

PRESS

1990

OCT. - DEC.



● JIM JONES

New editor looks forward to challenge

JIM Jones, Business Day's new editor, said yesterday he was "a little bit awed" by his appointment, but looked forward to taking the paper into what he described as "the most fascinating time of this country's history".

"I think the paper has a particularly good staff and I am sure I will have no problems with it," he said. "It is going to be an awful lot of hard work, but not a difficult job."

Jones, 48, succeeds Ken Owen, who has been appointed editor of the Sunday Times. Owen replaces Tertius Myburgh, whose early retirement was announced at the weekend. He is taking up a diplomatic post abroad.

SUSAN RUSSELL

Jones, who holds a B Sc in mining engineering and an MBA, was senior assistant editor of the Financial Mail. He said Owen had achieved exciting things in establishing Business Day.

Ken Owen's final column for Business Day appears on Page 10.

understanding what is happening in the economy is going to be vital. "It was the economy that forced the pace of change, and it is the economy that

is going to determine the sort of country we end up with."

Owen said yesterday that although he was leaving Business Day earlier than he would have liked, he believed he was going at just about the right time — before it became "set in concrete".

"I feel dreadfully sorry about leaving Business Day. I have a great affection for the newspaper because we battled so hard to establish it."

Owen said Jones had skills which he himself did not have, and he suspected the change would be good for Business Day. "I do not think it is good for a newspaper to settle into a rut."

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New editor

6/04/90
11/01/90

Owen said he felt no less comfortable about assuming the editorship of the Sunday Times than he had been in editing a business daily.

"The Sunday Times is an enormous business and a very successful one. I won't go changing things until I have had a chance to look closely at it," he said.

Times Media Ltd has also announced the promotion of three other senior staff members.

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been night editor, and managed the development of TML's venture into the news agency field. She will also be involved in supplying news to TML's new venture, I-Net in partnership with Ivor Jones Roy & Co.

Senior Sunday Times journalist Mandia Tyala, 31, has been appointed deputy editor of The Evening Post and Weekend Post in Port Elizabeth.

Sunday Times Durban bureau chief Hoosen Kolia, 38, has been made an assistant editor at the newspaper.



He said... The... one of... planned... The... charged... A sta... office... family... were we... Trans... unusual s... partmen... The fi... detainee... tradition... Transkei

New editor ^{6/10am} ^{11/10/70}

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New editor feels 'little bit awed'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Jim Jones, Business Day's new editor, said yesterday that he was "a little bit awed" by his appointment but looked forward to taking the paper into what he described as "the most fascinating time of this country's history"

Mr Jones, 48, succeeds Mr Ken Owen, who has been appointed editor of the Sunday Times, replacing Mr Tertius Myburgh, who is retiring early to take up a diplomatic post abroad

Mr Jones, who holds a B Sc in mining engineering and an MBA, was senior assistant editor of the Financial Mail.

Mr Owen said he felt no less comfortable about assuming the editorship of the Sunday Times than he had been in editing a business daily

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The South African embassy in London was mum yesterday on speculation that Mr Myburgh would succeed Mr Rae Killen as the country's ambassador to the Court of St James.

The Sunday Telegraph's Mandrake column yesterday reported that the government was "strengthening its diplomatic team" with Mr Myburgh's appointment.

But it said he was more likely to replace Dr Piet Koornhof at the embassy in Washington, "though some of his friends are still hoping that he will end up in London"

"Mr Myburgh, whose kinsmen make some of the best wine in South Africa, is an immensely genial character whose affability conceals an underlying seriousness of purpose"

The Guardian said the Sunday Times, "ostensibly a liberal opposition newspaper, has been sympathetic towards the government under Mr Myburgh and there has been speculation that he would be rewarded"

Interim govt is next step - ANC journal

1/10/90 243

By Kalzer Nyatumba,
Political Staff

Once the Pretoria Minute had been implemented and consensus on constitutional principles reached, the next logical step towards the creation of a new South Africa would be the formation of a representative interim government, according to the ANC's official mouthpiece, Mayibuye.

Mayibuye said it would be disastrous for society to entrust the task of supervising the transition to the present Government. The ruling National Party could not be both a referee and a player in the negotiations game

The ANC journal said

the formation of an interim government would imply there was commitment by all parties to free and peaceful political engagement

These parties and organisations would have to accept the need for fundamental change, the creation of a united non-racial and democratic South Africa and the mechanisms for drawing up a new constitution.

Charged

The interim government would then be charged with the mandate to implement these agreements.

Given the grave nature of the duties with which the interim government would be

charged, it would be important that the interim government have supreme authority and sovereignty to implement decisions. For it to be able to deal with all kinds of crises it would also need the power of rule by decree

Members of the interim government, though belonging to or seconded by the various political parties, should be ineligible for election to a constituent assembly

"If it is to fulfil its mandate without hindrance, the interim government must be the supreme political authority of the land. The present legislative and executive authorities will not be necessary," said the journal.

Forum on future of Press

SOWETAN is to hold a Press seminar at Vista University's Soweto campus on October 19 as part of its Nation Building campaign.

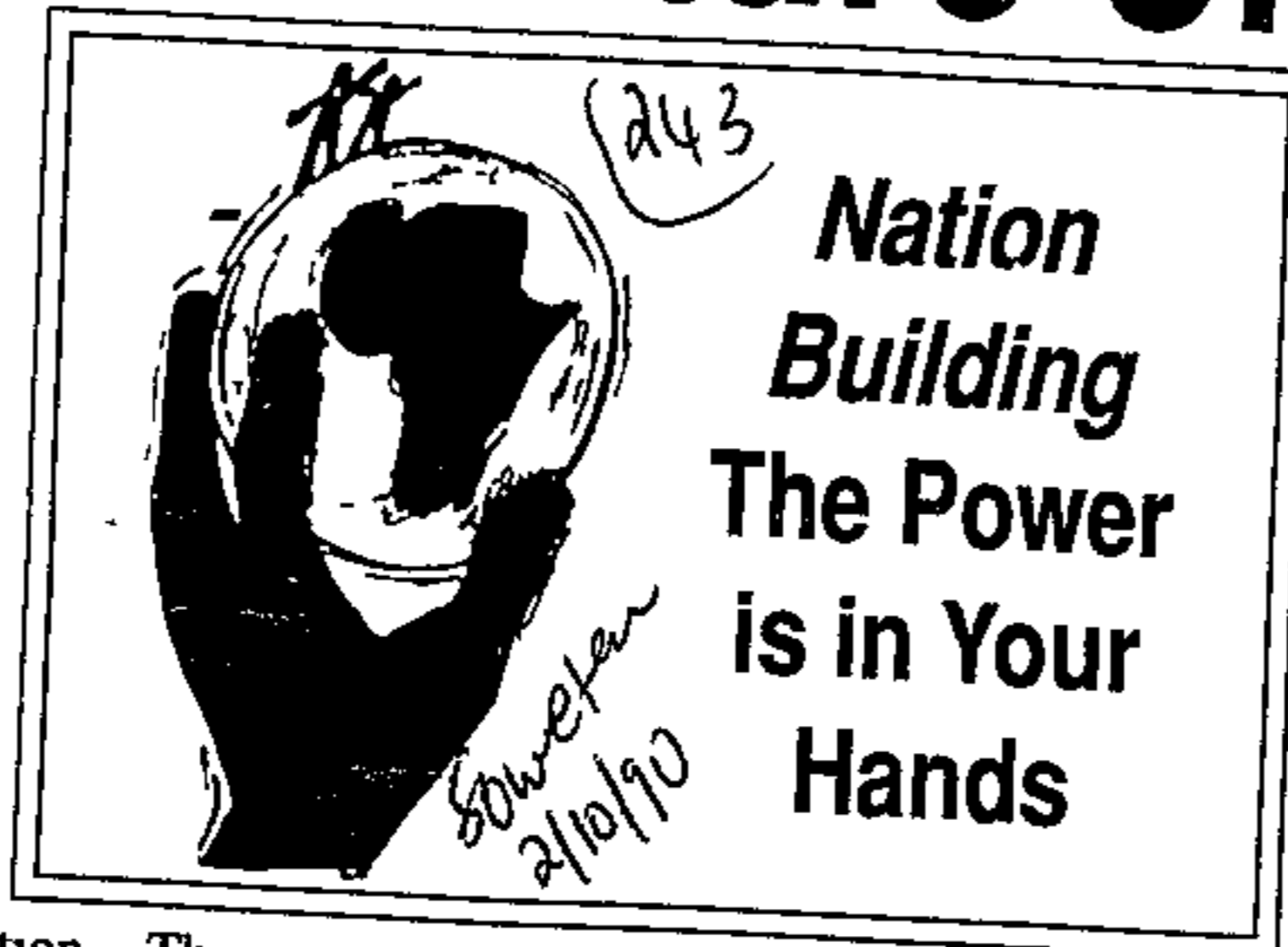
Political organisations, including the ANC, PAC, Azapo and Inkatha have been invited as well as three umbrella trade unions, Nactu, Cosatu and the United Front of Independent Unions

Topics on the agenda are.

- * Trade Union Federation: Trade unions and the Press - now and in the future,

- * Trade Unions in the Media: The struggle for Press freedom,

- * Political Organisa-



**Nation
Building
The Power
is in Your
Hands**

tion The constitutional future of this country and the freedom of speech,

- * Editors of black publications: Wading our way to Press freedom

Several publications have been invited to the seminar, including *The*

Star, Business Day, New Nation, Weekly Mail, African Writers Association, Bona, Drum, Beeld, Pace, Tribute, Transvaler, The Citizen and the SABC

Journalists' organisations will be represented by the Association of



AGGREY KLAASTE

Democratic Journalists, South African Union of Journalists, Media Workers Association of South Africa and the Anti-Censorship Action Group

Admission is strictly by invitation. Tickets can be picked up at the Sowetan at 61 Commando Road, Industria West, or write to the Editor at PO Box 6663 Johannesburg 2000

Bid to exempt papers, magazines from VAT

(243) GILLIAN HAYNE ~~KIS~~ ~~320~~

THE Newspaper Press Union (NPU) has taken up the opportunity presented by government's open door policy on VAT suggestions to call for a zero rating on newspaper and magazine cover prices.

Failing this, it requested a reduced rate in its submission to Vatcom. *Day 2/10/70*

The argument used to motivate the zero rating — effectively a tax exemption on the sales price while maintaining the right to claim input tax credits — is that with VAT being a value-added tax, VAT on the cover price would be a charge on knowledge.

Deloitte Pim Goldby's Rob Collins, who put the submission together, admitted that although the industry had accepted the GST charge on the cover price, the introduction of VAT was an ideal opportunity to punt for the written word to be more affordable.

Similarly, the cover price could not be held to represent only the value added by editorials and news to the newspaper. With formal education only a long-term possibility because of the massive costs involved, newspapers could provide an easily accessible, cheap, and less formal means of education.

Differences of opinion have emerged in the industry over a further suggestion in the submission paper that should either the zero or reduced rating suggestions not be accepted, an exempt rating would be preferable to the standard rating.

Vrye Weekblad ²⁴³ faces R1,4m claims

^{Blpam} 4/10/90 LINDEN BIRNS

THE Afrikaans weekly newspaper Vrye Weekblad and its editor Max du Preez face damages claims totalling R1,435m in four separate defamation suits.

Du Preez and the Vrye Weekblad publishers Wending Publikasies (Beperk) were found guilty yesterday on two counts of contravening the Official Secrets Act and could face fines and prison sentences totalling R10 000 and 10 years for each charge.

Du Preez said Witwatersrand attorney-general Klaus von Lieres served notice last night of intent to sue the paper for R200 000 after Vrye Weekblad alleged he was guilty of the selective prosecution of the newspaper.

A similar claim was lodged against the newspaper by Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brig Leon Mellet. Mellet's claim came after the newspaper published an article saying Mellet had misled the media and, by implication, was a liar, it was alleged.

Vrye Weekblad and Du Preez also face a

□ To Page 2



● DU PREEZ

Vrye Weekblad ^{Blpam} 4/10/90 ⁽²⁴³⁾

□ From Page 1

R1m defamation claim lodged by SA Police Scientific Technical Services chief Lt-Gen Lothar Paul Neethling

Du Preez and his newspaper's legal team will be in London on Monday to hear fresh testimony from former Vlakplaas commander and security police officer Dirk Coetzee

The London hearing forms part of preliminary procedures in the Neethling case

This is scheduled to begin in the Johannesburg Supreme Court on November 12

In November Du Preez will appeal against his suspended six-year sentence for quoting SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo before Slovo's unbanning

Du Preez and Wending Publikasies (Be-

perk) were found guilty yesterday of contravening the Official Secrets Act by publishing a National Intelligence Service (NIS) document

The document outlined a plan for recruiting informers for the NIS from the ranks of Stellenbosch University academics and students

Magistrate Jack le Grange dismissed the defence's argument that Du Preez did not realise that publishing the document would be a breach of the law

"The letterhead clearly stated the confidentiality of the document," he said

"Any person of reasonable intelligence would have known that it would be illegal to publish"

Stz 11/15/96

Vrye Weekblad editor found guilty

By Celeste Louw

The editor and publishers of the weekly newspaper, Vrye Weekblad, were guilty of contravening the Protection of Information Act by receiving and publishing a document containing information sensitive to State security, a Johannesburg Regional Court magistrate found yesterday

Max du Preez and Wending Publications were found guilty

on two charges following the publication of an article in February, titled "Storm oor Matie Prof en Intelligensiediens" (Storm over Matie professor and Intelligence Service)

Magistrate T la Grange said the document involved had been prepared by a university department for the Department of National Intelligence and discussed methods of obtaining information regarding State se-

curity.

It was obvious the publication of information of this nature would be detrimental to the security of the State, he found. Therefore the accused must have foreseen that the publication of the information would be a contravention of the Act, the court found

The trial was postponed to October 26 for sentence

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**Editor, publisher
guilty** *Af. Pub. 4/10/70 243*

**The Argus
Correspondent**
JOHANNESBURG

The editor and publishers of the Afrikaans weekly newspaper Vrye Weekblad have been found guilty of contravening the Protection of Information Act.

The newspaper received and published a document containing information sensitive to State security, a Johannesburg Regional Court magistrate found yesterday.

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Magistrate Mr T La Grange said the document had been prepared by a university department for the National Intelligence Service, discussing methods of obtaining information for State security.

It was obvious that publishing information of this nature would be detrimental to the security of the State, Mr La Grange found.

By glancing through the document any reasonable person would realise that the information was sensitive. The accused must have foreseen that publishing the information would contravene the Act.

The trial was postponed to October 26 for sentence.

FIM 5/10/90

furniture trade and the home improvement and swimming pool industries

That's bound to leave the committee open to charges that it is practising discrimination by targeting only selected activities. 245 Van Eeden retorts "We can't possibly lay down codes that cover every business practice. What we've done is look at the value and volume of commercial transactions in an industry before deciding whether it should be codified."

Committee head Louise Tager says the object is to protect as many consumers as possible. "One hears a lot of noise about the timeshare industry, for example, but just what percentage of consumers are buying timeshare? Very small, one suspects."

Van Eeden says the committee's endeavours have the support of business and that the existing codes, such as the code of conduct for the Furniture Traders' Association, will be used as a starting point for drafting new codes. "The problem is," he adds, "codes are often designed to protect, in the first instance, the rights of the trader. The rights of consumers are frequently not sufficiently spelled out. Furthermore, not all



Tager

BUSINESS PRACTICE CODES

SHIELDING CONSUMERS

Formal business practice codes to protect consumers against unethical undertakings are coming. FIM 5/10/90

Trade & Industry Minister Kent Durr this year gave notice that government was considering preparing business practice codes as an adjunct to the work done by the Harmful Business Practices Committee. 245

Committee member Evert van Eeden, charged with the responsibility of drafting them, says the first of the business codes should be out in six months.

Initially, the codes of conduct, which will have both a preventive and remedial function, will be drawn up for only certain industries. High on the list are motor sales, the

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traders are members of business associations, therefore, they fall outside their jurisdiction" (246) (245)

Jeff Janks, chairman of the Institute of Estate Agents' ethical standards committee, says that if the code is an improvement on the industry's existing code of conduct, it should be welcomed, but it does smack of over-regulation.

It's hard to imagine business willingly cooperating in any exercise that amounts to further regulation of its affairs in an already over-regulated environment. But then if the new codes have as much power of enforcement as its existing codes, there really is very little to fear.

Not so, Van Eeden says. The codes have the backing of the committee. In terms of the Harmful Business Practices Act, the minister has the right to declare a business practice undesirable and have it stopped. Alternatively, contraventions can attract a jail sentence of five years and a fine of up to R200 000.

But, he stresses, complaints will first be submitted to the relevant industry body for remedial action. If the industry is unable to help the matter can be raised with the committee. If this fails consumers can still resort to their rights under common law.

Fact is, self-regulation in the commercial sense has never really worked. But one suspects that consumers will be lucky if the new codes — when they come — give them anything other than a warm feeling. ■



Human rights award winner to be named

THE winner of *The Indicator* Human Rights Award 1990 will be announced today at a function in Lenasia, Mr Ameen Akhalwaya, the newspaper's editor, said yesterday.

The nominees are advocates Mr George Bizos, SC, and Mr Ismail Mahomed, SC, Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa of the Human Rights Com-

mission and doctors Prakash Vallabh and Refik Bismilla of the South African Health Workers Congress, who do voluntary work in camps for homeless people. *Sowetan 5/10/90*

Dr Joe Veriava, former Azapo health secretary and now acting head of the department of medicine at Coronation Hospital, has also been nominated.

Weekblad

5/10/90 (243)
to fight

actions for damages

Damages of more than R1 million are being sought in two actions against the editor and publishers of Vrye Weekblad newspaper

The actions are being brought by Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres and General Lothar Neethling, chief of police scientific technical services.

Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez said he had also received notice from Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet that he intended to sue for R200 000, based on his claim that the newspaper had implied he was a liar.

Mr von Lieres served notice yesterday of intent to sue for R35 000, claiming that Vrye Weekblad had alleged selective prosecution of the newspaper.

General Neethling's action starts on Monday in London, where former policeman Dirk Coetzee will give evidence.

Mr du Preez said "We are defending whatever comes our way, as we believe we have a right to criticise civil servants"

This week he and Wending Publications were convicted of contravening the Protection of Information Act by publishing a document containing information sensitive to State security. — Staff Reporter.

KEN OWEN AND JIM JONES

NO GREY AREAS 243

The sound you just heard was a tornado whipping through 11 Diagonal Street, headquarters of Times Media Ltd. On Friday, Ken Owen, editor of *Business Day*, was chosen to succeed Tertius Myburgh, who retired that day as editor of the *Sunday Times* to take a diplomatic post; the *FM*'s Jim Jones was put in charge of *Business Day*.

On Monday, workers were busy packing boxes and rearranging furniture in two ninth-floor offices. The changes came swiftly and clearly and without much fanfare. Jones says he was sure he was about to get chewed out by MD Steve Mulholland when he got a message to see the boss on Friday.

He even changed his tie (see picture) because he knows Mulholland hates it.

For both Owen and Jones these moves are more in a long line of demotions and promotions in journalism.

"This has happened to me over and over," says Owen, while trying Myburgh's office for size. "I had a day and a half to leave the *Sunday Times* (to go to the dying *Rand Daily Mail*). The *Sunday Express* folded under me, so I had no notice at all. After three days I was fired from *Business Day* and a year later I was back. I just pick up my briefcase and walk."

Owen (55) grew up on the wrong side of Pretoria "under the smokestacks at Iscor" while his father was in the army. He later moved to a farm in the eastern Transvaal. At the dual-medium high school in Lydenburg he was the only English-speaking student. "I was the dual," he says.

His wife, Kate, a Black Sash member, went back to school to study law after discovering that the people "didn't need housewives, they needed lawyers." At university, Owen thumbed his nose at a law degree and joined the *Pretoria News* in 1956. It didn't take him long to figure out that "being editor is the only job worth having." He worked his way through many of the Times Media and Argus papers and spent 10 years as a correspondent in the US.

He would like to see SA papers do more American-type reporting, "describing the country to the people who live in it." He believes no SA publication has yet answered the question: "Who is Nelson Mandela?" — or, for that matter, "Who is F W de Klerk?"

"Newspapers haven't done their job, and I exempt no one, including myself."

Though he hasn't been handed a brief, he says he plans to "widen the interests" of the *Sunday Times* without damaging the wildly

successful product. He adds: "The *Sunday Times* should not fall into the trap of becoming two-dimensional: politics and girly pictures."

Another job that newspapers have fallen down on is editorial writing. "They're mind-blowingly boring," *Business Day*, on the other hand, steadily gained attention for its hard-hitting style, born in the hellish circumstances of being the paper that replaced the



Jones mining new territory

beloved *Rand Daily Mail*. "We treated the *Business Day* editorial space with reckless scorn. We were very busy. Editorials were written in 20 minutes. We didn't pretend to be the voice of God."

"I see no pressure on editors to be right. A newspaper's job is to define the issues."

Owen has written a column in one form or another since 1969 but his weekly spot at the top of Monday's editorial page of *Business Day* has been required reading by fans and detractors. His goal, he says, was to "rehabilitate the word 'liberal' in terms of individual liberty." He liked *Rapport's* description of his style: he was liberal but in conflict with the Left.

For the time being, a personal column, which he calls his hobby, will be on hold. "I first have to concentrate on my new job. I plan to write less and think more."

Jones (48) isn't sure that he wants to get involved with writing the same kind of column. "I'm not Ken Owen and there's no way I'm going to be Ken Owen."

Sure, he can quote Owen's latest column, but jumping into the political fray is just not for him. He holds up his hands at the very mention of politics. "I won't belong to any political parties. I dodge them. It's important not to belong. If you do join, you can't remain disinterested."

Jones, who has two teenage children living in Cape Town, grew up in Worcestershire

in the UK and studied mechanical engineering and mining engineering at London University. He spent summer vacations in Canada, SA and Australia before deciding that his mining degree would be put to best use here. "In my head, I was going to stay two years." That was 1965.

"I've lived here half my life. I'm a South African. When people say, 'When are you going home?' I tell them 6 pm. If I were in the pessimistic school, I would have been gone a long time ago."

Like Owen, he's been hit on the backside by slamming doors. He worked as a mining engineer for JCI and moved up to head office before deciding to get an MBA at Cape Town. He spent almost a year working in Bolivia and then headed for London, where by "pure fluke" he spotted an ad for reporters in the *FM*. It hit him at a moment when his feet were cold and wet and he had spent his last pound note on two granadillas.



Owen... a liberal not a leftist

He lasted a year. "I made a big mistake," he says, rolling his eyes to show just how big. But then just about everything he's been involved with has been "a catastrophe," "a disaster" or "a big mistake." Ignore the self-deprecating histrionics. He has made a name for himself in journalism here and abroad. For years he has been the SA correspondent for the prestigious *US News & World Report* and he recently parted company with the *Financial Times* of London.

In February he returned to the *FM*, for the third time, as a senior assistant editor. On Friday he got his first shot at heading a publication. "I was surprised at the speed at which it happened," he admits.

People who know Jones and/or Owen often say the same thing about them: you either love them or you hate them. Neither of them, however, seems to care in the least.

Maureen Sullivan

Pressure mounts on Vrye Weekblad

By CHARLES LEONARD ^{Wimal} 5/10-11/10/90
IT never rains but it pours for *Vrye Weekblad*. This week editor Max du Preez was found guilty in the Johannesburg Regional Court on two charges under the Protection of Information Act, and Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus Von Lieres sent a summons claiming R35 000 for an article on him.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Leon Mellet recently sent a letter of demand claiming R200 000. Mellet wants to summons the paper after it accused him of misleading the press. (243)

"It is striking that in all three pending defamation cases it is the same attorney-general (Von Lieres) prosecuting," Du Preez said. "In all the cases the alleged defamation was against civil servants and their legal costs are being paid for by the taxpayer."

Mail's libel case begins in London

By CHARLES LEONARD

LEGAL history will be made in the Press Centre in London on Monday morning when South Africa's biggest-ever personal defamation case — involving a staggering R1,5-million claim — begins.

General Lothar Neethling, assistant-commissioner of police and head of their forensic laboratories, is claiming R1-million from *Vrye Weekblad* and R500 000 from *The Weekly Mail* after both papers published claims by former security policeman Captain Dirk Coetzee alleging that Neethling provided poison and knock-out drops to "deal" with state opponents.

Coetzee, who is in exile in Zambia and cannot give evidence in South Africa, will give evidence in front of a commission *de bene esse* — a commission appointed prior to the official trial. Advocate Sean Naidoo has been appointed by the defence to hear and record evidence to be presented to the trial judge. Naidoo will not make any judgments or pronouncements on the evidence.

The trial begins on November 12 in the Rand Supreme Court.

The general, who came to South Africa after World War II as a German orphan and made a meteoric rise in the police, claims that the "reasonable" reader would interpret from the articles that he (Neethling) made himself guilty of serious crimes, because he provided poison with which people may have been killed. Advocates Bobby Levine SC and Frans Rautenbach are appearing for *The Weekly Mail* and *Vrye Weekblad* and Willie Oschry SC and Manny Witz for Neethling.

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SA media 'monopoly' criticised

Staff Reporter

ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela has criticised the "monopoly" control of the South African media.

He accepted his "Newsmaker of the Year" award from the Indicator newspaper at a banquet in Lenasia on Friday night.

Mr Mandela said four newspaper groups — Argus, Times Media, Nasionale Pers and Perskor — controlled 95 per cent of the country's

newspapers. He criticised also the political coverage of the SABC.

Mr Mandela outlined the ANC's media policy.

He said the organisation would guarantee freedom of the press, but stressed that such freedom would have to be within the country's constitution. The press would not, for example, be allowed to propagate racism

George Bizos, SC, one of the defence lawyers in

the Rivonia trial, and Ismail Mahomed, SC, were named joint overall winners of the Indicator Human Rights Award 1990. They were chosen by readers of the Lenasia-based alternative weekly.

The Indicator's honorary Human Rights Award went to Joe Thloloe, deputy editor of Sowetan and a founder of the Union of Black Journalists and the Media Workers' Association of South Africa.

ANC govt 'would avoid secrecy'

8/10/90
By Julianne du Toit

"We are a generation that will never speak freely on the phone. In any future government there must a minimum of spying and secrecy," said Albie Sachs of the ANC at a panel discussion of the Anti-Censorship Action Group (ACAG) last night.

He was answering a question on possible censoring of State information by an ANC government.

The four speakers, Sowetan assistant editor Thami Mazwai, Pan-African Congress (PAC) secretary-general Benny Alexander, legal expert

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Gilbert Marcus and Mr Sachs, discussed freedom of speech before an audience of about 200 at the Market Theatre Warehouse.

The media were not blameless in being distant from the community, said Mr Alexander.

"The bourgeois liberal media reflected their own views. The oppressed were not happy and the alternative media started.

"But the alternative media in turn became very sectarian. We need alternatives to alternative media."

Mr Marcus pointed out that since 1927 there

had been Acts which made punishable anything which fomented racial hatred, but the Government had misused the Act, prosecuting only leftwingers.

Mr Mazwai said the press was threatened by industry, which funded it. Newspapers would not write stories criticising companies that gave them advertising. He said journalists censored themselves.

"For instance, being a PAC journalist, I will try to put its best points across to the masses. But I will try to dig out all the skeletons from the ANC's cupboard."

Unfairly, seminar told

Sowetan 9/10/90

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THE mass media in South Africa is presenting historians with a huge problem because it is not recording day-to-day history fairly, Sowetan staffer Mathatha Tsedu said at a seminar in Broedersdroom at the weekend.

The three-day seminar was called by the media unit of the Advice Centres Association for officials of 14 centres in the Transvaal.

The centres give free advice to township residents on issues such as legal problems, evictions and unfair labour practices.

Tsedu said liberals and their media have been using their power as Press barons to propagate and defend the system of capitalism.

"Any black person who does not criticise capitalism is groomed and

built up as the chief spokesman of black people all over.

"On the other hand, people who speak for socialism are shunned and vilified. The barons further use their power over the media to popularise our struggle for land and social justice, as a struggle for the mere removal of apartheid.

"Those who will use these newspaper cuttings

to compile a proper history, will be faced with the enormous task of looking for a lot of unpublished material to reflect the true history of this country."

Sessions

Penrose Studios' Chrissy Peter and Sowetan chief sub-editor Ivan Fynn conducted sessions on how the media works including editing,

sub-editing, layout and design for the benefit of the ACA's ACA News.

Sowetan sub-editor Mike Tisong discussed sub-editing, the writing of press releases and presenting Press conferences.

Sunday Star journalist Nomavenda Mathiane discussed feature writing and Thabo Leshilo of The Star discussed the writing of news stories.

Mandela appeals to businessmen

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

DEPUTY president of the African National Congress Nelson Mandela yesterday appealed to the business community to "pay very careful attention" to the discussion document on the economic policy of the ANC.

Addressing a dinner held in honour of 64 South African black business people who will be going on an "observation mission to the United States", he said that the ANC wanted input on the document so that "we would have the benefit of your expertise" before it reached its final stage. Sowetan 9/10/90

He said: "We believe that this document makes it clear to all businessmen and businesswomen, in South Africa and abroad, that the ANC is honestly engaged in finding a way to end the imbalances from the policies of race discrimination in South Africa..."

Summit to focus on hazards of journalism

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Sowetan 10/12/90
THE first study of journalists' working conditions will be presented at a summit to be held in Geneva next month

The "Conditions of Employment and Work of Journalists" study was undertaken by the International Labour Office, conveners of the November summit which will involve governments, employers and working journalists

The report defines a journalist as one who is often vilified, although sometimes admired; "one who can influence government policies, mobilise public opinion, expose injustice and act, in many ways, as the watchdog of public morality and, of course, fair play"

With the latter roles in mind, professional journalists face many hazards in their work. For instance, notes the ILO report, the registration of journalists exists in several countries

In 1980 a Mr Stephen Schmidt of Costa Rica was sentenced to three months' imprisonment for practicing as a journalist. His sin was putting pen to paper without being "legally" registered with the Costa Rican College of Journalism

In Italy one can hardly be called a journalist, or work in the profession, unless that person is registered as a member of the Ordine dei Giornalisti, a professional association of journalists. This, in spite of Italy's 1974 Constitution which proclaims that everyone has the right to express thoughts "in words, in writing and by any other means of dissemination"

The registration of journalists, particularly in Latin America, has recently been the subject of endless legal battles - *Sapa*

NOTICE 851 OF 1990**COMMISSION FOR CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT**

NOTICE OF A MEETING OF THE COMMISSION FOR CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT FOR THE PURPOSE OF HEARING OF EVIDENCE IN CONNECTION WITH THE IDENTIFYING OF LAND FOR BLACK OCCUPATION IN THE DISTRICT OF NGOTSHE, WAKKERSTROOM, AMERSFOORT AND NELSPRUIT

Take notice that the Commission for Co-operation and Development will meet on the undermentioned dates and places to hear evidence and representations from persons affected by the proposals of the Commission with regard to the identification of land for Black occupation in the Districts of Ngotshe, Wakkerstroom, Amersfoort and Nelspruit as announced by the Chairman of the Commission for Co-operation and Development on 5 October 1990:

| Date | Venue | Time |
|------------|---|-------------|
| 1990-11-05 | City Hall, Wakkerstroom | 10 00-13 00 |
| 1990-11-06 | Farmers Association, Town Hall, Louwsburg | 09 00-14 00 |
| 1990-11-07 | Committee-room, Civic-Centre, Nelspruit | 09 00-13 00 |

Persons affected by the proposals as announced and who wish to present evidence and representations to the Commission must please submit supporting memoranda to the undermentioned address on or before 31 October 1990:

The Secretary
Commission for Co-operation and Development
P.O. Box 384
Pretoria
0001.

The evidence will be heard "in camera" unless otherwise determined by the Chairman of the Commission for Co-operation and Development.

C. F. R. SWART,
Secretary: Commission for Co-operation and Development.
October 1990
(12 October 1990)

NOTICE 852 OF 1990**COMMISSION FOR ADMINISTRATION
COMPETITION BOARD**

INVESTIGATION IN TERMS OF SECTION 6 OF THE MAINTENANCE AND PROMOTION OF COMPETITION ACT, 1979 (ACT No. 96 OF 1979)

The Competition Board hereby makes known for general information that they are undertaking an investigation in terms of section 6 of the Maintenance and Promotion of Competition Act, 1979 (Act No. 96 of 1979), into the supply and distribution of foodstuffs, including non-alcoholic beverages (but excluding fresh fruit and vegetables) that as a rule are obtainable at retail outlets of various kinds

KENNISGEWING 851 VAN 1990**KOMMISSIE VIR SAMEWERKING EN ONTWIKKELING**

KENNISGEWING VAN 'N VERGADERING VAN DIE KOMMISSIE VIR SAMEWERKING EN ONTWIKKELING VIR DIE DOEL VAN DIE AANHOOR VAN GETUIENIS IN VERBAND MET DIE IDENTIFISERING VAN GROND VIR SWART BEWONING IN DIE DISTRIKTE NGOTSHE, WAKKERSTROOM, AMERSFOORT, EN NELSPRUIT

Neem kennis dat die Kommissie vir Samewerking en Ontwikkeling op die onderstaande datums en plekke sal vergader om getuienis en vertoe aan te hoor van diegene wat geaffekteer word deur die Kommissie se voorstelle ten opsigte van die identifisering van grond vir Swart bewoning in die distrikte Ngotshe, Wakkerstroom, Amersfoort en Nelspruit soos aangekondig deur die Voorsitter van die Kommissie vir Samewerking en Ontwikkeling op 5 Oktober 1990

| Datum | Plek | Tyd |
|------------|--|-------------|
| 1990-11-05 | Stadsaal, Wakkerstroom | 10 00-13 00 |
| 1990-11-06 | Boerevereniging, Dorpsaal, Louwsburg | 09 00-14 00 |
| 1990-11-07 | Bestuurskomiteekamers, Burger-sentrum, Nelspruit | 09 00-13 00 |

Diegene wat deur die voorstelle soos bekendgemaak geaffekteer word en wat getuienis en vertoe aan die Kommissie wil voorlê, moet asseblief ondersteunende memoranda by die onderstaande adres voor of op 31 Oktober 1990, indien:

Die Sekretaris
Kommissie vir Samewerking en Ontwikkeling
Posbus 384
PRETORIA
0001

Die getuienis sal "in camera" aangehoor word tensy die Voorsitter van die Kommissie vir Samewerking en Ontwikkeling anders bepaal

C. F. R. SWART,
Sekretaris: Kommissie vir Samewerking en Ontwikkeling
Oktober 1990.
(12 Oktober 1990)

KENNISGEWING 852 VAN 1990**KOMMISSIE VIR ADMINISTRASIE
RAAD OP MEDEDINGING**

ONDERSOEK INGEVOLGE ARTIKEL 6 VAN DIE WET OP DIE HANDHAWING EN BEVORDERING VAN MEDEDINGING, 1979 (WET No 96 VAN 1979)

Die Raad op Mededinging maak hiermee vir algemene inligting bekend dat hy kragtens artikel 6 van die Wet op die Handhawing en Bevordering van Mededinging, 1979 (Wet No 96 van 1979), ondersoek instel na die aanbod en distribusie van voedsel, insluitende nie-alkoholiese drank (maar uitgesonder vars groente en vrugte) wat gewoonlik by verskillende kleinhandelsafsetpunte beskikbaar is

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The purpose of the investigation is to obtain a comprehensive picture of the industry and to consider some of the more salient features thereof, as well as to ascertain what the likely implications of any possible economic concentration on competition may be. The Board believe that the information gleaned from the investigation would enable them to be better able to judge any future complaints regarding monopoly situations, acquisitions or restrictive practices as defined in the Act.

Any person may submit written representations regarding this investigation to Dr H. J. Dekker, Competition Board, Private Bag X720, Pretoria, 0001, before 7 December 1990. (Reference R4/1/2/16)

(12 October 1990)

Die doel met die ondersoek is om 'n geheelbeeld van die bedryfstak te verkry en om enkele van die besondere kenmerke daarvan te oorweeg, en om die waarskynlike implikasies wat enige moontlike ekonomiese konsentrasie op mededinging mag hê, te bepaal. Die Raad is van mening dat die inligting wat uit die ondersoek sal blyk, hom in staat sal stel om beter oor enige toekomstige klagtes oor monopoliesituasies, verkrygings of beperkende praktyke, soos omskryf in die Wet, te oordeel.

Enige persoon kan skriftelike vertoe hieroor voor 7 Desember 1990 rig aan dr. H. J. Dekker, Raad op Mededinging, Privaatsak X720, Pretoria, 0001 (Verwysing R4/1/2/16.)

(12 Oktober 1990)

A free Sowetan Press 12/10/90 the 243 focus

By SONTI MASEKO

ONE of the highlights of *Sowetan's* Nation Building Festival events, which started on September 29, is the Freedom of the Press seminar at Vista University's Soweto campus next Friday.

The seminar will be the climax of a campaign by *Sowetan* to educate the public about liberation and freedom of expression.

Says *Sowetan* Editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste, "Liberation without freedom of speech is meaningless."

Freedom

The Press Day will be a whole day event from 8.30am to 6.30pm. Refreshments will be served throughout the day.

Political leaders, trade union federations and editors will participate in panel discussions on Press freedom.

Speakers from the ANC, PAC, New Unity Movement and trade unions will talk on the constitutional future of the country and freedom of speech.

The Azanian Peoples Organisation and Inkatha Freedom Party are still to respond to the invitation.

President of the Association of Democratic Journalists Mr Tyrone August will participate in a discussion on the "Struggle for Press Freedom" sharing the platform with the Media Workers Association and the African Writers Association.

**Journalist
subpoenaed**

*CML
Temp
13/10/9*

JOHANNESBURG —
Business Day journalist
Linden Birns has been
subpoenaed by the
police to appear in court
in connection with his
eyewitness account of al-
leged police participa-
tion in recent township
violence.

Mr Birns was subpoenaed yesterday under Article 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act 51 of 1977.

He is to appear in court in Alberton on October 22, following a report describing an alleged police crime allegedly committed on August 13. — Sapa

THE media has a vital role to play in helping create the climate essential for democracy, notwithstanding the myriad of laws restricting freedom of the press. These laws should be abolished

At the turn of the century quite a number of independent, African-owned newspapers existed. They were the people's voice, one of the channels for the expression of their views and aspirations. Outstanding leaders of our people, such as John Dube who established *Ilanga*, and Sol Plaatje, both of whom were instrumental in giving birth to the African National Congress, were key figures in this process.

These independent newspapers had relatively short lives and were taken over by the monopolies. Their orientation changed dramatically, and they became tools used against our people.

The wheel has now turned full circle. Once again we have independent newspapers, such as *The Indicator*. They write and portray events and issues from the perspective of the people, rather than that of the commercial press. We would like to pay tribute to some of the outstanding editors and journalists who have kept alive the spirit of the right to know through very difficult times.

We readily recall the courage of a former editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*, Laurence Gandar, particularly over the prisons expose of Harold Strachan, the tenacity of the late Percy Qoboza as one after the other *The World* and *Post* were banned. We pay homage to legendary figures like Henry Nxumalo, Nat Nakasa and Can Themba who continue to inspire some of today's journalists.

The form and content of communication has changed fundamentally since I went to prison. To you who have been part of the technological revolution, perhaps it is not so extraordinary.

Integrity

But this very technology places an even greater burden of responsibility on those who wield these powers. Today's communication takes place in and invades the privacy of our homes. The news carried by television commands great authority. This means the highest integrity is demanded of both media owners and media workers.

The ANC viewpoint is

Extract of an address on freedom of expression by Nelson Mandela at the Newsmaker of the Year Award function in Lenasia last week

that discussion and discussion is a right and is to be encouraged. We reiterate our commitment to freedom of expression.

Integral to freedom of expression is the free flow of information. This also concerns the source of information and the ability to convey timely and accurate information. This will play a crucial role in the process of transformation to democracy that is presently under way.

We are fighting for the right to express our humanity. We want open debate, contrary views, opposition and the ballot box. We will not be the new censors.

Censors

We need a strong, independent and courageous press to communicate across the divides that wreck our country, be they political, linguistic or cultural. The freer the press, the greater the possibilities for individual rights and personal liberty, for building a nation imbued with a spirit of tolerance and humanity.

It is necessary to say a few words about self-censorship and manipulation of the media. Decades of Draconian legislation and intense

Media's vital role for democracy

GM Tink
15/10/90
243
CFA

harassment of the press have taken their toll.

The media is often ready to sit back and wait to be fed information, to accept what is said as the gospel truth. It is sad to say that investigative journalism, the search for the truth, is not really one of the hallmarks of the South African media today. There is a tendency to pre-empt government repression and act as our own censors.

While we do not for an instant underestimate the pressures that have been brought to bear on the media, particularly the print media, it is vital that this complacency and timidity is combated.

There is also another danger arising from this style of work that depends on being fed information, and that is manipulation of the media. There have been many instances in the past where this has occurred. But one only has to look at recent events — the hysteria, misinformation and disinformation that surrounded the "Operation Vula" incident — for an example of what I mean.

In this instance it was reported that Joe Slovo was present at a meeting in Tongaat. Yet even a superficial investigation would have revealed that he was in fact out of the country.

The state media has inconsistently functioned as a propaganda arm of the ruling party. To its shame there are many occasions, past and present, where the press has acted no differently. We certainly hope that the process of transition that is under way will also fundamentally affect attitudes that have enabled and condoned such violations of press freedom.

The new South Africa should be free from such deceit and artifice. We



SOL PLAATJE: Instrumental in giving birth to the ANC



LAURENCE GANDAR: Editor with courage

want a people who are informed, and who are therefore empowered to make considered judgments on all issues affecting their lives and the life of the nation.

This leads us to ask: What about the concentrated ownership of the press? The essence of monopoly ownership contradicts all of the above.

Control

We all know that four groups — Argus, Times Media, Perskor and Nasionale Pers — control virtually 95% of the print media in this country. Of this 50% rests with Argus.

So what is to be done with these monopolies? For a start, democratisation and the opening up of ownership is essential.

What of the SABC, both radio and television? Again it is vital to open up ownership. The ANC certainly does not want to take over the SABC. We are firmly committed to a broadcasting system that is not controlled or its content determined by political party interests, ours or any other. Radio should serve the communities, and ownership and possibilities of broadcasting should not be determined by who can afford

licence fees or studio running costs. Radio and television should serve the interests of the nation as a whole.

We reject the task force that has been set up by the SABC to investigate itself. The future of the SABC and broadcasting is a matter for all of us to determine.

We support the campaign for an open media, and hope that the way forward in the broad media will be decided by all of us together, politicians and media workers, communities and professionals.

Although we are deeply committed to the freedom of association, speech, assembly etc, we recognise that no such freedom is absolute. Such freedoms exist within the framework of the constitution of the land.

We have said that we will not allow the preaching of racism, and hope that this, in line with numerous human rights documents and as in post-war Germany, will be enshrined in our constitution. Therefore any violation will not be a matter of censorship — and I sincerely hope we should not have a censorship board in a free South Africa — but a matter for the courts and the due process of the law.

thanks God
arlboro man

their rights be re-
to divide the Sovi-
p into Smoking and
ng sections. The
ill live in Siberia —
smokers in the
d the tobacco deal

for the next five years to buy
all the butts in Philip Morris."
"When it comes to smoking,
the Russians have it made."
"Not exactly," Boris said.
"We're still lacking."
"In what?" I asked.
"Matches. The US deal
didn't include matches."

Freedom of the Press to be the focus

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Sowetan
17/11/90

SOWETAN'S Nation Building Festival reaches a high point with the Freedom of the Press Day at Vista University's Soweto campus on Friday.

The seminar is the culmination of articles published in *Sowetan* to educate the general public about liberation and freedom of expression.

"Liberation without freedom of speech is meaningless. There cannot be freedom unless everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, which in-

By SONTI MASEKO

cludes freedom to hold opinions without interference," said *Sowetan* Editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste.

The seminar will be on the anniversary of the banning of 19 Black Consciousness organisations and two black newspapers, *The World* and *Weekend World* in 1977.

The seminar starts at 8 30am and ends at 6 30pm.

Mr Moeletsi Mbeki, a former Zimbabwean journalist and son of ANC stalwart Mr Govan Mbeki, will represent Cosatu. He returned recently from exile.

Mbeki will share a platform with Nactu's assistant general secretary, Mr Mahlomola Skosana, on "The Struggle for Press Freedom".

The African National Congress, the Pan Afri-

canist Congress and New Unity Movement are to give inputs on "The Constitutional Future of the Country and Freedom of Speech".

Participants from the ANC will include former exile Mr Joel Netshitenzhe and Mr Zola Skweyiya.

