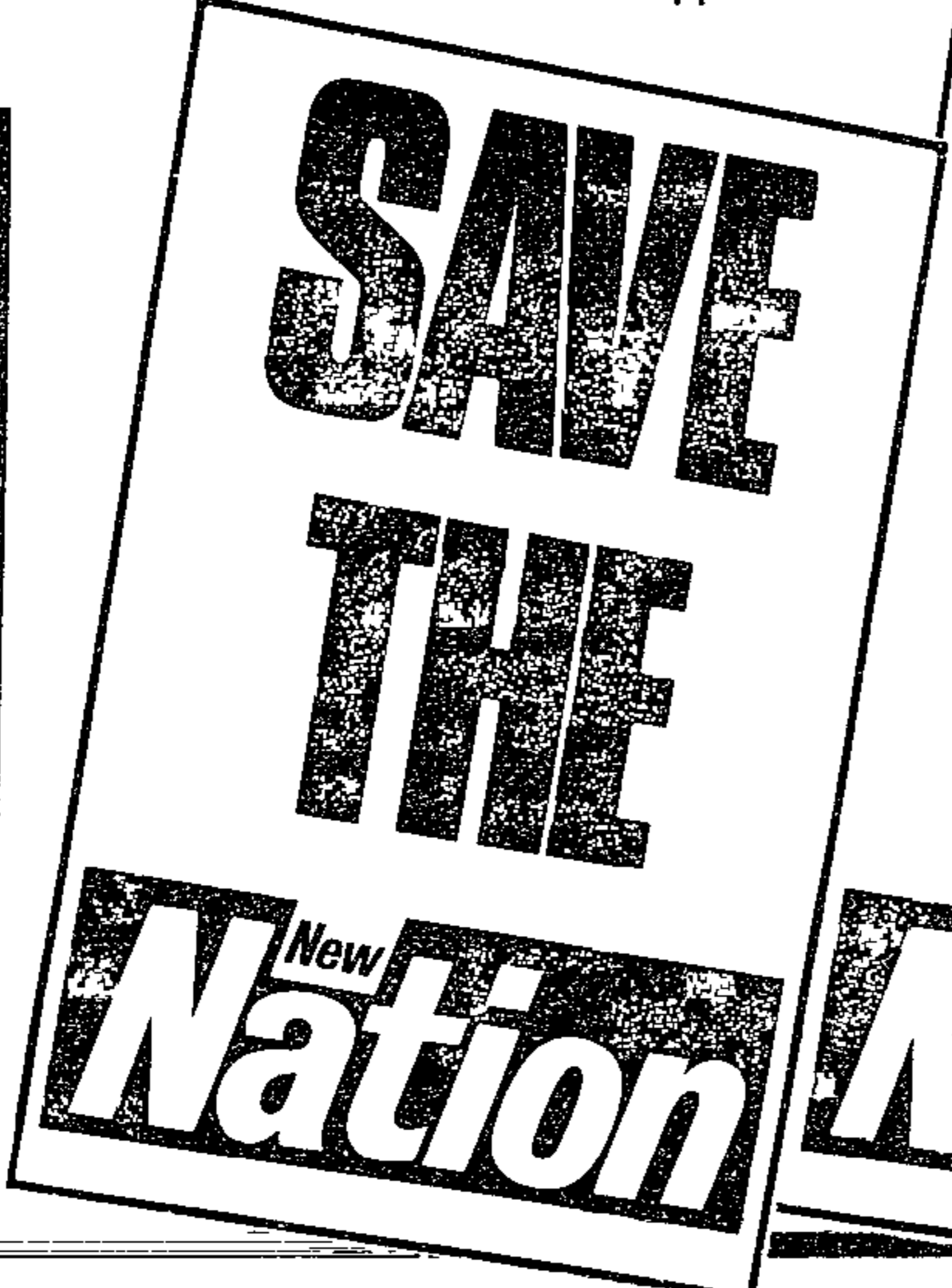
They need to know that we do not need press reports or "outside agitators" to inform us of our oppression, the indignities to which we are subjected or our lack of opportunity.

Nobody needs to tell South Africans they are suffering. Every time a person is detained, every time an organisation is restricted, every time a newspaper is banned, they are made aware of that.