Representatives of political parties, including Azapo's Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, New Unity Movement's Dr Usuf Chikte and Mr G Ndlovu and the PAC's publicity secretary, Mr Benny Ntoele, will also speak on the same subject.

President of the Association of Democratic Journalists Mr Tyrone August and Mr Sithembale Khala, general secretary of the Media Workers Association of South Africa, will participate in a discussion on "The Struggle for Press Freedom".

The few who own so much

THE print media is largely controlled by four major media conglomerates, the Argus, Times Media Limited (TML), Perskor and Naspers

The Anglo American Corporation has controlling interests in the Argus and TML, while the Rembrandt Group and Volkskas control Perskor and Naspers is controlled by Sanlam

The Argus accounts for half of the daily newspapers sold in South Africa and the "big four" control almost 90 percent of all dailies and weeklies sold

They own a third of the registered country press, an estimated 70 percent of the registered free-sheets and half of the registered magazines. Together with the SABC, they also control the national wire service (Sapa)

Anglo and Sanlam also own a large share

of the Mondi/Sappi paper production cartel

(243) (243) Through a myriad of subsidiaries, they also control retail and distribution outlets

For example, the Argus has a 33 percent share in CNA/Gallo, a major retail concern, and a controlling interest in Allied, the major distribution network for English-language newspapers

The Argus has a 49 percent share in Caxton, a major producer of "knock and drops" and rural newspapers

Through its 33 percent holding in CNA/Gallo, the Argus has a 72,5 percent interest in Video Lab Holdings, one of the major sound and editing facilities in the country

The Argus also has a 40,4 percent share in Times Media Limited which in turn has a 23 percent share in M-Net

The Rembrandt group, through Volkskas, has a controlling 20 percent interest in the Dagbreek Trust which in turn has a controlling interest in the Vaderland Belegging Bpk which derives its major source of income from its 42 percent holding in the Afrikaanse Pers. The Afrikaanse Pers in turn has a 23 percent share in M-Net as well as interests in Republican News Agencies, Republican Press, Super Comics and Tswana Newspapers South 18/10 - 24/10/90

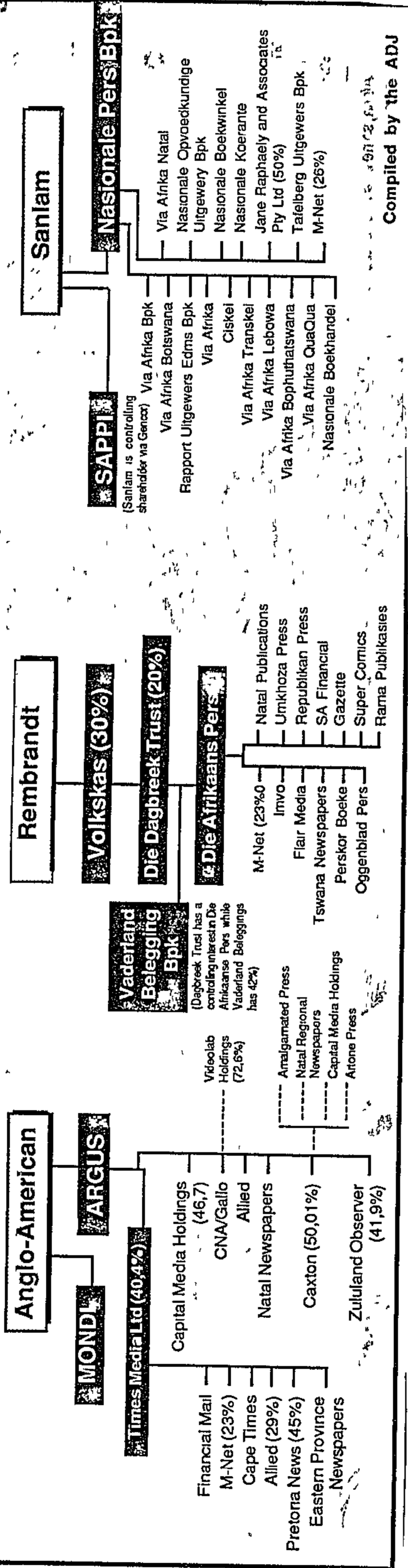
Sanlam, through Gencor, has an interest in Sappi — a major paper supplier and through Naspers, has controlling interests in several newspapers and magazines like Beeld, City Press and Die Burger

Naspers also has a 26 percent controlling interest in M-Net (Between them, the big four own 90% of M-Net)

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How big business controls SA's media



Compiled by the ADJ

10/18/90

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Getting to grips with low production

Motivational techniques have increased in popularity in recent years in the bid to beat SA's low productivity ratings, says the National Institute for Personnel Research

However, a spokesman for the NIPR says just running a workshop in motivational techniques is not the best way to approach motivation

"You have to look at what's happening in the environment of the person or

company, look at influences in terms of the organisation and the person's job"

The National Productivity Institute is marketing a concept developed by the NIPR called the "6-Ms" (money, men, machines, material, managers and market)

their behaviour can impact on efficacy
The NIPR says information is the most important tool in motivation and productivity can only be enhanced if motivation is there

Enhanced
While the NIPR says most executives do not require motivational training

ing, those that do require enhanced abstract conceptual problem-solving skills

"The executive studies his environment to see what is happening, what strategic needs there may be

"A foreman, as another example, will be involved in motivating people to get

production out There, motivational needs are more technical"

The NIPR says motivational courses are one of the most difficult techniques to teach people.

Case studies and role playing are important components

A prominent Johannesburg psychologist says mo-

tivational training may be beneficial for people. If they are prepared to come to terms with their positive and negative points

This, she says, is often difficult, as they may suppress negative aspects of their life that are important to the world view of the individual

While such courses could assist some people, they will not have a long-term impact in all cases, she says

The crux of decentralisation is rationalisation

THIS year three reports on the Regional Industrial Development Programme (RIDP) and regional policy in SA have appeared — from the panel of experts appointed by the Multilateral Development Council of Ministers, the National Productivity Institute and from the Urban Foundation/Private Sector Council.

There is a large degree of congruence in the findings and recommendations of the first and third of these reports which, broadly, are critical of the RIDP and recommend its abandonment or, at a second best, significant changes to the policy.

The findings of the NPI report, however, are different, as evidenced by Jan-Henk Boer's article (Strong case for decentralisation policy, Business Day September 25) in which he contended that the decentralisation programme had not failed.

The NPI report was concerned with productivity analysis — something which was not considered by either of the other studies. It covered 42% of all firms which had located in decentralised areas with assistance under the RIDP, and showed that 68% of this sample, representing 28,5% of all decentralised firms, were recording above average performances in terms of productivity

How impressive this figure is, is a matter of personal judgment. The UF/PSC report does not deny that many firms in decentralised areas are profitable: 41s research showed that approximately 60% of firms would have been able to operate at a profit without incentives.

A sample survey undertaken for the panel of experts produced a figure of approximately 50%. According to the panel of experts' report, 43% of firms faced liquidity problems and approximately one-fifth were insolvent.

All one can make of the results of these three reports is that, while some firms in the decentralised areas are financially sound, the failure risk factor for the majority is high.

What the NPI report does not mention, but which is the economic measure of the success or failure of the RIDP, is the concept of opportunity costs. Large sums of money have been spent in assisting firms to locate at decentralised growth points.

If these funds had been used in urban areas, or in areas which had a better economic infrastructure and location than many of the growth points, what would have been the effect on job creation and profitability

from rural to urban areas. According to forecasts, 70% of SA's population is expected to be resident in and around metropolitan regions in 2010. It is there that jobs are needed, and the RIDP is a costly relic of an unrealistic policy which sought to reverse the flow of population using measures such as influx control.

If SA is to be able to compete in the rapidly changing world economy of the 1990s and into the next century, it will have to maximise its economic efficiency, and it has been shown worldwide that urban areas are the most efficient locations for industrial development.

The removal of influx control has led to an acceleration of people moving to urban areas and it is here that employment in formal-sector activities has been unable to provide the required jobs. The country cannot afford to continue subsidising private firms to locate at remote growth points.

The NPI report deals with productivity, not regional development. The UF/PSC recommendation that no further firms be assisted under the RIDP is sound economics: it is not throwing the baby out with the bath water.

It is recommending that the regional development programme be based on all sectors, not just manufacturing, and that any assistance to manufacturing industry be confined to a small number of carefully selected growth points with a genuine potential for stimulating regional development.

More generally, it would be wise to encourage a "bottom-up" regional development process based upon the comparative advantages of various regions.

The figures contained in the NPI article are impressive in themselves, but are nothing compared to what the UF/PSC believe could have been the position with a different policy. In any event, all incentives come to an end, and the firms which have decentralised will then have to stand on their own two feet.

Surely the benefits will be maximised if a multisectoral emphasis and a more rational policy is followed in future than has been the case over the last three decades?

□ Prof Maasdorp is director of Natal University's economic research unit and a consultant to the Urban Foundation.

GAVIN MAASDORP

18/10/90
This is the crux of the issue. The UF/PSC would argue that the effect would have been much greater, and that the opportunity costs of the RIDP consequently have been high.

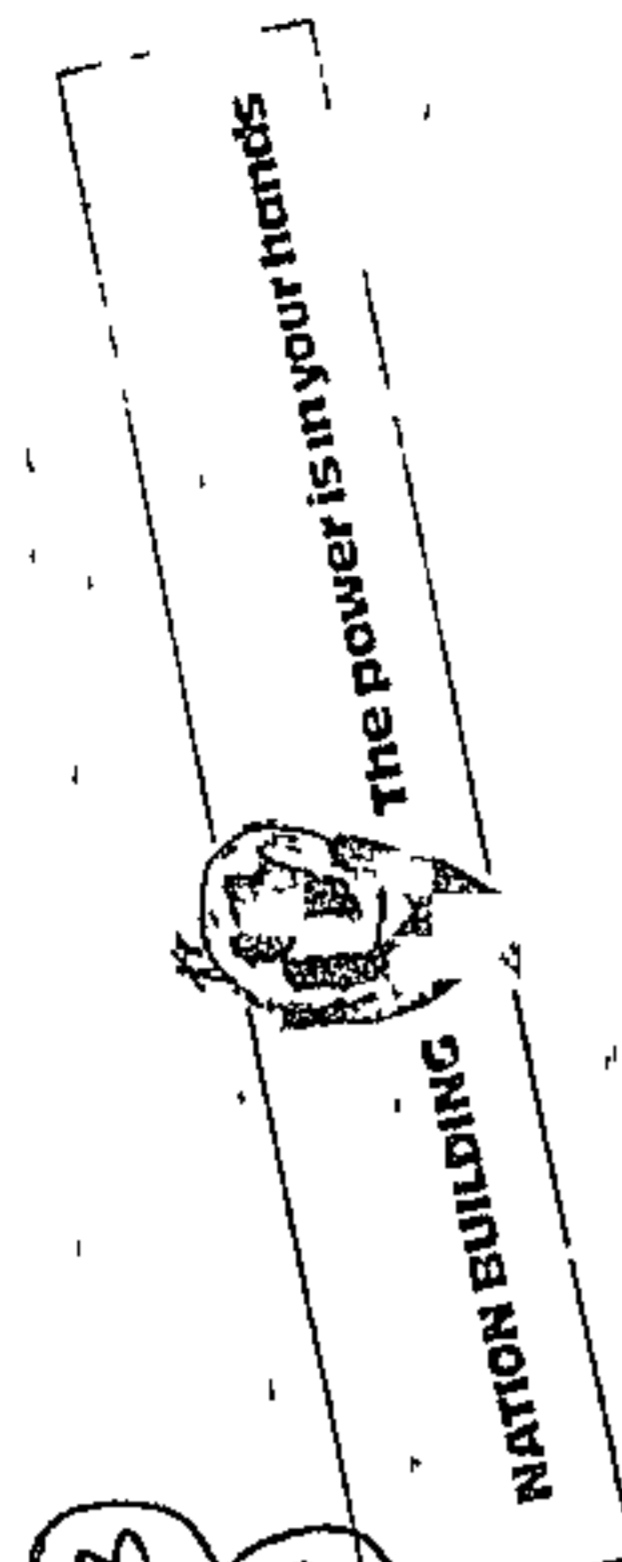
Another factor ignored in the NPI report concerns the effects of the RIDP on the development of the backward regions. The reports of the UF/PSC and the panel of experts show that, in almost all cases, the linkage effects between the decentralised industries and their hinterlands have been very weak.

The industries have tended to draw their inputs from the metropolitan regions and sell their output in urban markets. Because of the weak local multiplier effects, decentralisation has led to very little regional development in the true sense of the term. Far better results would have been achieved by concentrating the effort in a small number of better located growth points.

The RIDP, therefore, has been unable to stop the flow of population

LETTERS

Freedom of Press Day 243



SOWETAN'S Nation Building Festival reaches a high point with the Freedom of the Press Day at Vista University, Soweto campus, tomorrow.

The seminar is the culmination of articles published in *Sowetan* to educate the general public about liberation and freedom of expression. "Liberation without freedom of speech is meaningless, there cannot be freedom unless everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, which includes freedom to hold opinions without interference," said Mr Aggrey Klaaste,

served throughout the day. The seminar will coincide with the banning of 19 Black Consciousness organisations and two black newspapers the *World* and the *Weekend World* on October 19, 1977.

All day

The Press Day will be a whole day event starting at 8 30am and ending at 6 30pm. Tickets for the event are available at the Sowetan offices. Refreshments will be

Speakers from political organisations, the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, New Unity Movement are to give inputs on the constitutional future of the country and freedom of speech.

Others

Participants from the ANC will include former exiles Mr Joel Netshenzye and Mr Zola Skweyiya, who is in the organisation's legal department. Representatives of political parties include Azapo's Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, New

Unity Movement's Dr Usuf Chikte and Mr G Ndlovu and PAC's publicity secretary, Mr Benny Ntsoele.

President of the Association of Democratic Journalists Mr Tyrone August and Mr Sihembel Khala, general secretary of the Media Workers Association of South Africa, will participate in a discussion on the Struggle for Press Freedom, sharing the platform with the African Writers Association.

Editors from newspapers and magazines will discuss "Wading our Way to Press Freedom."



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

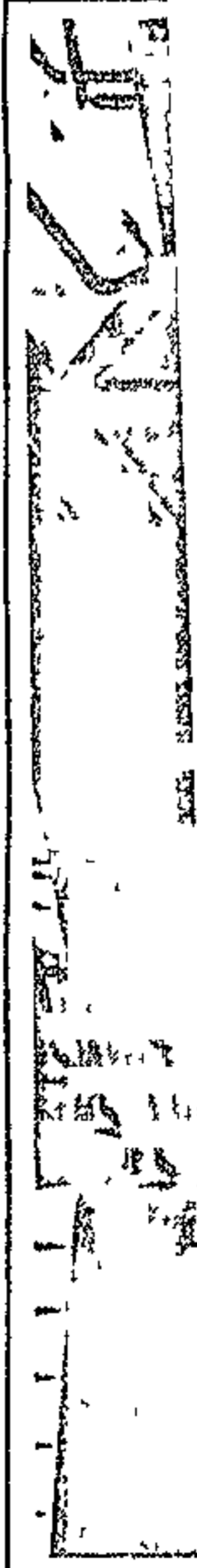
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S 7218



Rulers tend to hang messenger

South 18/10 - 24/10/90
By ANTHONY HEARD

THE ominous lesson, which we should note particularly in these heady days of "political reform", is that, when pressured, authorities blame the media.

And only the wisest and most coolheaded rulers resist the temptation to hang the messenger. They have to be physically prevented from doing so — constitutionally and in other ways.

It has taken long years of repression, detention, banning, suppression, threat and bluster, for the government to arrive at the point where it is prepared to relax some of the controls on the press.

But, before the hurrahs, it is necessary to see what it has in mind. There have been occasions in the past when the state, with the cooperation of the established newspapers and their organised bodies, have worked behind the scenes to "reconsider" laws on the press — producing precious little at the other end.

If the government and the newspaper owners who so uncritically support it wish to demonstrate that they are seeking a truly new order for the media, the reform must go way beyond dismantling Mr P W Botha's eccentric media emergency and attending to some of the more horrendous security and censorship laws.

Three essential steps are

- Scrapping all laws — which means a hundred or so — which inhibit the public's right to know. That means key provisions in, among others, the Defence Act, the Police Act, the Prisons Act, the Publications Act, National Key Points Act, Nuclear Energy Act, Protection of Information Act, and a whole range of security measures which are still alive and well though under review by the newspaper industry and the government. Specific and justifiable constitutional guarantees against reversion to state control are required.

Anthony Heard

- Breaking up the press conglomerates which, as Nelson Mandela reminded an audience in Lenasia last week, ensure that four groups control virtually 95 percent of the print media — and one company alone 50 percent. Without access to one or other of the resources — whether printing, distribution, administration or news service — run by these groups, it is almost impossible to produce a sizeable newspaper, as a recent bitter experience has shown in Johannesburg.

- Destroying the government hold on the South African Broadcasting Corporation, not by polite petition and plea but by demanding and securing that control be placed outside the interests of one particular party.

Without securing these bridgeheads, no negotiation or test of the will of the people will be free. The process will be a farce orchestrated by government, certain malleable blacks and friendly media. White power will have pulled off what it could not achieve in Zimbabwe and Namibia: continued control.

If the country is to emerge from this exciting but dangerous phase of negotiation politics with the chance of a democratic future, the lessons of past repression must be learnt and acted on.

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But to secure the above ends, it will be necessary to organise and to plan. Free media are not run on good intentions.

Monopolies do not readily give up their grip — nor governments the blandishments of the airwaves.

Bureaucrats, in love with secrecy, come to regard controls on the press — which means the public — as part of ordinary life.

Denied freedom, the public can view repression as normal. Future rulers might see control as a short-cut to the achievement of their aims.

Just now, a particular danger is that, sensing the need for change, the monopolistic group will employ subtle tactics.

Instead of keeping those that threaten their monopoly at arm's length, they might offer them a nice-looking piece of the action — but firmly under the control of the big companies.

That's the way monopolists think: if you can't beat or buy them, make them rely on you. That applies to diamonds, gold, platinum, news, ideas, you name it.

Moreover, the government, seeing the inevitability of a democratisation of the SABC, might refine tactics, too. Through selective "privatisation" of the airwaves and support for channels owned by the conglomerates, it might secure future help for its cause.

The power struggle that began in earnest with President De Klerk's speech on February 2 will not be confined to constitution-making.

It powerfully concerns the public's right to know, and whether that right will be served by a diversity of free viewpoints or dominated by government and monopolies.

Diversity is essential if a democratic culture is to underpin the new order that emerges.

(Anthony Heard is the former editor of the Cape Times.)

A battle for survival

South Africa 24/01/90

LIVING under threat became a way of life for South Africa's independent press during the four-year state of emergency. Ironically, the freeing up of the political process has posed a dramatic new challenge to the survival of the alternative media

The political changes in South Africa since February 2 have placed a huge question mark over the future of the independents

While the mainstream press, emboldened by the more relaxed political climate, encroaches on territory previously covered solely by the independents, foreign funders are looking to withdraw support from "struggle projects", including media

As Press Freedom Day is being marked this week in memory of the crackdown on newspapers like The World on October 19, 1977, the mainly anti-apartheid alternative press is forced to look at its future. Like many other enterprises in society, these newspapers are having to reassess their role and strategy during this transitional period. A debilitating factor is that foreign funders are threatening to withdraw financial support as they perceive "apartheid and repression have ended". CHIARA CARTER examines the issue:

The question of self-sufficiency has become a burning issue if the independents are to survive alongside the huge monopolies in the media industry

South Africa's independent and alternative press comprises a handful of weekly and monthly tabloid newspapers, journals and organisational publications

Although in existence for almost 10 years, the alternative press is chronically under-resourced, still at a formative stage of development and, with the exception of the trade union publications, significantly dependent on donor funding

A harbinger of things to come was the refusal earlier this year by funders to guarantee backing for the Durban-based weekly newspaper, New African

Together with SOUTH, New Nation, and Vrye Weekblad, the New African is living with the threat of funds drying up within the next three years

Between them they have a circulation of just over 120 000 and an estimated readership base of 500 000

Bedevilled by distribution problems and unable to attract skilled editorial and administrative staff, the papers are presently busy with an ambitious planning exercise aimed at defining their readership and strategising to ensure survival

Such a shift includes re-evaluating editorial policy to broaden the range of issues covered and increase behind the scenes and in-depth coverage

Editorial content is also likely to be affected by the need to attract advertising

The papers are hoping to attract a wider range of advertisers than their traditional clients on the basis of the papers' specialised audience

The difficulties of the independents to attract advertising is best illustrated by New Nation which, with a circulation of 70 000, is unable to attract significant commercial advertising

A change in editorial content is not just motivated by pragmatic considerations

Underlying a move from simply propagating the opinions of the progressive movement to adopting a more critical stance is the realisation that the alternative press has a more sophisticated role to play

Says Weekly Mail co-editor, Mr Irwin Manoum "Our role as a progressive voice in the past meant we propagated the line of the liberation movement

"Now we face the moral necessity to propagate a more critical voice to join in the debate"

According to Manoum, the Weekly Mail — which is the oldest of the alternative weeklies — has long held the view that economic viability is the key to the future

Manoum says the Mail is "determined to survive"

"What the Weekly Mail sees as its niche for long-term readership is to provide serious, long-distance reading for a specialised audience — the kind of stories our readers will not find in the popular press"

The new political dynamics have not just affected the weeklies

The community based publications Saamstaan and Grassroots are also having to "ring the changes"

The future of Grassroots, the country's oldest alternative newspaper, is presently under intense discussion

The Cape Town-based newspaper began as a community based publication with organisations playing a direct role in editorial content and policy

Grassroots recently decided to conduct an investigation into transforming the paper into a financially viable freesheet in the Peninsula

The Grassroots analytical journal New Era, together with other progressive journals like Work in Progress and the South African Labour Bulletin as well as magazines like Speak and Learn and Teach, are also re-evaluating their direction

The success story among the alternatives is the little-known weekly Umatfika which over the past three years has shown a dramatic increase in readership

Probably the oldest massion publication of its kind in Africa, the paper's circulation slumped to an all time low of around 5 500 in the mid 1980s

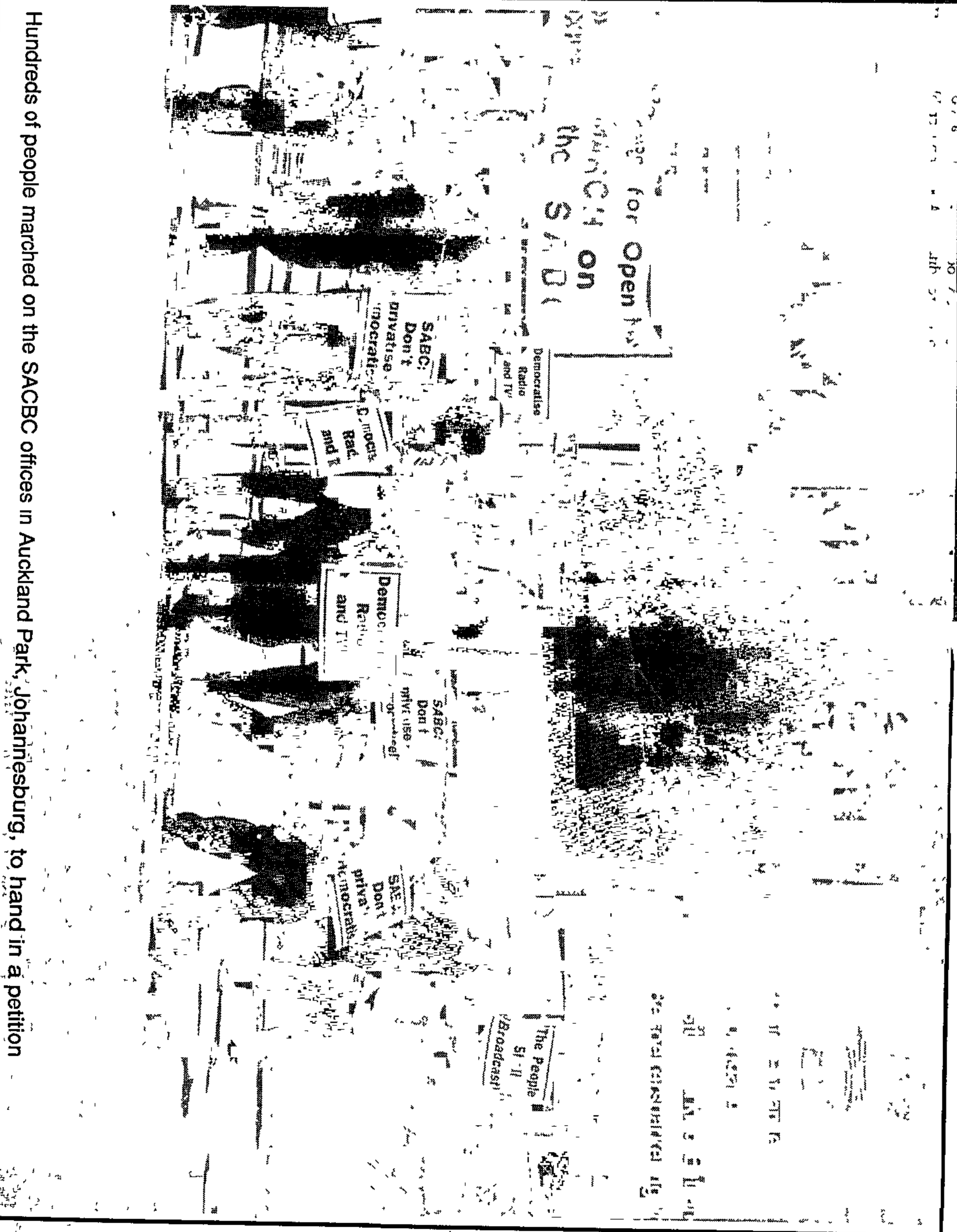
According to Umatfika editorial adviser Mphahlele Duval, the re-development programme of the paper centred on the employment of professional journalists and a circulation and marketing strategy

The paper, one of two Zulu-language newspapers in Natal, now has a circulation of around 80 000

Also looking healthy are the trade union publications which to a large extent rely on internally generated funds

In addition to Cosatu media, several affiliates — including Num, Numsa, TGWU, CWIU, Fawu, Sathwu and Sacwru — print their own newsletters

According to Sacwru's national media officer Mr Ronald Bernickow, the union does not intend to move towards a weekly because of the logistical problems this would involve



Hundreds of people marched on the SACBC offices in Auckland Park, Johannesburg, to hand in a petition

PICTURE BY ELMOND JIVANE

SOUTH FOR A MORE COMMUNITARIAN MEDIA

Grassroots THE MAIL 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001

New Nation THE MAIL 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001

THE NEW AFRICAN THE MAIL 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001

VRYE WEEKBLAD THE MAIL 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001

APARTHEID THE MAIL 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001 1001

Challenge to Press (243)

THE Press will have to face many challenges in a future South Africa, which might include the major commercial Press companies supporting the so-called "Alternative Press" to ensure a free flow of ideas, a newspaper editor said yesterday.

Mr Jonathan Hobday, editor of the *Sunday Tribune*, was speaking during a debate at the University of Natal

hosted by the Association of Democratic Journalists.

He said the managers of mainstream newspapers had been discussing ways to assist the "alternative Press" when their funding ran out.

This would be a way to ensure that a wide range of opinions were expressed in the future. The day was fast approaching when a non-racial Press would be a

reality.

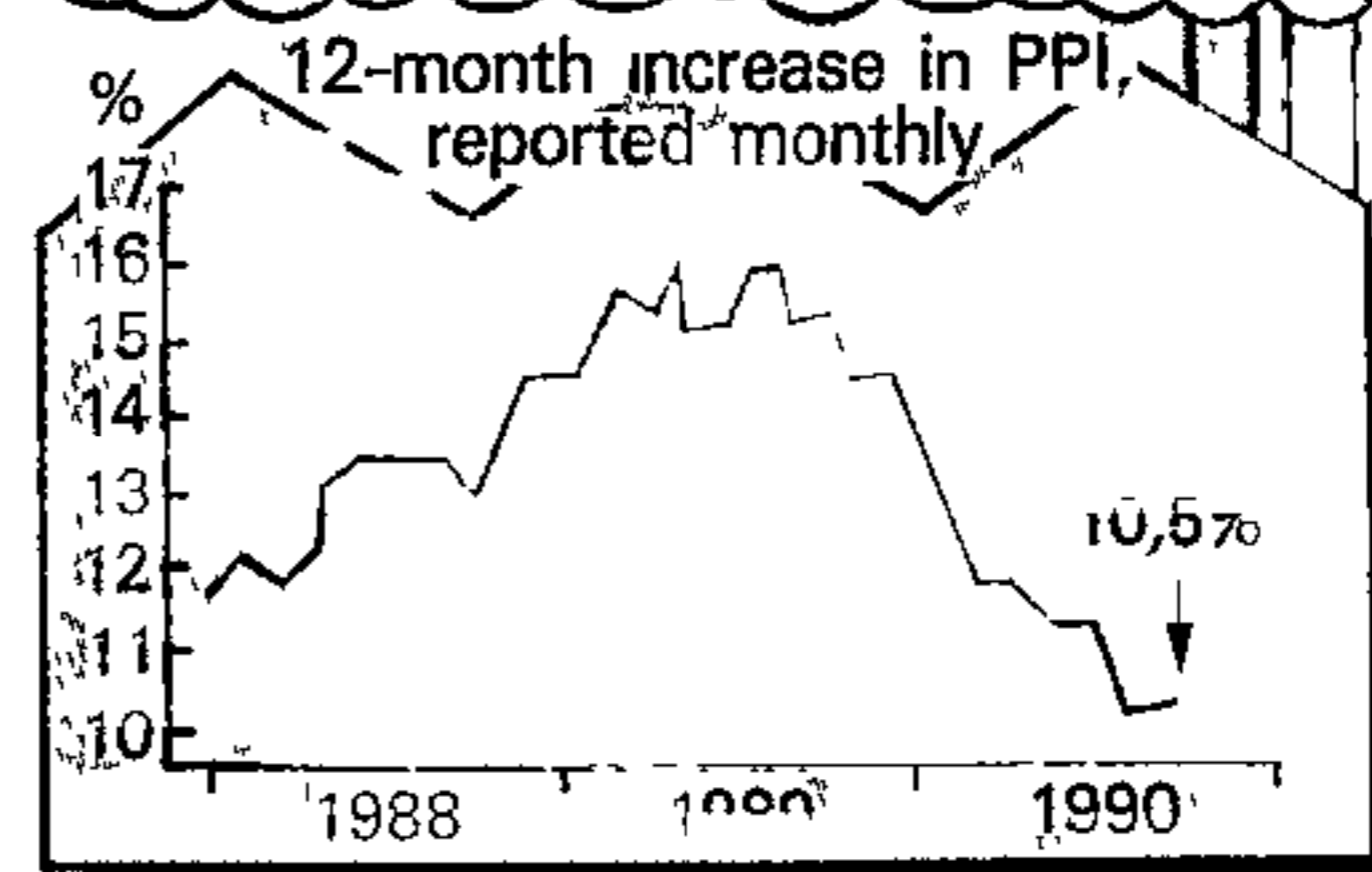
Sowetan 19/10/90
Mr Khaba Mkize, editor of the *Pietermaritzburg Echo*, said apartheid had led to "racial reporting" among journalists, particularly on "white" publications, which had given little coverage to black violence and which labelled it merely as "ethnic" violence, not as violence perpetuated by outside forces.

Mkize said it was a myth that blacks were intolerant of one another.

The fact that blacks had tolerated a racially repressive system of apartheid for 40 years showed that there was indeed a great deal of tolerance.

Mr Eric Louw, a lecturer in media studies, said the mainstream Press had ignored the aspirations of the working class.

About turn



celerating trend by rising only 0,2% in the month to make 4,1% for the 12 months to August (July 4,7%). Economists attribute this to the continued stability of the rand, especially against the US dollar

But these figures do not yet reflect higher fuel prices Senekal Mouton & Kitshoff economist Leon Steenkamp says rising crude oil prices (weighted about 2,3% in the overall index) will have a strong direct impact on imported PPI, effectively squashing any hopes of single-digit inflation by year-end

Sanlam economist Pieter Calitz expects imported PPI to average at least 5%-6% by year-end and up to 8% if fuel prices continue to rise

Also cause for concern is the renewed acceleration of the local component of PPI, up 1,5% in the month (18% annualised), and 12% in the year to August (July 11,6%)

The reluctance of local output prices to ease has been attributed largely to wages and salaries — which make up 50%-60% of production costs — outstripping inflation. But it's not that simple. According to the latest *Quarterly Bulletin*, employee remuneration in the year to March rose only 14,3%, while inflation (as measured by CPI) was 14,9%.

Steenkamp says that has changed in recent months, with inflation slowing but inflationary expectations remaining high. "Wage and salary demands have not been cut, so real increases are now being granted"

In addition, lower economic activity has led to a fall in capacity utilisation and higher unit costs. "A large number of strikes and other disruptions in recent months further increased unit costs," says Steenkamp.

These factors combined with substantial increases in the price of agricultural products — particularly vegetables and fruits — to keep the pressure on local producer prices.

The figures for September will probably be worse as the petrol price hike enters the local price equation. And more petrol price increases loom. Calitz reckons an increase of at least 25c/l will be needed to cover the higher cost of crude oil.

Economists now doubt that a cut in interest rates will be possible by year-end but are cautiously optimistic that the oil crisis is a temporary setback. "There will be technical problems but we still expect inflation to come down in the long run," says Calitz. ■

PRODUCER PRICES

AGRI-BOOST 247

FIM 19/10/90

The producer price index (PPI) picked up steam again in August with a year-on-year rise of 10,5% against 10,3% in July. This is still below June's 11,2% but higher world oil prices will usher in a new round of accelerating producer price inflation.

The imported component extended its de-

Staff Reporter

IN a new Azanian constitution the number of newspapers owned by one company would be limited, while smaller papers would be subsidised, PAC local co-ordinator Mr Barney Desai said yesterday.

He was speaking at a panel discussion on press freedom organised by the Association of Democratic Journalists in St George's Cathedral Hall.

Mr Desai was concerned that big monopolies like the Argus should be broken. "This would mini-

Press monopolies must go Desai

capl-7/14/13 20/10/18
243

mise the monopoly of news management," he said.

Newspapers outside the mainstream — the so-called "alternative press" — were not without bias, he said.

"With very few exceptions they follow the party line."

Mass-circulation Sunday newspapers with "ethnic inserts" (supplements) were "an insult to us all", the former newspaper

and magazine editor said.

South Africa could not afford an uninformed or misinformed public which made ill-considered judgements.

Mr Deesai suggested that a press council "with teeth" be set up to deal with unethical or gross misconduct by journalists.

The bias in South African television was "obscene", he added. "Perhaps one of the

ways to correct this would be to have a board of governors running a public corporation."

Mr Ryland Fisher, regional chairman of the ADJ, who chaired the discussion, apologised for the non-arrival of ANC publicity secretary Mr Trevor Manuel and Ms Cheryl Carolus of the SA Communist Party.

● Ms Carolus said she regretted not attending the meeting but was forced to appear, together with her husband Mr Graeme Bloch, in Montague Magistrate's Court.

Unions call for factual reporting

JOHANNESBURG — Trade union delegates at a media conference in Soweto yesterday attacked the big media corporations for being biased in their own interests, and shutting workers out of the current debate in South Africa

The conference, organised by the Sowetan newspaper as part of its 'Building the Nation' campaign, is being attended by more than 100 media representatives.

Before lunch, delegates discussed trade unions and the press, and specifically unions in the media.

Speakers from Cosatu, Nactu, Mwasu, ADJ, SAUJ and Acag addressed the conference

Cosatu's Mr Moeletsu Mbeki said the trade union movement wanted two things from the press: Factual reporting and open debate

Discussing his demand, Mr Mbeki, the son of ANC leader Mr Govan Mbeki and recently returned from exile, singled out what he labelled the "bourgeois press" — the four giant commer-

cial newspaper publishers and the SABC — for criticism.

"The bourgeois press doesn't concern itself with factual reporting," he maintained. "A good example has been its coverage of the violence in Natal, and more recently, in the Transvaal"

Workers in South Africa, Mr Mbeki added, were being shut out of debate by the media

Nactu's Mr Mahlomola Skhosana agreed with Mr Mbeki's attack on the mainstream press.

He focused his address on the low circulation figures among South Africa's "alternative press", linking it to an alleged bias in its reporting

He called on the alternative press to begin to reflect a more balanced view of the unfolding events in the country if it wanted to increase circulation.

"If you limit yourselves to reflecting only one side of the debate, it will not improve your circulation

"The only way to increase circulation is to reflect all viewpoints." — Sapa

Nov 22/10/90 (243)

Press freedom limited

By Sefako Nyaka

Press freedom will not be unlimited in a new South Africa, representatives of the liberation movements told a conference on the media in Soweto last week.

Because racism and ethnicity would be outlawed in a future constitution, it will affect freedom of speech, delegates said at the one-day conference organised by the Sowetan newspaper.

What was significant about the event was that for the first time a public platform was shared by representatives of the ANC, PAC, Inkatha, Azapo and the New Unity Movement.

The Unity Movement's Goba Ndlovu said there would be State control of the Press "for sometime until people are clear" that racism would not be tolerated.

"The freedom of speech, and indeed all human and peoples' rights, are fundamental elements of the post-apartheid South African constitution," ANC's Mathole Motshekga said.

Mr Motshekga said parties that propagated racism would be outlawed "because we don't

want to allow the freedom to propagate racism".

The ANC rejection of racism and ethnicity should not be confused with the rejection of the propagation of language, cultural and religious rights, he added.

The PAC's assistant general secretary, Philimon Tefo, said the first step was freedom of speech.

Azapo's general secretary Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said "Freedom of speech of the individual and the media has traditionally meant the absence of State control".

"The freedom we are talking about must be controlled to ensure equal media access and to promote equal treatment of proponents of different views. To what extent is the question," Mr Nefolovhodwe said.

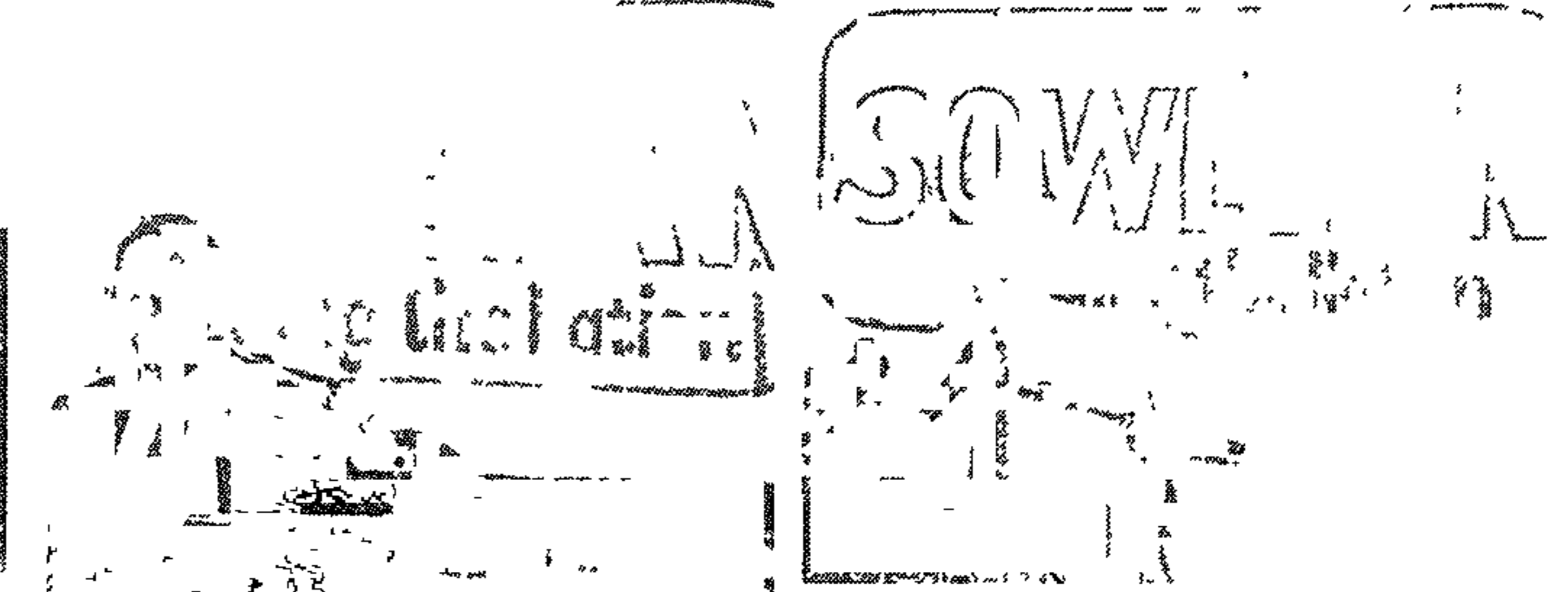
Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Musa Myeni told the conference freedom was indivisible. "If you deny anyone freedom of speech you are denying others their freedom. In a future South African constitution you can't talk about one freedom and not another," he said.

Making a call for Press freedom



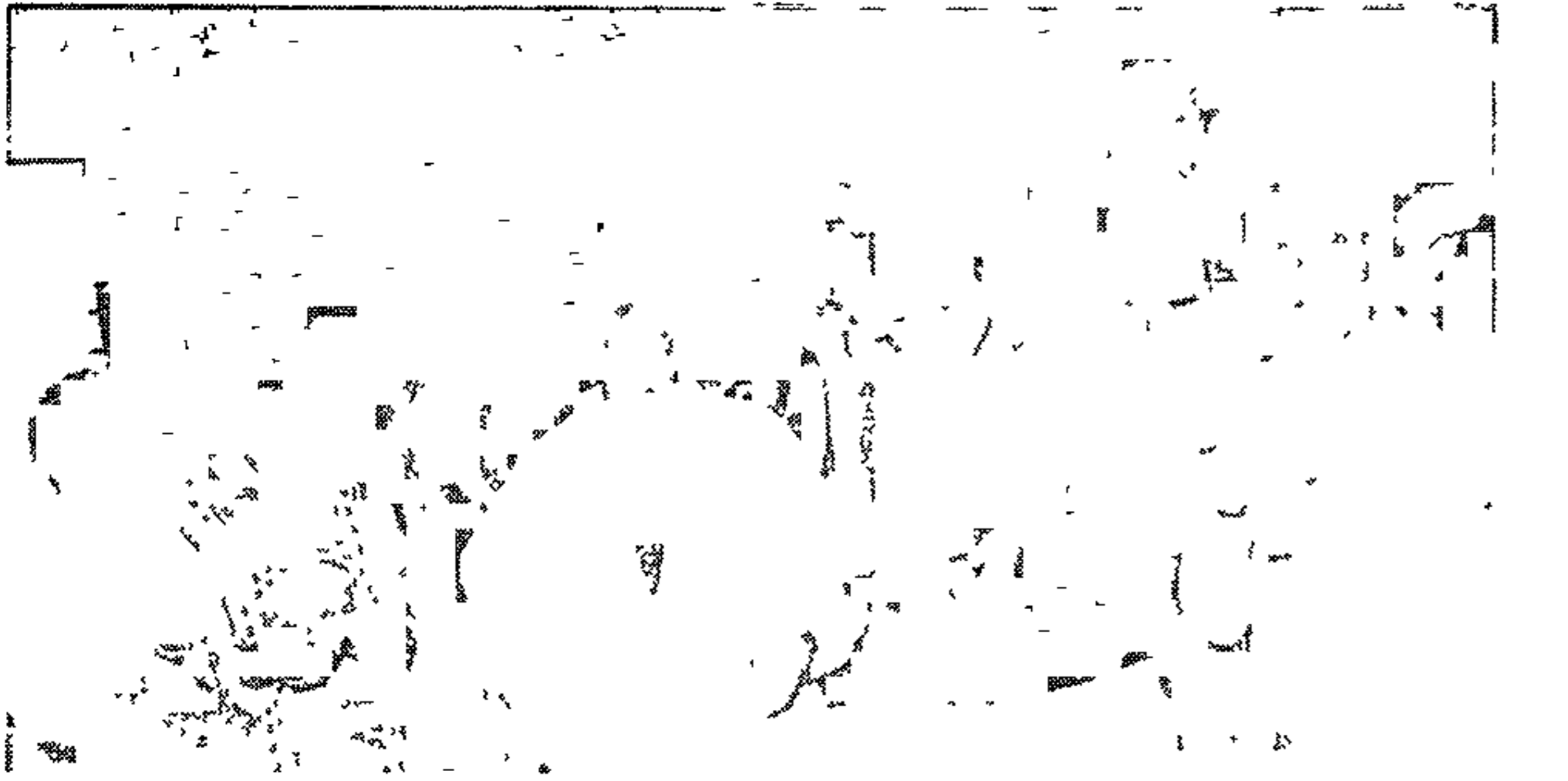
Mr Ameen Akhalwaya, editor of *The Indicator*

Mr Mathole Motshekga of the ANC

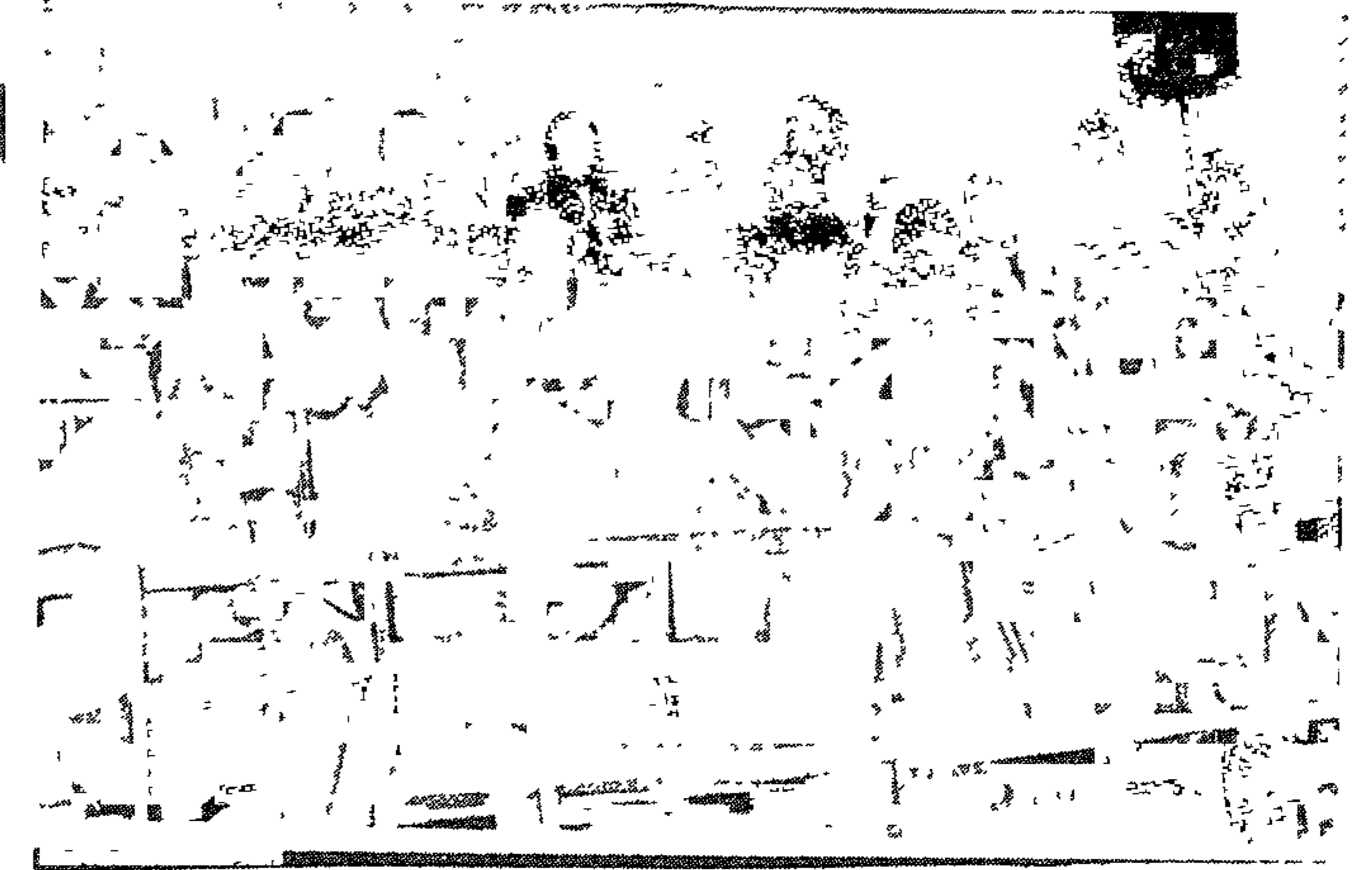


Mr Aggrey Klaaste, editor of *Sowetan*

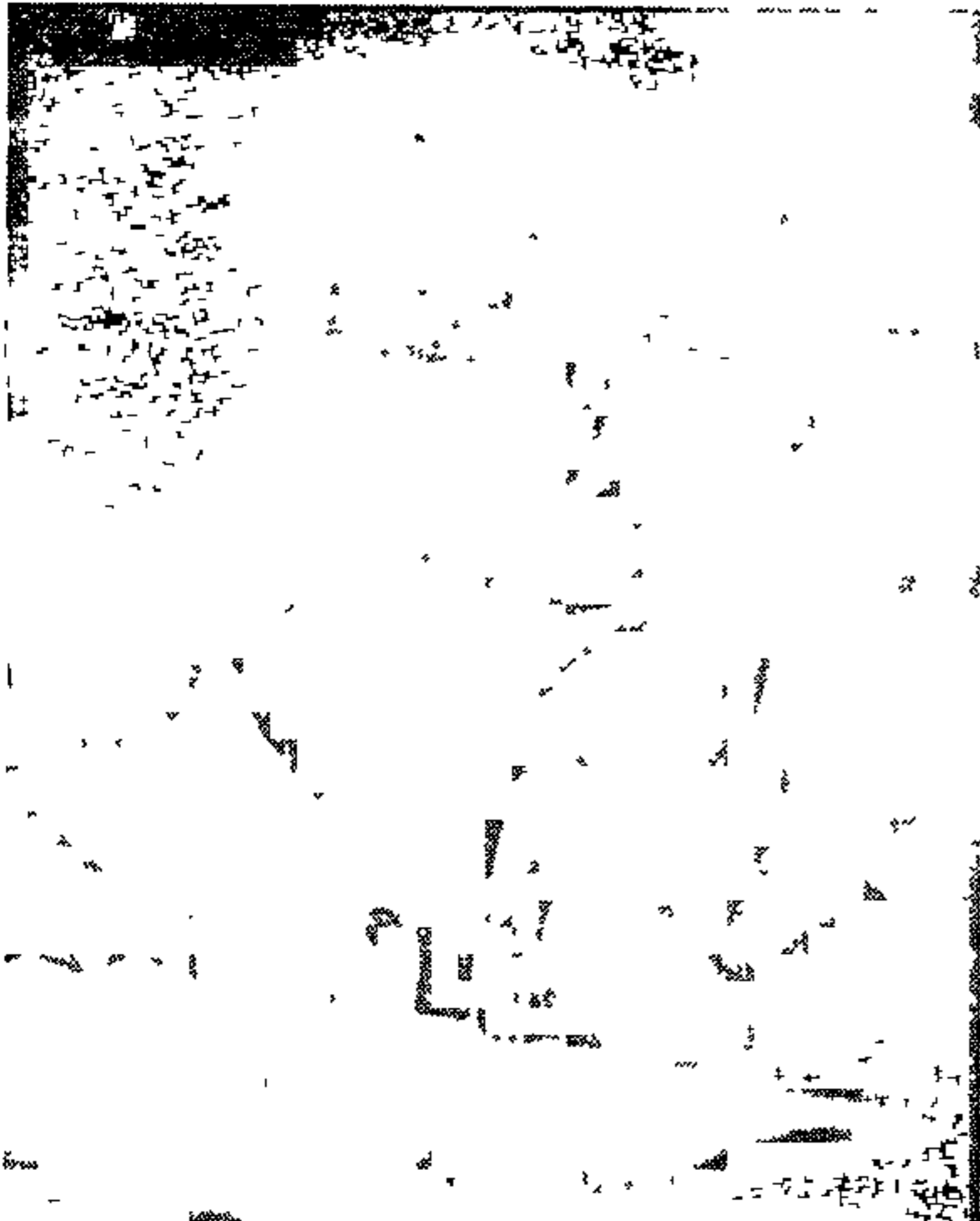
Mr Raymond Louw of Anti-Censorship Action Group.



Enjoying drinks and snacks after the seminar.



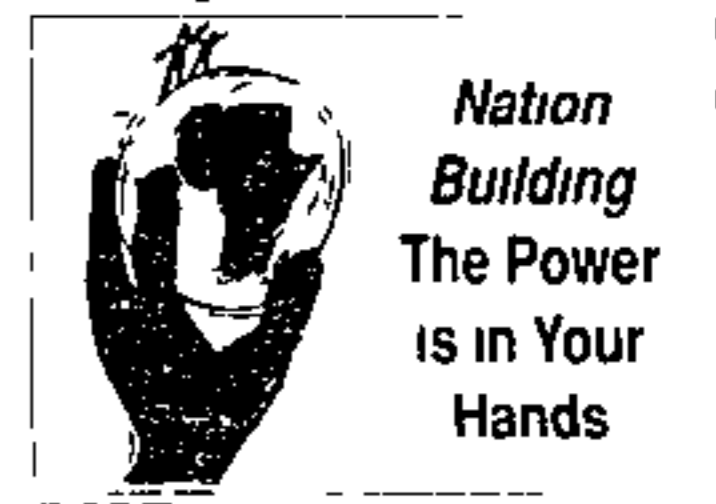
Guests listen as speakers give their views.



Professor Eskia Mphahlele, chaired the topic *Wading Our Way to Press Freedom*



Among the audience were Joshua Raboroko (*Sowetan*), Mr Derrick Thema of Eskom, Sefake Nyako (*Star*), Mr Vusi Zwane of United States Information Service, Nomfundo Vokwana and Molefi Mika.



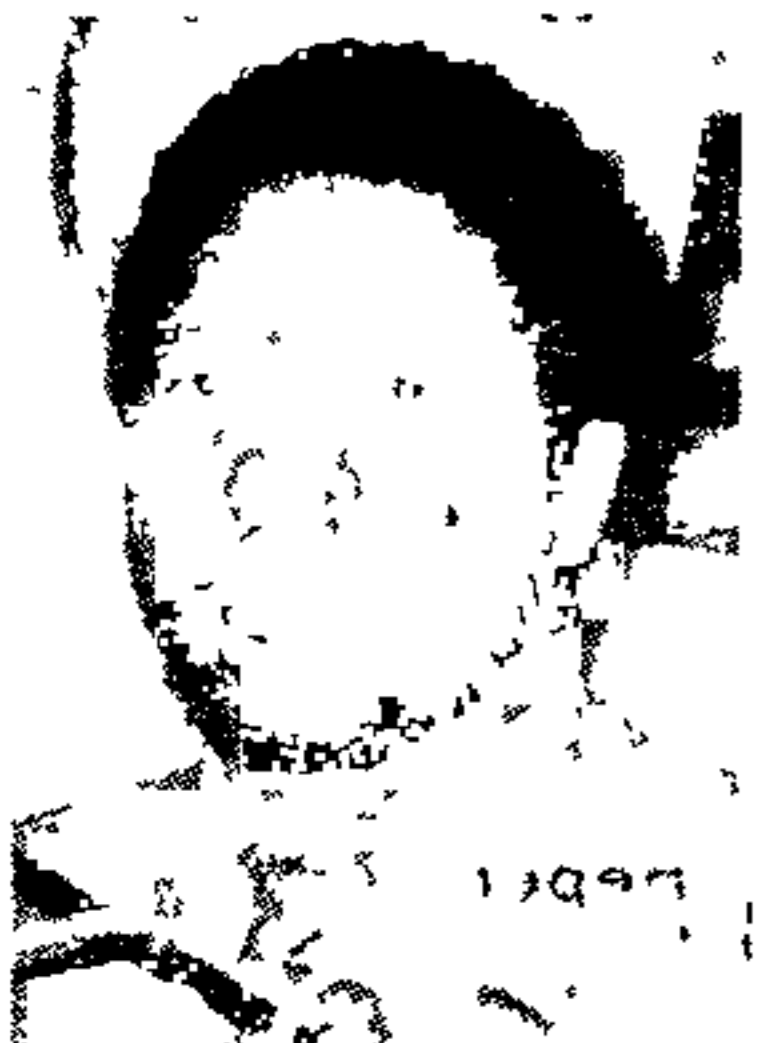
Mr Philemon Tefo, of the PAC.



Mr Moeletsi Mbeki of Cosatu



Mr Musa Myeni of Inkatha



Mr Mahlomola Skhosana of Nactu



Mr Tyrone August of Association of Democratic Journalists.

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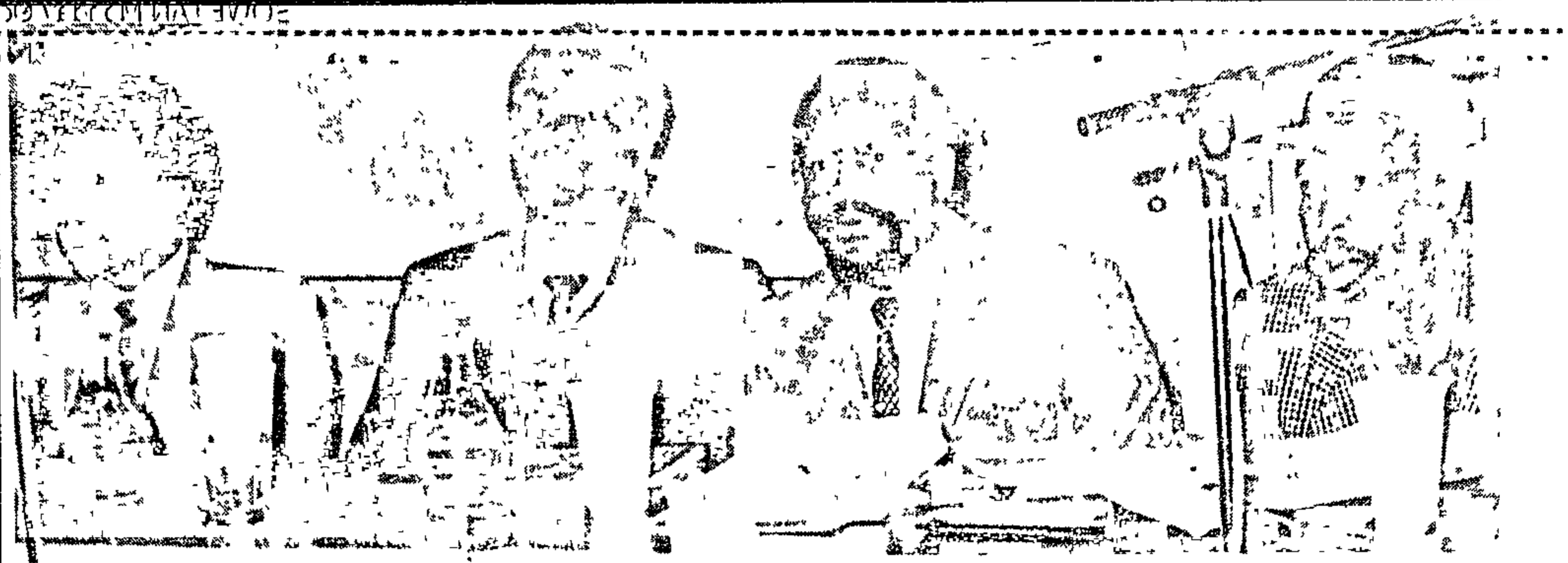
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Sowetan



Institute of Personnel Management



Representatives of different political organisations at Sowetan's Press seminar... from left Mr Musa Myeni of Inkatha, Mr Goba Ndhlovu of New Unity Movement, Mr Mathole Motshekga of ANC and Mr Phillimon Ntefo of PAC.

Accolades for Sowetan

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Sowetan 22/10/90

By DON SEOKANE

TRADE unionists and political leaders lauded the Sowetan for inviting a wide spectrum of political organisations and trade unions to the Seminar on Press Freedom held at Vista University at the weekend.

The Seminar, which was arranged as part of the month-long Nation Building programme, lasted eight hours following perceptive views delivered by speakers from the Pan Africanist Congress, Inkatha, Azapo, African National Congress and New Unity Movement.

The PAC was



Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe of Azapo.

represented by Mr Phillimon Tefo, Inkatha by Mr Musa Myeni, Azapo, by Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, ANC by Mr Mathole Motshekga and NUM by Mr Goba Ndhlovu on the subject titled "The Constitutional Future of SA and Freedom of Speech".

Inkatha Freedom Party, Myeni, views a

Constitution as a social contract within society and that individual rights and not group rights are vital.

Nefolovhodwe said liberation movements are not primarily formed to negotiate but to free their people and that there is a distinction between waging a struggle to liberate people and waging a struggle to become a future government.

Motsheka, who is an advocate, said the idea of human rights, especially freedom of speech, has been a traditional demand of the ANC.

Ndhlovu said freedom of speech and association have been violated since 1652 that organisations

such as the PAC and ANC were compelled to discard their non-violent stand.

Mr Mahlomola Skhosana represented the National Council of Trade Unions and Mr Moeletsi Mbeki represented Cosatu on the topic titled *Trade Unions and the Press - Now and in the Future*

Newsman, Mr Brian Pottinger - assistant political editor of *The Sunday Times*, Mr John Patten - editor-elect of *Natal Mercury*, Mr Aggrey Klaaste - editor of *Sowetan*, Mr Ameen Akhalwaya - editor of Lenasia-based alternative newspaper, *The Indicator*, also presented their views on the topic titled *Waging Our Way to Press Freedom*

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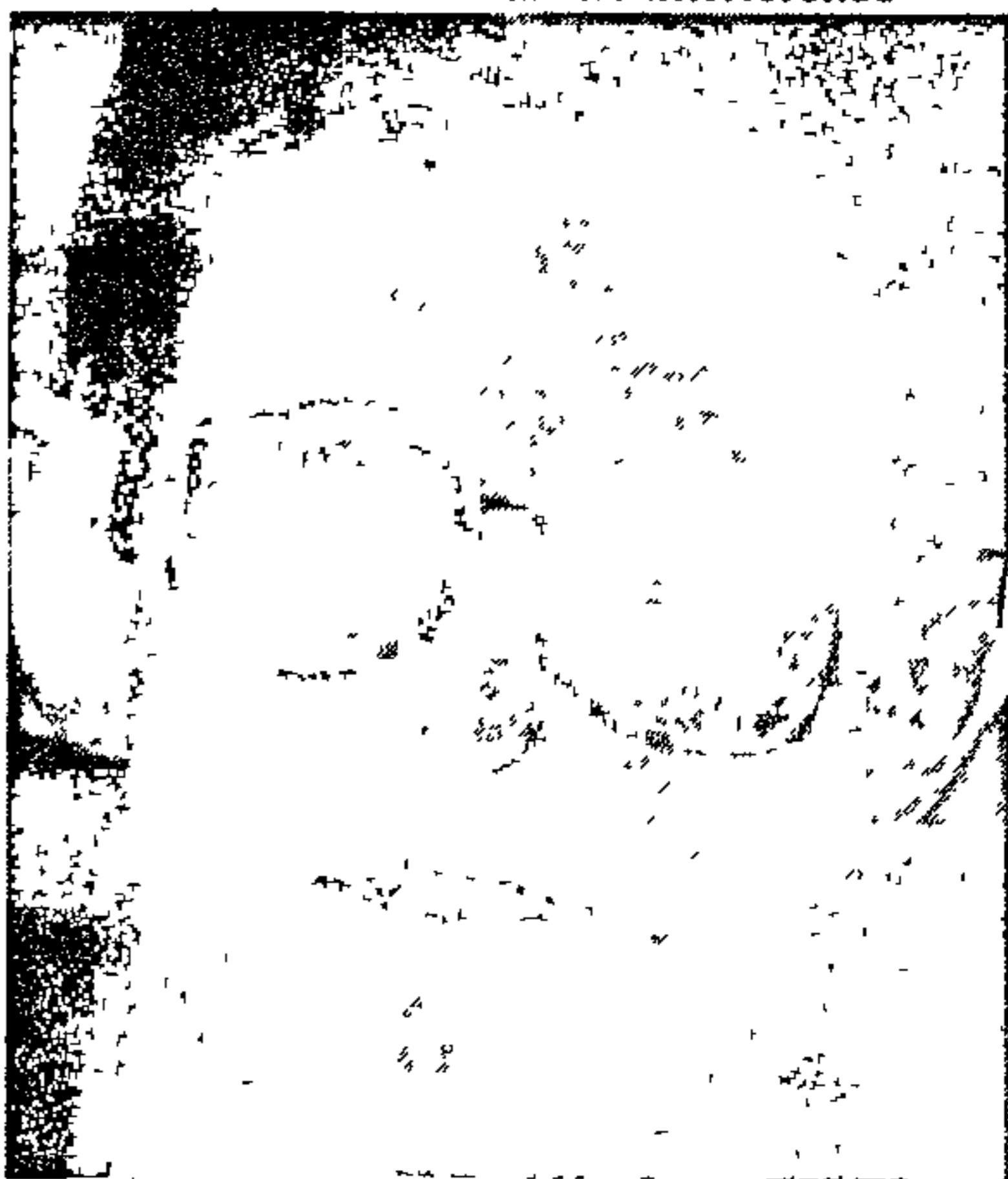
Freedom to say what's on your mind

243

Sowetan
22/10/90



BRIAN POTTINGER ... "no interference"



JOHN PATTEN ... "no interference"

SOME events seem to defy sober analysis. Why, for example, did an Inkatha official enjoy such spirited applause from an otherwise hostile audience in Soweto last Friday?

Musa Myeni was tolerated when he propagated his views, when he argued, when he challenged others and defended his organisation. No one hissed, booed or heckled.

Few (perhaps no one?) in the audience at Vista University's Soweto campus agreed with the man. Who cared that Inkatha shared a platform with the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, Azapo, the New Unity Movement?

They had a right to speak. And they were so charming and eloquent - no mud-slinging or recriminations.

Just good old-fashioned talk. Like those marvellous days not so long ago when it mattered not one jot that journalists - who supported different political organisations - talked about their problems from sunset until dawn.

FOCUS

By QURAIH PATEL

It was that atmosphere the *Sowetan* recreated at its Seminar on Press Freedom on October 19.

Thirteen years ago on that day security police hustled Aggrey Klaaste from his family to spend six months in jail because the Minister of Justice (anyone remember Jimmy Kruger?) could not tolerate the man's impertinence to speak his mind.

Now Klaaste wanted us to remember that day in a special way. *Sowetan* deputy editor Joe Thlolo did that - by organising a conference that reflected the columns of a newspaper.

He brought together divergent views so we may be properly informed about what each important organisation believes.

That we were not persuaded was besides the point.

Significantly, the panelists referred to the same issues: the role of newspapers and journalists, the protection of free speech, the influence of

owners on the policy and content of newspapers, the Press in a democracy and how to get to that democracy.

Like a good newspaper, as many opinions as time allowed were tolerated. Isn't that what newspapers are all about?

Reflecting views, reporting available information as accurately as possible within the limits of deadlines and the available column space, and giving readers the chance to respond?

The tone, content and style of the newspapers differ vastly but the concerns remain the same, and they are shared by the "commercial" and "alternative" Press.

Editor-elect of *Natal Mercury* John Patten, assistant editor of the *Sunday Times* Brian Pottinger, *Indicator* editor Ameen Akhalwaya and the *Sowetan's* Klaaste were unanimous on the freedom to publish without government interference.

Akhalwaya, in his inimitable fast-talking way, turned the focus inwards - to the organisations seeking liberation. If we disagree with Nelson Mandela, for goodness sake, let's say so. He is

not a god, immune from criticism of mortals. Our leaders are accountable

If the people are truly sovereign, Mandela and the organisations are accountable to the people.

Obvious as that may be, journalists seem reluctant to exercise their right to free speech in respect of certain organisations

Is it because they do not wish to criticise their allies? Perhaps. But a journalist told the conference that reporters who did not support a "political tendency" or who wrote nasty things about the political organisations were allegedly terrorised.

No one owned up. It didn't matter. It was enough that we spoke

about the problem. The perpetrators will be exposed if they exist.

At the end of the day, Klaaste got round to talking. He didn't read a speech or talk about Nation Building. He said given half a chance he would lecture on Nation Building, which is Klaaste's greatest joy.

He did not fool us. He did not have to lecture us on Nation Building.

When we left, we seemed to understand one another a little more. We also felt a little closer to those we had come to argue with. Isn't that what Klaaste is really trying to tell us about Nation Building?

Star 23/10/90 (243)

Govt mugged the press in '77 editor

On October 19 1977, the press was officially "mugged", the political editor of The Star, John Patten, said at the weekend

Patten, who is also editor-elect of the Natal Mercury, was addressing a press seminar at Vista University, Soweto, which was part of the Sowetan news-

paper's "Nation Building" programme

He was one of a panel of newspaper editors addressing the topic "Wading our way to press freedom."

The all-day seminar was held to commemorate the banning of The World and Weekend World

newspapers, black organisations and the banning and detention of individuals in a Government crackdown on October 19 1977.

Patten said at one stage the press was the only opposition against the Government because the real opposition had been banned — Staff Reporter

Reporter ordered to explain events in court ²⁴³

A Business Day journalist appeared in Alberton Magistrate's Court yesterday after being summonsed to answer questions in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act.

Mr. Linden Birns arrived at the court accompanied by his editor, Mr. Jim Jones, and legal representative Mr. David Dison of Bell, Dewar and Hall. *So well 23/10/90*

The proceedings were not open to the public or media.

Under the Section 205 subpoena, Birns was required to answer questions relating to an eyewitness account describing alleged police partiality during recent township violence in the Alberton district.

Birns told The Star before he appeared in court that he would be "contesting the validity of the subpoena".

Dison said he was not in a position to reveal the proceedings.

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Vol. 304

PRETORIA, 26 OCTOBER
OKTOBER 1990

No. 12803

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSION FOR ADMINISTRATION

No. 2498 26 October 1990

PROHIBITION OF A RESTRICTIVE PRACTICE IN
TERMS OF SECTION 14 OF THE MAINTENANCE
AND PROMOTION OF COMPETITION ACT, 1979
(ACT No. 96 OF 1979)

I, Willem Johannes de Villiers, Minister for Adminis-
tration and Economic Co-ordination, issue this notice
by virtue of the powers vested in me by section 14 of
the Maintenance and Promotion of Competition Act,
1979 (Act No. 96 of 1979), and determine that it will
come into operation on 10 December 1990

Having afforded due consideration to—

(1) the Competition Board's Report No. 28: In-
vestigation into a Restrictive Practice Contained in
an Agreement between Shell South Africa (Pty)
Ltd and the City Council of the Municipality of
Kroonstad, which was published under Govern-
ment Notice No 2459 in *Government Gazette* No.
12791 of 19 October 1990; and

(2) the respective responses of Shell South
Africa (Pty) Ltd, Mr K C. Wessels of Tewie Beleg-
gings (Pty) Ltd, Mr D den Hartog, and the National
Energy Council, to the aforementioned report of
the Competition Board, following my invitation to
them to comment on it;

I am of the opinion that clause 25 of the notarial
agreement of lease relating to the farm Dorp Gronden
van Kroonstadt (No. 460, District of Kroonstad), con-
cluded between Shell South Africa (Pty) Ltd and the
City Council of the Municipality of Kroonstad, and
registered on 12 October 1987, constitutes a "restrictive
practice" as defined in section 1 of the Act.

I am, furthermore, not satisfied that the said restric-
tive practice is justified in the public interest.

I, therefore—

(a) declare that particular restrictive practice to
be unlawful; and

172—A

GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWINGS

KANTOOR VAN DIE KOMMISSIE VIR ADMINISTRASIE

No. 2498 26 Oktober 1990

VERBOD OP 'N BEPERKENDE PRAKTYK INGE-
VOLGE ARTIKEL 14 VAN DIE WET OP DIE HAND-
HAWING EN BEVORDERING VAN MEDEDINGING,
1979 (WET No 96 VAN 1979)

Ek, Willem Johannes de Villiers, Minister vir Admini-
strasie en Ekonomiese Koordinering, reik hierdie ken-
nisgewing uit kragtens die bevoegdhede aan my
verleen deur artikel 14 van die Wet op die Handhawing
en Bevordering van Mededinging, 1979 (Wet No 96
van 1979), en bepaal dat dit op 10 Desember 1990 in
werking sal tree.

Na behoorlike oorweging van—

(1) Verslag No. 28 van die Raad op Mede-
dinging: Onderzoek na 'n Beperkende Praktijk
vervat in 'n Ooreenkoms tussen Shell Suid-Afrika
(Edms) Bpk en die Stadsraad van die Munisipali-
teit van Kroonstad, wat gepubliseer is in Goewer-
mentskennisgewing No. 2459 in *Staatskoerant*
No. 12791 van 19 Oktober 1990, en

(2) die onderskeie reaksies van Shell Suid-
Afrika (Edms) Bpk, mnr K C Wessels van
Tewie Beleggings (Edms) Bpk, mnr. D den
Hartog, en die Nasionale Energieraad, na aanlei-
ding van my uitnodiging aan hulle om daarop kom-
mentaar te lewer,

is ek van mening dat klousule 25 van die notanele
huurkontrak betreffende die plaas Dorp Gronden van
Kroonstadt (No 460, distrik Kroonstad), gesluit tussen
Shell Suid-Afrika (Edms) Bpk, en die Stadsraad van
die Munisipaliteit van Kroonstad, en geregistreer op 12
Oktober 1987, 'n "beperkende praktyk" soos omskryf
in artikel 1 van die Wet daarstel.

Ek is voorts nie oortuig dat vermeldde beperkende
praktyk in die openbare belang geregtig is nie.

Gevolgtik—

(a) verklaar ek die besondere beperkende prak-
tyk onwettig, en

12803—1

(b) determine that Shell South Africa (Pty) Ltd may not in terms of any other agreement, arrangement or understanding reserve for itself the right to decide whether anyone may establish or operate a business similar to its "Ultra City" complexes within the municipal area of Kroonstad

The facts giving rise to the above declaration are set out in Report No. 28 of the Competition Board

The kernel of the matter is that the business environment in which Shell South Africa (Pty) Ltd and the other oil companies operate is comprehensively regulated. In the circumstances it is imperative that any conduct that is not covered by the regulatory network should be carefully measured against the rules governing competition. These rules are, *inter alia*, aimed at preventing a participant in the South African economy from summarily entrenching his or its position against actual or potential competitors in a manner that is at variance with them. In evaluating the risks involved in a particular venture, businessmen who pay no heed to the rules governing competition do so at their peril.

DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS

No. 2466 26 October 1990

ALIENS ACT, 1937

CHANGE OF SURNAME.—MEYER TO ROSSI

The Minister of Home Affairs has been pleased under the provisions of section 9 of the Aliens Act, 1937 (Act No. 1 of 1937), to authorise Ferdie Meyer, residing at 5 Sud Court, 471 Walker Street, Sunnyside, Pretoria, to assume the surname of **Rossi**

No. 2467 26 October 1990

ALIENS ACT, 1937

CHANGE OF SURNAME.—VAN DER MERWE TO DELESCÉ

The Minister of Home Affairs has been pleased under the provisions of section 9 of the Aliens Act, 1937 (Act No. 1 of 1937), to authorise Jam Petré de Lescé van der Merwe, his wife Hendrina Aletta and minor children Nico Jam and Odette-Michelin, residing at 10 Hermo Street, Birchleigh North Extension 3, Kempton Park, to assume the surname of **Delescé**

No. 2468 26 October 1990

ALIENS ACT, 1937

CHANGE OF SURNAME —JACOBS TO MONAT

The Minister of Home Affairs has been pleased under the provisions of section 9 of the Aliens Act, 1937 (Act No. 1 of 1937), to authorise Gillian Jacobs, residing at 507 Pleasant Ways, Beach Road, Sea Point, to assume the surname of **Monat**

(b) bepaal dat Shell Suid-Afrika (Edms) Bpk nie ingevolge enige ander ooreenkoms, reëling of verstandhouding, vir homself die reg mag voorbehou nie om te besluit of enigiemand 'n onderneming, soortgelyk aan die "Ultra City"-komplekse van Shell, binne die munisipale gebied van Kroonstad mag oprig of bedryf

Die feite wat aanleiding gegee het tot bogenoemde verklaring word in Verslag No. 28 van die Raad op Mededinging uiteengesit.

Die kern van die aangeleentheid is dat die bedryfsomgewing waann Shell Suid-Afrika (Edms) Bpk en die ander oliemaatskappye aktief is, omvattend gereguleer word. In sodanige omstandighede is dit noodsaaklik dat enige gedrag wat nie binne die regulatoriese netwerk val nie, noukeurig beoordeel moet word ingevolge die reëls wat mededinging beheers. Hierdie reëls beoog, onder andere, om te verhoed dat 'n deelnemer aan die Suid-Afrikaanse ekonomie homself summier verskans teen werklike of potensiele mededingers op 'n wyse wat strydig is daarmee. In die evaluering van die risiko's verbonde aan 'n bepaalde onderneming sou sakemanne die reëls wat mededinging beheers tot eie gevaar ignoreer.

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE SAKE

No. 2466 26 Oktober 1990

WET OP VREEMDELINGE, 1937

VANSVERANDERING —MEYER IN ROSSI

Dit het die Minister van Binnelandse Sake behaag om, kragtens die bepalings van artikel 9 van die Wet op Vreemdelinge, 1937 (Wet No 1 van 1937), Ferdie Meyer, woonagtig te Sudhof 5, Walkerstraat 471, Sunnyside, Pretoria, te magtig om die van **Rossi** aan te neem.

No. 2467 26 Oktober 1990

WET OP VREEMDELINGE, 1937

VANSVERANDERING.—VAN DER MERWE IN DELESCÉ

Dit het die Minister van Binnelandse Sake behaag om, kragtens die bepalings van artikel 9 van die Wet op Vreemdelinge, 1937 (Wet No 1 van 1937), Jam Petré de Lescé van der Merwe, sy vrou Hendrina Aletta en minderjarige kinders Nico Jam en Odette-Michelin, woonagtig te Hermostraat 10, Birchleigh-Noord-uitbreiding 3, Kempton Park, te magtig om die van **Delescé** aan te neem

No. 2468 26 Oktober 1990

WET OP VREEMDELINGE, 1937

VANSVERANDERING —JACOBS IN MONAT

Dit het die Minister van Binnelandse Sake behaag om, kragtens die bepalings van artikel 9 van die Wet op Vreemdelinge, 1937 (Wet No 1 van 1937), Gillian Jacobs, woonagtig te Pleasant Ways 507, Beachweg, Seepunt, te magtig om die van **Monat** aan te neem

general information that the applications, details of which appear in the Schedules hereto, will be heard by the National Transport Commission.

Representations in accordance with section 6 (1) of Act No. 51 of 1949 in support of, or in opposition to, an application, should reach the Director-General: Transport (Directorate Civil Aviation), Private Bag X193, Pretoria, 0001, and the applicant within 21 days of the date of publication hereof stating whether the party or parties making such representation intend to be present or represented at the hearing.

The Commission will cause notice of the time, date and place of the hearing to be given in writing to the applicant and all parties who have made representations as aforesaid and who desire to be present or represented at the hearing.

SCHEDULE A

SCHEDULE OF APPLICATIONS FOR THE GRANT OF LICENCES

(A) Name and address of applicant. (B) Name under which the air service is to be operated (C) Particulars of air service. (i) Area to be served (ii) Route(s) to be served. (iii) Base(s). (iv) Types and classes of traffic to be conveyed. (v) Frequency and time-tables to which the service will be operated. (vi) Types of training to be provided. (vii) Particulars and description of types of work to be undertaken (viii) Tariff of charges (D) Aircraft to be used.

(A) P. A. C. de Korte, P.O. Box 977, Klerksdorp, 2570. (B) P. A. C. de Korte. (C) Aerial Work Air Service. (vii) Aerial cropspraying within the borders of the Republic of South Africa (viii) Insecticides—R17,50 per ha, Herbicides—R18,50 per ha (D) Piper PA-25-235 ZS-EXJ, ZS-IKT.

(26 October 1990)

NOTICE 902 OF 1990

HARMFUL BUSINESS PRACTICES ACT, 1988 BUSINESS PRACTICES COMMITTEE

In terms of the provisions of section 8 (4) of the Harmful Business Practices Act, 1988 (Act No 71 of 1988), it is hereby made known for general information that the Business Practices Committee proposes to make an investigation in terms of section 8 (1) (a) of the said Act into a business practice applied by Shemara Holdings (Pty) Ltd (in liquidation); Helderberg Village Share Block Holdings Ltd, Barry Burton Barbour; Jonathan Arthur Kipps; and Yntze Schrauwen.

The investigation relates to—

- (1) the canvassing of investors in, and of buyers of rights to units and shares in, Helderberg Village;
- (2) the canvassing of investments in Shemara Holdings (Pty) Ltd (in liquidation);
- (3) the canvassing and contracting of loans for Shemara Holdings (Pty) Ltd (in liquidation),
- (4) the application of the assets of Shemara Holdings (Pty) Ltd (in liquidation); and
- (5) the management of Shemara Holdings (Pty) Ltd (in liquidation) and of Helderberg Share Block Holdings Ltd.

inligting bekendgemaak dat die Nasionale Vervoer-kommissie die aansoeke waarvan besonderhede in die Bylaes hieronder verskyn, sal aanhoor

Vertoë ingevolge artikel 6 (1) van Wet No 51 van 1949 ter ondersteuning of bestryding van 'n aansoek moet die Direkteur-generaal Vervoer (Direktoraat Burgerlugvaart), Privaatsak X193, Pretoria, 0001 en die aansoeker binne 21 dae na die datum van publikasie hiervan bereik en daarin moet gemeld word of die persoon of persone wat aldus vertoe rig, van plan is om die verrigtings by te woon of om daar verteenwoordig te word.

Die Kommissie sal reel dat kennis van die datum, tyd en plek van die verrigtings skriftelik gegee word aan die aansoeker en al die persone wat aldus vertoe geng het en wat verlang om aldus verteenwoordig of teenwoordig te wees.

BYLAE A

LYS VAN AANSOEKE OM DIE TOESTAAN VAN LISENSIES

(A) Naam en adres van applikant (B) Naam waaronder die lugdiens geëksploiteer gaan word (C) Besonderhede van lugdiens (i) Gebiede wat bedien gaan word. (ii) Roete(s) wat bedien gaan word (iii) Basis(se) (iv) Soort verkeer wat vervoer gaan word (v) Frekwensie en roosters waarvolgens die diens geëksploiteer gaan word. (vi) Soort opleiding wat verskaf gaan word (vii) Besonderhede en beskrywing van soort werk wat onderneem gaan word (viii) Tariefskaal (D) Lugvaartuie wat gebruik gaan word.

(A) P. A. C. de Korte, Posbus 977, Klerksdorp, 2570 (B) P A C de Korte (C) Handelslugdiens (vii) Lugbespuiting van gewasse binne die grense van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika (viii) Insekdoeders—R17,50 per ha, Onkruiddoeders—R18,50 per ha (D) Piper PA-25-235 ZS-EXJ, ZS-IKT

(26 Oktober 1990)

KENNISGEWING 902 VAN 1990

WET OP SKADELIKE SAKEPRAKTYKE, 1988 SAKEPRAKTYKEKOMITEE

Ingevolge die bepalings van artikel 8 (4) van die Wet op Skadelike Sakepraktyke, 1988 (Wet No 71 van 1988), word hiermee vir algemene inligting bekendgemaak dat die Sakepraktykekomitee van voornemens is om kragtens artikel 8 (1) (a) van die gemelde Wet 'n ondersoek in te stel na 'n sakepraktyk wat toegepas word deur Shemara Holdings (Edms) Bpk (in likwidasie); Helderberg Village Share Block Holdings Bpk, Barry Burton Barbour, Jonathan Arthur Kipps, en Yntze Schrauwen.

Die ondersoek het betrekking op—

- (1) die werf van beleggers in, en van kopers van regte op eërhede en aandele, in Helderberg Village;
- (2) die werf van beleggings in Shemara Holdings (Edms.) Bpk. (in likwidasie),
- (3) die werf en aangaan van lenings vir Shemara Holdings (Edms) Bpk (in likwidasie),
- (4) die aanwending van die bates van Shemara Holdings (Edms) Bpk (in likwidasie), en
- (5) die bestuur van Shemara Holdings (Edms) Bpk (in likwidasie) en Helderberg Share Block Holdings Bpk.

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Any person may within a period of fourteen (14) days from the date of this notice, make written representation regarding this investigation to.

245 The Secretary, Business Practices Committee,
Private Bag X84, Pretoria, 0001.

(26 October 1990)

BOARD NOTICE

BOARD NOTICE 71 OF 1990

THE SOUTH AFRICAN MEDICAL AND DENTAL COUNCIL

It is hereby notified in terms of regulation 12 of Government Notice No. R 2279 of 3 December 1976 that at an election of a member of the Professional Board for Health Inspectors for the unexpired period of the Professional Board ending on the 30th day of September 1993, held in accordance with the Medical, Dental and Supplementary Health Service Professions Act, 1974 (Act No 56 of 1974), the number of votes appearing below were recorded for the respective candidates.

| | |
|--|-----|
| Bezuidenhout, Reinier Johannes Nicolas | 52 |
| Ferreira, Ignaas Petrus | 21 |
| Le Roux, Anthonie Jakobus | 125 |
| Matthews, John David Lloyd | 73 |
| Oosthuizen, Hermanus Barend.. | 52 |
| Richter, Jacobus Marthinus | 72 |
| Steyn, Andries Johannes | 147 |
| Van Rooyen, Daniel Jacobus | 137 |
| Vogel, Adolf Johan | 37 |

I declare the following person to have been elected as a member of the Professional Board for Health Inspectors for the period ending on 30 September 1993:

Steyn, Andries Johannes

N. M. PRINSLOO,
Registrar

(26 October 1990)

Enigiemand kan binne 'n tydperk van veertien (14) dae vanaf die datum van hierdie kennisgewing skriftelik vertoe aangaande hierdie ondersoek rig aan

Die Sekretaris, Sakepraktykekomitee, Privaatsak
X84, Pretoria, 0001

(26 Oktober 1990)

RAADSKENNISGEWING

RAADSKENNISGEWING 71 VAN 1990

DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE GENEESKUNDIGE EN TANDHEELKUNDIGE RAAD

Kennis word hierby gegee ingevolge regulasie 12 van Goewermentskennisgewing R 2279 van 3 Desember 1976 dat by 'n verkiesing gehou ingevolge die bepalings van die Wet op Geneeshere, Tandartse en Aanvullende Gesondheidsdiensberoepe, 1974 (Wet No 56 van 1974), van 'n lid van die Beroepsraad vir Gesondheidsinspekteurs vir die onverstreke termyn van die Beroepsraad wat op die 30ste dag van September 1993 verstryk, die getal stemme vir die onderskeie kandidate aangeteken, die volgende is

| | |
|--|-----|
| Bezuidenhout, Reinier Johannes Nicolas | 52 |
| Ferreira, Ignaas Petrus | 21 |
| Le Roux, Anthonie Jakobus | 125 |
| Matthews, John David Lloyd | 73 |
| Oosthuizen, Hermanus Barend | 52 |
| Richter, Jacobus Marthinus | 72 |
| Steyn, Andries Johannes | 147 |
| Van Rooyen, Daniel Jacobus | 137 |
| Vogel, Adolf Johan | 37 |

Ek verklaar die volgende persoon as verkies tot lid van die Beroepsraad vir Gesondheidsinspekteurs vir die tydperk eindigende op 30 September 1993

Steyn, Andries Johannes

N. M. PRINSLOO,
Registrateur.

(26 Oktober 1990)

NOW AVAILABLE

REPORTS OF THE APPEAL COURTS FOR COMMISSIONERS' COURTS

(In book form)
1972-1974 (484 pages)
1975-1977 (338 pages)

Selling price (GST excluded)

1972-1974 Local, R9.20 other countries R10.90 post free
1975-1977 Local, R7.40, other countries, R8.70 post free

NOU BESKIKBAAR

VERSLAE VAN DIE APPELHOWE VIR KOMMISSARISHOWE

(In boekvorm)
1972-1974 (484 bladsye)
1975-1977 (338 bladsye)

Verkoopprijs (AVB uitgesluit)

1972-1974 Plaaslik R9.20 buitelands, R10.90 posvry
1975-1977 Plaaslik R7.40 buitelands R8.70 posvry

Funds for political activity to be cut

Switch in EC policy on aid to SA groups

BIDAM 26/10/90

243

TIM COHEN

A SWITCH in EC political policy means the Kagiso Trust, which will fund projects worth R90m this year, will cease giving money to a number of civic associations, cultural organisations and five newspapers.

The funding, which the EC has supplied for more than 10 years, will be phased out over the next two years.

Organisations hardest hit will be those engaging in political activity.

The Kagiso Trust administers aid supplied by the EC. The trustees include Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Allan Boesak, SACC general secretary Frank Chikane and Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley.