Hands Off
'n!' T-shirt

your own 'Hands Off' T-shirt. Use this coupon to send your postal order to New Nation, P O Box 100, New Nation, The T-shirt is available for R15.00 plus postage and

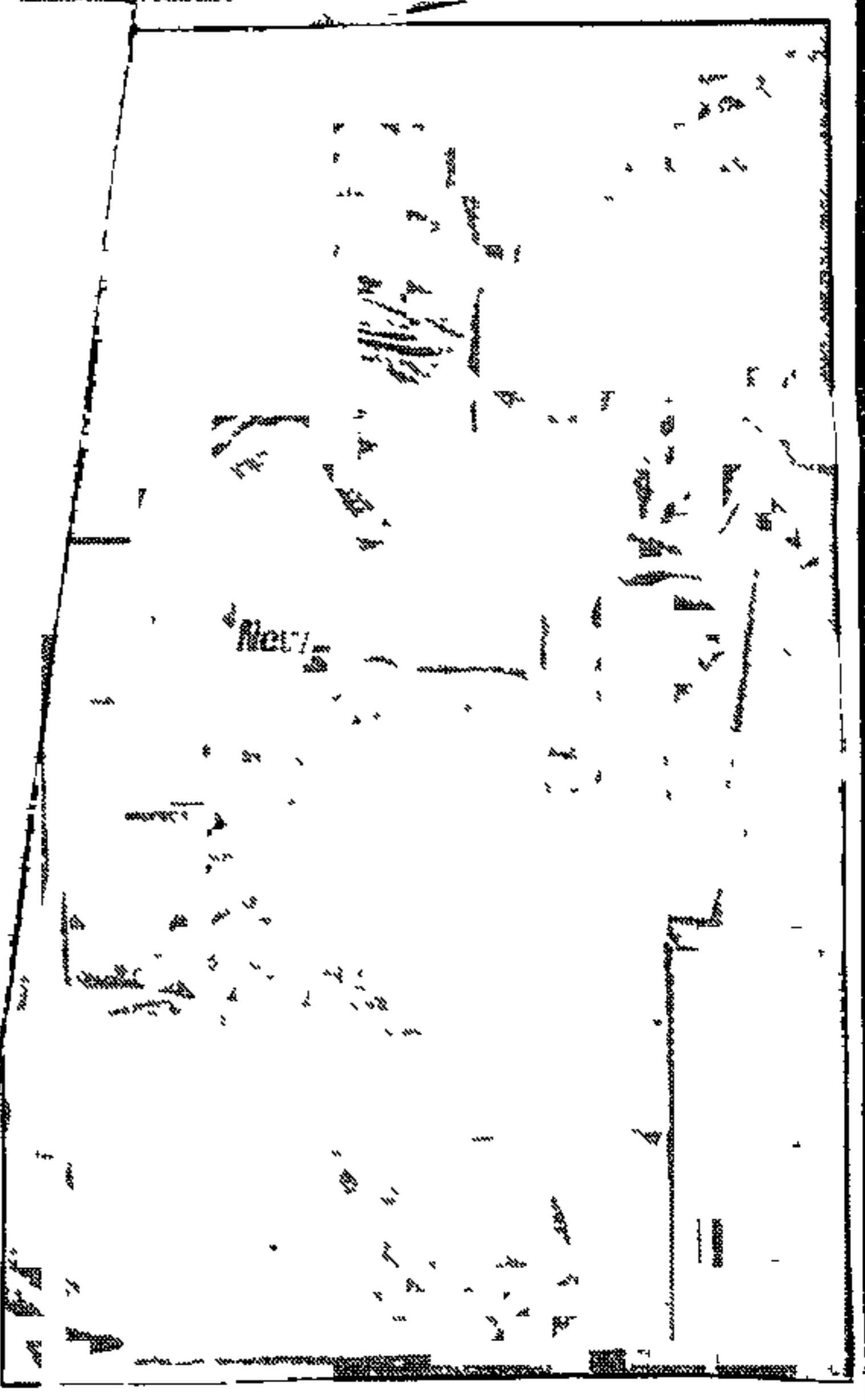
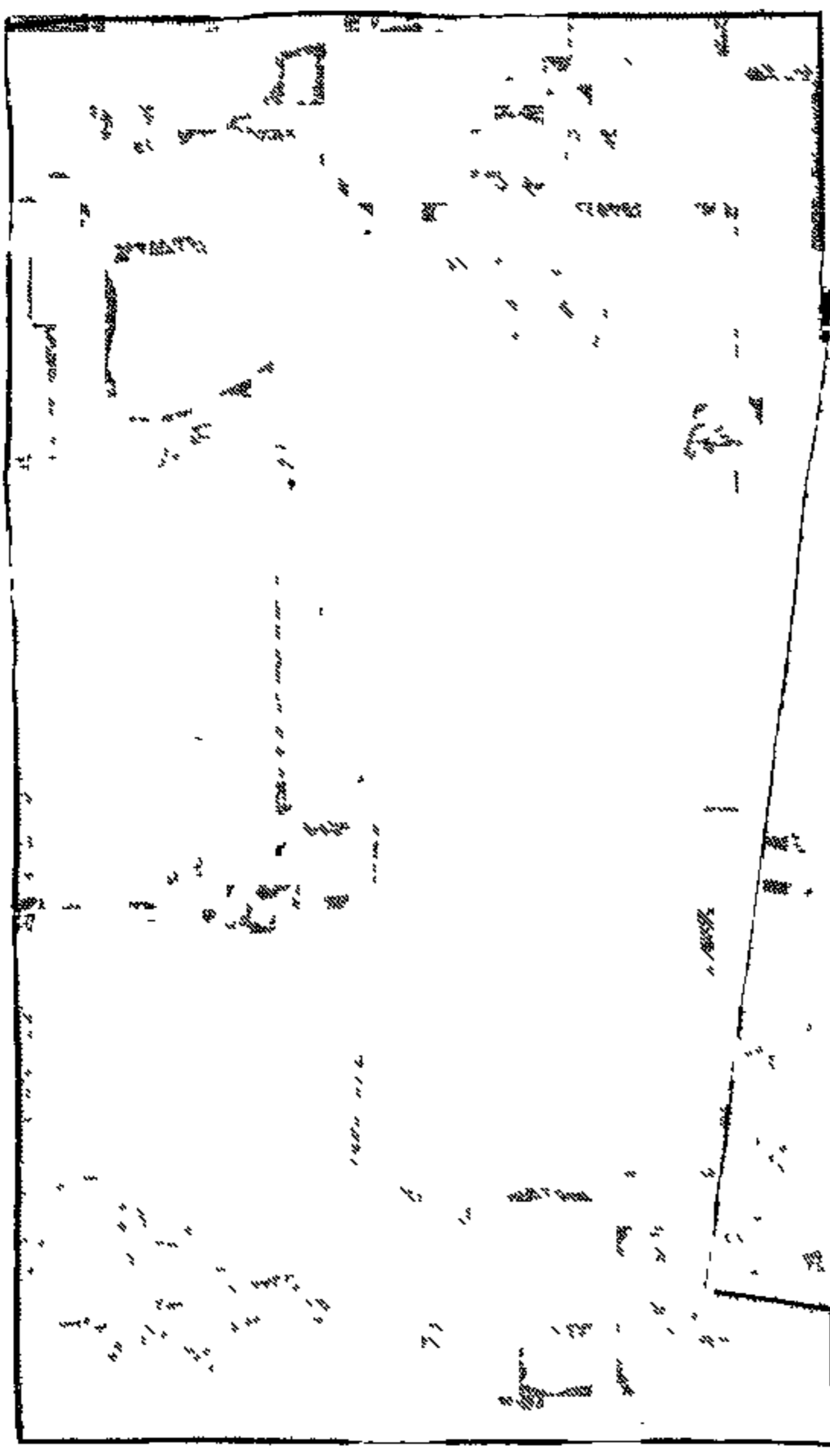
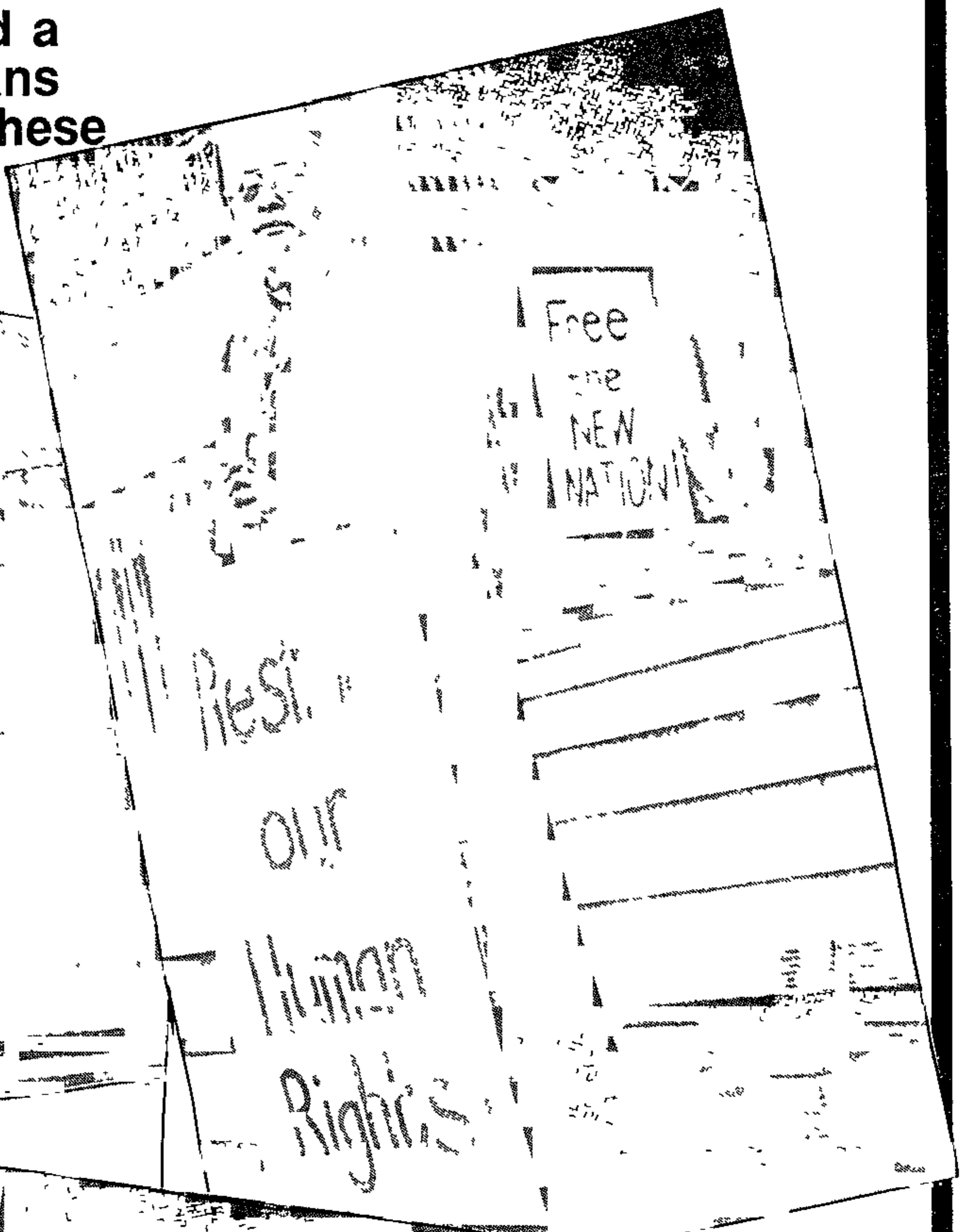
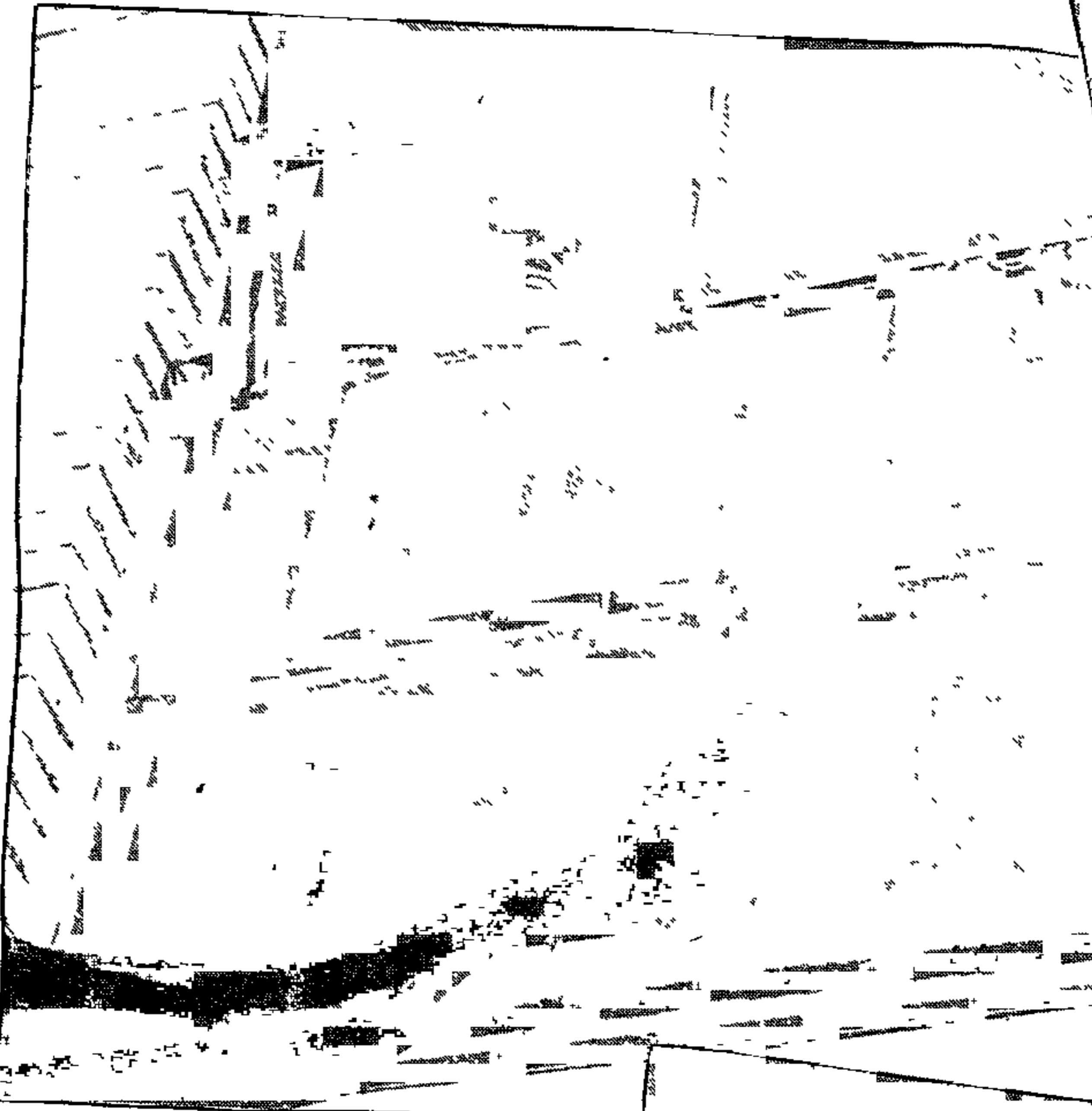
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The NEW NATION ban has provoked a wave of outrage among South Africans who believe in democratic ideals. These pictures show scenes from public protests on the issue.