Trust executive director Achmat Dangor said yesterday that although the total amount of funding would not decrease, the trust had changed its focus to development projects and was in the process of reappraising projects funded at present.

He said about 10% of the projects currently funded — and possibly more — would lose their funding in the next two years.

Urban-based civic organisations would be affected and cultural organisations would face drastic aid cuts during the next 12 months, he said.

The trust would focus on supplying bursaries, rural development projects and squatter camp projects, he said.

In the past the Kagiso Trust has not released the names of projects it funds.

Dangor said the trust administration

was in favour of doing so and was in the process of negotiating with beneficiaries who were not in favour of the publication of the amounts they received.

It is known that the trust funds five newspapers the New Nation, Umafrika, South, Vrye Weekblad and the New African. Dangor said funding for these would be phased out over the next two years.

Funding for the New African formally ends at the end of this year, but Dangor said the trust would continue assisting the paper for another year.

He said the fact that the 1991 bursary programme budget was recently approved at R36m, an increase of R7m over 1990, demonstrated the fact that funds under the EC's Special Programme had increased over last year.

Dangor said the Kagiso Trust's change of focus towards development-orientated projects would of necessity mean a reappraisal of the projects funded by the group.

Particularly affected would be those that have traditionally only been engaged in "protest" against the system of apartheid, and are inherently incapable of changing.

"Increased demand for resources, particularly in the spheres of education, rural development and addressing the severe problems of squatter camps, does mean prioritising of funds.

"Civic organisations being entities close to the people and in so much as such organisations can help build a civil society that

□ To Page 2

Kagiso

can address local problems in a non-partisan way, will continue to receive our support.

"Those that cannot or who are unwilling to shed themselves of narrow, party political attitudes obviously will not," he said.

EC Southern Africa department head Wim Blonk said from Brussels yesterday that the EC had in principle decided to fund strictly developmental operations in SA and gradually phase out all other projects which were politically orientated and which did not comply with the new criteria.

Blonk said the Kagiso Trust, SA Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC), SA Council

of Churches (SACC) and trade unions, which are partners of the EC in SA, would be responsible for implementing the new decision.

Sapa reports that Blonk confirmed that the EC would be helping to fund the ANC's exile repatriation programme.

Dangor said yesterday that a R20m plan to repatriate SA's roughly 20 000 exiles had been endorsed by the Kagiso Trust.

He said the plan, under discussion by the SACC, had been accepted in principle by the EC.

But the community had not as yet presented a budget, and the fund had not been formally accepted by the body.

□ From Page 1

26/10/90 2430

Editor Du Preez to be sentenced

Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez will be sentenced in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court today for contravening the Protection of Information Act.

Du Preez and the publishers of his newspaper, Wending Publications, were found guilty earlier this month of receiving and publishing a document containing information sensitive to State security.

The charges related to a report in the Vrye Weekblad in February titled "Storm oor Matie Prof en Intelligensiediens". — Staff Reporter.

MOELETSI Mbeki kicked off the *Sowetan's* seminar on Press freedom last Friday. "We need open debate in this country. There has never been open debate here."

Mbeki was speaking on behalf of the Congress of South African Trade Unions. He is in its communications department.

He was just one of the many Nieman Fellows who participated in an exciting day of debate, with huge implications for the country's future.

The other Nieman Fellows were *Sowetan* editor Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the *Indicator* Ameen Akhalwaya, chief assistant editor of the *Sunday Times* Brian Pottinger and myself.

Mbeki, however, had a special place: he has impeccable ANC credentials; he has worked for publications in Africa and Britain, journalism was his second career choice after he had started out as a construction engineer in Britain, and he has just returned from exile to edit *Cosatu's* newspaper.

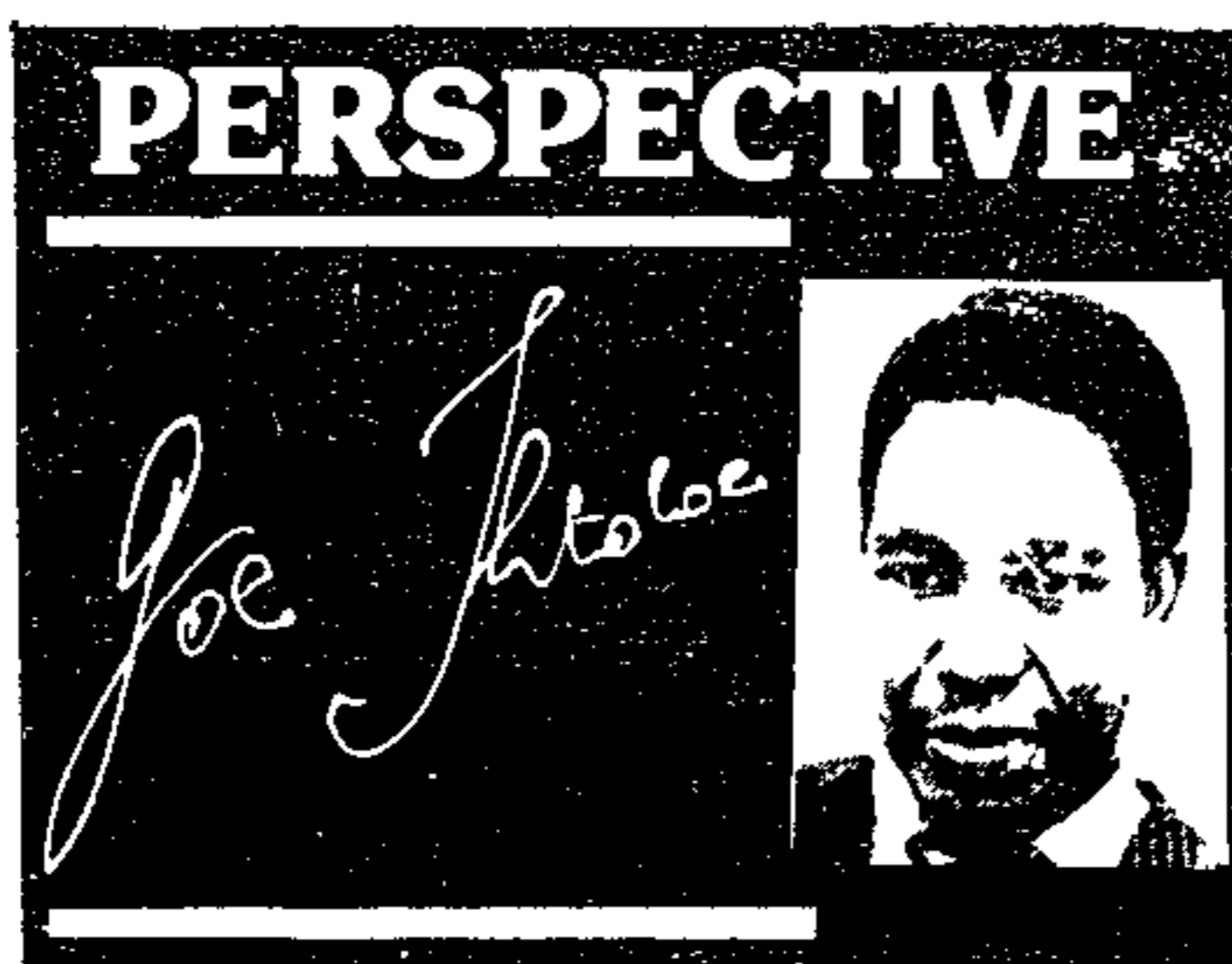
To paraphrase his words, he was taking another look at South Africa because returning exiles are like people who have been given a second lease of life and have a new perspective.

In the end he suggested that the journalistic community should be strengthened, it should be independent and should be self-critical.

He said a culture of debate has to be nurtured in this country. And he said top priority should go to the debate on redistributing the wealth of this country because the same concentration of wealth in a few hands that was evident in South African society was also evident in the media.

Sharing the platform with Mbeki was Mahlomola Skhosana, the assistant secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions.

Nactu and Cosatu are rivals and fight bitterly for membership and for dominance in black labour affairs. But it was not unusual to see them speak from the same platform. They have a history of working together on



Strange bedfellows - but we all spoke as one

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Sowetan
26/10/90

consisted of rivals - the Media Workers Association of South Africa, the Association of Democratic Journalists and the South African Union of Journalists.

The Anti-Censorship Action Group, which has been valiantly fighting censorship since it was founded recently, was added to the brew.

Mwasa and the SAUJ have a long history of being at each other's throats, but relations between them have improved over the years as they discovered that they had many problems in common.

The ADJ, which has strong leanings towards Mass Democratic Movement, was conceived as an ideological rival to both the SAUJ and Mwasa.

Government action against the media, particularly the media regulations of the unlamented State of Emergency, forced these unions to work together in an umbrella body called Campaign for Open

Media

The panellists here - Bob Kernohan (SAUJ), Vincent Mfundisi (Mwasa), Tyrone August (ADJ) and Ray Louw (Acag), all respected journalists - called for more diversity in the media, for more voices to be heard, on journalists "to stand with the truth and damn the consequences", for access to the media for the man in the street, who has always been a passive receiver of information.

The climax of the seminar came after lunch when speakers from the New Unity Movement, the Pan Africanist Congress, Inkatha, Azapo and the African National Congress gave their organisations' conceptions of the constitutional future of this country and the place of Press freedom in their plans.

Goba Ndhloyu (NUM), Philemon Tefo (PAC), Musa Myeni (Inkatha), Pandelani Nefolovhodwe (Azapo) and Mathole Motshekga (ANC) carefully ex-

plained what their organisations stood for and all called for freedom of expression and Press freedom.

Time was short. We could not question them about the growing intolerance in black liberation politics, we could not ask them about what they were doing to get their members to understand the importance of letting the other man make his own choices and having his say.

We did not have time to ask about the possibility of their limited Press freedom - "we will outlaw racist publications," for instance - growing insidiously into restrictions on the media as a whole in the name of "law and order".

But it was just a beginning. It was exciting just to see how much the organisations had in common and the potential for united action on limited programmes. Just dreams at this stage. Mere possibilities. The nearly 300 people who were present were caught in the excitement of the moment, giving Myeni applause that I would not have believed possible from such an audience in Soweto.

Particularly thrilling for me was that we had given these organisations the platform to debate issues. We were doing exactly what Mbeki was asking for.

The primary purpose

of newspapers is to be vehicles of information, ideas and opinions. The Society can pick the best for itself - it does not need a Big Brother to decide what is best.

The *Sowetan* is playing this primary role and I am proud to be part of it.

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26/10/1990

ers, Mr Nat Kettle, told me that he was opposed to sharing a platform with Inkatha. Of course he and his organisation are entitled to their opinion, but they are certainly the poorer for not having taken part in it.

some of their efforts break down. Whereas Mbeki had taken a poke at what he called the Bourgeois Press, Skhosana lashed out at the Alternative Media. He suggested that we should look seriously at creating an alternative to the Alternative Media because of its bias in favour of only one tendency in the liberation struggle. The next panel also

Vrye Weekblad editor is fined R2 000

VRYE Weekblad editor Max du Preez has been fined R2 000 (or four months in prison) for infringing the Protection of Information Act by receiving and publishing a document containing information sensitive to state security.

He was sentenced in the Johannesburg Regional Court on Friday.

The publishers of the Afrikaans weekly newspaper, Wending Publications, were

fined R5 000

The sentencing followed the conviction of Du Preez and Wending Publications earlier this month on two charges after publication of an article in February this year.

Magistrate T Le Grange said the document was prepared by a university department for the Department of National Intelligence and discussed methods of getting information on state security — Sapa.

Rhodie claimed editor informed'

CME TICF
29/10/80

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By BARRY STREEK

FORMER Secretary of Information Dr Eschel Rhodie claimed that the editor of an English-language South African newspaper was an informer for the government, the former editor of the Cape Times, Mr, Anthony Heard, has revealed.

Dr Rhodie did not name the editor but said the head of the Bureau of State Security (Boss), General Hendrik van den Bergh, had told the then prime minister, Mr John Vorster, that the editor had supplied information in return for "assistance" — secret information.

Details of Dr Rhodie's claims, contained in a memorandum by a Cape Times reporter, have been published in a book, "The Cape of Storms", by Mr Heard.

The book has just been published in North America but is not yet available locally.

About the alleged informer, Mr Heard writes that Mr Vorster was told the security services had received information through an editor about what parts of an auditor-general's report on the Department of Information had been leaked to the press

This was disclosed by a Cape Times reporter in a memorandum to Mr Heard after the reporter had interviewed Dr Rhodie

In the memorandum the reporter informed Mr Heard she had asked Dr Rhodie to enlarge on his claim that an editor was an informer.

"Still refusing to identify the editor further, Dr Rhodie recounted a conversation between Vorster and General Hendrik van den Bergh just before the info scandal broke."

The emergency meeting, attended by Dr Rhodie, had taken place at the time of investigations into the department by the auditor-general.

In the course of the conversation General Van den Bergh had identified the informer as an editor of an English-language newspaper and named him.

"I asked Rhodie if the editor concerned was still an editor He declined to comment, other than 'It's certainly not Anthony Heard,'" the memorandum read.

Mr Heard has made a number of previously unpublished disclosures, including details of a secret attempt by ex-President P W Botha to persuade newspaper owners to censor themselves and examples of D-notices by the Defence Force

to "request" newspapers not to publish details of call-ups and operations in Angola.

He has also revealed that South African military men were training an Islamic nation's forces in the operation of G-5 cannons that had been exported to the Gulf at the very time the Ned Geref Kerk passed a resolution violently attacking Islam.

It is understood Mr Heard was referring to Iraq.

Heard — OB assassin missing link?

Staff Reporter

A KNOWN Ossewa Brandwag assassin, who was later hanged for murder, was in Cape Town in August 1945 when the well-known anti-nazi journalist Mr George Heard disappeared, his son, Mr Tony Heard, has disclosed.

In one of South Africa's most famous and baffling missing-person mysteries, George Heard, then in the navy, failed to turn up for a supper on August 8, 1945, and no trace of him was ever found again.

Mr Tony Heard said in his book, "The Cape of Storms", which has just been published in North America and is due for release in South Africa early next year, that every lead into his father's disappearance had been followed up, but nothing had been discovered.

"I discovered years later a known OB assassin was in Cape Town at the time.

"There is evidence that he discussed the Heard case with a naval acquaintance later traced to Rhodesia (Zimbabwe).

"That discussion was a short time after the disappearance in 1945."

Mr Heard said his family had never given up and it had pored over documents, talked to countless people in the world and checked court records and newspaper files.

Cost controls help Eskom to beat inflation

(Handwritten: 247)

A RE-STRUCTURING of Eskom in 1985 brought the organisation under the control of a body corporate managed by the Electricity Council and Management Board.

Since then, leaps in productivity and cost control have kept electricity price increases below inflation yet enabled Eskom to achieve a 1989 surplus of R728m, 10,8% down on the surplus of R816m in 1988

Against a PPI inflation rate of 15,2% and increases in resource and input costs in some cases higher than inflation, Eskom's total operating costs rose by just 12% (10% in 1987 and 1988)

The organisation estimates its productivity improvement in 1989 at 2,7%.

In September 1989, Eskom won the National Productivity Institute Award for reducing inventory while maintaining 95% service levels

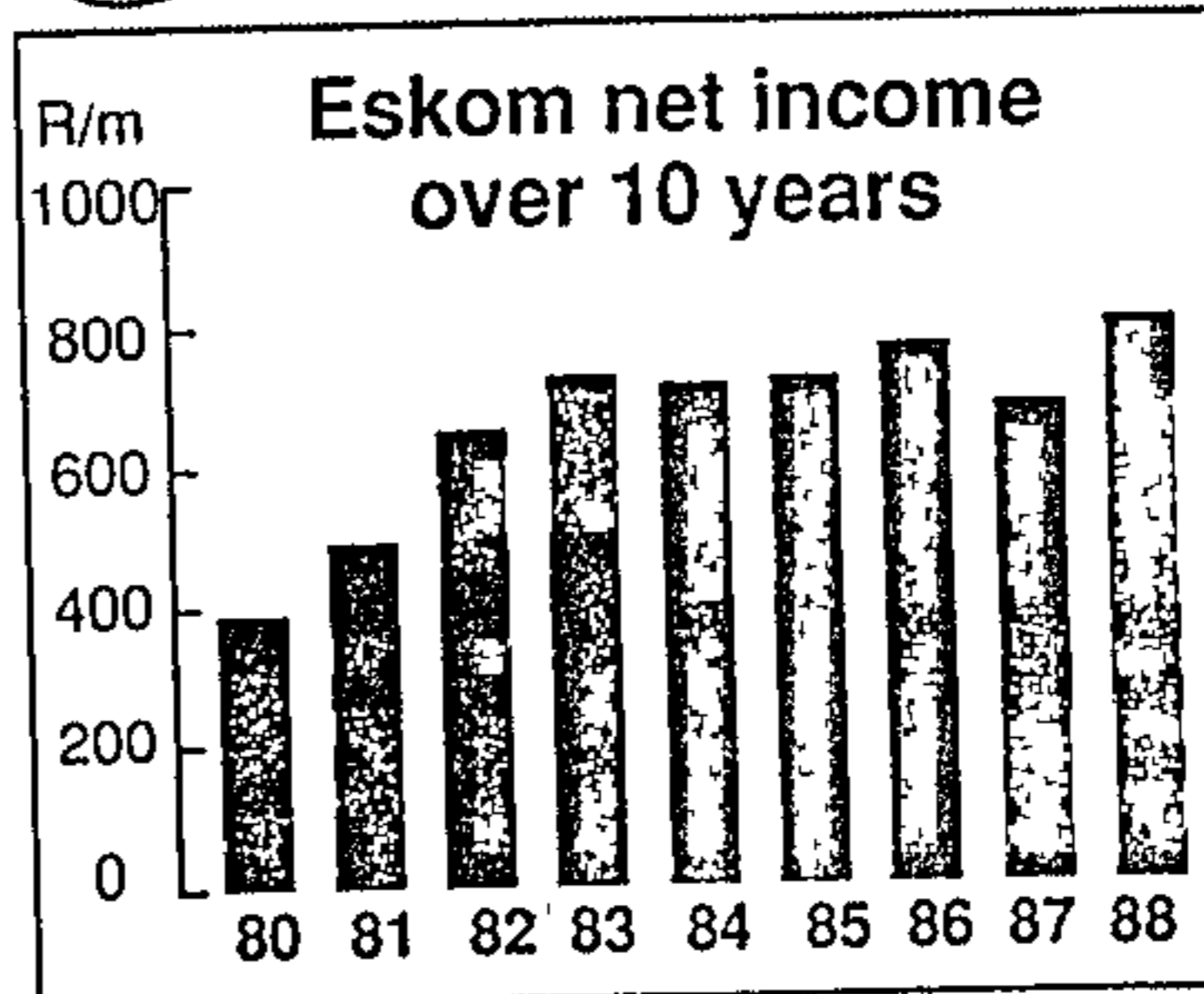
According to its annual report, through better inventory control and management by trained staff, the "disproportionate growth in inventories" before 1985 was arrested and lower inventory now supports more assets in service

Change

In pursuit of its goal of making cheap, reliable electricity available to everyone, Eskom, in a "significant change in marketing strategy" is prepared to form joint ventures with local authorities and communities to accelerate the electrification process

Modified methods of reticulation and wiring of homes have been developed in conjunction with suppliers — something Eskom previously left to local authorities

Eskom has a sound hu-



Graphic LEE EMERTON

(Handwritten: B/DAY 30/10/90)

man resources programme aimed at developing a good skills base

The organisation made considerable progress in 1989 in improving the quality of its electricity supply

The number of major transformer failures reduced from 13 in 1988 to three in 1989

Although a government-appointed organisation, it is independent and gains no government funding. It is funded entirely from debt (Eskom stock) and retained earnings

A commitment to qual-

ity, productivity and customer service indicates that, although it does not have direct competition, it does operate in a challenging marketplace

Eskom describes itself as "a market-driven organisation in close touch with the needs of customers to find ways of using electricity more effectively"

Part of its vision statement is to "be excellent in business performance and internationally recognised as a top utility".

Gerald L'Ange explains why press freedom is vital to the new South Africa.

See 30/10/90 (243)

A new era, an old struggle

WHATEVER form the new South Africa takes, its news media are going to have crucial responsibilities. They will be basically the same responsibilities that the news media have always had everywhere in the world. But because the new South Africa is almost certainly going to be a fragile structure in the beginning and subjected to enormous pressures, the functions of the press will be much more important than they are in a well-established and stable society.

However, the press will not be able to exercise its responsibilities unless it is free, and those who defend that freedom will be doing a great deal to help ensure that the nation grows in peace and prosperity.

If in the new dispensation television news services are controlled, even indirectly, by the Government, the newspapers will have an increased responsibility to defend and exercise press freedom — as they do now in these circumstances.

Post-apartheid South Africa will take its place in Africa as a member of the Organisation of African Unity. The press will then have a special responsibility to

help the country resist the imposition of the kind of imitations that have been placed on press freedom in most of the rest of Africa.

These limitations have sometimes been imposed by dictatorial governments simply because they have the power to do so. It is quite probable that almost any government anywhere in the world would try to control the press if it had the power to do so and had held it without challenge for a long time, for press freedom is fundamentally inimical to the vested interests of any entrenched political party or dictator. Africa has had more of such parties and dictators than most other regions of the world and therefore has had less press freedom than most.

Sometimes the strictures have been imposed in African countries in the name of an ideology or in the name of patriotism. Invariably this rationale has been bogus. Ideology by its very nature tends to be coercive and no idea or concept can have a place in a free society if it cannot stand open examination and open challenge. Neither can any kind of patriotism that is held to be threatened by freedom of information.

The circumstances in which the interests of a society are endan-

gered by this freedom are very limited and rare. Some justification can be found in wartime, but there are hardly any other good grounds for a government to keep any of its doings secret from the people who elect it. But because human nature is what it is, any group of people who hold power on behalf of others will be tempted to use it for their own benefit. This invariably means they must do so without the knowledge of the others — and therefore without the knowledge of the press.

It is in the need to protect society against human faults — greed, vanity and dishonesty — that press freedom finds its main purpose. Press freedom would not be an imperative in a perfect society, it would simply be an element.

The press has no more right to freedom than does the rest of society. Its freedom is exercised on behalf of the society in which it functions. And so when press freedom is restricted it is not the freedom of the newspapers that is being restricted but the freedom of the public; it is not the newspapers' right to know that is being denied, but the public's right to know.

Without full knowledge of what

its elected officials are doing, a society cannot be sure they are doing what it wants them to do. If the government is not elected, of course, then no kind of freedom, of the press or otherwise, means anything.

Many African governments have operated on the basis that the people should trust the authorities to do what is best for them. But to trust a government is to give it a licence for unbridled power and corruption.

Press freedom fundamentally entails questioning government actions and publishing criticism of them. These freedoms have often been denied by African regimes, not necessarily to hide government sins, but on the grounds that it is traditional not to criticise authority. Not to expose a government to criticism, however, is to give it permission to do what it pleases. And this is precisely what has often happened in Africa.

A fawning, servile press is perhaps worse than no press at all. Irreverence can be as essential in journalism as inquiry, provided it does not become offensive or vindictive. It has an essential function in tearing down the false fronts behind which incompetence hides and pomposity breeds.

By the same token that the press has no rights of its own, an elected official has no status of his own, only the status he holds on behalf of the electorate and entrusted to him by it. And the press has a duty to its society to ensure that no official confers grandiosity upon himself or assumes powers that were not entrusted to him by the electorate.

In a free society the press cannot take powers unto itself that are not conferred by the society. If it did, the public would simply stop buying or reading the newspaper in question and turn to other ways of finding out what was going on. So there is no need for governments to license newspapers, the public does its own licensing by choosing whether or not to read a newspaper.

There is equally no good reason for a government to license journalists. Since journalists in a free press represent the public and no one else, that would be like licensing the public. Giving official accreditation to journalists may sometimes be necessary simply as a means of identification, but too often in Africa it has been used as a disguised form of licensing.

Government ownership of newspapers is as bad in principle as

government licensing of journalists. It is fundamentally inimical to the public's right to freedom of information. It may be true that some Scandinavian governments subsidise newspapers without trying to influence their policies, but such an arrangement can work only in the kind of stable society that exists in the Scandinavian countries.

It has never worked the same way in Africa, and that includes South Africa under a National Party government.

Equally as bad as government control of newspapers is government control of news agencies, a practice widespread in Africa. The same objection applies that it gives the authorities the ability to manipulate the news and decide what the people are to know and what they are not to know.

The denial of information and knowledge to anyone is perhaps the most extreme non-physical form of human degradation that can be devised. Black people in South Africa know this better than most through the education system imposed on them by the apartheid Government. They are well equipped, therefore, to know the value of press freedom and the need for it to be protected. — Africa News Service □

SACP writer slams Jordan over claims

Sowetan 2/11/90

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A MEMBER of the editorial collective of the South African Communist Party's mouthpiece, *Umsebenzi*, has dismissed ANC information secretary Pallo Jordan's accusation that the SACP leadership had fostered political intolerance over the years.

In a paper entitled "The Crisis of Conscience in the SACP", Jordan wrote that "the political culture nurtured by the SACP's leadership over the years has produced a spirit of intolerance, petty intellectual thuggery and political dissembling among its membership."

A member of the *Umsebenzi* editorial collective, Jeremy Cronin, has refuted these allegations in an open letter to Jordan in the latest issue of *Umsebenzi*.

Cronin said no clear instances of intolerance, petty intellectual thuggery and political dissembling could be singled out in the pages of the journal.

For Jordan to make such serious allegations which could not be substantiated was "surely to come very close to indulging in precisely the petty intellectual thuggery" he was attacking - *Sowetan Correspondent*

FRID 4/11/90 (243) @

PAC officials gag journalists

PRESS censorship by PAC officials was evident at PAC president Zeph Mothopeng's funeral service at Orlando stadium in Soweto yesterday, reports Sapa.

PAC officials repeatedly tried to stop photographers from taking pictures of Inkatha Freedom Party flags flying alongside PAC flags

When a portion of the crowd attacked and beat a man they accused of being an Askari (police agent), journalists were forcibly held back by marshals.

Two photographers had their cameras hit and *Vrye Weekblad* reporter Pearlie Joubert was grabbed by the chin and told to look the other way.

The Press were told not to move around the stadium, and not to take photographs or speak to people

Profits rise at New Republic Bank

Star 5/14/90
249

By David Canning

New Republic Bank has reported a 17 percent increase in attributable profits to R1,26 million (R1,07 million) for the six months to September.

Earnings per share were 21,9c (19,58c). The dividend has been maintained at 7c a share.

MD "Mac" Mia says interest rates remained high and economic activity declined during the year.

With this in mind, the

bank has adopted a strategy that is relatively more conservative in approach towards asset growth, while maintaining an emphasis on profitability.

Total advances increased 15,4 percent (R38,4 million) to R287 million

Provision for doubtful debt increased 17,9 percent to R2,4 million.

Mr Mia pinned tighter net interest margins to strict monetary controls by the authorities and increased competition

He said the improvement in profitability was made possible by the continued application of sound control over operating expenditure and better utilisation of capital.

He said he expected a further decline in business activity in the second half.

However, attributable income for the full year should improve in real terms over the previous year.

Mr Mia said in an interview that official in-

terest rates were not generally expected to ease before the first quarter of next year

The Stanger branch had been relocated and more branches were likely to be relocated within the first quarter of 1991

It was possible that two new branches would be opened in the next financial year

He said the operations of new Islamic banks had not made an impact on New Republic Bank

Busy Steyn quits Media

Council post

CAPE TOWN — Media Council chairman Jan Steyn has resigned as from January 1 1991 due to the increasing workload of his chairmanship of the Independent Development Trust, a council statement said yesterday.

He was appointed the head of the trust in March this year when the R2bn fund was established by the State President for the socio-economic upliftment of SA's disadvantaged

Steyn, formerly the Urban Foundation's executive director and chairman, became chairman of the SA Media Council when former Appeal Court judge Mr L de V van Winsen (the council's first chairman) retired on April 1 1989

 Relaxed 

"During his term of office with the council, Mr Steyn spearheaded continued representations made to the government in seeking the lifting of the then prevailing restrictions on the media," the council statement said.

"Commenting on this, Mr Steyn said he had been singularly fortunate that it was during his term of office that a much more relaxed atmosphere between the media and the government had prevailed."

Steyn said: "I have attempted to ensure that the relationship remained on a sound and vigorously independent footing."

A council general meeting will be held on December 12 to appoint a successor. — Sapa.

Stel 6/11/90 (243) (243) (243)

Massacre victims were busy praying

By Adam Gordon

The 15 people massacred on a moving train between Jeppe and Benrose in September had been part of a church group and were kneeling down praying when they were slaughtered, a Johannesburg Regional Court heard yesterday.

Police investigating officer Detective Deon Wessels told the court how church services were held in one particular carriage on the train every day.

The Zulus had learnt that the "congregation" swore at Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Zulu king every day, and this was apparently the immediate motive for the revenge attack.

Mr Wessels was testifying in the bail application of five men allegedly involved in two separate massacres, in which 21 people died, on September 6 and 13.

The men are Martin Ngcobu (47), Basi Nkosingondle (27), Solomon Khumalo (33), Mmen-gela Magabane (54) and Mabin-ela Majozi (23), all of the Jeppe hostel in Wolhuter Street, Johannesburg.

Impis

Only Mr Ngcobu and Mr Nkosingondle have said they are Inkatha members.

Mr Wessels said the leader of the local Inkatha branch had called a meeting at Jeppe hostel on September 13.

After this meeting, a man named Jericho Manyane had called another meeting to round up impis, who then boarded the train and attacked the church group.

Mr Manyane and two other men known only as "Stelt" and "Mataks" were still being sought by the police, Mr Wessels said.

It was believed they were hiding somewhere in the mountains of KwaZulu. Five police raids had failed to net them.

Mr Wessels said this was a major reason for opposing bail. If the men in custody were given bail they could also disappear.

Mr Wessels said Mr Khumalo had acted as "a quartermaster" who had distributed guns beforehand and collected them afterwards.

State advocate David Gordon presented signed statements in which four of the men admitted participation in the massacre and said "Stelt" had forced them to take part.

Star 6/11/90

'Whites in minibus ²⁴³ attacked us'

Own Correspondent

POTCHEFSTROOM — Several blacks were allegedly assaulted by white men driving a minibus near Potchefstroom on Sunday evening

A police spokesman said Hector Mapeugo (22) and his girlfriend had stopped about 5 km outside the town to sleep in his minibus. Two white men in a minibus surprised and then assaulted Mr Mapeugo. He and his girlfriend managed to run away.

The men allegedly drove away with Mr Mapeugo's minibus. It was found gutted by fire on the Potchefstroom/Carletonville road yesterday.

Andy Mototi (26) was walking along the Potchefstroom/Ventersdorp road at about 8 pm on Sunday. A minibus with four white occupants stopped next to him.

One of the men allegedly stabbed and struck Mr Mototi on the head with a carving knife. As he fled, two shots were fired from an R-4 rifle. Mr Mototi received slight stab wounds on his head.

As Johannes Ntugae (21) and Jonas Mate (19) were strolling in Louw Street, Potchefstroom, at about 10 pm, two white men in a minibus stopped near them. The men allegedly got out of the vehicle and attacked them with a golf club and a kerrie. They took Mr Mate's bicycle.

Mr Ntugae was seriously injured and was admitted to the Kahe de Haas Hospital in Potchefstroom.

SA has 'fair chance of reaching stability

THE Economist magazine, published in London, this week features SA in a 30-page survey titled After Apartheid (243)

It examines the country's chances of achieving stability and prosperity under a democratic constitution, and concludes that they are fair

Writer Sebastian Malaby, The Economist's Africa correspondent, says the more President F W de Klerk involves the ANC in the changes already in

Business Day Reporter

train, the more certain he can be that they will stick

"As the ANC's leaders accept more responsibility, their followers will start to realise that politics can bring only compromises, not the miracle of liberation that they have been taught to expect"

The survey, supported by advertising from major SA companies, looks at problems caused by violence, the breakdown of black education, and revolutionary attempts to make the country ungovernable

It says Nelson Mandela is appealing for discipline, "but ungovernability is appallingly difficult to undo"

It estimates that unemployment is close to 50%, and says that an economy suffering slow growth, low investment, declining gold production and AIDS cannot be expected to support the huge expansion of welfare that blacks expect

Racial justice would not reverse the damage to growth done by sanctions

Media Council chairman Steyn to quit next year

THE chairman of the Media Council, Mr Jan Steyn, has resigned from January 1 1991 due to the increasing workload



JAN STEYN

of his chairmanship of the Independent Development Trust, a council statement said on Monday.

Steyn was appointed the head of the IDT in March this year when the R2 billion fund was established by the State President for the socio-economic upliftment of South Africa's disadvantaged.

Steyn, formerly the Urban Foundation's executive director and chairman, became chairman of the SA Media Council on the retirement of former Appeal Court judge, Mr L de V van Winsen (the council's first chairman) on April 1 1989.

Steyn has continued to hold the dual appointment, as well as other duties, until recently, when the extensive responsibilities, present

and projected, entrusted to him in heading the IDT reluctantly compelled him to relinquish his chairmanship of the Media Council, the statement said

During his term of office with the council, Steyn spearheaded continued representations made to the Government in seeking the lifting of the then prevailing restrictions on the media

Commenting on this, Steyn said he had been singularly fortunate that it was during his term of office that a much more relaxed atmosphere between the media and the Government had prevailed.

Steyn said: "I have attempted to ensure that the relationship remained on a sound and vigorously independent footing."

Steyn also directed the

recent efforts of the Media Council in the preparation of submissions to Government aimed at removing existing restrictions on the media; he expressed his appreciation for the close cooperation he had enjoyed from the media as well as council members and others in this task

He added that he believed that while the media council would continue to play a role in helping to maintain acceptable standards in the media, 'its principal function will continue as a vigorously independent watchdog to promote the freedom of the media'.

A general meeting of the council has been convened for December 12 this year in Cape Town for the formal acceptance of Steyn's resignation and to appoint a successor - Sapa

South African 8/11/90

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Concern at political pressure on Press

MARITZBURG — The increasing intimidation of journalists by political pressure groups is a matter of grave concern, says outgoing Media Council chairman Jan Steyn. *810am 9/11/90*

He recently announced his retirement from the council effective from January 1.

He said all political leaders in the new SA should do their utmost to uphold Press freedom. "Intimidation of journalists is as severe a curtailment of Press freedom as any government restriction, and it is often much more subtle and difficult to fight."

He urged political leaders to work towards eliminating intimidation of the Press — a matter that the council should focus on. *(243)*

"The media has a major role to play in the establishment of a peace culture in SA, and political leaders should do everything in their power to support the media in the achievement of this goal," he said.

The council should also be more supportive of adequate training for new journalists, he added. — Sapa.

Stein 9/11/90 (243)

Steyn: ensure free press in new SA

MARITZBURG — The increasing intimidation of journalists by political pressure groups is a matter of grave concern, says outgoing Media Council chairman Jan Steyn.

Mr Steyn recently announced his retirement from the council with effect from January 1 due to work pressure associated with his Independent Development Trust responsibilities.

He said in an interview that all political leaders in the new South Africa should do their utmost to uphold press freedom.

"Intimidation of journalists is as severe a curtailment of press freedom as any Government restriction, and it is often much more subtle and difficult to fight.

"I would urge political leaders to take up the challenge, and to work actively towards eliminating intimidation of the press."

The council should also be more supportive of adequate training for new journalists in future, he said.

"In my discussions with Pres-

ident de Klerk on press matters, it was evident that he had a great appreciation for the importance of a vigorous and independent press," Mr Steyn said.

"I have been most impressed by the competent way in which the overwhelming majority of journalists conduct their highly pressurised business.

"As proof of their journalistic ability, I must emphasise that the number of complaints handled by the council is infinitesimal in comparison with the volume of their work" — Sapa



Lt Gen Lothar Neethling, left, outside the Rand Supreme Court yesterday with former Police Commissioner Mike Geldenhuys who gave evidence in the R1,5m defamation claim brought by Neethling against Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail. Picture ROBERT BOTHA

Report on police general was shocking, court is told

B/DCM 13/11/90

SUSAN RUSSELL

FORMER SAP Commissioner Mike Geldenhuys told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday he was shocked when he saw a Vrye Weekblad report alleging that police forensics expert Lt-Gen Lothar Neethling had supplied poison to Dirk Coetzee to poison ANC activists.

Geldenhuys was giving evidence in a R1,5m defamation claim brought by Neethling against Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail in the wake of articles containing claims by Coetzee that the general had manufactured and supplied him with poison to eliminate victims of a covert police hit squad.

Neethling is suing Vrye Weekblad for R1m in connection with two articles it published in November and December 1989 which broke the hit squad story and contained allegations of his involvement.

He is suing the Weekly Mail for an article containing a similar allegation which was published during the last week of November 1989.

Neethling claims the articles defamed him because, from the allegations, readers would be led to believe he was the leader of an illicit criminal organisation which committed murders and that he prepared and supplied poisons to murder or attempt to murder individuals.

Both newspapers are defending the action on the grounds of truth and public benefit.

Coetzee, who is in exile, has already

given evidence on commission on behalf of Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail.

Geldenhuys told the court yesterday he knew nothing about any police death squads.

He also testified that when he was head of the security section of the SAP it had not been policy to assassinate people.

It was police procedure when dealing with cases of terrorism to investigate them and take them before the courts.

Neethling had been appointed a lieutenant-general on his recommendation, Geldenhuys said.

Moral standards (243)

He also told the court Neethling had not been connected in any operational way with the security police, and it had definitely not been part of his function to supply poisons to members of the force.

Geldenhuys said he had reacted with shock when reading the Vrye Weekblad report containing Coetzee's allegations.

"I could not believe it," he told the court.

He said he would never have appointed Neethling a lieutenant-general if he had had any doubts about him. It was no secret, Geldenhuys said, that Neethling was an outstanding officer.

"There is absolutely nothing that can be said about this man's moral standards," he said.

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Star 12/11/90 (243)

Winnie may sue over report on R600 000 purchase for exiles

Winnie Mandela said last night that she was contemplating legal action against the Sunday Star which claimed she had ordered handpainted, designer duvet covers for returning ANC exiles from a Johannesburg shop at a cost of more than R600 000.

Mrs Mandela, head of the ANC's social welfare department, said she was disappointed about any-

thing whatsoever which "seeks to hamper efforts to assist our people to return home decently".

Two partners in the fabric shop also said they were taking legal advice with a view to suing the Sunday Star.

Partner Carlos du Mont — a card-carrying ANC member — said yesterday it appeared the story was an attempt to prevent the ANC from

getting funds for the repatriation of returning exiles.

The newspaper reported that a third party, Judy Henshall, had "clinched" the deal, but she denied ever having spoken to Mrs Mandela or the journalist who wrote the story.

The editor of the Sunday Star said last night that he stood by the story.

Star 12/11/90 (243)

Daveyton gets electricity ultimatum

Electricity to Daveyton residents who fail to pay outstanding fees for services will be cut off from tomorrow

This warning was issued yesterday by Joe Moropa of the Daveyton City Council, who issued another urgent appeal to all consumers who have defaulted to resume payments im-

mediately.

Mr Moropa said the council was not yet considering cutting off water supplies.

Negotiations between the various parties involved were continuing. But, in the interim, residents had to start paying for services rendered. — Sapa

General denies police took part in killings

By Brendan Templeton

Former Chief Commissioner of Police General Mike Geldenhuys denied in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday that police were ever involved in the bombing and murder of anti-apartheid activists

He was giving evidence in the case in which the Chief Deputy Commissioner of the SAP, Major-General Lothar Neethling, is claiming R1,5 million in damages from Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail

General Neethling claims he was defamed by articles published last year in the newspapers, which are alleged to have said he supplied poison to former police captain Dirk Coetzee for use against ANC activists.

The newspapers have denied the articles were defamatory. Failing that, they were the truth published in the public interest.

Earlier, a close friend of General Neethling, Matthys Pieterse, agreed with counsel R D

Levine, SC, that it was necessary that the public be informed about charges against the police involving death squads, particularly after Death Row prisoner Almond Nofomela said in a sworn statement he had been a member of a death squad under Captain Coetzee.

General Geldenhuys also agreed this was necessary, "but at the right time and to the right people"

Mr Coetzee's allegations should have been taken to the police before being published so that they could be investigated properly, he said.

Mr Levine asked him if it was not asking too much that one could expect an organisation to investigate allegations for which it was supposedly responsible

General Geldenhuys said if an officer refused to investigate allegations, there was always someone higher up in the force who would be willing to open an investigation

He knew General Neethling as a person of high moral prin-

ciples. If an officer approached the general asking for poison with which to kill someone, he would have immediately reported the incident.

Mr Pieterse said he regarded General Neethling very highly. The general was a fully fledged member of the Academy of Science and Art, and was respected worldwide as an authority on forensics.

He said he spoke only once to the general about the allegations against him.

"He said, 'Yes, they have said all types of things against me and I must defend myself and clear my case'."

General Neethling's counsel, Willie Oshry, QC, earlier drew the court's attention to "irregularities" in Mr Coetzee's statements published in Vrye Weekblad on November 17 and December 1 last year.

Mr Oshry told Mr Justice Kriegler that Mr Coetzee had changed his statement concerning the dosage of poison he allegedly received from the general.

The case continues.

R1,5-m lawsuit against newspapers

243

CHIEF Deputy Commissioner of Police General Lothar Neethling yesterday brought claims for defamation totalling R1,5 million against the *Weekly Mail* and *Vrye Weekblad* in the Rand Supreme Court.

Neethling claims he was defamed by articles published in the newspapers last year which said he had supplied poison to rogue police captain Dirk Coetzee for use against ANC activists.

The newspapers have denied the articles were defamatory or, failing that, they were the truth published in the public's interest.

Neethling's counsel Mr Willie Oshry, QC, argued in his opening statement yesterday that *Vrye Weekblad* had carried a series of "sarcastic and uncalled for references to the plaintiff".

He also drew the court's attention to "irregularities" in Coetzee's statements published in *Vrye Weekblad* on November 17 and December 1 last year.

Sowetan 13/11/90

Oshry told Mr Justice J Krieger that Coetzee had changed his statement concerning the dosage of the poison which he allegedly received from the general.

In the first article, he said he administered up to 360 grams of poison to an ANC activist. In the second article the dosage, changed from grams to milligrams.

He said if Coetzee's initial statement had been correct it would have been necessary to feed the poison to the activist with a spoon.

There was no plausible explanation for the disparities between the two articles because Coetzee was a diabetic and regularly had to inject himself with insulin.

This would have made him quite familiar with the difference between grams and milligrams, he said.

Also named as defendants are *Weekly Mail* editor Max du Preez and reporter Jacques Pauw.

(Proceeding). - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

Ex-police chief denies court claim

243
Sowetan
14/11/90

A WARRANT signed by former Commissioner of Police General Mike Geldenhuys authorising the release of a Joe Pillay who was abducted from Swaziland by Security Police was yesterday produced in the Rand Supreme Court.

This was during evidence in the action in which two newspapers are facing defamation damages of R1,5 million.

Geldenhuys yesterday denied any knowledge of Pillay, who was abducted in 1981 while he (Geldenhuys) was still Commissioner of Police.

He said he could not remember signing the release form because he signed "hundreds perhaps thousands" each year.

Geldenhuys was giving evidence in the hearing where Chief Deputy Police Commissioner Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling is claiming damages from *Vrye Weekblad* and the *Weekly Mail*.

Neethling claimed he was defamed by articles published last year which are alleged to have said he supplied poison to former police captain Dirk Coetzee for use against ANC activists.

Counsel for the newspapers, Mr Bobby Levine, put it to Geldenhuys that his answer was unacceptable. Pillay's abduction almost caused an international incident and could not have passed by Geldenhuys unnoticed, he said.

"Your Honour, that is the advocate's opinion," Geldenhuys replied.

Levine also put it to Geldenhuys that Security Police were not required to carry personal notebooks so that their activities could not be easily monitored.

A television interview with former police spy Craig Williamson reported in *The Star* was also referred to.

In the interview Major Williamson said it would be silly not to expect security forces to be behind the bombing of ANC offices in neighbouring territories.

"Your Honour, that is Major Williamson's opinion. If he believes security forces did those things, it's his opinion. If they did do it then I didn't know about it. It wasn't part of their official duties."

(Proceeding). -
Sowetan Correspondent.

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Neethling denies supplying police captain with poison

SUSAN RUSSELL

SAP forensics expert Lt-Gen Lothar Neethling denied in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday that he had given Dirk Coetzee poison, as alleged by the former police captain in an interview published by Vrye Weekblad newspaper last year.

Coetzee's allegations that Neethling had supplied him with poison to murder people were contained in an interview in which he gave details of an alleged police death squad of which he claimed to have been a member.

Neethling was testifying in the R1,5m defamation action he has brought against Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail over three articles which contained the poison allegations.

He is suing Vrye Weekblad for R1m for two articles which appeared in November-December last year and Weekly Mail for a further R500 000 for an article which contained Coetzee's allegations.

Neethling, who is chief deputy commissioner: scientific technical services of the SAP, claims that the articles would have been understood to mean or were intended

to mean that he was the leader of an illicit criminal organisation and had supplied poison to murder individuals.

The newspapers are defending the claims against them on the grounds of truth and public benefit.

When asked what effect the Vrye Weekblad disclosures had had on him, Neethling replied: "It would be needless to say it has been a traumatic experience over the last year."

Neethling said he had not thought it possible that the written word could have such an impact on a man, his lifestyle and his thoughts.

Coetzee's allegations had introduced family tension and were something one was not able to run away from, he added.

Neethling said he had attempted to keep contact with colleagues to a minimum because of the awkwardness caused by the situation.

He will continue his testimony before Mr Justice Kriegler today.

for phone firms

Young children, walking in crocodile file on their way to school yesterday, pass an overturned car in a Paris street. The city's police chief yesterday took responsibility for allowing Monday's massive student demonstration to deteriorate into a rampage in which stores were looted, cars burned and more than 100 policemen injured. Picture REUTERS

Neethling denies supplying police captain with poison

Monday 14/11/90

SUSAN RUSSELL

SAP forensics expert Lt-Gen Lothar Neethling denied in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday that he had given Dirk Coetzee poison, as alleged by the former police captain in an interview published by Vrye Weekblad newspaper last year.

Coetzee's allegations that Neethling had supplied him with poison to murder people were contained in an interview in which he gave details of an alleged police death squad of which he claimed to have been a member.

Neethling was testifying in the R1,5m defamation action he has brought against Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail over three articles which contained the poison allegations.

He is suing Vrye Weekblad for R1m for two articles which appeared in November-December last year and Weekly Mail for a further R500 000 for an article which contained Coetzee's allegations.

Neethling, who is chief deputy commissioner: scientific technical services of the SAP, claims that the articles would have been understood to mean or were intended

to mean that he was the leader of an illicit criminal organisation and had supplied poison to murder individuals.

The newspapers are defending the claims against them on the grounds of truth and public benefit.

When asked what effect the Vrye Weekblad disclosures had had on him, Neethling replied "It would be needless to say it has been a traumatic experience over the last year"

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Coetzee's allegations had introduced family tension and were something one was not able to run away from, he added

Neethling said he had attempted to keep contact with colleagues to a minimum because of the awkwardness caused by the situation.

He will continue his testimony before Mr Justice Kriegler today.

Fines could spell doom for phone firms

MELANIE SERGEANT

HEFTY fines for owning illegal cordless phones, and the prospect of hundreds of job losses through the clampdown on sales, could force a number of dealers out of business.

With the granting of the

first cordless phone licence to TMSA, and new laws relating to owners and vendors of illegal models, owners can face fines of R2 000 and dealers R10 000.

Direct response advertising company Homestar says it is not possible to trim the estimated R3 000 price tag of legal cordless phones. However, other methods of making the phones more affordable are being studied.

The company is still consulting the Post Office

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Journalist Gavin Evans . . . welcomed the commission's findings.

Star 14/11/90 (243) (78) (202)

Journalist hopes that prosecutions will follow

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Journalist Gavin Evans yesterday welcomed the Harms Commission's finding that the Civil Co-operation Bureau had conspired to eliminate him.

He said he trusted that the finding would lead to the prosecution "of those responsible, in particular Abraham 'Slang' van Zyl (a former policeman), and perhaps those higher up such as (CCB managing director) Joe Verster" on charges of attempted murder or charges of conspiracy to commit murder.

An End Conscription Campaign member, Mr Evans said there were disappointments in the commission's findings.

He firmly believed the CCB had eliminated and harassed Government opponents.

The finding that Defence Minister Magnus Malan had been aware of the CCB's activities, but had yet not been called to testify, "is very disappointing for those of us who were victims or potential victims".

Commenting on the finding that there had been no conclusive evidence as to who had killed University of the Witwatersrand academic David Webster, Mr Evans maintained there was strong evidence in the media and to the commission that he had been killed by CCB agents.

"The commission should continue to look into this."

I didn't give poison to him, says Neethling

MSB
243

By Brendan Templeton

Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling denied yesterday in the Rand Supreme Court that he had ever supplied Captain Dirk Coetzee with poison, as alleged in articles in *The Weekly Mail* and *Vrye Weekblad*.

He is claiming R1,5 million in damages from the newspapers for defamation.

"I deny that, my lord," he said when his counsel, Willie Osbury, asked him if he had ever handed any poison to Captain Coetzee.

Earlier, a warrant signed by former Commissioner of Police General Mike Geldenhuys, authorising the release of Joe Pillay, who was abducted from Swaziland by security police in 1981, was produced as evidence. General Geldenhuys denied on Monday any knowledge of Mr Pillay.

He could not remember signing the release form because he signed "hundreds, perhaps thousands" every year.

Counsel for the newspapers, Bobby Levine, SC, put it to him that his answer was unacceptable.

Mr Pillay's abduction had nearly caused an international incident and could not have passed by the general unnoticed, he said.

"My lord, that is the advocate's opinion," General Geldenhuys said.

Later, when General Neethling was asked if he knew Captain Coetzee, he smiled and

said "I know him now". On the publication of the articles, he said "I did not think it was possible that the written word could have such an impact on a man."

"Maybe it is because at this stage in my life, I would have to think about retiring due to health reasons, which would have nothing to do with what was written (in the reports)."

"One can also ask if one can run away from it, but one cannot. Over the year, it has worsened rather than improved."

Mr Coetzee claimed before the Harms Commission and in newspaper articles that he and a Koos Vermeulen had visited the general's house and office to get poison from him in 1981.

General Neethling said Mr Coetzee's description of his house and his office was riddled with inaccuracies.

Earlier, General Geldenhuys denied that security policemen were not required to carry personal notebooks detailing their daily activities so that their "tracks" could easily be covered up.

He denied statements in a television interview by former police spy Craig Williamson that it would be "silly" not to believe that some bombings at ANC houses in other countries had been carried out by South African security forces.

"My lord that is Major Wilhelmson's opinion. If he believes that security forces did those things, it is his opinion. If they did do it, then I did not know about it. It was not part of their official duties," he said.

(Proceeding)



Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling said the articles had a traumatic effect on his life



Max du Preez the editor of *Vrye Weekblad*, which is being sued by General Neethling

Neethling's evidence on Coetzee's notes 'struck'

8/10am 15/11/90

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EXPERT evidence in which Lt Gen Lothar Neethling had questioned the authenticity of former SAP Capt Dirk Coetzee's notebook could be regarded as struck from the record, the Rand Supreme Court was told yesterday.

Neethling is suing Vrye Weekblad for R1m and Weekly Mail for R500 000 after three articles were published in November-December last year containing allegations by Coetzee that while a member of a secret police death squad, Neethling had supplied him with poison to murder people.

The newspapers are defending the action on the grounds of truth and public interest.

When the trial resumed yesterday afternoon, the

SUSAN RUSSELL

newspapers' counsel R Levine SC told Mr Justice Kriegler Neethling's counsel had indicated the general's expert evidence on the notebook would not be relied on and could be regarded as struck from the record.

On this basis, Levine said, his clients were prepared to proceed with the matter and Neethling's evidence.

Earlier, Levine had asked for an adjournment after Neethling gave evidence in which he voiced doubts about the history and authenticity of the notebook.

The notebook, which contains Neethling's private telephone number, was submitted as an exhibit on behalf of the newspapers during evidence taken from

Coetzee on commission in London

Levine asked for an adjournment to consult with his clients after submitting that Neethling's lawyers had taken and submitted the notebook for testing without authorisation.

The book should have gone directly into the judge's file, he said.

The notebook was sealed in a parcel and sent from London to the office of the

registrar of the Supreme Court, from where it should have gone directly to the judge.

The unauthorised removal and testing of the book was an abuse of the process of court, Levine argued.

When the case resumed after lunch yesterday, Levine told Mr Justice Kriegler that after discussions with Neethling's counsel, it appeared the book had been taken after a misunderstanding.





Subpoenaed to testify . Themba Khosa of the Inkatha Transvaal Youth Brigade outside the Vereeniging Court during the inquest into the Sebokeng violence in September. Picture Alf Kumalo

Inquest into Sebokeng killings a first

By Melody McDougall
Vereeniging Bureau

The first Supreme Court inquest began at Vereeniging yesterday into the deaths of 42 people killed during faction fighting and clashes between crowds and security forces in Sebokeng in September

The figure includes 11 shot dead by SADF troops

The judicial inquest is being chaired by Mr Justice Eddie Stafford

Briefing the various defence counsels and others present at the hearing, Mr Justice Stafford said that because 42 deceased people formed the subject matter of the inquiry, a joint in-

quest would be held. He stressed that the hearing, which was scheduled to run until December 14, was an inquest and not a criminal trial.

Presenting the court with a brief outline of events on the day in question, Anton Ackermann, Deputy Attorney-General of the Transvaal, said an unknown number of people of the Inkatha organisation had invaded the Sebokeng hostel in the early hours of September 4.

Although the motive for the invasion was not clear, the Inkatha members had been armed with a variety of weapons. Fighting broke out in different parts of the hostel when about 30 people were killed.

Mr Ackermann said residents

of nearby townships later arrived at the scene before finding and trapping 157 Inkatha members in the courtyard of the hostel complex.

Policemen arrived and barricaded the entrances to the hostel. Later, policemen were trapped in the courtyard.

Mr Ackermann said the mood of the crowd was angry and people were shouting for "the blood of the trapped Zulus".

The police then radioed for help, followed by the arrival of the SADF. A formation of army troops advanced towards the crowd at the hostel entrances.

Soldiers then fired at the crowd with live ammunition and several people were killed or injured. It was not clear

what had sparked the shooting, Mr Ackermann said.

The statements of two policemen involved in the filming of the violence on video were read out and handed in to the court yesterday. The videos will be viewed in court today before an inspection at the Sebokeng hostel.

Present at yesterday's hearing were 37 Inkatha members — including Themba Khosa, chairman of Inkatha's Transvaal Youth Brigade — who were subpoenaed to testify at the inquest.

Mr Justice Stafford, however, ruled that the group would only be required to be present at the inquest from November 28 onwards.

Sta 15/11/90 (243) (circled)

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Poison claim was 'a plot'

DIRK Coetzee's allegations that while a member of a covert police death squad he had obtained poison to murder people from Lt-Gen Lothar Neethling were a plot constructed over the years to make a name for himself, the Rand Supreme Court was told yesterday

Neethling, a forensics expert, said this in evidence before Mr Justice Kriegler. He was testifying in his R1,5m defamation action against Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail

Neethling is suing Vrye Weekblad for R1m for publishing two articles in November-December last year in which Coetzee claimed that he received poison from the general Weekly Mail is being sued for R500 000 for an article based on similar allegations. Both newspapers are defending the action on the grounds of truth and public benefit.

Under cross-examination by Vrye Weekblad counsel R Levin SC, Neethling said since his discharge from the police force in 1985/86, Coetzee had decided to do something to prove himself.

Coetzee, he said, had wanted to make a

SUSAN RUSSELL

name for himself, write a book or two and had fabricated his story

By reading the three versions given by Coetzee, two in Mauritius and a third in London, one could see major differences, the general said.

He told the court that for the past year he (Neethling) had been walking, sleeping, eating and dreaming the present case

No knowledge

Yesterday Mr Justice Kriegler was informed that Neethling had withdrawn his action against Weekly Mail printers Seculo Printers and that the matter had been settled between them

Counsel told the court that it had been settled between the two on the basis that the printers had no knowledge of the contents of the Weekly Mail article and had had no intention of causing injury.

The printers withdrew the article and apologised, the court was told. No settlement amount was given.

The judge noted the settlement.

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Sage: Financial Mail wins right to appeal

THE Financial Mail (FM) was yesterday given leave to appeal against a Supreme Court order prohibiting it from publishing an article on Sage Life containing information from a confidential document and unlawfully taped telephone conversations obtained from a third party.

On September 11, hours before the FM edition containing the article was due to be printed, Sage and its chairman Louis Shill launched an urgent application for an interdict halting publication.

Mr Justice Joffe granted an order on September 25 interdicting the FM, its pub-

SUSAN RUSSELL

lisher Times Media Ltd and journalist Jim Jones, now Business Day editor, from using or disseminating the disputed material.

The hearing was heard in camera and the judge ruled the court documents, with the exception of the judgment, could not be made public. *B1024 16/11/90*

Yesterday's application for leave to appeal was opposed by Sage.

Mr Justice Joffe, in referring the matter to the Appellate Division said, however,

□ To Page 12

Financial Mail *B1024 16/11/90*

the case was a novel one and the appeal had a reasonable prospect of success.

In granting the original order, the judge found that publication of the article, using the disputed information, would amount to unlawful competition.

While unlawful competition would in most cases be at the hands of a trade competitor, any person's conduct which interfered with a trader's right to carry on his lawful business might constitute unlawful competition.

In applying for leave to appeal yesterday, FM counsel R Levin SC argued the FM was not in competition with Sage and the doctrine of unlawful competition was therefore not appropriate to the case.

It was also submitted that Sage's application was based on confidentiality

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FM counsel argued that the extension of the doctrine of unlawful competition to the FM, which was not a Sage competitor, constituted a novel development in SA law and deserved a full investigation by a higher court.

It was also argued that the matter needed the Appellate Division's view on the role of the Press in society today, and the conflict between the need for a free Press and the rights of the individual.

Levin argued that insofar as the judgment prohibited publication, disclosure or dissemination of information allegedly unlawfully obtained, and precluded reliance on allegedly confidential or illegally obtained material, it had important consequences not only for the FM and TML, but for the Press generally.

sta 16/11/90

Mandela speaks out for press freedom

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By Esmaré
van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Press freedom was a cornerstone of a democratic dispensation because it was inextricably linked to the right of freedom of speech, Nelson Mandela told a gathering of foreign journalists based in South Africa last night.

Speaking at a Foreign Correspondents Association banquet in Johannesburg, Mr Mandela said the ANC had been committed to freedom of speech and political expression for more than 75 years of struggle.

The ANC would never seek to control or arbitrarily determine the way in which journalists performed their work.

"We wish to see the media report the facts as they see them, without hindrance by the State or any political party."

However, the ANC insisted that freedom of speech did not and could never include the right to shout "Fire" in a crowded cinema hall, he said, referring to the fuelling of racism.

"Political doctrines and ideologies whose known consequences are harm to one's fellow citizens cannot be considered legitimate."

Mr Mandela paid tribute to Vrye Weekblad, who exposed the existence of hit squads, and its editor, Max du Preez, for firmly defending freedom of speech despite harassment and prosecution from the authorities.

He was less complimentary about the new editor of the Sunday Times, Ken Owen, saying, "There is no way Ken Owen can hope to secure his rights by assisting the Government to violate mine."

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16/11/90

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Financial Mail may appeal

The Financial Mail was yesterday granted leave to appeal to the Appellate Division against a judgment which blocked the magazine from printing an article on a financial institution.

On September 25 Mr Justice M M Joffe ruled in favour of Sage Holdings Ltd, who had launched an urgent application against, among others, Financial Mail (Pty) Ltd and Times Media Ltd.

It had been argued that the order — which prohibited disclosure of information that was allegedly obtained unlawfully — had important consequences for the press.

'Lothar's drops'

Impassioned legal debate over evidence

CATHY STAGG

AN allegation that two men in a restaurant in Swakopmund discussed "Lothar's drops", a substance allegedly specifically developed by the police to use against hostage-takers, was the subject of an impassioned legal debate yesterday.

General Lothar Neethling has launched a R1,5 million civil action against the Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail arising from interviews published in which Captain Dirk Coetzee claimed General Neethling, head of the SAP's forensic division, had supplied him with poison.

The legal argument was over the admissibility of evidence given yesterday by Stephanus van Niekerk Malherbe (25), a trainee manager with Anglo American.

Mr Justice J C Kriegler, who is presiding over the trial in the Rand Supreme Court, will give judgment on the admissibility question at 10 am on Monday.

Yesterday, Mr Malherbe testified that he met Jean Theron at Fagin's Pub in Swakopmund earlier this year. Mr Theron had left the SAP in 1982, but had been with the SAP forensic laboratories, under General (then Colonel) Neethling's command. Because the Vrye Weekblad article was a matter of public interest, Mr Malherbe said, he asked if "Lothar's drops" existed.

He was told they had been specifically developed for situations like the Silverton Bank robbery or the Fox Street seige to knock out people who asked for food or drink while holding hostages.

Mr Malherbe asked if Colonel Neethling would have allowed them to be used for unlawful political means.

Furthering his career

Mr Theron, who obviously admired and respected his former mentor, Mr Malherbe said, replied that if an occasion arose where Colonel Neethling had to choose between his conscience and furthering the aims of the police, which also meant furthering his career, he would probably choose to further his career.

W Oshry, QC, for General Neethling, submitted that an informant's opinion of what General Neethling might do in a hypothetical situation had no probative value.

R D Levin, SC, for the defendants, said this case pitted the press against the police in a real sense. It was of utmost importance to the parties — but also concerned the role of the police in South African society and the public importance of that was borne out by the fact that the Government had appointed two commissions to investigate it. He said the evidence was too important to be nipped in the bud.

"If it can be established that Coetzee's evidence that there was a band of captains acting on orders to eliminate inconvenient ANC people, is correct — this evidence goes to the root of the case and is inconsistent with anything General Neethling has said so far," Mr Levin submitted.

The court heard that Mr Theron, a Namibian citizen, need not respond to a subpoena from South Africa. When contacted by the defence team, Mr Theron said he had nothing of relevance to say during the trial.

● Under cross examination yesterday General Neethling confirmed that he returned from an overseas trip on October 24 1981. This point, now common cause, arose because Captain Coetzee claimed that he went to General Neethling's home on Sunday October 25. General Neethling agreed he was in Pretoria on that date but denied Captain Coetzee called on him.



Tears over for Ma Coetzee

"I SWAM in my tears once, but no longer." This was how Maria Coetzee explained her feeling about her son Dirk's present position. Mrs Coetzee, seen leaving the Rand Supreme Court with a Vrye Weekblad journalist, testified during the civil action launched by General Lothar Neethling against two newspapers which published interviews with Captain Dirk Coetzee. Mrs Coetzee testified that when her son took her to town one day, he made a detour to fetch "something" from Gen-

al Neethling at the forensic laboratories. Her elder son, Ben, told her at the start of the trial that her information may be important even though she could not remember the exact date. Mrs Coetzee said during cross-examination she was not surprised Dirk had never said in the press or during his evidence before the Harms Commission that she waited for him in the car, because he knew how much she disliked publicity.

● Photograph: KEN

'Practice' k

ROMANTIC novels and other "light" are favourite reading for rightwinger Lottering, who admitted to killing a "blood" "for practice".

Mr Lottering said this yesterday reading out a 37-page document reasoning behind his actions.

He and fellow rightwinger Fan charged in the Rand Supreme Court of former Sunday Times flat and the murder of taxi driver F. mele. They have pleaded not guilty, tempted intimidation, unlawful possession and ammunition, malicious damage to bery with aggravating circumstances from custody.

Mr Lottering, a self-professed fre he had never served in the army.

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Vlok lifts state of unrest in 14 areas

THE Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, last night announced the immediate lifting of the declared state of unrest in 14 black residential areas.

They are: Soweto, Meadowlands, Diepkloof, Dobsonville, Alexandra, Sharpeville, Sebokeng, Evaton, Bophelong, Boipe-tong, Mohlakeng, Bekkersdal, Kagiso and Munsieville.

Mr Vlok said he felt justified in taking this step "in view of the return of stability and law and order" to these areas.

In effect, he said in a press statement, this meant that the proclaimed curfews still existing within these areas had also lapsed with immediate effect.

The state of unrest in the Wynberg magisterial district in

STAFF REPORTER

the Western Cape and the areas of Atteridgeville and Saulsville in Pretoria was, however, still in effect.

"Once again I must thank the residents of the areas concerned for their excellent co-operation with the security forces in acting against criminal and hooligan elements who preyed on law abiding citizens within these communities," Mr Vlok said.

"However, I also wish to state that I will not hesitate to re-impose special measures on any area where stability is threatened or where a danger to the maintenance of law and order emerges."

Journalists being pressured by political groups

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So water
17/11/90

THE increasing intimidation of journalists by political pressure groups is a matter of grave concern, says outgoing Media Council chairman Jan Steyn

Steyn recently announced his retirement from the council with effect from January 1, due to work pressure associated with his Independent Development Trust responsibilities.

He said in an interview all political leaders in the new South Africa should do their utmost to uphold Press freedom

"Intimidation of journalists is as severe a

curtailment of Press freedom as any government restriction, and it is often much more subtle and difficult to fight

"I would urge political leaders to take up the challenge, and to work actively towards eliminating intimidation of the Press.

Media

"I believe the council should pay more attention to this matter in future, too

"The media has a major role to play in the establishment of a peace culture in South Africa, and political leaders should do everything in their power to support the media in the achievement of this goal," he said

The council also be more supportive of adequate training for new journalists in future, he added.

"In my discussions with President de Klerk on Press matters, it was evident that he had a great appreciation for the importance of a vigorous and independent Press.

"President de Klerk indicated that he understood the need for a sometimes tense relationship between the media and the authorities, which leads to vigilance in public affairs.

"I have been most impressed by the competent way in which the overwhelming majority of journalists conduct their highly pressurised business.

"As proof of their journalistic ability, I must emphasise that the number of complaints handled by the council is infinitesimal in comparison with the volume of their work," Steyn said - Sapa



JAN STEYN

Don't fear, it is only a picnic

IT is now official: the South African police do not have units who murder political opponents of the government, *Vrye Weekblad* said this week.

In a strong criticism of the report by Judge Louis Harms, the weekly asked whether clandestine units who murdered political activists should rather be described as picnickers.

The Harms report was not only a slap in the face of the families of murdered people, the paper said, it was also a setback for our judicial system.

The weekly called for a fight against insensitivity about the lives of citizens.

"Otherwise no one will point a finger if such happenings appear again in a new regime under a new form of government," it cautioned.

■ "ALL people in the country who respect facts and the truth know from general information that exactly the opposite is true. The police do not play on the political playground."

So writes Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok in *Vrye Weekblad* in reply to the DP MP for Claremont, Jan van Eck, who wrote last week that "the police are again busy becoming the main players on the political terrain".

■ PROGRESS made since February 2 would be wiped out in a week if every party in South Africa followed the ANC's example in falling back on political battle methods which worked in the past, *Beeld* said this week.

"The NP harnessed *swart gevaar* tactics to great advantage in the past," the paper said, asking whether anyone in his right mind would suggest shouting *swart gevaar* today.

"The ANC's renewed campaign of mass action and public resistance is little different to such a retreat to the hackneyed practices of the old South Africa," it said, calling on the organisation to abandon the "futile effort".

NELSON Mandela has said, the ANC will guarantee Press freedom in a post-apartheid South Africa, but safeguards would have to be maintained against racist propaganda

"Freedom of speech cannot and does not include the right to shout 'fire' in a crowded theatre," he said at the Foreign Correspondents' As-

Freedom of the Press is guaranteed - ANC

sociation annual dinner
The ANC deputy president said a future South Africa would have to guard against apartheid in the same way as post-war Germany and Austria did - both outlawed Nazism in their

constitutions
"It is our view that a democratic South Africa will require an equally strong riposte to its racist past," he said

Mandela said President FW de Klerk's government must repeal "all of

the numerous repressive laws that clutter South Africa's statute books".

He said no censor or official could justly claim the right to "protect" the general public from knowledge

The right of the public to have freedom to meet and demonstrate was as vital as a free Press, he added

CP Press 18/11/90 (243)

I knew about CCB in 1984 - journalist

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Southern
20/11/90

FORMER police captain Dirk Coetzee told his story of political murder to a senior investigative reporter in 1984 but the political climate at the time prevented its publication, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Mr Martin Weltz - a former political correspondent of the *Sunday Express* and chief investigative reporter on *Rapport* - was testifying in the R1,5 million defamation suit brought by South

African Police forensics chief General Lothar Neethling against *Vrye Weekblad* and the *Weekly Mail* for publishing Coetzee's allegation that he had supplied poison for political murders

Weltz said he met Coetzee in 1984. Coetzee had told him with pride and confidentiality of alleged police operations

He had told of obtaining poison from police laboratories and had named Neethling.

Weltz said Coetzee had told him how he had obtained a substance from

Neethling which was administered to two people in police custody.

When nothing happened to them they had killed them.

Counsel for Neethling Mr Willie Oshry, QC, asked Weltz whether he would have published the allegations about Neethling

Weltz said he would not have done so at the time because of the political climate but if he had written Coetzee's story at all, allegations about Neethling would have been included in his copy

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'Coetzee told me of dirty tricks in '84'

By Cathy Stagg

A journalist, Martin Welz, testified that Dirk Coetzee had told him about a police "dirty tricks department" in 1984 — long before Captain Coetzee became embittered against the police — but he had not given the editor of Rapport the opportunity to print the story.

Mr Welz gave evidence in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday during the civil trial in which the SAP forensic division's head, General Lothar Neethling, is claiming R1,5 million from Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail.

In published interviews Captain Coetzee claimed General Neethling supplied poison to be used on "inconvenient" ANC members. General Neethling says this has defamed him.

Hilarity

Mr Welz said he heard Captain Coetzee's story early in 1984 in a private, social "off-the-record" situation, when Captain Coetzee told him "with some hilarity" how a new-fangled method using poison had not worked to get rid of two men. In the end, the two "recalcitrant informers" had been shot anyway because the old methods were more reliable.

Mr Welz said Captain Coetzee's bravado came from a belief that the loyalty of his group superseded the law. He seemed proud of what he had done, regarding it as an achievement.

At that stage Mr Welz, now a freelance journalist, headed an investigation team at Rapport.

He did not tell the editor, Dr Wimpie de Klerk, about the story because he said Dr de Klerk, as part of a political structure, might have considered it his duty to tell the police. That would have discharged Dr de Klerk's onus but would have put Mr Welz and his informant at risk.

"If you have a dirty tricks de-

partment, which appears to have no holds barred, with access to the highest authority, there must be some approval and protection. Any individual who sticks his neck out is taking his life into his own hands.

"I still believe it was a responsible decision," Mr Welz said. "The more people you told, the more people were saddled with the risk."

When Vrye Weekblad published the first report in November last year, there was the additional fact of Almond Nofemela's affidavit, given on Death Row, about a police hit squad.

Once the decision was taken to publish, Mr Welz agreed with the newspaper's decision to print everything at once.

"It was important for the newspaper to tell the story as Coetzee told it," he said.

"The only way to force a public inquiry was making private allegations public," he said.

He disagreed that General Neethling's name should have been kept out of the article. Compared to allegations about bodies of political activists, a failed experiment with some type of poison seemed like a relatively minor aside.

Mr Welz said the reason he could remember the story Captain Coetzee had told him in 1984, yet was not sure who was present at a lunch a month ago, was that "never in my entire career had I been presented with a story such as Coetzee's".

He said Captain Coetzee's attitude changed towards the end of 1984. He was "enraged" with his colleagues, whom he believed had turned against him.

"Then he wanted to tell everything; he said he was going to 'get' these people."

Asked about the lies Captain Coetzee had told, Mr Welz said: "I don't say he is an attractive character but even liars can be credible sometimes."

Vrye Weekblad journalist Jacques Pouw, who wrote the article on Captain Coetzee, had been Mr Welz's assistant at Rapport and knew part of the story in 1984, Mr Welz said.

1990 newsmakers: Mandela, FW 243

STATE President FW de Klerk and African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela have been elected 1990 Newsmakers

of the Year by the Johannesburg Press Club

In a statement the Press Club said the choice was unanimous and no other candidates had been

elected. *Sowetan 20/11/90*
Both had accepted the award which will be presented to them in Johannesburg on February 22 at a sponsored banquet

The Press Club had invited Egyptian Tourism Minister Dr Faoud Sultan to visit SA to address the club of future tourism ties, the statement said.

Libel trial is told of police poison 'drops'

THE police forensics laboratory was for years supplied with plastic bottles by a wholesaler, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday in the R1,5 million defamation trial brought by General Lothar Neethling against *Vrye Weekblad* and the *Weekly Mail*

Former police captain Dirk Coetzee testified in London earlier this year that some of the poison he was allegedly given by Neethling for political murders had been supplied in plastic containers

Neethling is suing the newspapers for publishing Coetzee's allegations

Becker Glass group managing director Mr David Soltz told the court his firm had been supplying plastic and glass containers to the police forensics department ever since

he had joined the company in the 1970s.

Mr Justice JC Kriegler on Monday provisionally accepted evidence by Mr Stephan Malherbe

Career

Malherbe told the court about a conversation in a Namibian bar with a Mr Jean Theron who had told him the police forensics department had supplied "Lothar's drops" or poisons for police use against hostage-takers

Theron, who spent part of his national service under Neethling, allegedly said if Neethling had a choice between his conscience and furthering his police career he would have chosen to serve the police

The case continues -
Sapa

Vrye Weekblad plans to call mystery witness

B/way 21/11/90 (243)

VRYE Weekblad's defence counsel is expected to produce a mystery witness today with new evidence in the R1,5m defamation suit brought against that newspaper and the Weekly Mail by police forensics head Lt-Gen Lothar Neethling.

The witness would have his own lawyer and counsel, who were in a neighbouring state gathering evidence yesterday, the court heard.

Mr Justice Kriegler yesterday ruled as inadmissible Friday's hearsay evidence by Anglo American trainee manager Stephan Malherbe, who had told of a conversation in a Namibian bar where he had heard al-

leged poison substances — "Lothar's drops" — did exist and might be used for political purposes.

Reasons for the ruling would be given at the end of the case.

Neethling is suing the Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail newspapers for publishing allegations by former police captain Dirk Coetzee that the general had supplied poison for political murders.

Malherbe's hearsay evidence was ruled provisionally acceptable on Monday due to the absence of its original source, a Jean Theron who worked in the police forensics laboratory

during his national service between 1979 and 1982.

Vrye Weekblad's defence was unwilling to call Theron as a witness yesterday, saying he would have to be declared hostile as he had been recruited by and maintained a relationship with Neethling.

Yesterday, the court heard that the police forensics laboratory had been supplied with plastic bottles for years. Last week Neethling had testified his laboratory had never used plastic containers.

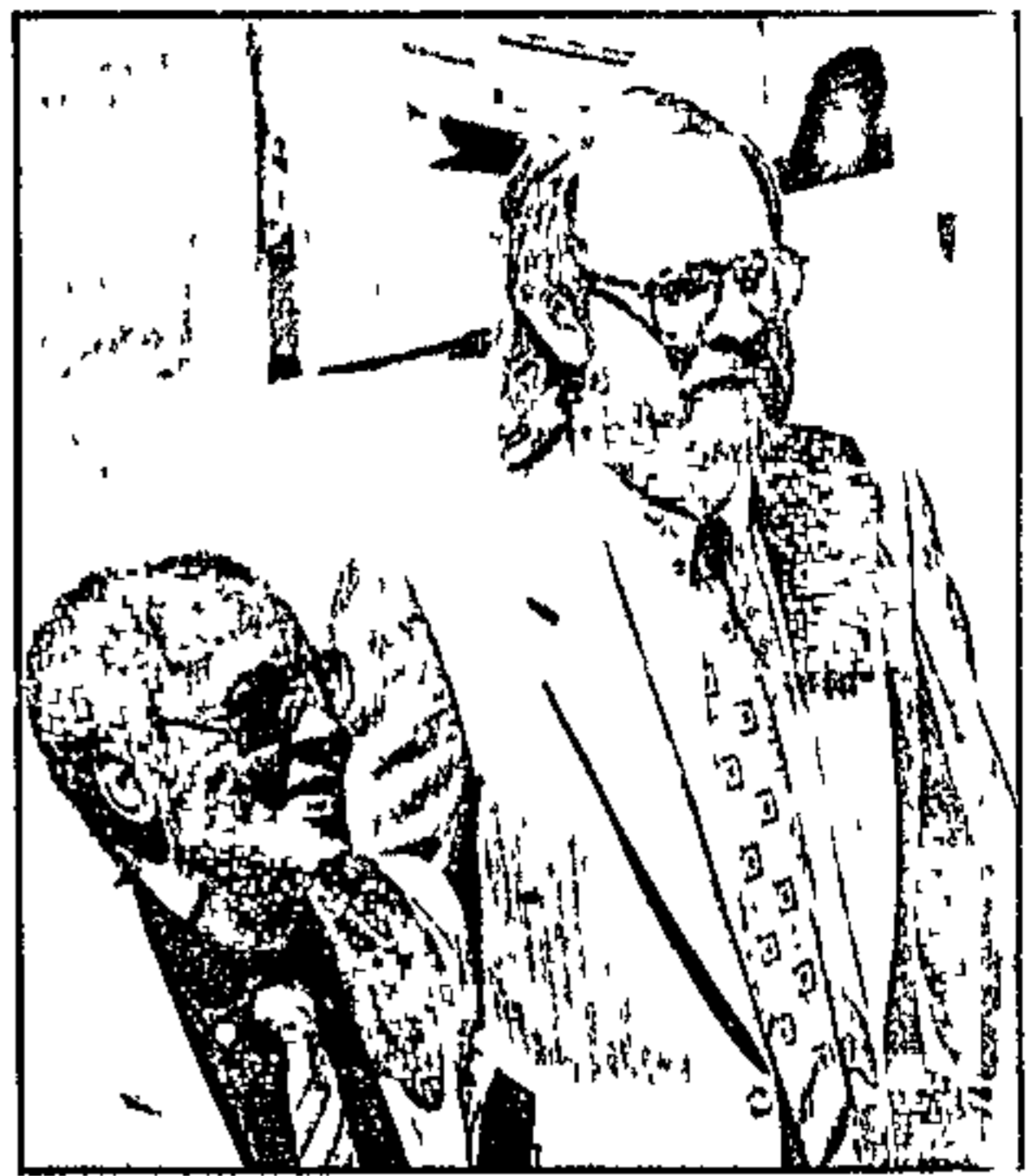
Earlier this year Coetzee said some of the poison he had allegedly been given by Neethling had been supplied in plastic containers.

Becker Glass group MD David Soltz told the court his wholesale firm had been supplying plastic and glass containers to the police forensics department since he had joined the company in the 1970s. But as he was unable to produce company records of the transactions without a long delay, he was excused from giving further evidence — Sapa

I killed for Military Intelligence - witness

Court told of TV booby trap, poisoned beer

Star 24/11/90 (243) (circled) (circled)



Mystery witness Les Lesia arrives at the Rand Supreme Court with Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez

By Joe Openshaw and Cathy Stagg

The public gallery in the Rand Supreme Court was riveted yesterday as a mild-mannered man told of how he had been manipulated by Military Intelligence into spying for South Africa and eliminating ANC officials.

Leslie Johannes Lesia (54) from Botshabelo township, Bloemfontein, ran a school of arts, but once under the influence of his handlers, "Bekker" and "Brown", he

● Agreed to penetrate the ANC and report on officials in Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe

● Destroy all "big fish" in the SA Communist Party

● Use any opportunity to slip poison from a ring with a secret compartment into the drinks of victims

● Carried poison, syringes, booby traps designed to fit on teacups and a pistol with a silencer in a secret compartment fitted behind the cubbyhole of his car

● Supplied gifts of poisoned liquor to the Soviet Embassy in Gaborone and ANC officials in Maputo

● Gave a television filled with explosives, linked to a radio-controlled detonator, to an ANC member

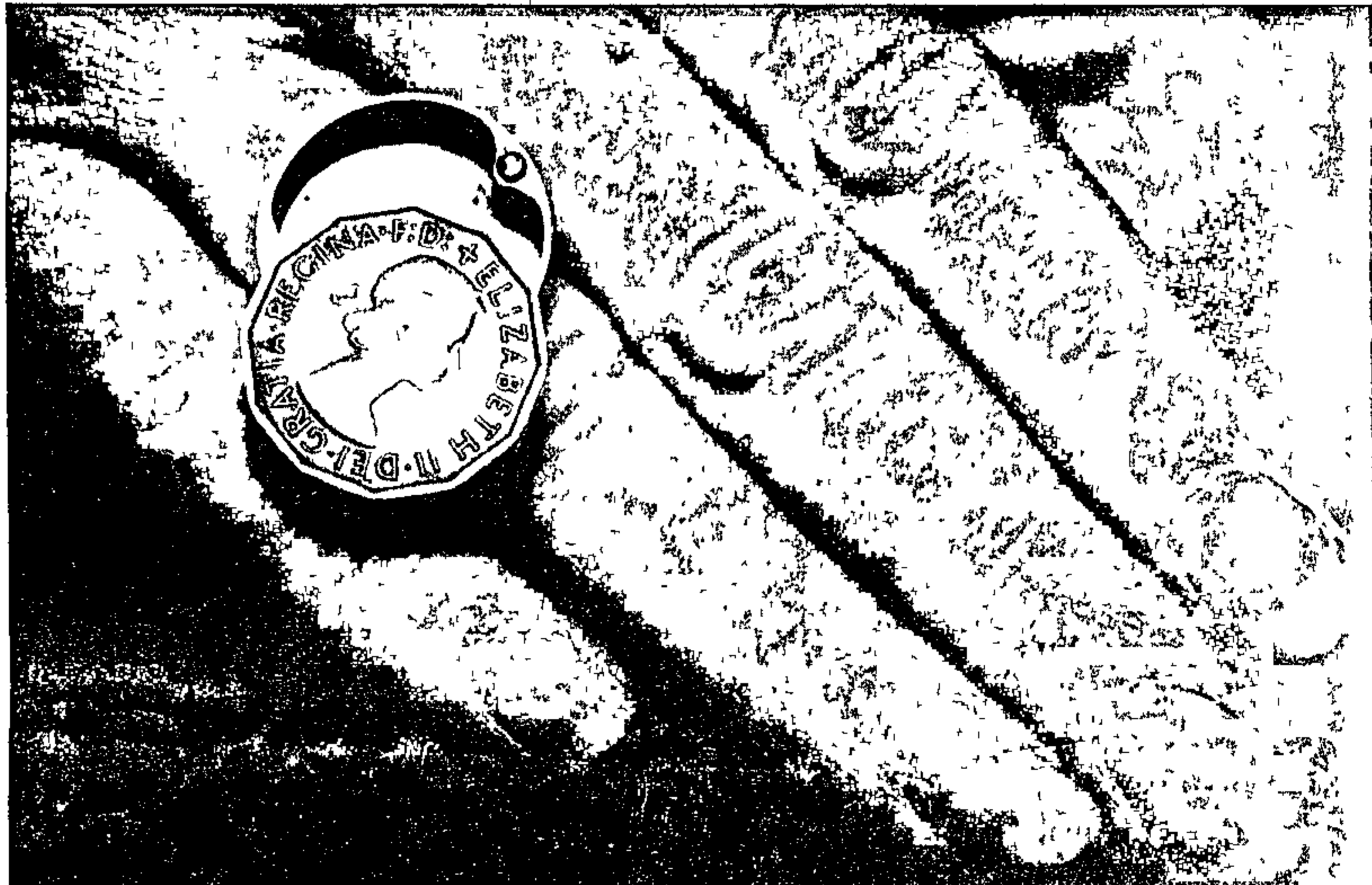
This evidence was presented during the R1,5 million defamation trial being heard by Mr Justice J.C. Kriegler

General Lothar Neethling, head of the SAP forensic division, launched the claim against Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail after the publication of an article in which former police captain Dirk Coetzee claimed General Neethling had given him poison to use against ANC members

Mr Lesia said he recognised General Neethling, who had been pointed out to him by his handler, Bekker, as "the big boss of the SAP who is helping us with the stuff" Mr Lesia said this was a reference to poison

He also said he had gone with Bekker to the SAP laboratories in Silverton where they had collected a case of beer, a bottle of brandy and a bottle of vodka, all of which were poisoned

Willy Oshry, QC, objected to conversations between Mr Lesia and Bekker on the grounds that they were hearsay evidence



Lethal exhibit This brass ring, with a cavity under the medallion, was allegedly given to Military Intelligence agent Leslie Lesia to poison drinks of ANC members, according to evidence in the Rand Supreme Court

Mr Justice Kriegler said he would hear the uninterrupted story first, then listen to argument later

In April 1986 Mr Lesia wrote to the US consul general asking for a grant for his school He received an encouraging reply from a Bonnie Brown

In August 1986 he learnt that his nephew, an Umkhonto we Sizwe soldier, had died and the ANC could not send the corpse back to South Africa "I thought it would be wise to ask for permission to go to Tanzania"

No objection was made and a temporary travel document was issued

When Mr Lesia returned, via Maputo, he was contacted by Bekker, then posing as a US Embassy official Later, Bekker introduced him to "Mr Brown", whom Mr Lesia assumed was the husband of Bonnie Brown

They questioned him about conditions in Maputo and his family in Tanzania

"This puzzled me because only my lawyer, my family and the security police knew

where I had gone

"Brown then gave me a brief account of my visit to Tanzania and left. The next day they returned It was not until Brown said my school would not get the money, that I decided to give them information," he said

"They told me they were from Military Intelligence"

Mr Lesia identified an ANC man, Joseph

When Mr Lesia reported to Bekker and Brown that Joseph was missing, he was told, "Our fellows have taken care of him"

"I was frightened and realised they would take action on all the information I gave them," he said

In April 1987, Mr Lesia took poisoned liquor to Maputo and gave it to the top ANC man Later, at a party, he was shocked to see another ANC member, Gibson Ncube, finishing a can of Castle beer

"I can assure you at that time in Maputo you couldn't get that beer But there was nothing I could do to stop it"

He told the court the poi-

son could not be traced Mr Lesia was told Mr Ncube had died a few days later of "some sort of paralysis starting at the feet"

Brown then told him to take a television set to Maputo which would explode

Instead of giving the television to the intended victim, Mr Lesia deactivated it and gave it to another ANC man He lied to Bekker about what he had done

When the set did not explode, Bekker put pressure on him to retrieve it

Eventually Mr Lesia went back to Maputo It was there that four men brandishing guns burst into his hotel room He was taken to Lusaka, then to Harare

There he learnt he faced murder charges because the television had exploded in Harare, killing the wife of an ANC man He denied everything but confessed after being tortured

He spent three years in the Chikurubi maximum security prison and was released in July when Zimbabwe's state of emergency was lifted

BARRON'S
FRESH NEWS
WEEKLY

POTATOES

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Cla

THE defamation case General Lothar Neethling has brought against *The Weekly Mail* and *Vrye Weekblad* has not only breathed new life into the military hit squad saga, but has brought to light possibly the most damning evidence to date about covert security force operations.

The case took a highly dramatic turn this week when a "mystery" witness, 54-year-old Leslie Lesia, was called by the publications' defence.

Neethling is suing the two newspapers for a combined amount of R1,5-million arising from the publication of three articles late last year — two in *Vrye Weekblad* and one in *The Weekly Mail* — containing allegations that the general supplied poisons for the elimination of activists. The allegations were made by self-confessed police hit squad member and former police captain Dirk Coetzee, whose "confessions" have largely been discredited by the Harms and McNally reports.

Lesia testified this week that he was recruited by South African military intelligence (MI) in October 1986 and provided with poisons and poisoned liquor from the general's laboratory, detonators and explosive television sets to eliminate African National Congress activists in neighbouring states.

ANC member Gibson Ncube died after he allegedly drank a can of Castle lager laced with poison smuggled into Mozambique by Lesia. The wife of an ANC member, one Tsitsi Chiliza, died in Zimbabwe when her booby-trapped television set, allegedly supplied by Lesia, exploded in May 1987.

Lesia, who said as far as he knew he was not employed by the Civil Co-operation Bureau, told how he had on one occasion presented the Russian Embassy in Botswana with a box of poison beers and a "gift" box containing poison. He also said he had visited the SAP forensic laboratories in early 1987 with his "handler" to fetch poison liquor and that he had been told by his handler that South African Police "boss" Neethling helped with the "stuff".

The atmosphere in the packed courtroom bristled with electricity as Lesia related his story. Neethling looked composed throughout, grinning constantly, but taking detailed notes.

Lesia, resident in Bloemfontein, was imprisoned in Zimbabwe from May 1987 until July 25 of this year for the murder of Chiliza. The charges were dropped in October 1988 but he was re-detained until the State of Emergency was lifted in July.

A bottle of poison, two syringes, a poison ring, pistol, silencer and a biscuit tin containing detonators were found in a secret compartment of his car by the Zimbabwean authorities.