HANDS OFF THE NEW NATION!

I/We condemn in the strongest terms the ban on the NEW NATION. I/We call on you to lift the ban and cease your attack on the press.

NAME.....
ADDRESS.....
.....
.....

ORGANISATION/PERSONAL.....
.....
.....

JCG BOTHA,
HENDRIK VERWOERD BUILDING,
PRIVATE BAG X9102,
CAPE TOWN 8000

WHAT YOU CAN DO

What can you do to help save the NEW NATION and other publications which are threatened by the government?

The three-month suspension of the NEW NATION is not the end of the story. When the paper reappears, it faces a further ban.

The aim is to bleed the "alternative" media to death, and the next target will be the mainstream press. Only you, the South African public, can stop it happening.

Raise the issue of the NEW NATION ban at your place of work, and within the trade union, civic association, church or other organisation to which you

belong. Discuss ways of putting pressure on the government, and of making others aware of the issue.

Organise and take part in public protests on the ban.

If possible, make people and organisations overseas aware of the government's attack on the press. Ask them to take solidarity action, and to send letters of protest to Pretoria.

Write letters of protest to as many publications as you can.

Complete the statement opposite, post it on the back of a postcard and send it to home affairs minister Stoffel Botha. Alternatively, write your own letter of protest.

ACT NOW BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE!

This insert/pamphlet is published by the Catholic Bishops' Publishing Company - owners of the NEW NATION - of Darragh House, 13 Wanderers Street, Johannesburg.

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Saamstaan warned

PORT ELIZABETH. — This week the Oudtshoorn newspaper Saamstaan received a warning from Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha. This follows the effective banning a month ago of a Saamstaan organiser, Mr Derick Jackson.

Jackson was informed that he had a fortnight to respond to Botha's letter or face a gazetted warning and a possible three-month suspension of the newspaper.