Extensive evidence corroborating Lesia's account — including photographs taken by the Zimbabwean authorities of his hidden car compartment and its con-

'SA agent gave poisoned beer to the Russians'

A 'mystery' witness told a defamation hearing against two newspapers this week a bizarre tale of how anti-apartheid activists were poisoned in a South African intelligence death web spread across Southern Africa. **PHILIPPA GARSON reports**



Mystery witness ... Leslie Lesia.

Picture KEVIN CARTER

tents, numerous air tickets, hotel cards, a diary and his passport — was handed in to the court.

During cross-examination, the plaintiff's defence, Willie Oshry QC, revealed that Lesia had been jailed several times for theft and dagga dealing. Lesia said he was recruited a few months after he flew with his sister-in-law to Tanzania for the funeral of his nephew, Tebogo Lesia, an Umkhonto weSizwe soldier in early September 1986. He said he had informed the Bloemfontein security police of the trip and a certain official said he would assist them with the necessary travel documents.

Lesia said on his return, he was tricked into becoming an agent for MI when informed by someone posing as a United States Consulate official that funds would be provided for the art school he had set up in Bloemfontein. Lesia had written to the consulate in April to ask for financial assistance for his ailing "Leshe's Performing Arts and Cultural Institute".

Two representatives from the consulate allegedly came to see him in Bloemfontein and a local lawyer, Brian Cooper, was consulted to handle the financial transactions.

Lesia was flown to Johannesburg on two occasions and his flights were paid

for, he said, by what he thought was the US embassy.

At Jan Smuts Holiday Inn he became acquainted with a dark-haired Mr Ernest Becker (who, according to a former CCB member who spoke to *The Weekly Mail*, is Kobus Potgieter, former member of the special forces) and later a blond Mr Brown, who spoke with an American accent.

On his second visit to Johannesburg, Lesia said he was asked by Brown and Becker how much he knew of the ANC in exile. He said he was reluctant to give information until "Mr Becker sort of threatened me and said if I didn't cooperate they wouldn't let my school have funds". Lesia, who described himself as "confused at the time", said he became suspicious but knew that if he backed out "things would not be easy" for him when he returned home.

From then on he became an agent, supplying his handlers, Bekker and Brown, with information when he checked into either the Milpark or Jan Smuts Holiday Inns. He said he made various trips to Mozambique, via Swaziland, and Botswana to take substances laced with poisons for the elimination of activists and the booby-trapped television set. Evidence of his trips was submitted to the court, but he said some valuable documents — including a diary in which he recorded everything — were destroyed by frightened relatives while he was detained in Zimbabwe.

The soft-spoken Lesia said his handlers paid R1 600 each month into his Barclays Bank Bloemfontein account and gave him R1 500 to R2 000 travel expenses for each trip he made.

He claims that, after repeated contact with the ANC in exile, he was asked by them to help set up a cell in the rural areas.

Lesia said on one of his trips to Johannesburg, where he stayed at Milpark Holiday Inn, he was given four glass bottles of a yellowish poison, two syringes and the poison ring. "Becker instructed me that whenever I got the opportunity — I should concentrate on high-ranking officers in the ANC — I could either use the ring to put poison in and spill it (in their drinks) or, if I had the chance, I could use the syringes to inject them."

He said he saw Neethling after he was given the poison, on one occasion in a coffee bar at the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn. Neethling, who was allegedly seated with two women and a man, was pointed out by Becker.

Lesia earlier identified him in court, saying that when he had seen the general in 1986 he had a moustache and looked younger. "(Becker) said that is the big boss of the police, the man who is helping us with the stuff."

Oshry intimated he may have got the description of Neethling from the "Dispatches" video he saw two days before.

(Proceeding)

FM WINS APPEAL APPLICATION 243

Last week, the *FM* was given leave to appeal against an earlier Supreme Court order preventing it from publishing an article on Sage Holdings. The implications of the original judgment could be far-reaching for investors at large.

It could be used to circumscribe a great deal of the information the *FM* publishes now as a matter of course about various quoted companies. And it could apply to information available to investment analysts and the investment community in general. In that event, the scope for illegal insider trading could be substantially enhanced, depending on the extent of the informal currency of the information concerned.

On September 25, Justice Meyer Joffe interdicted the *FM* from publishing the Sage article on the grounds that a small part of it was based on illegal and irregularly obtained information and that this constituted unlawful competition.

It was common cause that the *FM* had not itself acted improperly in seeking to publish this information, which had been supplied by someone in the Allied group.

At the heart of the matter is resentment among some Allied executives that their investment in Sage has not been as profitable as Sage's investment in Allied.

There was enough corroboration in the

FM 23/11/90

information in question to suggest to the *FM* that it was substantially true. So it approached Sage chairman Louis Shill with an article based on the information and asked him to point out what was not true. This Shill refused to do and, after some discussion, instituted proceedings for an urgent interdict to prevent publication. The matter was heard in camera.

The *FM*'s offer to correct what Sage believed to be incorrect and to represent Sage's view to its (Sage's) satisfaction remained throughout the proceedings and is still current.

In applying for leave to appeal, *FM* counsel Bobby Levin SC and Gilbert Marcus argued that the *FM* was not in competition with Sage; that the judge's view that it *is* in competition constituted a novel development in the law; that it was a view contrary to precedent abroad; and that Sage did not have sufficient interest to prevent disclosure of the contents of the Allied document. Allied was not a party to the proceedings.

The appeal is unlikely to be heard by the Appeal Court for at least 12 months. But the outcome will be watched with interest by investors, lawyers, financial journalists and those businessmen who perceive increased privacy to be important to their affairs.

FIM 23/11/90

MAGAZINES

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OUT OF VOGUE?

This year has not been a good one for magazines. In the first nine months, advertisers spent just 6,7% more with them though total advertising spending went up by 19,6%, according to Ad-Index. Advertising in English magazines is still rising — by 14,8%, which is just above the inflation rate. Afrikaans magazines are down by 9%.

In defence of the medium, the Magazine Publishers' Association has produced a major study, *Media Wise*. While shying away from attacking TV directly, it says that advertising is most effective when the electronic and print media are used in combination — media synergy as it's called in the trade. Needless to say, it puts the emphasis on synergy between TV and magazines rather than TV and newspapers.

The poorest performers in the survey are the Sunday colour supplements. These are thrown away after reading by 46% of respondents, compared with just 14% who threw away paid-for magazines. Supplements were also read for an average of 28 minutes, compared with 78 minutes for the average paid-for magazine.

These conclusions, however, should be taken with a pinch of salt. Since the Sunday supplements came on to the market, magazine publishers have treated them as unwelcome competition. They have taken every opportunity to knock their editorial quality and allegedly short shelf life.

Media Business MD Bryan Gabriel says such comparisons are irrelevant. "The Sunday supplements offer magazine quality and newspaper immediacy. They can offer national coverage in one day. A mail order company, for instance, is looking for instant response. It couldn't care about the shelf life if the ads do the job that day. On the other hand, magazines like *Fair Lady* are still being read eight weeks later when a special offer will be over."

Direct response is undoubtedly the bread-and-butter of the supplements. The *Sunday Star* magazine refused to take direct response advertising when it started in 1988 because it was not in keeping with the up-market positioning it wanted to adopt. It has now changed its mind.

Nasionale's Barbara Ross, who has taken the study on a national roadshow, says it throws up few surprises. "The study confirms that magazines are strong for image building brand advertising and the strength of newspapers lies more in the retail field."

The main drawcard of magazines, she says, is their upmarket profile. Of regular magazine readers, 51% have a monthly household income of more than R4 000, compared with just a quarter of television viewers and 43% of those who read and watch regularly.

The research will undoubtedly be used by magazine publishers who have launched new publications this year.

BUSINESS & TECHNOLOGY

never made a good enough impression with the agencies even to start up.

The outlook for other magazines looks dubious too. The already crowded teenage market has been joined by 2-21, and a merger with *Talk* magazine is already rumoured. After the success of the Sales House *Club* magazine, the Rusfurn group is launching a series of magazines for account holders. But Young & Rubicam's Elana de Swart says the editorial content is so poor that it will have difficulty establishing credibility among agencies.

ly fashion magazine *Red*, which would probably have closed if it had been started by an independent.

It is an uphill battle. Ogilvy & Mather media director John Montgomery says it's very difficult for new publications to win support from agencies. "I would be irresponsible with the clients' money if I supported an untried magazine."

An example of the problems of independents has been the postponement of the proposed knock-and-drop magazine *Zest Lifestyle 90* by Lindsay-White publishers. It

The most promising new magazines are still battling for revenue. The Afrikaans lifestyle magazine *Tuin Huis*, which was planned as a monthly, will now appear only every two months. Editor Johan van Rooyen, however, confounded sceptics when he was editor of the upmarket Afrikaans magazine *De Kat* and made it a financial success.

Even in this forbidding advertising environment, magazines can still be launched if they are backed by big budgets. The country's largest magazine publisher, Nasionale Pers, has the resources to support its quarter-

FIM 23/11/90

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War resisters' mag fires its last round

wait 23/11 - 27/11/90
THE Committee of South African War Resisters is to close its magazine, *Resister*, after 12 years of publication.

An "advance party" of 10 exiled war resisters, all of whom could be tried for avoiding their callups, return to South Africa on December 1 and after that a small administrative structure will oversee the end of Cosawr. (243)

"We are now entering a new era of struggle. To contribute fully to shaping a new South Africa we need to play our role in South Africa itself," says the editorial of the final edition. (35)

Resister's first edition was a 12-page typewritten newsletter, 200 copies of which were printed in March 1979. Its circulation grew to 3 000 copies of each three monthly-edition.

Cosawr was founded to assist those leaving South Africa to avoid military service. Much of its work focused on organising asylum for objectors and seeing to their personal needs

Journalists call for unity in struggle

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THE Union of African Journalists has called on all liberation movements in South Africa to intensify the struggle for the final dismantling of apartheid by forging a common front and abandoning the current spate of violence among themselves.

The call was made at a council meeting of the Bureau and Board of Directors of UAJ held in Cairo, Egypt, last week.

Sowetan 23/11/90

The UAJ said the current spate of internal divisive conflict, allegedly engineered by pro-apartheid forces should be ended

An appeal was also made to the international community to continue to apply comprehensive sanctions against the

South African Government.

"We express concern over the situation in South Africa, particularly as the racist Pretoria Government continues to apply its policy of apartheid, repression and coercion against the majority of citizens opposed to these

policies already denounced by the internal committee," the UAJ said.

The UAJ said it did not repose any trust in the current moves which the Government claims to be undertaking and called on them to conduct negotiations in accordance with the terms laid down by the Frontline states and adopted by the ANC

The UAJ also condemned the South African and Israeli Governments for their co-operation in the nuclear field and the manufacturing of missiles which posed a threat to peace and stability in Africa and the Middle East.
Sowetan Reporter

DEEP DISCOUNT 243

It is a sobering thought that if funds to the value of the total asset base had remained banked throughout the year to end-June

COMPANIES

243 FIM 23/11/90

Activities: Owns 82,6% of Perskorporasie, which prints and publishes newspapers, magazines and books and does general printing

Control: Perskor Beleggings and Dagbreek Trust own 42,2% and 13,9% respectively

Chairman and CE: J M Butendag

Capital structure: 5,7m ord. Market capitalisation R53m

Share market: Price 925c Yields 3,6% on dividend, 25% on earnings, p/e ratio, 4, cover, 7,0 12-month high, 850c, low, 620c Trading volume last quarter, 71 000 shares

| Year to June | '87 | '88 | '89 | '90 |
|-----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| ST debt (Rm) | 1,4 | 1,1 | 1,9 | 3,5 |
| LT debt (Rm) | 0,7 | 1,0 | 4,8 | 12,1 |
| Debt equity ratio | nil | nil | 0,03 | 0,05 |
| Shareholders interest | 0,65 | 0,60 | 0,59 | 0,58 |
| Int & leasing cover | 10,7 | 17,5 | 7,3 | 8,4 |
| Return on cap (%) | 6,6 | 10,0 | 11,1 | 9,3 |
| Turnover (Rm) | 309 | 386 | 445 | 524 |
| Pre-int profit (Rm) | 10,4 | 17,3 | 22,0 | 24,3 |
| Pre-int margin (%) | 3,4 | 3,6 | 4,3 | 3,9 |
| Earnings (c) | 117 | 171 | 205 | 230 |
| Dividends (c) | 20 | 24 | 30 | 33 |
| Net worth (c) | 1 538 | 1 538 | 1 705 | 2 303 |

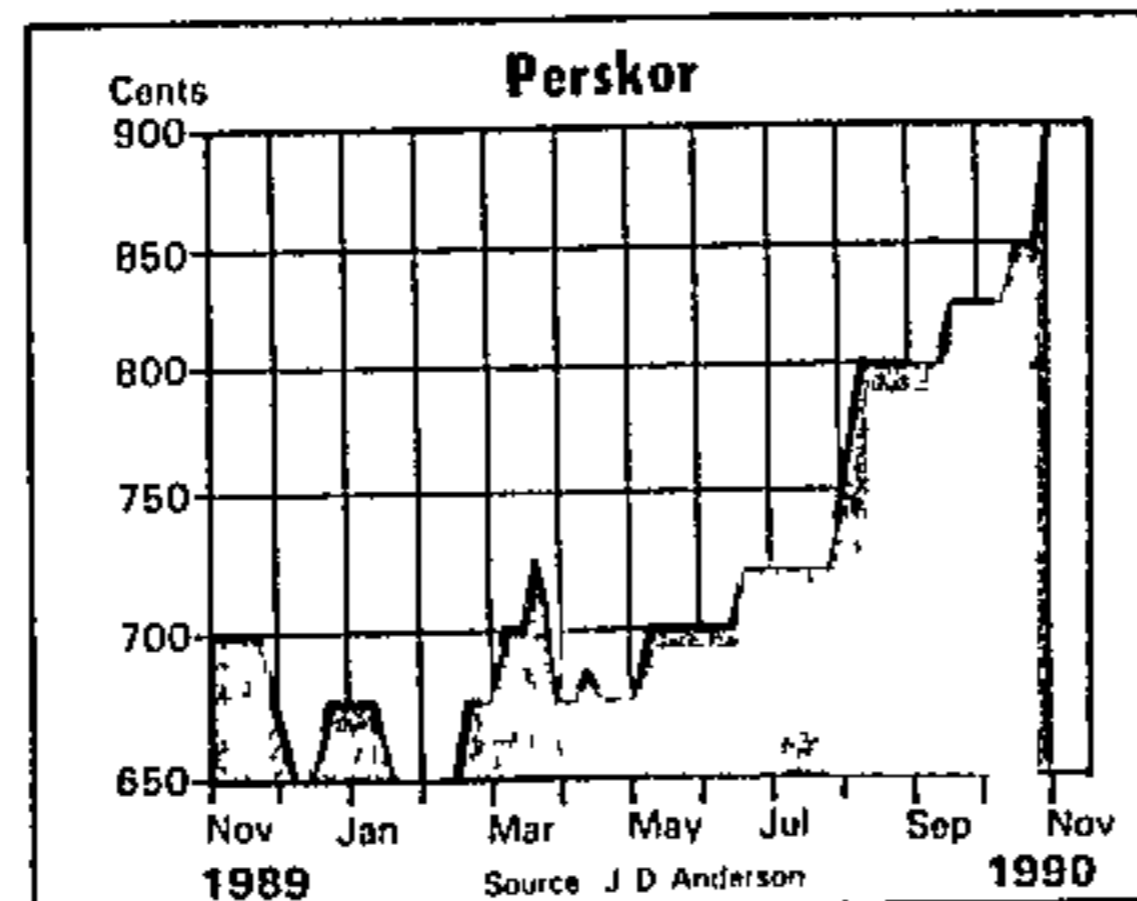
1990, shareholders would have been about 38% better off in terms of EPS. This calculation assumes a similar capital structure and a full tax rate on the interest earned, in place of the actual tax rate last year of 36%.

Not a very practical answer to Perskor's problems, perhaps, but it nevertheless serves to underline the impact of continued low returns earned on funds employed. And instead of getting better, the position is becoming worse. With the slowdown of the economy and consequent shrinkage of advertising revenue, all profitability ratios deteriorated after a few years of improvement.

Starting at the top, the trading margin shrank from 4,3% in 1989 to 3,9%, the gross return on funds employed was down from 11,1% to 9,3%, while the net return on equity declined from 12% to 10%. Given that the deterioration is off an already low base, the thought that 1989 may have represented something of a peak in Perskor's fortunes is depressing.

A second way in which these low returns adversely affect shareholders is that the group is more or less obliged to maintain a restrictive dividend policy to provide funds for asset replacement and expansion. Debt is not a reasonable alternative as it does not make sense to borrow at (say) 20% and then invest the funds in a business returning 9%.

Even so, the past two years have seen the balance sheet move from a net cash position



243

of R2,8m to net borrowings of R8m. While this represents a debt equity ratio of only 5%, the interest and leasing cover -- as the FIM pointed out a year ago -- is surprisingly narrow at just over 8.

In the circumstances, it is difficult to argue that the high dividend cover and low p/e ratio indicate an undervalued share price, though such considerations probably contributed to the 49% price rise that in fact took place over the past year. Even with this gain, the 925c price is still at a 60% discount to net worth, there was a 59% discount this time last year.

Group GM finance Andries van der Walt points out that the group has shown consistently strong asset growth over the years, and feels this should not be overlooked.

However, the only way the gap between share price and net worth is likely to be bridged is if the group somehow manages to boost profitability to more normal levels, enabling it to adopt more flexible financial policies, including an improved flow of dividends.

An improvement in marketability would also not go amiss. Only about 2,5m shares are available outside the controlling interests held by Perskor Beleggings and Dagbreek Trust. These shares have a total market value of only R23m, an obvious limitation on the type of investor likely to show any interest even if the profit outlook was more promising.

□ Perskor Beleggings, which holds 42% of Perskor group plus a small direct interest in operating subsidiary Perskorporasie, earned 10,2c last year (1989 9,7c) and paid 10c (1989 9c). At 275c, it is fairly overpriced in relation to Perskorgroep, with a dividend yield of 3,6%, in line with that of its major investment.

Brian Thompson

LONGMILE FIM 23/11/90

BUMPY RIDE AHEAD

Sandwiched between tyres, properties, fasteners (nuts and bolts, not zippers), silencers and towbars is a clothing division. But, like all the other operations in the Longmile group, it is draped in secrecy.

For the interested investor and shareholder alike, the 1990 annual report is short on detailed financial information about the activities. Were it not for an adjusted five-year summary of trading and profit figures, the change in the basis of accounting in 1989 makes any long-term comparative analysis obscure enough to be useless to all but the dogged and determined digger.

Deputy chairman Nicholas van den Bergh agrees that for a disparate group activity such as clothing -- which, he says, makes a meaningful contribution to group profits -- to be justified in the context of the group's engineering-based activities, more financial details would be appropriate.

The same applies to the silencer division, which has 140 Silencer Services outlets, of



COMPANIES

Argus 26/11/90 (243) (1990)

Argus set to split shares 20 to one

By ANN CROTTY

THE proposal to split the Argus share — on a 20 for one basis — is likely to sustain the recent strengthening in the share price in spite of the fairly pedestrian performance reported for the six months to end-September.

For the financial 1991 interim, earnings were up by just 2,2 percent to R13,66 a share (R13,36) and the interim dividend was unchanged at 275c.

The share price has moved against the generally weaker market conditions, advancing 25 percent so far this year to a current level of R215. Much of the appreciation was done on the back of speculation of a share split.

The move has been on the cards for some years but analysts expressed some surprise at the timing of the announcement in the interim report. This view assumes that part of the reason for splitting the share was to make it more attractive to the smaller investor who is now almost completely out of direct investment in the equity market.

One analyst speculated that the move may have been taken in order to facilitate an employee share incentive scheme at some later stage. Chief executive Mr Doug Band would not comment on this speculation.

Whatever the reason behind the decision and in spite of the recent strengthening of the share price, market feeling is that if the 20-for-one split is effected, the share price could advance to as much as

R12-R15 after the split. This is on the basis of previous experience with share splits and on the fact that the net asset value of the Argus was around R220 at end-March.

This valuation did not include a value for trade marks which in Argus' case would be significant. A share split is expected to unlock some of this additional value.

Looking to the interim figures Mr Band, who says he is very pleased with the way the group has performed in tough times, notes that performances from CNA Gallo and CTP were strong and helped to counter the impact of the 8,4 percent drop in pre-tax profit contribution from Argus Newspapers.

Associates — which includes TML, Maisters and the associates of CNA Gallo and CTP — lifted their contribution by a sterling 28,8 percent to R7,4million (R5,7million).

Group turnover was up 12,6 percent to R816,2million (R725,1million), trading income rose 3,7 percent to R58,9million (R56,8million) reflecting a squeeze on margins — down from 7,8 percent to 7,2 percent.

The interest bill was cut by a third — down from R3,3million to R2,1million. This was in line with the reduced level of borrowings that resulted from generally tighter working capital management. In addition the group benefited from the proceeds from the sale of Argus properties in Durban.

Income from investments was down to R4million (R4,3million). The tax rate, which shot up sharply in the second half of financial '90 because of the need to provide for deferred tax at Hortors, was up to 44,7 percent — from 41,6 percent.

The combined effect saw a 3,3 percent drop in attributable earnings before associates to R20,7million (R21,4million). The contribution from associates swung this around to a 3,5 percent advance in attributable earnings — to R28,2million (R27,2million).

Looking to the remainder of the year, Mr Band says that trading conditions will continue to be tough, especially for the newspaper interests, but that performances from CNA Gallo and CTP may again help to counter the full impact from the weaker areas.



Concern for Press freedom grows

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ARK65 27/11/90

THE time when outcries against the violation of freedom of the press by the government and its security apparatus emanating from media circles alone now appears to be something of the past.

The unbanning of political organisations by President De Klerk on

MEDIA

February 2 this year and the consequent normalisation and liberalisation of South African politics have given rise to unprecedented public concern about the future of the press in a post-apartheid era.

The focus has shifted from the government which — through the use of its 101 laws controlling the press and the recent state of emergency — has earned itself the invidious reputation of only paying lip-service to press freedom while systematically emasculating it, to organisations on the left and the right of the political spectrum.

While journalists have continued to be on the receiving end of repressive government actions and various kinds of police harassment in the normal course of their duty, they have also been greatly concerned about the new form of censorship from the left. Journalists covering events have been verbally abused and threatened with physical violence, while others have had death threats.

Growing concern

The recent spate of conferences on press freedom, the latest being the one jointly organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) and the Campaign for Open Media (COM) on "The Shape and Role of the Media in a New South Africa" in Johannesburg, bears evidence to this growing concern.

Speakers at the Idasa-COM conference included not only journalistic luminaries from South Africa and some southern African states, but also journalists' unions and representatives of the different political organisations.

Ownership of the press came under the spotlight, and so did the different political organisations' understanding of press freedom. Speakers included representatives from the National Party, the Democratic Party, the Conservative Party and Inkatha Freedom Party. The ANC's Mr Pallo Jordan and the Pan Africanist Congress's Mr Benny Alexander, who were on the programme, did not show up, according to Idasa spokesman Sue Valentine.

Mr Ameen Akhalwaya, editor of the Lenasia-based Indicator

South Africans are increasingly worried about the prospects of a free press in the new South Africa. KAIZER NYATSUMBA, Argus correspondent in Johannesburg, reports.

newspaper, told the conference that advertising agencies were helping strangle the financially fragile independent media by not advertising in them. He said if independent papers did not get enough advertisements, they would remain thin, their editorial content would be minimal and they would ultimately serve no purpose.

"If big business claims to want a society in which democratic debate flourishes, then it must forthwith call its advertising agencies to account," he said.

'Big players'

Argus Holdings chairman Mr Murray Hofmeyr told the conference his company accepted the need to help others gain access to the market. The company had supported the Weekly Mail when the government threatened it with closure in 1988 in terms of the emergency media regulations, and this gave the lie to accusations that "the big players" in the newspaper industry used their strength to prevent others from entering it.

Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harber and The Star's editor-in-Chief, Richard Steyn, decried the new censorship from the left, especially aimed at black reporters. The media, Mr Steyn said, could be as free or unfree as the law or the government allowed.

Rhodes University journalism lecturer Gavin Stewart spoke about the "urgent need" for the media to be made easily accessible to people in the rural areas who form more than 40 percent of the country's population.

"If the urban powers require that the rural people join in the political process, they had better be informed about it. There is no guarantee that it will make them any happier," he said.

Mozambican journalist Leite de Vasconcelos lamented the control of the media in his country by the government, adding that he and his colleagues looked forward to Mozambique's adoption of a new constitution in the near future which would guarantee freedom of the press and the right to form political parties.

A journalist from the newly-independent Namibia, standing in for Namibian editor Gwen Lister, said the press in his country was "freer than in many other parts of the world, and there have been even rumblings that possibly it is too free".

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Lies
that often
prove true

Police have accused the media of printing "half-truths, lies and biased reporting" to smear the force. Political Reporter **ESMARE VAN DER MERWE** says the police should not blame others for their bad image.

THE prize for the most quotable quote of the month goes to police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman "The use of an unnamed quote is simply a socially accepted way of introducing a fabricated quotation into a story."

In a scathing attack on the media, Captain Opperman said last week police were considering taking legal action against reporters using unnamed sources to publish "untruths" about alleged police misconduct.

He accused the media of letting themselves be used to "smear the police and by doing so to inflate racial hatred".

His extraordinary outburst about "the use of unnamed sources, the printing of half-truths, lies and biased reporting" has met with indignant denials from media experts.

Former Rand Daily Mail editor Raymond Louw, chairman of the Campaign for Open Media and chairman of the Media Defence Trust, said "Opperman is talking rubbish. The press does not use the ploy of fabrication and he should know that."

Media lawyer David Dyson pointed out that section 27B of the Police Act enabled the police to prosecute people who made statements about police conduct.

Said Mr Dyson: "Police have for years intimidated newspapers by the use of this Act. It is for this reason that editors feel compelled to protect their sources in a situation where, if those sources were named, they would be liable for prosecution."

Mr Louw offered another reason for this practice: "Police sources are often not named because they stand in danger of being victimised by their superiors for having made disclosures to the press. Remove that piece of censorship and the press will happily name eyewitnesses, because people will no longer be in danger for telling the truth."

Through persistent media efforts, police misconduct — and often blatant lies by senior men in blue — have been exposed on numerous occasions.

One category of police misconduct which has filled reams of newspaper copy in recent years is the treatment meted out to detainees.

SA Barometer, a journal of current affairs statistics, recently recorded that damages claims against the police over the last 17 years had cost the State more than R6 million of taxpayers' money in more than 1 000 trials.

One of the best-publicised cases of police torture hit the headlines in 1985 when former Port Elizabeth district surgeon Dr Wendy Orr successfully applied for an interdict against the Minister of Law and Order to prevent police from assaulting emergency detainees.

Police filed more than 70 affidavits totalling 700 pages. The major document was a point-by-point denial of Dr Orr's allegations by Brigadier E Schnetler, Divisional Commissioner for the Eastern Cape.

This year, the State finally paid R120 500 plus costs — without admission of guilt from the authorities — to 80 former anti-apartheid activists in the Port Elizabeth area.

A recent incident, the alleged slashing of water buckets by police during the cutting of water supplies to Wesselton, outside Ermelo, was met with repeated denials by the Commissioner of Police.

This incident was exposed by The Star, which is in the possession of several affidavits from residents.

In an editorial, The Star commented on the subsequent police investigation: "We label it 'so-called' because this investigation led the Commissioner of Police, no less, to announce that a key witness, Boetie Tilly, had retracted his original damning statement and thus 'no shred of evidence had been obtained'. Mr Tilly insists he did no such thing.

"What about the other witnesses The Star interviewed? The police say they could not find them. The Star found them easily enough. Perhaps their apparent reluctance to talk to the police says more about the police force than it does about them.

"If the police were really anxious about improving their public image, they would have shown more interest in seeking out the malicious culprits and less in making denials... We say again, in sorrow as much as anger, that the SAP is being its own worst enemy" □

Vrye Weekblad editor loses appeal

Sta 29/11/90
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The editor of Vrye Weekblad, Max du Preez, lost his appeal against a conviction and six-month suspended jail sentence yesterday.

On November 11 last year the newspaper ran a report by Mark Swilling on a conference attended by Joe Slovo. At that stage, Mr Slovo was a listed person who could not be quoted.

It was argued that to "reproduce" the views of a banned person did not include giving an

analytical summary by a third person.

Mr Justice W J Hartzenberg, with Mr Justice E L Goldstein concurring, found that the word "reproduce" in the Internal Security Act did not only mean a duplication of a banned person's speech — it also included reproducing it in a different style.

Leave to appeal against the judgment handed down in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday was refused.

str 29/11/90 (243)

Argus share split sets posers

Although the decision to split the Argus share has been on the cards for at least a year, the actual timing has taken a few analysts by surprise and has encouraged the view that splitting the share may be done with a view to developing an employee share incentive scheme.

The Argus share price has moved ahead strongly in the past 12 to 18 months (from R130 in October '89 to a current record level of R212), reflecting the combined impact of good operating performances, expectations of a share split and a bullish attitude towards the new CE.

Although all believe that an employee share incentive scheme is a consideration in the decision to split the share, analysts are divided about whether or not there is further scope for an advance in the share price.

Some believe that following the 20-for-one share split, the share could ease back below R10.

Others feel that in the wake of a tougher trading environment, splitting the share will be sufficient to support the appreciation that the share price has enjoyed over the past 12 months.

Still more believe that the split share could go as high as R15 (despite tougher trading conditions) because the relatively lower price will allow more scope for underlying asset value to reflect in the share price — particularly if some of the assets are unbundled through a subsequent separate listing of Argus Newspapers.

The bears argue that, in line with the weak economic projections, earnings prospects for the group are looking fairly dismal in the short-to-medium term and that some institutional shareholders may be tempted to use the opportunity of the split to lighten

Diagonal Street

ANN CROTTY

their load until conditions pick up.

The moderate bulls believe that although there is little hope for earnings growth in the next 12 to 18 months, the share has obvious blue-chip status and is a definite long-term hold.

Because of this, any shares that are offloaded by small private investors (who will still hold an exposure to a cheaper Argus share) will be quickly picked up. (If this is the case, the split could see a reduction in tradeability)

The enthusiastic bulls point to previous experience of share splits and the blue-chip quality of the underlying assets, which warrant a premium rating rather than a discount.

In addition, they point out that although short- and medium-term prospects may look tough for the newspaper operations, in the longer term these and the other

interests such as CNA Gallo and CTP stand to benefit from any pick-up in consumer demand and resurgence of confidence.

At this stage, management's only comments on the plan for a separate listing for Argus Newspapers is that "it's on the back burner".

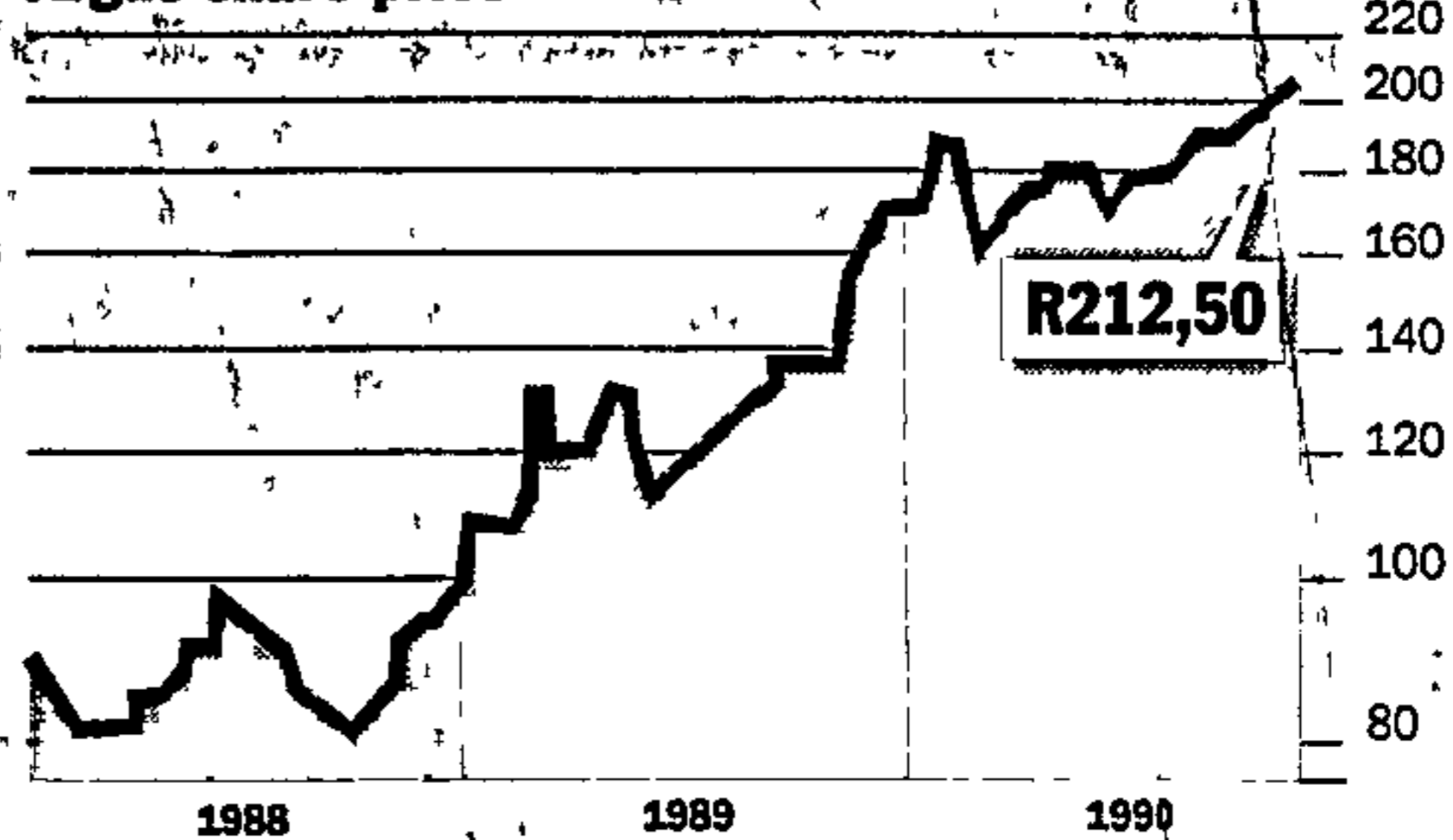
Traditionally this sort of unbundling of assets has led to a higher equity market valuation of the assets — compared with the "bundled" valuation. But it is unlikely that this would be the major motivation for a separate listing.

More urgent is likely to be the need to address the ownership profile of the Argus while Anglo/JCI are still in a position to do so.

At this stage the ground could be set to avoid a head-on clash with an alternative government that may want to see a dispersion of control of the press.

To an extent this could be achieved by getting a separate listing for Argus Newspapers — in which Argus employees would have a reasonable stake.

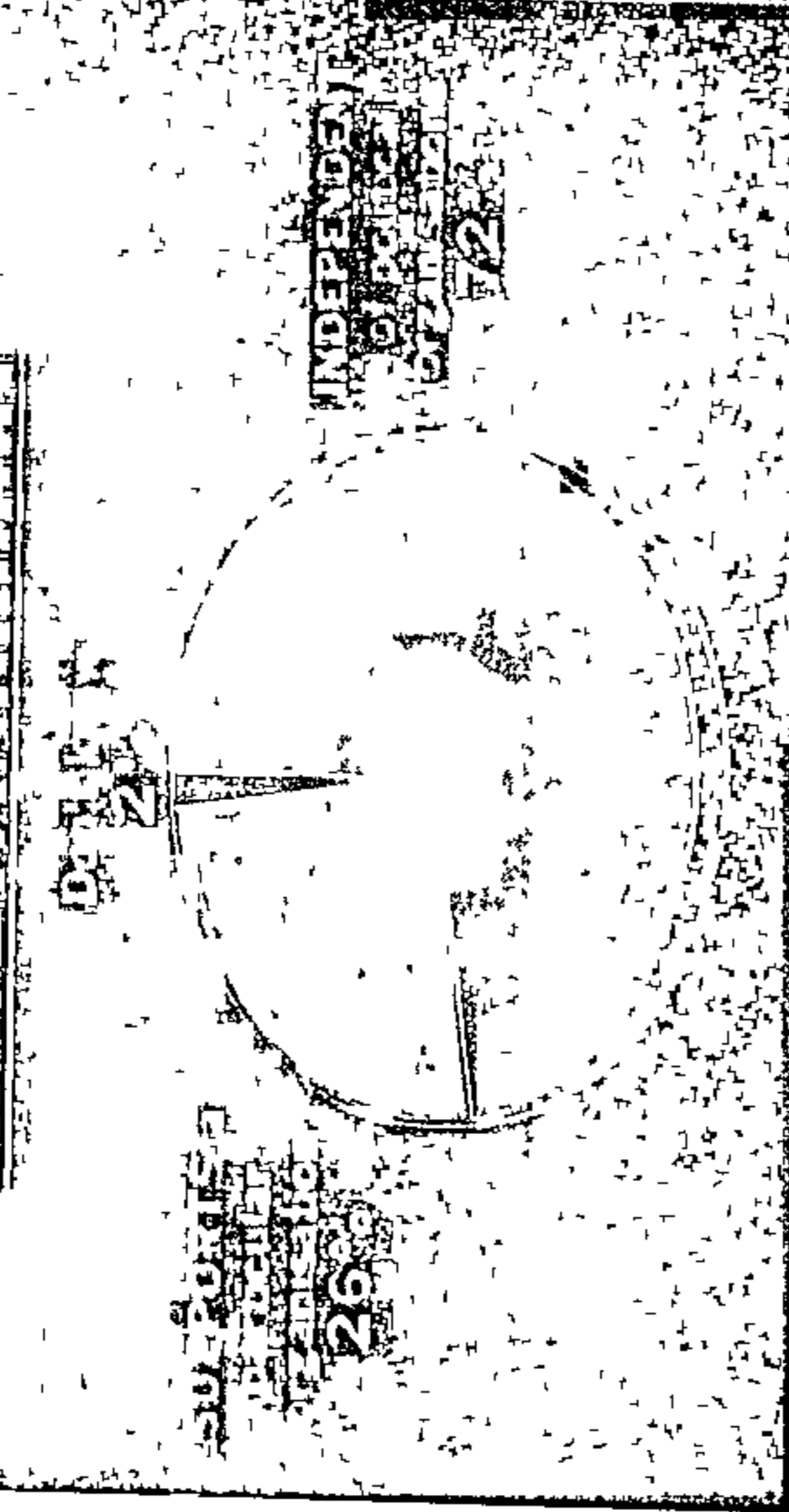
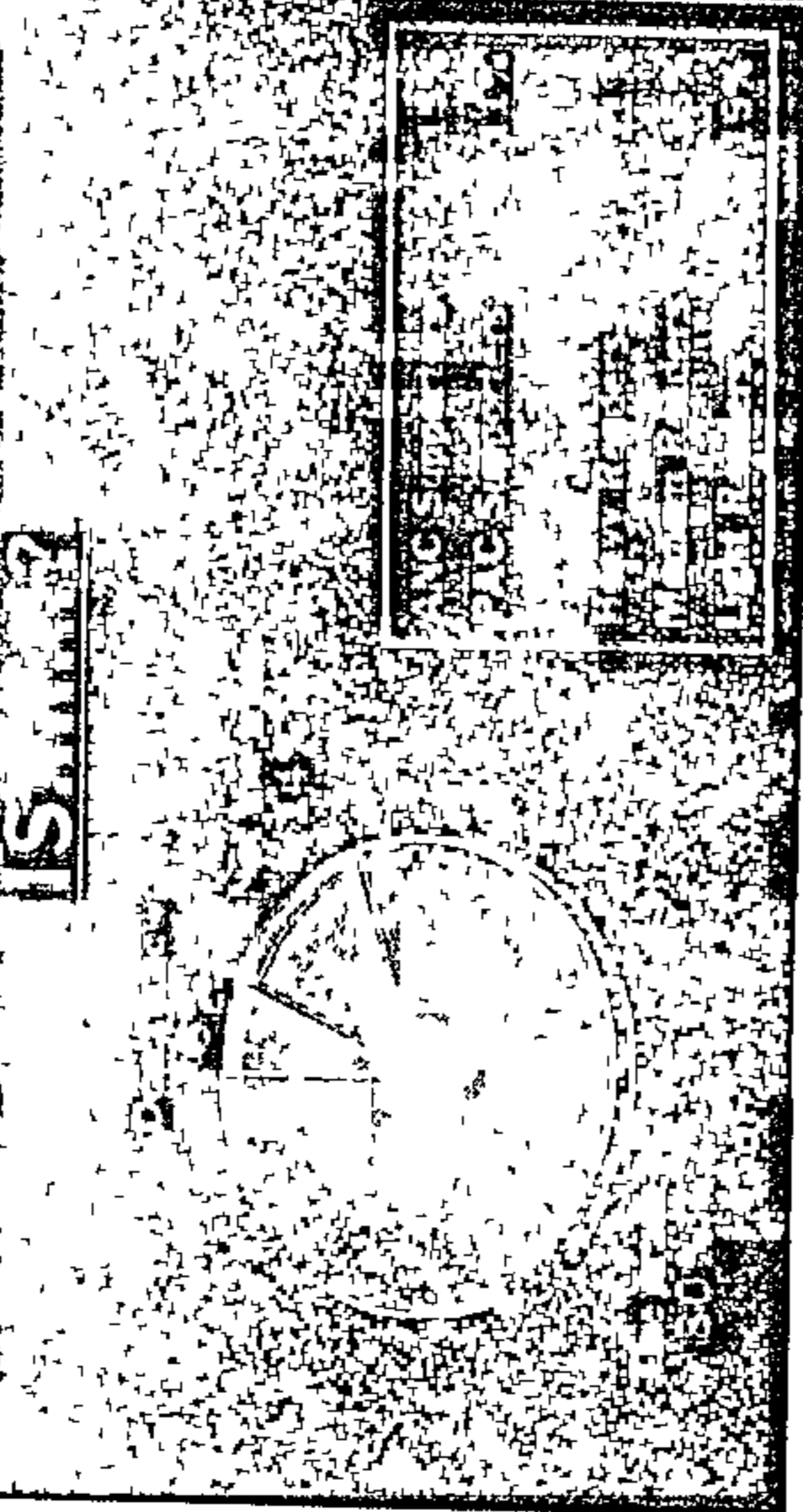
Argus share price



What Sowetan readers want

DO YOU THINK THAT WHAT YOU READ IN THE SOWETAN IS...

DO YOU THINK THE SOWETAN IS...



THIS is just one of the many results of a major research study among Sowetan readers conducted earlier this year.

The objective of the study - known as *Sowetan Track* - was to give the Editor and his staff a scientific assessment of the needs and wants of readers. A wide variety of questions were put to 435 readers during an eight-week period from July to September this year. The subjects covered included editorial content, credibility, the independence of the newspaper, political issues and how and when the newspaper is bought and read.

The results of *Sowetan Track* - which will be published from time to time - confirm *Sowetan's* dominance as the most popular and most-read daily newspaper in Southern Africa.

* To find out what the Sowetan stands for, see page 39.

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deal in STEEL!

Open Saturdays

- Direct to the Public
 - Ornamental Castings - Gate Tops
 - Delivery in the PWV area
- NO ORDER TOO BIG OR SMALL

MARSHAL TRADING

680 - 5315

Bring Festive Season

Bring this ad for a 10% cash & carry discount.

DO YOU THINK THE SOWETAN IS POLITICALLY...



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957

Slander case monster jibe

Sowetan 30/11/90

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CENTRE

SALE Direct to Public
NE Factory Shop
ERS Welcome

m R7,50 - R60,00
SHORTS R4,00 each
T-Shirts Less 30%
cts and Oddments
l. 29-3077
, 334 Bree Street
(Nugget Street)
om 8 - 5 Mon-Fri
0 - 1 Saturdays S7504

GENERAL Lothar Neethling, head of the SAP forensic division who is suing two newspapers for defamation, would have been a monster had he given Captain Dirk Coetzee poison drops to experiment with on humans, the Rand Supreme Court was told yesterday.

Arguing before Mr Justice JC Kriegler, Mr Willy Oshry, QC, for Neethling, referred to a headline in *Vrye Weekblad* which read. "Nazi Germany is here".

Poison

The judge said he did not follow the analogy because Coetzee's evidence was that poison had been given to sheep, which caused them to have heart

attacks - but that "knock out drops" were given to humans

Justice Kriegler asked what was monstrous about giving drops to enemies of the State in a war situation to render them more amenable to control

"Of course in a war anything goes," Oshry said, mentioning poison gas, flame throwers and atom bombs.

Security

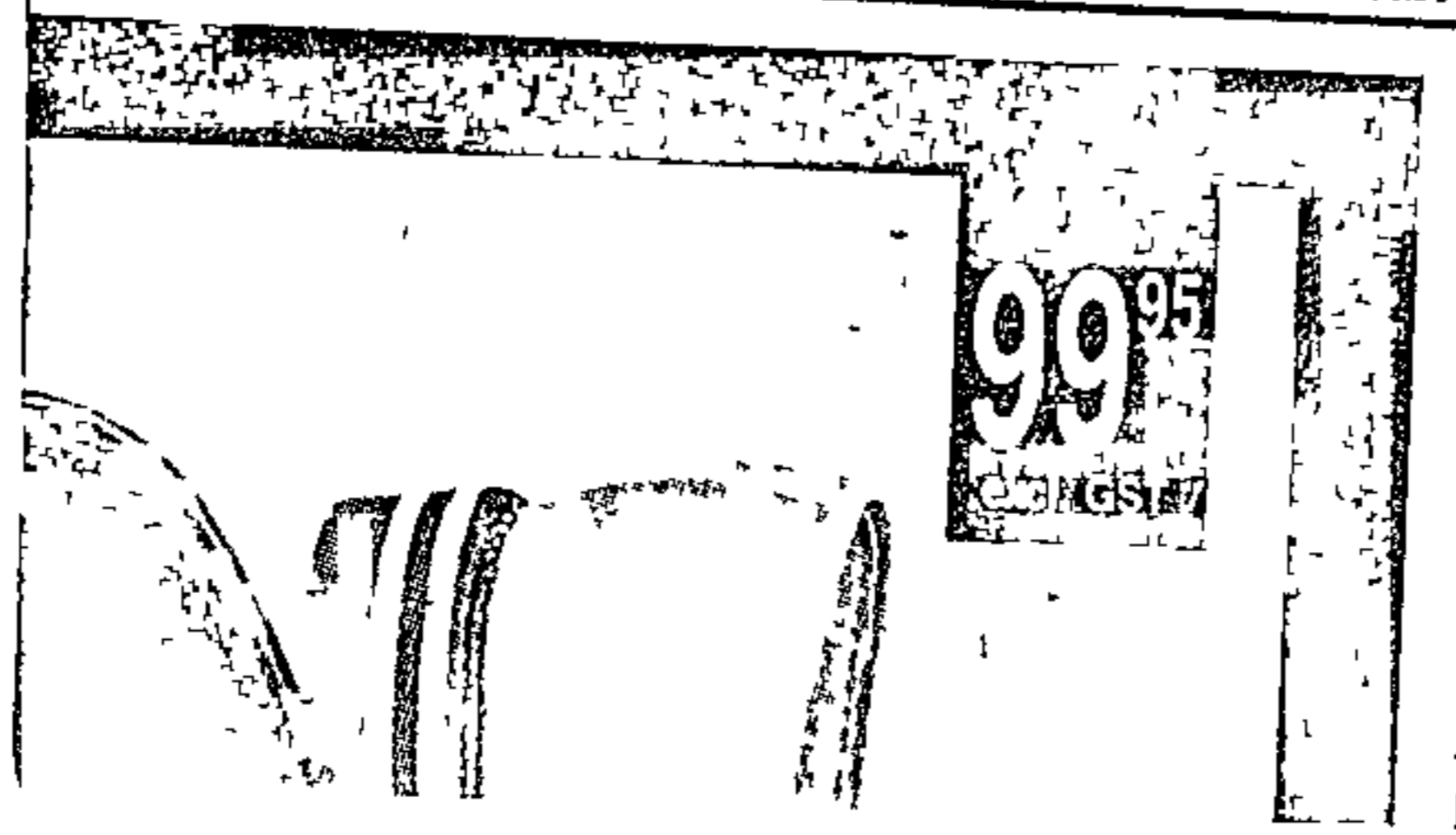
He added that not every person in the security forces was "a Coetzee".

"There are people like Coetzee in every branch of life but you can't brand the whole security force," Oshry said

The judge said this was irrelevant as it was not the whole security forces who were involved in this case and Oshry did not appear on their behalf

Oshry referred to newspaper cuttings handed in as evidence and asked if the other side could say what they liked but he could not

The case continues -
Sowetan Correspondent





FIM 30/11/90 (243)

honest enough to say that some controls were necessary, particularly over radio and TV

It is clear that broadcasting — and especially radio — is the primary communication medium in SA. A pilot study by Rhodes University's Noel Ndlovu and Don Pinnock provided a fascinating glimpse at likely media trends and possible voting patterns

The study of rural dwellers in the eastern Cape shows that 43% of those interviewed do not know what the ANC is and 60% do not know who Nelson Mandela is. These are astonishing figures because the eastern Cape has long been considered the ANC's primary stronghold. The study also found that 83% of those surveyed are functionally illiterate but 98% regularly listen to the radio and 96% to Radio Xhosa. Less than 50% of this radio audience listens to the news — suggesting a lack of education as well as little interest in national politics. Only 9% of those surveyed watch TV.

While these people do not make up an economically powerful sector — 44% are unemployed and 86% earn less than R500/month — they will form a *politically* powerful voting block in future. At least 50% of the country's population is estimated to be in rural areas

SABC editor-in-chief of news management, Louis Raubenheimer, told the conference that 80% of black listeners prefer broadcast services in their own language, only 17% understand English; and a surprisingly low 5% understand Afrikaans

It is hardly surprising that the ANC is particularly interested in broadcasting and in the establishment of more local radio stations. The ANC's Radio Freedom representative, Thami Ntenti, says that though "in the overwhelming majority of African countries the broadcast media is under the control of the State, this is not the model we would like to follow"

Leite de Vasconcellos, former director general of Radio Mozambique and head of the Mozambican Writers' Federation, says radio is the only way of communicating with all the people and it has to be decentralised because urban journalists are not in touch with the needs and lives of rural people

De Vasconcellos warns "No party is the entire people. When journalists are bound to the decisions of a party or individual apparatus, they are bound to hide the truth and to hide corruption. Then your only guarantee is the purity of the party and the purity of

FIM 30/11/90 (243) government — and this is a feeble guarantee"

Arguments were also presented on the "unequal application" of advertising resources and how this hampers the growth of independent media. Raymond Louw, former editor of the defunct *Rand Daily Mail* and head of the Campaign for Open Media, says "Agencies charge 16,5% commission on all advertisements they place. An ad in the *Sunday Times* is therefore far more profitable to the agencies than, say, an ad in *Vrye Weekblad* or *New Nation*"

Louw says ways have to be found to provide a wider spread of the advertising cake to encourage the growth of more publications and radio stations

THE MEDIA (243)

SIGNS OF SANITY FIM 30/11/90

Signals from the ANC are that it is not planning to nationalise the media in a future SA. The view seems to be that the major publishing structures should remain as they are — but broadcasting could face some "restructuring" to offer more community-orientated services

This emerged last week at a conference organised by the Institute of Democratic Alternatives. It brought together a diversity of people in the media and representatives of all major political parties except the PAC

All political groups present affirmed their commitment to political press freedom though the CP's Koos van der Merwe was

ARGUS GROUP

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DIVERSIFICATION BENEFITS

Though the major contribution to Argus Holdings' attributable earnings still comes from Argus Newspapers, this has declined and is expected to drop further in the second six months of the financial year. The main reason is falling advertising revenue.

The 100%-owned newspaper company's contributions fell to 40% in the first six months of the 1991 financial year, compared to 45% in the same period last year. Given the more difficult markets being faced in the publishing sector, Argus appears to be benefiting in this downturn from its long-standing diversification strategy.

In the six months to end-September, turnover rose by 12.6%, though the thinner margins were evident in the advance of only 3.7% in operating profit.

As usual, the fourth quarter of calendar 1990 will have a large effect on the second-half result. Advertising has picked up during October and November, as Argus has a large proportion of consumer advertising which increases before Christmas. However, the cycle generally slackens soon after the Christmas season. Other than a spurt from



Argus's Band expects tough times

20-for-one If current holders decide to sell, shares could, therefore, become available at about 1 050c

Heather Formby

ASSOCIATE COVER

| Six months to Sep 30 | 1989 | 1990 |
|----------------------------|-------|-------|
| Turnover (Rm) | 725 | 816 |
| Trading income (Rm) | 53.6 | 56.8 |
| Attributable earnings (Rm) | 27.2 | 28.2 |
| Earnings (c) | | |
| — excluding associates | 1 053 | 1 006 |
| including associates | 1 336 | 1 366 |
| Dividends (c) | 275 | 275 |

promotions such as Back-to-School, CE Doug Band expects "times to be tough".

Contributions from Argus Holdings' associates usually improve in the second half and are already higher in the first six months. In the first half, the associates were again the better performers — the share of retained earnings of associated companies was 28.8% higher at R7.4m. With a higher tax charge, the after-tax income before associates (but after the deduction for outside members of subsidiaries) was actually down by 3.3%, at R20.8m.

CTP Holdings' 21% (20%) contribution, derived from a 16.2% advance in EPS, came mainly on the back of growth in printing activities, which cushioned the decline in advertising in its local publications. Band says further gains will be made on the printing side, because of boosts from printing books for the educational market.

The contribution from 33%-held CNA-Gallo to attributable earnings rose to 14.6% (12.7%), on a 19% advance in EPS. M-Net,

in which Argus has a 20.8% share, was not included in the half-year results. Band says its inclusion in the year-end figures will hinge on the date of the dividend declaration. Master Directories' contribution rose to 7% (5.7%).

Though 37.7%-held Times Media also faces declining advertising revenue, its contribution to Argus's attributable earnings rose to 20.3% from 18.2%.

Band says the group will remain "a broad-based communication and entertainment group." No plans for major acquisitions are in the offing — Argus's latest acquisition comes via CNA-Gallo, which bought Nu-Metro.

Because no acquisitions need to be funded, plans mooted in 1988 to raise additional capital by listing Argus Newspapers separately, have been put on ice.

"Also, the current state of advertising makes a separate listing inappropriate right now," says Band, who points out that funds could be raised through borrowings as gearing is low. Group borrowings decreased from R76.6m at March 31 to R45.7m at September 30.

With the interim dividend maintained at 275c and trading prospects looking unexciting, there is not likely to be much growth in the short-term. However, the share yields 4.1% on dividend and remains one of the best rated stocks in its sector.

The share has climbed sharply in the past 12 months, rising from a low of R155 to R210. But there is a problem with marketability and a price which makes the share inaccessible to many smaller investors — hence the board's decision to split the share

tenants to oppose eviction Areas case

LONDON: Black tenants living in white East London suburb were waiting for judgment after a bid to have them evicted for not paying rent.

Residents of Skyways, in Southern London, have been withholding rent since September over alleged poor conditions in the flats. Their landlord went to court in an attempt to evict them, but the court ruled in his favor, saying he has his right to evict them, but the court reserved judgment after a hearing last weekend.

Meanwhile residents fear an attack by rightwingers after an incident Monday in which a group of about ten unidentified white men gathered around Skyways.

He intends dissociating himself from Thatcher's racist attitudes. He has never shared Thatcher's racist attitudes. He has never shared Thatcher's racist attitudes.

NPU 'almost struck a deal' with Botha

By ANTON HARBERT
A NEW book by former Cape Times editor Tony Heard has revealed that former president PW Botha came extremely close to striking a deal with the Newspaper Press Union in 1986 that would have enabled him to "bludgeon into submission" the "alternative" press.

The deal was designed to exempt the NPU newspapers from Emergency media regulations, thus isolating the "alternative" newspapers and giving Botha a free hand to act against them.

It would have given Botha, in Heard's words, "what he always wanted: a 'responsible' and 'patriotic' established press, with the rest bludgeoned into submission".

The deal, acceptable to most of the NPU executive and editors of the Af-

rikan newspaper, apparently only fell through because a handful of liberal English-language editors, led by the then editor of the *Sunday Times*, Tertius Myburgh, resisted it.

These editors blocked a decision, until Botha withdrew his offer of an agreement.

Heard's book, *The Cape of Storms*, has been published in the US and will shortly be published in South Africa by Raven Press. Subtitled "A personal history of the crisis in South Africa", it deals with the tense relationship between the press and government in Heard's three decades in journalism.

The government, considering the renewal of the State of Emergency and the harsh media curbs, offered to exempt the established papers from

these laws if they accepted a set of "guidelines", which Heard publishes for the first time. They call on newspapers to agree not to assign staff to scenes of unrest or security force actions; not to publish "subversive" statements; and not to publish blank spaces, photographs of unrest or security force action or details of the treatment of detainees. The advantage for Botha was that the guidelines would be secretive, thereby avoiding public outcry.

"By regulating themselves secretly under voluntary 'guidelines' and not being openly coerced by State of Emergency law, the participating newspapers would escape heavy fines, or jail for their staffs. The price was treachery against the others," writes Heard.

slay with him a long time and it relates to South Africa. During a three-month

almost certainly will be the present in-



'Sensation-seeking' newspaper should bear cost — counsel

SUSAN RUSSELL

VRYE Weekblad was a sensation-seeking newspaper which committed character assassination at will, Willy Oshry QC submitted in closing argument yesterday in the R1,5m defamation action brought against the newspapers by Lt-Gen Lothar Neethling.

Asking the judge to grant Neethling a "substantial award for damages", Oshry said no newspaper should have behaved in the way Vrye Weekblad had in this case.

Grounds

Neethling has sued Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail for a total of R1,5m after the two newspapers published articles in November-December last year in which former police captain Dirk Coetzee claimed that while a member of a secret police hit squad he had been supplied with poison by Neethling to murder people.

Both newspapers are de-

fending the action on the grounds of truth and public benefit.

Oshry said the general had not only been defamed in the articles in question, but Vrye Weekblad had repeated the libel throughout the year.

The repetitions throughout the year had sometimes been contained in sarcastic and insulting references and had had a serious effect on Neethling's health, Oshry said.

He submitted that although the Weekly Mail had libelled Neethling in its article, it, at least, had had the good sense not to aggravate the situation by repeating it.

Unfortunately, he added, it had associated itself with the defence of truth raised in court and in that sense aggravated the damages claimed.

Argument by Vrye Weekblad counsel R. Levin SC continues today.

Counsel calls Weekblad sensation-seeking paper

By Cathy Stagg

Vrye Weekblad was a sensation-seeking newspaper which should be told it could not publish character assassinations at will, counsel for General Lothar Neethling submitted in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Counsel for the newspaper urged the judge to accept a defence which, if accepted, would be a precedent.

Mr Justice J C Kriegler, who is presiding over the civil hearing, said the alternative defence which had been raised was interesting in theory and could constitute an advance in the law of defamation.

The legal battle being waged on behalf of the general, who is head of the SAP's forensic division, and two newspapers was set

down for 10 court days and is nearing the end of its third week in court. It is likely to continue next week.

It arose from the publication of two articles in Vrye Weekblad and one in the Weekly Mail last year.

General Neethling claimed R500 000 for each report, in which former police captain Dirk Coetzee alleged General Neethling had supplied the security police with poison to use on ANC members.

Stigma

Yesterday, Willy Oshry, QC, said General Neethling had a local and international reputation as a forensic expert. The stigma of the allegations made against him had severely affected his health and way of life, Mr Oshry said.

General Neethling had not at-

tended local or overseas meetings because he could not look his colleagues in the face until his name had been cleared. This was one of the reasons the hearing had been given a preferential date, he said.

Bobby Levin, SC, who appears for the newspapers, said the main defence was truth and public benefit, otherwise known as a plea of justification. The alternative defence was that in the circumstances, the newspaper had a duty to publish and the readers had a right to receive the information.

The judge said the particular circumstances had not been spelt out.

Mr Levin said he would amend the pleadings. The judge said Mr Levin could prepare a draft and he would hear argument on the admissibility of the draft later.

The hearing continues.

CHM 74475 30/11/90

(243)

Newspapers 'had duty' to publish

JOHANNESBURG — Former security police captain Dirk Coetzee's evidence in the R1,5-million defamation trial brought against two newspapers was, except for a few aspects, uncontradicted, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

The court could not simply accept that he was a psychopath and liar and that police forensics head Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling was a man of honour and a truthful person, said legal counsel for the Vrye Weekblad Mr Bobby Levine SC.

The onus was not only on the newspaper to prove the truth of Mr Coetzee's evidence. There was also an onus on Gen Neethling to prove its falsity.

The police scientist is suing the Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail for publishing Mr Coetzee's allegations that he was supplied with poison by General Neethling for political murder.

Mr Levine argued yesterday that the

newspapers had a right to publish the allegations last year because they were true and to the public benefit.

"We say we had a duty to publish and the public had a right to receive the information," Mr Levine said.

He denied the allegation that the articles were false, malicious, defamatory and thus unlawful.

Mr Coetzee had not been shown to be a liar and no attempt had been made to dispute his evidence.

General Neethling's counsel, Mr Willie Oshry QC, said earlier that a picture had been painted of the general as a murderer and a man unfit to hold his position which had had a serious effect on his health and way of life.

The court should award him a "very substantial amount" with costs.

Since the alleged defamation began, General Neethling had been unable to go overseas in connection with his duties with "this stain, this stigma hanging over his head".

"I can't imagine a worse libel," Mr Oshry said — Sapa

Newspapers' bid to amend plea

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Justice J C Kriegler will hear argument on Monday on whether the two newspapers being sued by General Lothar Neethling should be allowed to amend their plea

The Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail are defending a defamation action launched by General Neethling in the Rand Supreme Court. Both newspapers published stories in which former police captain Dirk Coetzee claimed General Neethling, head of the SAP forensic division, gave the securi-

ty police poison to use on ANC members

The Vrye Weekblad is being sued for R1 million and the Weekly Mail for R500 000

Their main defence is a plea of justification that the allegations were true and publishing them was to the public benefit.

As an alternative, they want to argue that in the circumstances they had a duty to publish, and their readers had a right to receive the information

The surrounding circumstances had not been spelt out and yesterday counsel for the newspapers handed up a notice of amendment which lists them

Earlier Mr Justice Kriegler had said "you haven't given me a grocery list" when it was submitted the alternative defence was valid.

The details of the facts and circumstances leading to the publication of the articles are, according to the document: On October 19 last year Almond Nofomela made an affidavit in support of a stay of execution.

He was to have been executed the next day

In the affidavit he alleged he was part of the security police's hit squad and served under Captain Dirk Coetzee, he had taken part in the murder of Durban attorney Mr Griffiths Mxenge, he had been in-

involved in other assassinations and kidnappings and officers of the security police had promised him that if he kept quiet about the hit squad, he would be released from prison. He said he had been betrayed by his superior officers and so decided to reveal his activities.

As a result of the affidavit, Nofomela's execution was stayed that night.

The revelations were widely publicised. Calls were made for a judicial commission of inquiry

A departmental inquiry by Free State Attorney-General, Mr T P McNally and the head of the CID, Lieutenant-General Alwyn Conradie, was appointed.

243 ARGUS 1/12/90

Transport: Match of the day.

Death of editor is mourned across the political

FORMER Sunday Times editor Tertius Myburgh died of cancer at his Johannesburg home early yesterday. Myburgh's illness was diagnosed only days after he retired from the Sunday Times in September to take up the post of SA Ambassador to Washington.

President F W de Klerk and US ambassador William Lacy Swing were among the many leading figures from across the political spectrum who paid tribute to Myburgh yesterday. "Tertius Myburgh was a journalist par excellence," De Klerk said.

"Although the newspaper which he edited was periodically strongly critical of the government, it could always be said of Tertius Myburgh that he, as a professional journalist, was scrupulously fair.

"He always proved himself to be a dedicated South African who put SA and its interests first.

"In early times he was a worthy opponent and, since our new initiatives, a staunch and loyal supporter. At all times he was a good friend.

"It is tragic that at the time Tertius was to serve the country that he loved as ambassador overseas, repre-

EDYTH BULBRING and SUSAN RUSSELL
senting the interests of all South Africans, God had willed differently."

Swing said yesterday: "I am deeply saddened at the death of Tertius Myburgh. We, as Americans, have lost an esteemed friend, the SA journalist corps its dean, and SA one of its

greatest sons. Tertius Myburgh was a pioneer of the new SA, and his enormous journalistic talent, unique wit and

leadership represent a tremendous loss to SA."

Times Media Ltd (TML) MD Stephen Mulholland said: "The courage and grace which Tertius Myburgh showed in the face of adversity were a great inspiration to all of us

"He made a massive contribution to the Sunday Times and to our company over many years. We shall remember him not only with gratitude for his contribution but also with affection and warmth for the energy, verve, style and sheer fun with which he lived his life."

Ken Owen, who succeeded My-



● MYBURGH

burgh as Sunday Times editor, said "I mourn the loss of one of my oldest and closest friends. At the same time, SA has lost a man who would have been a brilliant diplomat.

"His career as a journalist and as an editor is well known and stands as a monument to a distinguished life."

Newspaper Press Union president and Nasionale Pers MD Ton Vosloo said Myburgh would be remembered, in political terms, for his bridging role in turbulent SA.

"He was courageous in reaching

□ To Page 2

Myburgh 3/12/90

out across the chasms of our divided society and encouraging a common nationhood... a cause which Mr de Klerk recognised in appointing him ambassador

"As a journalist he lived up to the highest ethics of the craft. He personified the very best in constructive journalism, and as a human being he was a supreme example of

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□ From Page 1

a spirit of live and let live," Vosloo was reported by Sapa as saying.

Sapa editor Ed Linington said the news of Myburgh's death was a shock, although not unexpected

"He was a tremendous unifier of editors right across the political spectrum."

□ To Page 2

Neethling case: Judgment 'will take time'

JOHANNESBURG — The R1,5-million defamation action brought by police forensics head Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling against two newspapers was concluded in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday. Judgment was reserved.

Presiding judge Mr Justice Johan Kriegler said he would take time to consider his judgment following the thorough argument from legal counsel for the Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail newspapers and General Neethling.

Legal costs for the newspapers are to be at least R800 000 after 21 days of hearings in two cities. Both legal teams flew to London to hear evidence before a commissioner by former security police captain Dirk Coetzee who fled South Africa late last year.

General Neethling is suing the newspapers for publishing Mr Coetzee's allegations that he was supplied poison by the police scientist for political murder. His legal costs are covered by the state.

Legal counsel for the newspapers, Mr Bobby Levine, SC, said yesterday that it could not be reasonably expected of the newspapers to investigate the allegations themselves, or to entrust the investigations to the police, who had been deeply involved in the alleged activities at the highest level.

The only way to ensure an investigation of the allegations had been an immediate publication of the allegations on a non-selective basis — thus including those which implicated General Neethling.

Mr Willie Oshry, QC, legal counsel for the general, argued that this was an "extraordinary case" which deserved an award of punitive damages — Sapa

General, Coetzee 'lied under oath'

Star 4/12/90

RECEIVED
12/4/90

By Cathy Stagg

Judgment has been reserved in the R1,5 million defamation claim brought by SAP forensic division head General Lothar Neethling against two Johannesburg newspapers.

In the Rand Supreme Court yesterday Mr Justice JC Kriegler said he would take "some time" before handing down judgment

The defamation claim arose from reports published in the Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail, in which former police captain Dirk Coetzee claimed General Neethling supplied the security police with poison

During final arguments in court yesterday, General Neethling and Mr Coetzee were accused of having lied under oath

Bobby Levin, SC, appearing for the newspapers, said General Neethling's evidence in this trial had differed from what he had told Mr Justice Harms during the judicial commission of inquiry into the alleged exis-

tence of police hit squads

On the two crucial points of how well he knew Captain Coetzee and Brigadier Willem Schoon, Captain Coetzee's superior officer, General Neethling had changed his evidence, Mr Levin said. When challenged, he had tried to "bludgeon his way past problems"

Inventive

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Mr Levin described the general's evidence as "pure bluster" and "verbose", and said it was not the unsatisfactory evidence of an unintelligent man but the dishonest evidence of a highly intelligent one

Willy Oshry, QC, submitted that Mr Coetzee had repeatedly demonstrated his inventiveness. It was important to remember that Mr Coetzee intended to write a novel, based on fiction as well as farce, he said

The value of evidence given by Leslie Lesia — the surprise witness produced by the defence — was also debated.

Mr Levin described Mr Lesia as a "totally independent witness who had nothing to do with

the events of 1981 except that he said poisoned liquor came from the forensic laboratories"

He said there was no question that Mr Lesia was a Military Intelligence agent who had been ensnared as he had testified. The question was whether he was being truthful about one of his handlers pointing General Neethling out to him at a hotel as the man who had supplied poison.

The judge asked about the likelihood of someone "blabbing" like that. Mr Levin said that while it was certainly careless, it was consistent with the sort of carelessness of taking Mr Lesia to Vlakplaas, a security police installation

Mr Oshry submitted that Mr Lesia was a "double agent" and an ANC sympathiser

"I suggest he was primed, I am not suggesting by whom, but he was not as clever or astute as Coetzee and it was not as difficult to show that his evidence was untrue," Mr Oshry said

The judge did not give any indication of when judgment will be handed down

RESCUE DELAYED

FIM 7/12/90

Two months ago it seemed a done deal. *The Weekly Mail* and Caxton group had said an agreement was signed that would save the *Mail* and allow Caxton to recover most of the money the *Mail* owes it (*Business* September 14)

But the deal was not signed. *Mail* co-editor Anton Harber says that the deal is pivotal to the paper's success. He blames technical problems for the hold-up. "For instance, we have only just finalised the balance sheet of *The Daily Mail* (now defunct.) We had to have that in place before we could work out the best way to pay off our debts."

Says Caxton financial director Edwin Jankelowitz, "Any plan to rescue a publication that has been in trouble needs to start from a firm position." For one thing, Caxton is concerned that the continuing case against the *Mail* by Lothar Neethling, head of police forensics, could ruin the publication. Neethling is suing the *Mail* for R500 000.

Under the deal, Caxton — which printed *The Daily Mail* and continues to print *The Weekly Mail* — would recover a portion of the *Mail's* debts. In return, Caxton would supply business and marketing advice to the *Mail* in an effort to make the five-year-old alternative paper viable. Neither party will disclose how much Caxton is owed.

One reason for the delay may be tax implications of the deal. "It would be possible to structure the deal tax-effectively from Caxton's point of view, and allow *The Weekly Mail* to keep its independence," says Chris Frame, Price Waterhouse's national tax con-

BUSINESS & TECHNOLOGY

FIM 7/12/90 (243)

sultant "Caxton could offer guarantees, or it could take over the expenses of the operation for a limited period."

The obvious way for Caxton to help the *Mail* would be to inject equity, but the *Mail* believes this would compromise the paper's independence.

Jankelowitz says Caxton is less concerned about tax write-offs than whether the *Mail* can survive and eventually pay its debt to Caxton.

Harber says *The Weekly Mail's* performance has met the projections made after closure of *The Daily Mail* on September 4. Like most newspapers, the *Mail* had good revenues in September that tailed off in October. It raised its cover price from R1,50 to R2,20 in November but circulation did not drop as much as expected. Harber says the circulation is just under 30 000 but audited figures will not be available until February.

Caxton MD John Featherstone says Caxton still is assisting the paper, despite the lack of an agreement, and Caxton is paid for printing the paper, "as it would be by any other customer."

CPJ concern over Neethling case

Sowetan
THE US-based Committee to Protect Journalists has written a letter to President F W de Klerk expressing certain reservations about circumstances surrounding the lawsuit by Lt-Gen Lothar Neethling against *The Weekly Mail* and *Vrye Weekblad* newspapers.

The letter highlighted the fact that the

7/12/90
Government was financing Neethling's legal actions. *243*

The letter read "The Committee has long been concerned about restraints on actions against press freedom in South Africa. *The Weekly Mail* and *Vrye Weekblad* are among publications that have borne the brunt of such actions" - *Sapa*

13/04 11/12/90 (243) ~~973~~

Finance Week asks for concessions

FINANCE Week has made a formal submission to the government-appointed task group on broadcasting services, requesting broadcasting rights or other concessions for the magazine.

Finance Week editor Allan Greenblo would not elaborate but he said the proposals were in line with an editorial in the November 22-28 issue which contended that the magazine had been prejudiced by its exclusion from a newspa-

MARCIA KLEIN

per cartel — which included its competitors — which owned 79% of M-Net's equity

Greenblo asked for the "existing inequity to be redressed" by awarding Finance Week shares in M-Net, a regular business broadcast on the SABC where the magazine could advertise itself or a combination of both

Greenblo said Finance

Week was not invited by the major newspaper groups to join the consortium formed to establish M-Net, and as a result it had not been a beneficiary of concessions from government

The right to start a subscription TV channel was granted to the Argus, Times Media Ltd, Nasionale Pers and Perskor, which jointly held 91% of M-Net's equity before its listing in August, and 79% on its listing, said Greenblo

Former censor ²⁴³ for Media Council

CAPE TOWN — Professor Kobus van Rooyen, former chairman of the Publications Appeal Board, was yesterday elected unopposed in Cape Town as the new chairman of the South African Media Council. Star 13/12/90

Professor van Rooyen's election follows the resignation of Jan Steyn, whose full commitment was demanded by the Independent Development Trust.

Proposing Professor van Rooyen for the post, Media Council member Professor S A S Strauss said the new chairman had an "exceptional academic record". — Sapa

CMT Times

13/12/90

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Van Rooyen new Media Council boss

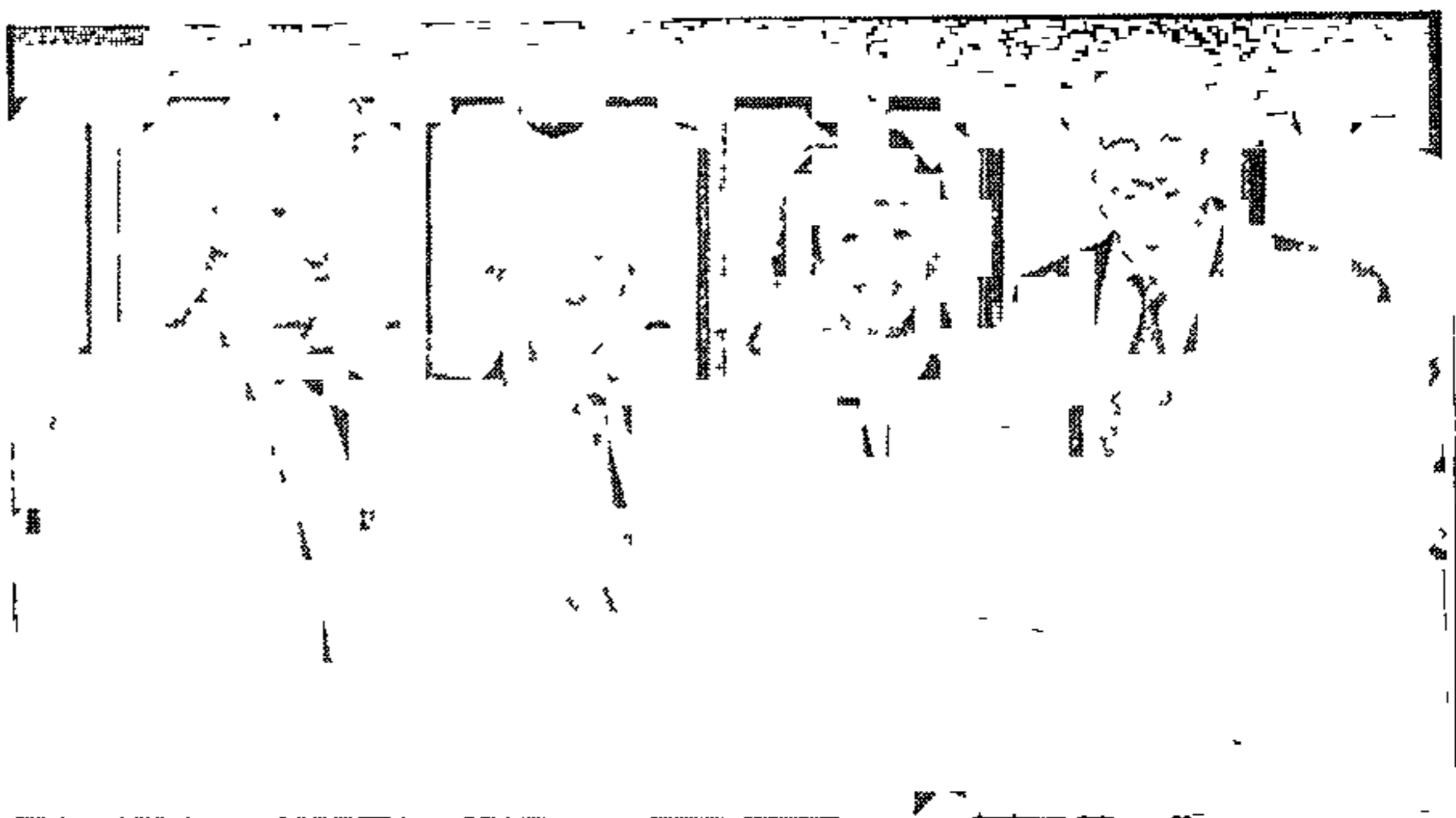
THE press plays a pivotal part in guarding against the temptations by a country's rulers to govern through authoritarian methods, outgoing Media Council chairman Mr Jan Steyn said yesterday

"In a new South Africa, this temptation is going to be considerable," he said at the 15th meeting of the council Professor Kobus van Rooyen, former chairman of the Publications Appeal Board, was unanimously elected as Mr Steyn's successor, becoming the fourth person to hold the post Mr Steyn, whose term of office ends on December 31, resigned because of his full-time commitment to the Independent Development Trust

Argus Printing and Publishing Company managing director Mr Peter McLean was elected to the council executive to replace former Sunday Times editor Mr Tertius Myburgh, who died recently

Two new public representatives were elected to join the Media Council They are Port Elizabeth councillor and businessman Mr V M Ridgway and prominent Westville community figure Mrs Fawzia Peer

Warning that a free press was essential for a free and democratic society, Mr Steyn said the media industry in South Africa was facing a very difficult challenge and would have to



MEDIA COUNCIL . The outgoing chairman of the Media Council, Mr Jan Steyn (right), with, from the left, the council's conciliator Mr Bob Steyn, the deputy chairman Mr Justice G P C Kotze and council member Ms Jane Raphaely

"gird its loins to counter (the) threat" of authoritarian government

While pleased that the Media Council had been made more representative, it had to be made more so, he added Representivity was of "absolutely critical importance" for the success of the body

Mr Steyn made it abundantly clear that he backed a free press and a mass

media completely free from government censorship

He cautioned the council against formalisation and stressed speedy adjudication of disputes

"The Media Council represents a public forum with which the freedom of expression and freedom of information in South African can be assured," he said — Sapa

Media Council chief

B 12 am 13/12/90
CAPE TOWN — Former Publications Appeal Board chairman Prof Kobus van Rooyen has been elected unanimously to chair the Media Council from January.

He replaces Jan Steyn who resigned because of his full-time commitment to the Independent Development Trust. (243)

At the 15th meeting of the council yesterday, Steyn said the Press had played a pivotal role in safeguarding democracy.

Argus Company MD Peter McLean was elected to the executive to replace the late Tertius Myburgh, former Sunday Times editor. Two public representatives were also elected to the council: Port Elizabeth councillor V M Ridgway and Westville community figure Fawzia Peer. — Sapa.

1925

'Institution' in the House

MIKE ROBERTSON

ORMANDE Pollok, 51, the Natal Mercury's political correspondent who died in Cape Town on Tuesday, was a parliamentary institution. 13/12/90

When then President P W Botha and DP MP Helen Suzman retired last year, Pollok and a handful of media colleagues became the longest serving "members" in the House.

An affable man, Pollok often led the bacchanalian excess that followed some late sittings of the House.

He was perhaps at his peak as a political journalist during the tenure of Prime Minister John Vorster, with whom he enjoyed a close relationship.

The tributes that have poured in bear testimony to the respect he enjoyed.

Our Durban correspondent reports that President F W de Klerk said yesterday political journalism in SA would be the poorer without Pollok. Elize Botha expressed her and her husband P W's condolences.

Sapa reports that Pollok began his career as a sports writer on the Diamond Fields Advertiser in Kimberley, then worked in London before joining The Argus in Cape Town. He spent 22 years as Natal Mercury political correspondent

union is prepared to foot the bill for an... containing and less costly, said Group.

Taxi groups in safety plan

13/12/90 THEO RAWANA

THE two major black taxi associations have embarked on road safety programmes which will keep their combined 120 000 membership under 24-hour surveillance over the Christmas period.

The National African Federated Transport Organisation (Nafto) has set up a R200 000 road safety programme in which 30 patrol cars and breakdown trucks will monitor all main routes from Johannesburg to Pietersburg, Durban, Bloemfontein and the Eastern Transvaal.

And the SA Black Taxi Association (Sabta) has put up R500 000 for a safety campaign which will include two kombis each plying the Pietersburg-Johannesburg and the Johannesburg-Durban routes.

Nafto's safety drive begins tomorrow and ends at the end of January, while Sabta's programme runs from December 21 until January 4.

Nafto national president Peter Rabali told a media conference in Johannesburg yesterday they would use patrol cars with clear Nafto markings.

The emergency patrol service had received the green light from traffic authorities.

They would watch out for offences such as overloading and reckless driving, and offending drivers would be reported to the organisation's disciplinary committee.

Eight breakdown trucks would offer a free 24-hour tow-in service for Nafto's 65 000 members as well as for other taxis, he said.

PRO Fanyana Shiburi said Sabta's patrol cars would each carry two mechanics and two paramedics.

Sabta was working in close conjunction with the TPA and the National Road Safety Council.

PEANUTS

By



Paris press groups plan SA 'invasion'

Star Foreign Service

PARIS — Black Paris-based press groups are planning to open bureaux in Johannesburg, aiming at a vast new potential readership in South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

These groups, turning out French-language publications, will also branch into English

The successful French-language weekly *Jeune Afrique*, celebrating its 25th anniversary, is hoping to open a bureau in Johannesburg shortly for its press agency DIF-COM. Later it will review plans for an English edition there.

Jeune Afrique has a readership of about half

a million in France and Africa. The independent weekly is opposed to apartheid but has always adopted a moderate tone. Last month it organised a debate in its Paris offices with South African ambassador Hendryk Geldenhuys.

The weekly *Marche Tropicaux* (Tropical Markets) plans to publish a monthly bulletin in English in Johannesburg, and is seeking a distributor there. One of its directors is visiting South Africa shortly to study the local press scene. It will list prices of primary products in the world market.

The liberal evening newspaper *Le Monde*, listed regularly as one of the world's Top Ten newspapers, is preparing a special supplement on

South Africa for December 20, bursting with advertisements.

The weekly *Voix Afrique*, published by Laurent Dona-Folga, with a readership of 200 000, and the widely selling monthly *Jeune Afrique Economie*, are also hoping to break into the SA press world.

Jeune Afrique Economie, was founded several years ago by *Jeune Afrique*, which later sold it to a dynamic African entrepreneur.

The leftist *Afrique-Asie*, which ceased publication here three years ago, is attempting a comeback, and might also join in the "South African press invasion".

It may also venture into South Africa's English-speaking neighbours, particularly Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Nov 13/12/90

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PROFILE: Marilyn Hattingh, the first and only editor of Style magazine

A style all of her own

W/M 14/12/1990 - 19/12/1990

BACKGROUND

Charlotte Bauer



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MARILYN HATTINGH tells a story about herself in which a socialite at a race meeting turns to her and says "You know Marilyn, you never cease to amaze me. You don't know much about fashion or food and yet you manage to run *Style*."

Style magazine, agrees this is true. The woman who breathed new meaning into the status symbols of a generation of social climbers can't cook. Loathes snobs and buys her clothes from any old fashion house, so long as it's called "Reduced!" "Designer clothes are for rich people," she says. This month, the ubiquitous *Style* turns 10 years old. It is a life which began by hanging onto the proverbial shoe-string in the dingy suburb of Doornfontein. Hattingh was given a free hand by two optimistic businessmen, Terry Moolman and Noel Coburn, who had just bought a company called Carxtons 10-day Carxtons is a publishing empire whose start-up 75 cent shares now change hands at R100.

From the start *Style*'s readers felt strongly about it: some thought it to be almost blasphemous in its devotion to what money could buy and who bought it. Others would go to ludicrous lengths to plot inclusion on its social pages. But here and there, between the lavish icons of wealth, success and excess, lurked some very good stories, stories whose investigative intelligence often put *Style*'s more "serious" siblings in the industry to shame. *Style* recouped its backers' investment within eight months. By the time Reeve Forman sued the magazine for more than R2-million damages in the costliest case of its kind in local history, *Style* had already, in its own parlance, arrived.

As Hattingh signed a leave to appeal after a judgment in Forman's favour, Moolman turned to her and said: "Well, we had a bit of fun, didn't we?" True *style*, the lifeblood of its publishing namesake, is sometimes hard to define, but Moolman had it then.

Hattingh finds it odd that she and Forman have never clapped eyes on each other since, considering they both swim around in roughly the same bit of the social pond. "I once gave her a prize for being the best-dressed woman at some or other do," Hattingh giggles. It seems a safe enough thing to say and we leave the subject there.

Six months after the first "Reeve trial" in 1985, Hattingh finally accepted an offer to join the *Sunday Times Magazine* as its editor-in-chief while retaining her job at *Style* — because at the "I had turned the job down twice in the past — because at the



Marilyn Hattingh. Careers define your personality

time I would have had to make a straight choice between the two eventually I managed to get the best of both worlds. The two magazines are so vastly different from each other, there has been almost no conflict of interest. Tertius' (Myburgh) blueprint for the *Magazine* was that every story should be based on a person. He also believed that TV personalities are the greatest leveler. "I agree — especially after seeing a certain leading businessman leave a cocktail party early to go home and watch *Murder She Wrote*." Tertius Myburgh also liked to turn his writers into stars — Barry Ronge, Jan Allan — I like to make my writers stars too I think it gives the magazine its character."

"I'm going to miss Tertius." "The *Sunday Times* editor who was Hattingh's colleague and friend, had died the day before our interview. "He really knew how to get the best out of life." "Today both the *Sunday Times Magazine* and *Style* are settled in a bright pink house in a suburb few people have heard of."

"I like working in an unconventional way Albertson. Hattingh has worked "in an unconventional way" throughout her life. "I was born in a mental hospital," she laughs. It's true, her father was a resident psychologist there. "I thought we were very smart because I always had white nappies — then I found out they were my father's nappies."

Having survived her childhood, unscathed by the wandering intelligence of her various guardians, she took a degree in political science and Roman Law at Pietermaritzburg. "In those days (the early 1960s) the only women who got articles were those whose fathers were attorneys nobody would take me, so I went to England and ended up teaching in the East End of London.

"It was pretty tough — those were the days when kids were knitting teachers in the classrooms. "I had one in my class called Killer Miller who was on probation for rape. He used to play cards at the back of the class. Once I tried to relieve him of them. He threatened me and I quickly thought, what the hell, let Miller play cards if he wants

"When I came home, I taught at Kingsmead to pay off my return fare. The kids in those days were so well behaved, but they never challenged anything I said, despite my attempts to get them to do so. At least the kids in England had cheek, you couldn't slide anything past them. "I was a good teacher."

But soon Hattingh started looking around for any job that didn't include the Great Trek in its syllabus. She found one on the Automobile Association's magazine, *The Motorist*. Next she joined *Scope* as its first woman writer. "I loved it," she says. "They thought that because I was a woman absolutely anything I wrote would be of interest to women."

During these years, Hattingh married, bore twin daughters and divorced. Her next job was for the publishing magazine Jim Bailey and his eccentric family. She was to be private tutor to the Bailey children, Jessica and "Becky". "These days Becky Bailey is an oddball artist who likes to wear diadems with hats and who believes in "happenings" such as painting instant exhibitions while the guests wait for him to finish. "As a child he would stand on his head while I tried to teach him to read. He was totally hyperactive."

Hattingh finally convinced the Baileys to send their children to school which meant that she ended up working on Bailey's stud instead. It probably sounded easier than teaching Becky Bailey to read, even though her experience of *zeal* was limited. "Only someone like Jim — or my father — would have let me do that. You know, my father always said the only test of intelligence is adaptability."

Hattingh travelled a circuitous route back to journalism eventually, becoming the first editor of *Darling*, a Republican Press magazine for "intelligent young people". Since inventing *Style*, Hattingh has remained more-or-less faithful to her policy of not interfering with the different writing styles of her staff. This, perhaps, is why over the years readers have become used to the juxtapositions of earnest frivolity with genuine wit, political views that smack of rightwing intolerance with liberal satire; conservatism with outrageousness. "I enjoy the frivolous aspect of *Style* when it's got a bite, a sting. I also think cynicism has a place in journalism. "I sometimes can't believe how seriously some people take us when we're doing a 'what's in (fashion) and what's out' piece. I get a lot of wedding invitations from people I've never heard of, but I know all they really want is for the *Style* photographer to be there. I am very well aware of being wined and dined because of what I represent rather than who I am."