Saamstaan, a six-weekly newspaper for the Southern Cape, is the latest publication to receive a warning from Botha under the emergency media regulations promulgated on August 28 last year.

Aimed at preventing "subversive propaganda", the regulations were used last week to suspend the New Nation for three months, after its first official warning on October 2.

Other newspapers to receive warnings include SOUTH, The Soweran, Work in Progress and The Weekly Mail.

Jackson, 28, was one of 18 people served with restriction orders in February at the time of the banning of the United Democratic Front and 16 other community based organisations.

Botha informed Saamstaan that the last three editions of last year were examined and found to contravene the media regulations.

The eight articles found offensive to Botha include a piece on the Harare conference in November, a story on a public violence prisoner who returns home after a two-year imprisonment and an article welcoming home former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Govan Mbeki.

Jackson, who has been restricted to the Oudtshoorn magisterial district, has not been forbidden to speak to the press.

He said a copy of Botha's letter had been sent to the Saamstaan lawyers who would make the necessary representations within two weeks.

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Two appeals with major implications for media

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JUDGEMENT was reserved this week in two Appeal Court hearings which could have far-reaching implications for press freedom in South Africa

The appeals, both made by the state, were heard on Monday in the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein

The state is appealing against an earlier decision by a full bench of the Natal Supreme Court which had declared invalid, *inter alia*, media regulations that sought to restrict comment and media coverage of unrest and "security action" and other restrictions

The appeal follows a successful application brought by the United Democratic Front and the Release Mandela Campaign, heard by Natal Judges N Page and B Galgut

The judgement, handed down in April last year, declared invalid a substantial number of regulations under Proclamation R224 of 1986

The Natal full bench declared valid a prohibition on the publication of blank spaces intended as a reference to the effect of the media regulations. On appeal it was contended on behalf of the UDF and the RMC that this regulation was invalid *inter alia* because it appeared to countenance written comment, satire or criticism but not the leaving of blank spaces.

The state is further appealing against a decision by Justice R Leon in the Durban Supreme Court which invalidated those provisions in the media regulations which gave the commissioner of police the power to identify certain acts, the reporting of which would amount to publication of a subversive statement

The application was brought in 1987 by the RMC, the Black Sash and the Detainees' Parents Support Committee.

Because the court found the commissioner of police did not have such powers, it also made an order that a notice published by the commissioner on April 10, 1987 was invalid.

By THAMI MKHWANAZI

The notice sought to identify as a subversive statement the "participation in any campaign, project or action aimed at accomplishing the release of persons, for example by signing a petition calling upon the government to release certain persons, wearing in public a sticker or any article of clothing or exhibiting in public a poster protesting against or disapproving of the detention of certain persons, attending a gathering held or performing any act as a symbolic token of solidarity with such persons"

Opposing the first appeal, the UDF and RMC argued that the regulations were invalid on the grounds that in their proclamation in terms of the Public Safety Act, the state president had exceeded the authority conferred on him by parliament in that he had made regulations which could not have been within the contemplation of parliament.

It was also argued that the regulations were vague in that they left persons, including editors and reporters, uncertain as to what they could and could not do

It was further put that the state president had in certain instances conferred discretionary powers on subordinate officials, without indicating the guidelines according to which that discretion could be exercised in law.

The state submitted that the president was fully empowered by the Public Safety Act to make such regulations

A media lawyer commented that although the former appeal concerned the validity of media regulations proclaimed under the previous 1986/1987 State of Emergency, the outcome of the appeal was nonetheless important because the principles laid down would be relevant in determining the limit of the state president's powers to make media regulations in an Emergency

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Afrikaans

paper to be ⁽²⁴³⁾ launched

JOHANNESBURG — An independent Afrikaans newspaper, which promises to echo views from the "entire political spectrum" will soon be launched in South Africa, it was announced yesterday

Prominent Afrikaans politicians, businessmen, academics, writers and journalists serve on the paper's 12 man launching committee.

The committee chaired by University of the Western Cape's Vice Principal, Mr Jaap Durand, includes the director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative and former Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, and a PFP MP, Mr Tiaan van der Merwe.

The date for the launch of the weekly national newspaper has not been confirmed yet

A statement issued on behalf of the newspaper's launching committee stressed that it would have no ties with any political party, grouping or organisation.

The paper will be launched as soon as sufficient funds have been raised and capital will be obtained by selling shares to business concerns and individuals —
DDC