"I'm convinced your career defines your personality. Look at teachers, many teachers get into very definite characters — bossy, pedantic, fond of academic jokes. Hattingh seems relieved not to have "gelled" into a teacher character, but a journalist character instead. "Good journalists are never elitist; the best of them have a very wide range of interests and the ability to mix happily with all sorts of people. — I think journalists are terrific."

CAP 745
14/12/90

'Surprise' at Media Council²⁴³ election

JOHANNESBURG — The SA Union of Journalists (SAUJ) yesterday noted with "some surprise" the election of Professor Kobus van Rooyen, the former head of the Publications Appeal Board, as the new chairman of the Media Council.

In a statement here, SAUJ acting president Ms Karen Stander said there was not a little irony in the appointment of a former state censor, however enlightened, to a body whose stated objective was to uphold and maintain the freedom of the media in South Africa.

"The SAUJ recognises Prof Van Rooyen's efforts during his term of office at the PAB to relax censorship in the film, theatrical and publishing worlds. During this time, however, a barrage of laws and regulations were promulgated inhibiting the flow of information and the publication of material, particularly political material, in the press," said Ms Stander — Sapa

SAUJ surprised at ²⁴³ Van Rooyen's post

Staff Reporter

^{14/12/90}
The South African Union of Journalists (SAUJ) expressed surprise yesterday at the election of Professor Kobus van Rooyen, former chairman of the Publications Appeal Board, as the new chairman of the Media Council

"There is not a little irony in the appointment of a former State censor, however enlightened, to a body whose stated objective is to uphold and maintain the freedom of

the media in South Africa," the SAUJ said.

The union said it recognised Professor van Rooyen's efforts during his term of office at the PAB to relax censorship in the film, theatrical and publishing worlds.

However, during this time, a "barrage of laws were promulgated inhibiting the flow of information in the press".

The SAUJ urged the Media Council to fight to have these constraints on the media lifted.

Argus skills upgrade to cost R5-m

Star 17/12/90
The board of Argus Newspapers is to spend R5 million over the next three years on a programme designed to enhance the skills of black staff members.

Announcing the scheme, Argus Newspapers chief executive Peter McLean said: "Since 1979 we have embarked on several black advancement or affirmative action programmes.

"By now allocating R5 million for the skills development of black staff, the company has underlined its determination to accelerate this progress."

A co-ordinating committee chaired by Mr McLean will set the programme's guidelines and objectives. Affected staff and their unions will be consulted.

"The company is dedicated to improving the personal skills of black staff." It is equally committed to ensuring that many more blacks receive the training necessary to enable them to advance into senior management levels," he said.

Members of the committee are: Peter McLean, chief executive (chairman); Herman Arendse, editor, Community Newspapers; Ed Booth, managing director, Natal Newspapers; Fred Collings, general manager, The Argus; John Featherstone, general manager-elect, The Star; and Aggrey Klaaste, editor, Sowetan.

Other members are: Jimmy Mould, general manager, The Pretoria News; Quraysh Patel, group editorial training and development manager; Dennis Pather, deputy managing editor, Sunday Tribune and The Daily News; Richard Steyn, editor-in-chief, The Star; Roger Wellsted, group personnel manager; and Rory Wilson, general manager, Sowetan.

Argus to upgrade its staff

Sowetan 18.12.90

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(143)

(143)

The board of Argus Newspapers is to spend R5 million over the next three years on a programme designed to enhance the skills of black staff members.

The chief executive of Argus Newspapers, Mr Peter McLean said the company had embarked on several black advancement schemes or affirmative action programmes since 1979.

"By now allocating R5 million for this skills development of black staff, the determination is to accelerate this progress."

A co-ordinating committee chaired by McLean will set the programme's guidelines and objectives. Affected staff and their unions will be consulted.

"The company is dedicated to improving the personal skills of black staff. It is equally committed to ensuring

that many more blacks receive the training necessary to enable them to advance into senior management levels," McLean said.

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John Featherstone, general manager-elect, The Star; Aggrey Klaaste, editor, Sowetan; Jimmy Mould, general manager, The Pretoria News; Quraish Patel, group editorial training and development manager.

Dennis Pather, deputy managing editor, Sunday Tribune and The Daily News; Richard Steyn, editor-in-chief, The Star; Roger Wellsted, group personnel manager; Rory Wilson, general manager, Sowetan.

Garner Thomson reports from London on a press watchdog's findings

Step forward, two back for media

THE year 1990 will go down in South African history as the year in which, "for the first time in four decades of harsh, authoritarian National Party rule," the pressure was eased and the media were able to operate in relative calm

But, adds the International Press Institute's World Press Freedom Review, just published in London, newspapers remained subject to a great many restrictive and punitive laws

The country has undergone a startling transformation this year,

the report continues, including the lifting of the emergency restrictions on the media, in force since 1986. However, it says, plenty of legal mechanisms remained, permitting the authorities to harass the press, and a number of journalists fell victim to these or other dangers.

The report points out that the unbanning of black liberation movements introduced a new factor in black journalism "Whereas before it was sufficient for black journalists to be against apartheid, now they were required to show a preference for one or other

of the black liberation movements," it says "If they were perceived to be critical of one movement, they were adjudged to be opposed to that movement, and as opposition could not be tolerated, they were regarded as enemies."

This resulted in intimidation But the picture wasn't much different elsewhere in the world, the IPI reports "This was a year in which democracy and freedom advanced two paces in many countries and then pulled back at least one," it says "Despite great improvements in some parts of Central

and Eastern Europe, Romania, for one, presents a hugely depressing picture

"The euphoria over the downfall of the Ceausescu regime had barely faded before it became clear that the new leaders were falling into many of the same traps as their brutal predecessor, especially in their antipathy to freedom of expression"

The media in countries such as Turkey, Colombia and Kuwait, after Saddam Hussein's invasion, continued to face considerable oppression, the IPI says □

Writer wins case against journal

CAP Tink 19/12/96
FROM IAN HOBBS

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LONDON — The specialist journal Africa Confidential wrongly accused well-known South African-born freelance journalist Mr Kenneth Pottinger of being linked to Pretoria's intelligence services, the Press Council said yesterday, following an 18-month investigation.

The British media watchdog body also upheld a complaint by Lisbon-based Mr Pottinger that the journal inaccurately claimed that the similarly named Portuguese newsletter Africa Confidential, of which he was director, was owned by the Angolan rebel movement Unita.

The British report added that Mr Pottinger was known for his "excellent security sources in Pretoria".

Africa Confidential editor Mr Stephen Ellis claimed his report never said Mr Pottinger had contacts in South African intelligence, but the Press Council adjudication found the journal had implied that Mr Pottinger was linked to South African security services

The Star's readers would elect ANC

By Helen Grange

If a general election was held in the near future among readers of The Star, the ANC would come to power.

This is the finding of a survey conducted by Marketing and Media Research into the likes and dislikes, political and otherwise, of a broad cross-section of The Star's readers.

According to the survey findings, the majority (over 30 percent) of readers would vote for the ANC over other political groupings.

The National Party would be close on its heels, but would outstrip the ANC only in the event of a coalition between the NP and the Democratic Party.

Inkatha

About 4 percent of The Star's readers are Conservative Party supporters and the remainder of the political parties or organisations (SA Communist Party, Inkatha, Pan Africanist Party, Black Consciousness, AWB, Azapo and others) would not receive votes of any significance.

The survey shows that there are more white supporters of Inkatha than black supporters — although total support stood only at 1 percent.

There are also more black supporters of the NP than white supporters of the ANC.

The AWB enjoys only 0,3 percent of readers' support.

In gauging how hopeful The Star's readers are for South Africa's future, the survey found that 52 percent feel very hopeful while 39 percent are not

very hopeful.

A similar survey conducted with readers of The Sowetan shows that 59 percent of readers are very hopeful, while 29 percent are not very hopeful.

It is almost certain that since February 2, the day of president de Klerk's landmark reform speech, blacks have become more hopeful about their future, the survey maintains.

Asked how confident they felt about a happy future for all races, readers differed substantially.

White readers were more confident in 1977 about this issue than they are now. However, they are far more optimistic now than in 1986, the climax of their pessimism.

Conversely, the confidence of black readers for a racially harmonious future is higher now than it has been for more than a decade. Black readers showed they were most pessimistic in 1977 and 1985, the height of the P W Botha era.

The most important issue to be dealt with, according to readers of The Star and The Sowetan, is apartheid and the equality of blacks and whites.

Eleven percent of both readership groups believe violence and intimidation are the most crucial issues in securing a hopeful future.

The topic most readers feel they would like to see more of in The Star is education.

There is also a demand for more life skills information, according to the survey findings.

White readers still ask for more humour, although this is not a priority for black readers, many of whom see the newspaper as a more serious medium.

Star 18/12/90

YEAR IN REVIEW/THE MEDIA

Red herrings, red plots and plain lies

W/mond 20/12/90 - 10/1/91. 243

THIS was the year of the Big Lie in the media. Newspapers, television and radio all fell for stories that were so full of holes, they redefined the meaning of journalistic inquiry. Outdated myths served as sensational excuses, urban legends became front page scare stories, and plain old lies were swallowed whole as hard news. And the SA Police, for all the bluster of its liaison officers, was one of the guilty parties.

Frail toddler barks, crawls and whimpers

'Dog-child' found in kennel

Toeriste PAC-teiken

"Tourists PAC target"
The news story was that the PAC had decided to attack white holidaymakers travelling to the Transkei this Christmas, as it would be easier to attack them there than in the Transvaal.

The story behind the story ran like this: A reader of the paper, Tomie Bruwer of Pretoria, had been planning a trip to the Transkei. As a result of the recently crushed coup attempt there, he had made inquiries about his family's safety in the Transkei. He had received — from unspecified sources — a memo (*omseindbrief*) that was purported to be a confidential memo sent to all Transkei police commanders by Major MZ Nongadla, a high-ranking member of the Transkei security police.

The memo advised commanders of unconfirmed information that the PAC was alleged to have said that they were not in a position to attack white South Africans in the Transvaal. Therefore, they would attack white holidaymakers in the Transkei, and rob them of arms and other possessions.

A police liaison officer of the Transkei police, quoted in the same report, told *Beeld* that the memo was clearly a malicious attempt to discredit the Transkei. The PAC laughed off the story the next day, and *Beeld* wisely let go.

On a superficial level, there was one dead giveaway the story came to *Beeld's* attention almost immediately: FW de Klerk and Transkei President Tutor Ndama. The timing was too good to be true.

But there was another, slightly more subtle, level on which the story should have been chased from the front page. The tale fits in perfectly with a family of urban legends about an apocalypse for white South Africans. On at least four specific occasions in the last 30 years, a legend has swept the country that the black population of South Africa would on a certain day wipe out every white.

The legend was current at the time of Sharpeville in 1961, Soweto 1976, in the Vaal Triangle in 1984, and finally just before the first talks between the government and the ANC earlier this year.

It is a product of both right-wing fear-mongering, and of plain old white paranoia.

to find out exactly what the situation was. *The Weekly Mail* story was in dire need of fact-finding itself.

These issues were briefly forgotten when *The Star* appeared on November 7. "Dog-child found in kennel", barked the headline, followed by four days of yapping about the "truth" of the story. A child from Springs had been found in a state of severe neglect, and removed from its home by welfare authorities. It had been covered in dog hair, it held its hands curled into "claws", and it whimpered every so often. Which meant that the child must have been raised by a dog, and must have shared its kennel.

The story immediately began to fall apart. It turned out that the family had only had the dog for four months — the child was two-and-a-half years old. There was no kennel or cage at the Springs home, except for a rather new TV container with a dog-sized door cut into the side.

"It's true, says source," ran a defensive banner headline the next day, atop a vague rebuttal of the previous day's rebuttals.

"Dog-child cover-up is exposed" ran the banner the day after, across a report that the disclosures had been "supported" by the mayor and MP for Benoni.

Then emerged that both men had merely heard the story second-hand themselves when they had attended a child welfare meeting.

One newspaper that knew when to back off from its own sensational exposure was *Beeld*. On December 4 its front-page banner headline shouted out

MYTHS BY ARTHUR GOLDSTUCK

negotiations process," said SACP central committee member Essop Pahad.

The situation was turned on its head however, when the ANC "revealed" on December 8 the infamous video that "proved" police collusion with Inkatha in the bitter East Rand warfare between mainly-Xhosa township residents, the "comrade" side, and mainly-Zulu hostel-dwellers, the impi side.

Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok trotted out a series of photographs that showed the police giving equal "collusion" to the comrades and the impi.

But it didn't need police evidence to embarrass the ANC in this case. Almost anyone who was on the scene could have provided the media — not to mention the ANC — with the information that, for once at least, the police had behaved completely impartially.

The Weekly Mail was not blameless this year — its worst slip had the ANC occupying the factual high ground. In October the *WM* reported chaos in the Transkei, where a mass return of exiles had "caught the ANC with its pants down".

In fact, *The Weekly Mail* had its pants way down the influx of refugees from the Natal and Reef violence had created an impression that the Transkei was flooded with exiles. Although reports about these exiles had come from reputable sources, like the SA Council of Churches, they themselves had planned to send a fact-finding mission

She further alleged that, when they started out, she noticed that they were not heading for Pretoria, and instead took her to Brits police station. She was shown a corpse which she was told was David.

"When I saw him I could only recognise the gold fillings between his teeth, otherwise his face was a mess. He had a big hole at the back of his head and was still bleeding. When I touched him he was still warm."

Senior police spokesman Captain R Bloomburg simply denied that the body was still bleeding on August 4.

He insisted that Shongwe had only been identified through his fingerprints on Friday, August 4.

"There is absolutely nothing fishy about it. He didn't have identification on him so the only way his body could be identified was through fingerprints," Bloomburg told a *Weekly Mail* reporter.

Perhaps the police do take a week to match fingerprints. Perhaps, however, the car-bomb also gave the police a neat counterpoint to the relaunch of the South African Communist Party on July 29.

That, at any rate, was the interpretation of both the SACP and the ANC, who issued a statement on August 6 that the police allegations were "highly suspicious and smelled of a manufactured red plot".

"Having examined the evidence the police have presented it now looks very possible that the whole incident was deliberately designed by some elements within the security forces to derail the

SABC TV news dutifully reported — without apparently questioning a single detail — the version of events put out by police public relations chief Major Herman Stadler.

That version said that, at 114kg, it was the biggest car-bomb ever found in South Africa, that it was three times the size of the May 1983 Church Street car-bomb that killed 19 and injured 200, that it was set to go off at 1.15pm, as shoppers and workers were leaving for the day, that it could have resulted in many losing their lives.

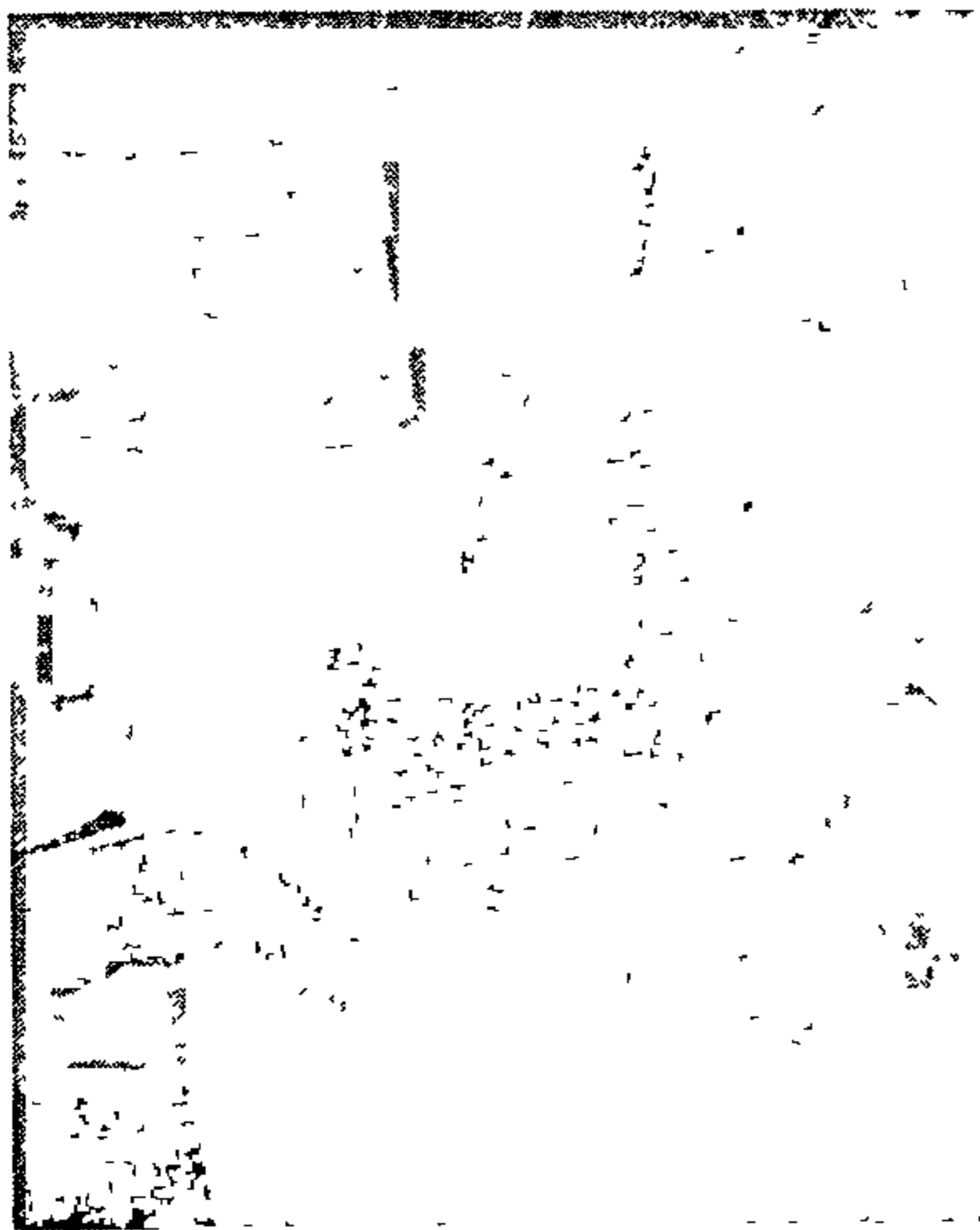
There was one slight problem no one had bothered condemning off the street outside, or even alerting the public. Unusually, the police did not immediately parade the bomb before the TV cameras, and only released pictures of the alleged explosives, and the munibus in which they were planted, five days later.

On the Thursday police released an identikit photograph of the "suspect", one David Shongwe, a part-time driver of the munibus.

Yet, Shongwe's body had been found almost a week earlier.

A police spokesman said on August 5 that the body had been found on July 28 at 5pm next to the Pelindaba-Harebeespoort Dam road with a bullet wound in his head.

His mother, Mary Shongwe, told the *Saturday Star* that "two policemen who came to fetch me at home (on August 4) told me that there had been an accident in town in which everyone had been killed. They asked me to accompany them to check if my son was not among the victims".



A police medic examines an injured man (right). A hostel-dweller attacks a man after he was apparently abandoned by the police (left)

Police respond to WM pictures

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE Ministry of Law and Order is planning a major press conference in the next few days to respond to pictures published in last week's *Weekly Mail* which showed police allegedly taking sides in the East Rand violence. Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said this week that Minister Adriaan Vlok would respond to the allegations at the press conference.

When the pictures appeared last week, Kotze said police were unable to respond until the matter had been fully investigated.

The Weekly Mail published two series of pictures one showing police treating two seriously wounded men, and then abandoning them, without any apparent reason, to be killed by an group of hostel dwellers, the other showing police watching passively as the "impi" advances through Thokoza, and only intervening when armed "comrades" repel the

impi

The pictures have attracted massive international interest, with newspapers and television stations around the world pursuing them. However, they almost never made the light of day after an attempt by an international television agency to stop *The Weekly Mail* publishing them last Friday.

The agency had put a judge on standby and were threatening to ask him for a urgent order stopping publication of the newspaper because of an alleged breach of copyright.

Publication was only possible because of a last-minute agreement between the newspaper and the agency.

The agency has since claimed to have dismissed a staff member for his involvement in the incident. *The Guardian* reported that the agency had fired a trainee black editor.

However, no confirmation of this could be received this week.

A Casspir and police van watch as the impi passes within metres of them

Matunga said the ANC had hooded prisoners release were unsuccessful.

Vlok rejects newspaper allegations

PRETORIA — Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday rejected newspaper allegations that police had abandoned two wounded men in the face of an alleged Zulu impi attack in Thokoza earlier this month. *8 Day 21/12/90*

The allegations, run in the Weekly Mail last Friday, were based on video footage taken in the township.

The footage, shown at a media conference at Vlok's offices in Pretoria yesterday, shows police medic Const Louis Pretorius attending to the two badly wounded men.

Later, the impi are shown hacking their bodies. *243*

Pretorius told the news conference that, when he left them, the men were already dead.

He left to attend to other wounded people.

Vlok said police were not aware at the time of the approach of the impi that subsequently mutilated the bodies of the two men.

Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harber said his newspaper had evidence that the two men were still alive when the police left. He asked why police had not bothered to contact independent witnesses during the past week.

A second area of contention centred on scenes of impi passing two stationary police vehicles. When the impi retreated after shots rang out, the vehicles departed in apparent pursuit of the unseen gunmen.

Asked why police did not act against the armed impi passing them, police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said if police dispersed a group it would cause scattered fighting, which police would not be able to control.

Vlok said it was misleading to portray these scenes as a clash between Zulus and comrades, because there were only individual gunmen, whom police pursued.

He dismissed the allegations as "crude propaganda".

On December 2 Vlok also rejected allegations of police bias based on video footage taken in Zonkeziwe township. — Sapa.

Brokers sent scurrying as

Weekly Mail and police clash over Tokoza video

POLICE and the *Weekly Mail* have clashed over contentious video footage taken in Tokoza on December 2 which the newspaper says shows police colluding with Inkatha against "comrades"

The footage, according to the *Weekly Mail*, also indicates that before the battle police abandoned two wounded men to the mercy of an Inkatha impi.

Police have denied the allegations.

The footage, shown at a media conference at police headquarters in

Pretoria yesterday, started with a police paramedic, Constable Louis Pretorius, attending to two badly injured men

Pretorius said at the Press conference the men had been fatally wounded and were already dead when he left the scene

The impi mutilated the two bodies with pangas but police said they were not aware that the Inkatha men were approaching

A police statement, released at the conference, said it was impossible to determine

whether the men had been Xhosas or Zulus

The video showed one man already dead but the other still breathing, and sound which *Weekly Mail* co-editor Anton Harber believes was the police leaving the scene

Harber said eyewitnesses had seen the police leave the men to die when they discovered they were not Zulus

A second sequence showed the police watching passively while Inkatha men attacked the "comrades", interfering

only when comrades opened with AK-47 rifles, forcing the impi to retreat.

SAP spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said police did not know the impi would attack and they could react only once they had worked out where the shots were coming from.

Police further denied that Inkatha were attacking a group of "comrades".

They said there were only individual gunmen whom the police pursued in an attempt to arrest - *Sowetan Correspondent*

Sowetan 21/12/90

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Mystery over Persbel buyer

MARC HASENFUSS

THE identity of the buyer of 1,69-million Perskor Beleggings (Persbel) shares on the JSE last week remains a mystery after analysts' speculation was denied by most likely buyers.

A Persbel spokesman said he suspected the buyer was one of the main publishing and printing groups.

He said the buyer might have been buying Persbel shares during the year, resulting in the group's unexplained share price gains.

The buyer had selected a strategic time to make the block purchase, just as the JSE closed for the Christmas break.

Persbel directors could not be reached for comment this week.

The number of shares traded represents more than 20% of Persbel's issued share capital of 8,3-million shares.

Analysts initially saw last week's offer of 1,4-million special bargain deal shares at 400c as institutional reshuffling of long-term investments, but identified the CP and Nasionale Pers (Naspers) as possible buyers.

The CP discounted market rumours that it had bought a stake in Persbel in order to establish a CP-controlled newspaper. Spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis said the party had no interests in Persbel as it was raising funds to establish its own newspaper.

Persbel's rival publishing group, Naspers, was also cited by analysts, saying the group could be looking to expand into the English newspaper market via Persbel's English daily, The Citizen 610^{am} 27/12/90

Naspers MD Ton Vosloo said last night Naspers was not the buyer.

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JANUARY — JUNE

From rag to powerful force - that's Sowetan

Sowetan 21/191.

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ON THE LINE
Aggrey Klaaste

TEN years ago there came on to the marketplace a tiny, flimsy rag of a newspaper born under embarrased circumstances.

It was called the *Sowetan*. This seemingly inconsequential rag had a fine history and tradition - it was fathered by *The World* and mothered by a paper called *Post*.

The *Sowetan's* birth-pangs came as result of a strike by journalists, a strike that lasted several months and turned a lot of boys into men. If journalists had used to write almost casually about strikes before then, their experiences of their own strike had a powerful effect on them. Writing about a strike had become something more personal, more painful.

It was in many ways the best of times, but for the newspaper, its journalists and the company it was the worst of times.

Most *Sowetan* reporters had worked on *The World*, and had the memory of their paper being banned still fresh in their minds. More significantly, most journalists who had worked on *The World* had, among other serious mishaps, been detained. The chief executive and his assistants had been to prison - a most unhappy distinction which in some ways helped to give the paper and its successors political credibility.

Sowetan will soon be celebrating ten tumultuous, invigorating, often hilarious, sometimes desperately tragic years. It is indeed a mo-

ment to celebrate because 1991 sees a tiny rag turned into one of the most significant voices in journalism.

This is no idle boast. A reason for the growth, in a rather extraordinary fashion, has to do with the title, *Sowetan*. The number of vehicles with *Sowetan* posters grows daily, no doubt a result of our current strength and prominence.

Tradition

Another reason is our tradition. Because we have been one of the only black daily newspapers having to fight against the might, the skills and the renown of papers like the *Rand Daily Mail* and *The Star*, plus the vigorous and aggressive inroads of the "alternative media" shows the success we

have is deserved. Newspapers are products like any other. Yet journalists have a type of cynicism, an aloofness that prevents them from blowing their own trumpets. Most journalists will refuse to make something of good said about their product. It is an arrogance that sometimes falls flat on its silly face.

The extraordinary thing is that newspapers only gain fame after their demise. I do not remember us writing gloriously about *The World* before it was banned. Today we take pride in mentioning our links with that august newspaper.

We are about to move away from this modesty. We are going to celebrate ten years of struggle under the proud banner *Sowetan* - Building the

Nation. We are going to make it known loud and long that we have earned our spurs.

The strike which led to the birth of the *Sowetan* was a baptism of fire. There was a time when we doubted ourselves, an unfortunate self-perception which could have led to the boycott against us. We battled through that particular fire without exactly knowing what to do. There were death threats against us. The desperation became so pronounced that we wondered if we should back one of the horses in the political race or get our own horse.

Instead we simply sat it through. It was in its own painful way a lucky thing, for had we backed a political

horse then, we would be stuck with it today. And God knows it could have been a losing horse. We have started a horse with Nation Building and though the going has not been easy this gamble, nay commitment, is beginning to pay off. We are not ashamed to be called the Nation Building newspaper, presumptuous as that may be to others. We believe, in fact, that the timing of this initiative was inspired, profound.

We still have with us reporters who were extremely young when we started 10 years ago. They have become serious, studious types who drive

in cars and travel by plane. Most of them have also been on some scholarship abroad. Just the other day they were boasting that the *Sowetan* has an unbeatable galaxy of world-travelled reporters.

Our two senior executives, Thami Mazwai and Joe Thlotse, will be studying locally and abroad for most of 1991. It is also no idle boast to say the Argus Company, which owns this newspaper, is prepared to train every black employer and it has laid out R5-million for this enterprise. *Sowetan* reporters are to kick off the scheme which aims to involve the entire group.

Pioneers

Among other things this tells us we are considered to be an important part of the group. We have other dreams, dreams that we are not ashamed to share with you. We believe South Africa will one day join the world as a powerful democracy. When that time arrives, we on the *Sowetan* will have become not only a national newspaper, but pioneers in a communications strategy. History will show we were dreamers. That we also had visions. History will show that we adopted the famous Mathibela twins, we covered the release of Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of political organisations and reported on some of the most traumatic events in this country's history. And without putting too fine a point on it, history will say we did a damned good job.

No hidden Agenda in new programme

Staff Reporter
WITH much advance fanfare, SABC-TV last night kicked off the first screening of its new three-times-weekly actuality programme, Agenda.

The first indication that things may just have changed at Auckland Park from 1991, came during the programme's first live interview — with Dr Eschel Rhoodie in Atlanta, Georgia.

Dr Rhoodie, the much-maligned secretary of information during the Information Scandal in 1979, described former president Mr P W Botha as "a dictator" and said that, with the start of the "perestroika" and "glasnost" by President F W de

Klerk, it would no longer be necessary for the government to buy a newspaper such as the Citizen to put its viewpoint across to South Africans.

In introducing the service, Johan Pretorius of the SABC said a "strategic decision" had been taken 18 months ago to change the way the service handles news.

A message then flashed across the screen reading: "You no longer have to read between the lines."

Former Die Vaderland editor Mr Harald Pakendorf appeared on screen to say that "no limits" had been imposed on the questions journalists could ask on the programme.

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7/11/91
A hard-hitting panel discussion on press freedom, chaired by Mr Pakendorf, included participants from across the political spectrum, except the PAC, which declined to participate.

Together on stage were such diverse political personalities as Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche of the AWB, Mr Mazwai Piliso of the ANC, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha, Conservative Party spokesman Dr Pieter Mulder, Dr Frank Mdalose of the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse of the Labour Party and Dr Zach de Beer of the Democratic Party.

Mr Pakendorf created the mood

of the evening by attacking the Anglo American Corporation for its majority ownership of major English-language newspapers, which he claimed gave the multinational company manipulative abilities.

Mr Botha said there was total freedom of the press in South Africa. However, Mr Pakendorf questioned him about the continued existence of media-gagging laws such as the Police and Prison Acts.

Both Mr Hendrickse and Mr Terre'Blanche said there had always been serious manipulation of SABC radio and television.

ANC supporters die in vigilante raid

DURBAN — A raid by vigilantes left 17 ANC supporters dead and caused thousands of refugees to flee from residential areas near Umgababa in southern Natal yesterday, residents said

One resident said a large gang numbering several hundred vigilantes from the "Inkatha area" of Hlanzeni arrived at the ANC stronghold of Emagcino at 5 30pm on Sunday. She said they launched sporadic attacks throughout the night which left 17 dead.

However, police spokesman Capt Hamilton Ngidi said yesterday police could confirm only eight of the deaths.

He said another seriously injured man was recovering in C J Crookes Hospital in Scottburgh.

An Inkatha spokesman last night described the killings as a tragedy, and said the incident would be investigated. But she warned against "jumping to conclusions" that the perpetrators were Inkatha members, PETER DELMAR reports.

Residents claimed the vigilantes said they had come to kill all "comrades" in the area. Any youths found by the gang were attacked.

The attacks continued sporadically throughout the night and yesterday vigilantes were seen roaming the area.

Own Correspondent

Many of those who fled the area sought refuge at the Illovo Beach police station and at Umgababa station.

A heavy SAP and SADF presence was seen in the area and senior police officers were making an "on the spot" analysis of the situation.

Tension was running high yesterday following a threat by the vigilantes that they would return to attack Emagcino again.

An elderly woman, who declined to be named, said the attackers were after boys "even from the age of seven upwards". She said the younger members of her family had fled to Umgababa station.

However, most of those killed were over the age of 20.

In their unrest report yesterday police said a mob attacked a kraal and killed two people in rural Natal on Sunday, Sapa reports.

The mob also set two huts alight during the attack.

In another incident at Alexandra township near Randburg, a woman was injured when she was attacked by a group of people armed with pangas.

At Robertson in the Cape a private home was petrol-bombed.

New chief of Media Council backs freedom of expression

NEWLY elected Media Council chairman Prof Kobus van Rooyen, better known for his controversial career as chairman of the Publications Appeal Board (PAB), says he will be in a position to promote directly freedom of expression.

Van Rooyen was elected unanimously to chair the media council from January, replacing Jan Steyn who resigned because of his full-time commitment to the Independent Development Trust.

In an interview Van Rooyen said he would strive to uphold the interests for which the Media Council stood.

These were freedom of the Press, the maintaining of high standards of journalism and a realisation that the Press played an important role in a democracy.

Van Rooyen, after graduating in 1965 from the University of Pretoria, lectured in law from 1966 and became professor in the Criminal Law department in 1971.

In 1975 he became vice-chairman of the PAB and succeeded Mr Justice Lammie Snyman as chairman in 1980.

Retiring from the post in March 1990, he was appointed senior counsel by the State President in December.

Van Rooyen has published three books — two on censorship and one on contracts — and has written several articles on Press freedom. He said he took Press freedom seriously, and numerous judgments of the PAB during his tenure were evidence of this commitment.

As chief censor he was known for his open approach to publications control, and

MARCIA KLEIN

under his chairmanship the PAB unbanned the Freedom Charter in 1984.

The PAB was also not prepared to institute pre-censorship on publications, and the films Cry Freedom and A Dry White Season were passed without cuts.

In his new role, Van Rooyen said, he would act as Media Council spokesman and strive to create greater public awareness of the Press's role in a democracy.

He would promote, too, the idea that a Press free from arbitrary government control was also reliable.

In addition, he said, he would promote the council's image as an independent representative council promoting the interests of the Press, promote the council and the Press internationally, strive to have government restraints on the Press removed, promote research in the field of journalism and communications, endeavour to have removed unnecessary criminal law provisions affecting the Press and strive for a return to the rule of law with a bill of rights guaranteeing fundamental rights.

The SA Union of Journalists expressed surprise last week at Van Rooyen's election, saying there was irony in the appointment of a state censor, however enlightened, to a body whose objective was to uphold and maintain the freedom of the media in SA.

Name reporters, police tell Harber

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Star 11/1/91

By Monica Nicolson
and Sapa

Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harber has been issued with a subpoena in terms of section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act ordering him to identify certain reporters working for the newspaper

This decision, made by the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand, Klaus von Lieres, has outraged champions of a free press who see the move as unacceptable and objectionable

The A-G wants Harber to identify his reporters who were present at an alleged assault that took place during a Congress of SA Trade Unions press conference on August 29 1990

Senior Cosatu officials were subsequently charged with kidnapping and/or assault in connection with the incident

Harber has informed the Minister of Justice and Minister of Home Affairs that he regards the subpoena as an abuse of their powers and an attempt to turn him into a "surrogate policeman"

"In recent months the police have used their section 205 powers with increasing frequency. This is despite repeated undertakings to representatives of the Media Council and the Newspaper Press Union that section 205 subpoenas would be

used sparingly and only after proper consideration," he said

"The Government is breaking these undertakings. It is attempting to force me to inform on my colleagues and make them vulnerable to similar subpoenas."

"Who, in a tense and conflict-ridden society, would trust us as journalists if the information they gave us could be used as evidence against them? If the police wish to pursue the matter, there were dozens of other witnesses who know much more than I do. The task of finding witnesses for a criminal action is the work of the police. I will not do it for them."

The acting president of the South African Union of Journalists, Karen Stander, said legal devices such as section 205 posed a threat to the free flow of information

"Press freedom and the public's right to know is a cornerstone of democracy. Journalists must have access to information in order to exercise this right on behalf of the public," Ms Stander said

If sources refused to give information to reporters as a consequence of reporters yielding to pressure to reveal information in court, the public's right to know about matters of importance was threatened.

Campaign for Open Media chairman Raymond Louw said his organisation viewed the ac-

tion as disgraceful

"Police credibility is at its lowest ebb at a time in South Africa's affairs when trust and integrity are required from law enforcement agencies"

He said actions of this kind would reduce it further, especially when assurances had been given by the Government that "this objectionable law" would be used against journalists only in extreme cases.

Police spokesman Major-General Bernie Mostert has defended the move, claiming that the SAP had no record of the frequent use of section 205 against members of the press

"The Government has not changed its policy regarding the press, and Mr Harber's allegation that identifying reporters would amount to an accusation of these reporters cannot be understood

"The press is always treated fairly and the use of section 205 will be given proper consideration before being implemented

"Mr Harber's fear that he could be used as surrogate policeman is unfounded. It is the duty of every citizen to ensure law and order is maintained

"In an incident where reporters are witnesses to abduction and assault, they must present this evidence and not shirk their duty," General Mostert said.

Harber is expected to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on Monday

Police accuse Weekly Mail of 'crude propaganda' attack

Weekly Mail Reporter

VIDEO extracts published in *The Weekly Mail* late last year which purported to show police partiality in the East Rand violence were "yet another deliberate attempt to smear and vilify the police", according to Minister of Law and Order Adnaan Vlok.

In a heated press conference called late last year, Vlok's representative, Captain Craig Kotze, said the interpretation given to the video was "completely distorted and subjective, and was presented as crude propaganda without considering the supporting evidence".

The Weekly Mail had published pictures from the video saying that it showed that police had taken sides in the East Rand conflict. The pictures also showed police abandoning two seriously wounded men in the face of an approaching impi, which then stabbed and beat them to death.

Vlok said the two men had been examined by a police paramedic and

found to have fatal injuries. The two men were already dead when they were attacked by the impi, he said.

Vlok also denied that other scenes had shown police intervening to assist an impi fighting a group of "comrades", saying there was no group of "comrades" involved, only a group of individual gunmen whom the police had pursued in an attempt to arrest them.

● *The Weekly Mail* stands by its story and its interpretation of the video and has verified these with eyewitness accounts. Its interpretation has also been backed by independent legal experts and the Human Rights Commission.

In a statement in response to the police, *The Weekly Mail* editors said police have made no more than a cursory investigation of the matter, not even finding one of the many eyewitnesses to the incident other than the accused policemen.

"There are still many questions raised by the video which demand proper attention by the authorities and cannot be so lightly dismissed," the editors said.

Name reporters, police tell editor

Weekly Mail Reporter. POLICE this week served a subpoena on *Weekly Mail* co-editor Anton Harber, setting the scene for a dispute over the police use of this measure against journalists.

Harber has said that the subpoena is an attempt to make him inform on his colleagues and do the work of police in finding witnesses to a criminal case. "I will not do it," he said.

The subpoena, delivered on Wednesday, ordered Harber to identify reporters who were present at an alleged assault at a Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu)

press conference on August 29 last year.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo and others have been charged with kidnapping and assault in connection with the incident.

In a statement yesterday, Harber said he regarded the subpoena as an abuse of police powers and "an attempt to turn me into a surrogate policeman."

"The government is forcing me to inform on my colleagues and make them

vulnerable to similar subpoenas. This is McCarthyism: I am given the choice of accusing my colleagues, or being accused myself.

"I find myself in an intolerable position. To comply with the subpoena would force me to do work that should be done by the police.

"It would also make my professional position untenable. Who, in a tense and conflict-ridden society, would trust us as journalists if the information they

gave us could be used as evidence against them?"

Harber said he had no intention of obstructing the course of justice. However, the task of finding witnesses for a criminal action is the work of the police. "I will not do it for them," he said.

The chairman of Campaign for Open Media (Com), Raymond Louw, said yesterday the organisation viewed the police action as "pernicious persecution of *The Weekly Mail*".

Harber said police have in recent months used their subpoena powers with increasing frequency, breaking repeated undertakings to the Media Council and the Newspaper Press Union that these measures would be used sparingly and only after proper consideration.

Police have issued the subpoena despite the fact that the law they have used, Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act, is one of a number of statutes affecting press freedom currently under government review.

Harber is due to appear in court on Monday to face the police questions.

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Politicians fail the PR test

SA's liberation movements need to improve ^{for 12/11/91} media skills

EVENTS since the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the SA Communist Party and other organisations were unbanned have shown that the liberation movement has no knowledge of what constitutes good media relations.

Since Pretoria's *Strat* began, the liberation movement has scored very few points in public relations compared with its chief rival, the National Party government.

Few journalists, local or foreign, will dispute the need for the public relations departments of the liberation movements to learn the basics of good media relations.

Respect

They still have to learn that good media relations are earned through honest, helpful, well-planned services provided in an atmosphere of mutual respect and candour.

Until the liberation movement admits that knowledge of its history and background does not constitute understanding of good media relations, it will continue to fight a losing battle as far as efficiency and professionalism is concerned in its press conferences and other public relations exercises.

Holding an executive position in the struggle industry does not equip one with expertise in promoting the image and marketing the ideals of the liberation movement.

SOUTH Africa's liberation movements urgently need to upgrade their media relations, says black journalist SANDILE MEMELA. This might mean entrusting their image to outsiders.

It is a daily occurrence for public relations departments of the liberation movement to frustrate media people in the accomplishment of their duties.

Journalists' confidence in the liberation movement's handling of media relations has been greatly undermined, if not lost altogether.

It has become an open secret that some parties of the liberation movement want the media to be card-carrying members, to report their news in a favourable manner that will promote their image, not to cause them trouble.

The irritation of the media is understandable. It is all too often flooded with uninteresting, poorly written press statements, made to wait over an hour for a conference or interview, and not properly helped in collecting vital data and often important too late about an important meeting.

Or a journalist may be subjected to all sorts of uncalculated questions and body searches before entering a public gathering.

The public relations departments of the liberation movement need to recognise the disservice that this does to its image.

It is only professional public relations people who can put a stop to all this.



HOT OFF THE PRESS: London Express general manager for overseas development Christopher Claxton (left) and CTP managing director John Featherstone with a copy of the International Express.

A paper for homesick Poms

HOMESICK Poms will soon be able to wallow in nostalgia once a week, via an international edition of the London Daily Express.

The International Express, a 64-page tabloid, is a weekly digest of news from the Express and Sunday Express that has already been launched in Australia, New Zealand and the Far East.

It will be launched in South Africa on January 28 and the first issue will be on sale here

MALCOLM FOTHERGILL

from January 31

The paper will be the first foreign newspaper to be printed in this country.

Editorial director Noel Hughes says the paper will be put together in London and litho positives airfreighted to South Africa, where the printing will be done by CTP and distribution handled by Allied.

Initial sales are forecast at around 20 000

The paper will be on sale every Thursday, at a cost of R3,75

Flying out for the South African launch will be Express managing director Andrew Cameron, overseas ventures co-ordinator Christopher Claxton and top columnist Jean Rook.

Ms Rook, it will be remembered, is the lady who described Winnie Mandela as "a greedy, manipulative, shrieking shrew".

Now you see it, now you don't

MALCOLM FOTHERGILL

THE grey area between sports sponsorship and advertising can be a bemoaning place to be.

Witness the large sheet that's been much in evidence at the Wanderers' cricket ground in Johannesburg recently, doing duty as a sight screen.

The Transvaal Cricket Council's Albie Durning admits freely the sheet, which is raised at the beginning of one over and lowered for the beginning of the next, is a decidedly Mickey Mouse system.

What's made it necessary is that there are advertisements on the sight screen, right where they would interfere with the batsman's view of the ball.

So, when the screen's in front of the bowler, the messages from the marketplace are there in all their glory, when it's in front of the batsman, they're hidden from view.

Mr Durning says the raising and lowering of sheets is a short-term exercise, for this season only. By next year, the Wanderers' new Centenary Pavilion will be built and the problem will disappear.

Incidentally, there's no shortage of takers for the advertising space made available to sponsors of Transvaal cricket.

Prime positions — that is, those at the ends, which have the greatest chance of being picked up by television cameras — go for R30 000 a season — Positions on the picket fence go for R10 500 a season.

Open cities on the way

ARGUS

14/12/90

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By MICHAEL MORRIS and TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

NEW non-racial councils responsible for entire towns and cities could follow the scrapping of the Group Areas Act next year.

The repeal of the Act, to which the government is already committed, would erase all racial boundaries in urban areas and could clear the way for interim non-racial councils.

Speculation is mounting that President De Klerk could make a major announcement on this in his opening speech in parliament on February 1.

This follows his speech at Stellenbosch yesterday in which he spoke of the need for "interim measures" and a "negotiations initiative" aimed at the speedy introduction of a system of joint local government.

He said considerable progress had been made with a model for local government based on the concept of 'one city, one tax base'.

on' to hope ver fuel price

respondent

3 — There is no indication that it will be decreased — in spite of a drop in the cost of crude oil over the

for the National Energy Council. Crude oil was being sold at between \$18 and \$19 a barrel, it took between seven and eight days for the drop in the price to filter through to the price of the refined product.

There is no indication that the price will drop. The oil price started to drop on Thursday and it is too soon to

BEST SINCE INVASION

Crude oil is now priced at below 26 a barrel on Wednesday, the lowest since August 3 — the day after the invasion.

The price is now at least six dollars above the cost of fuel was reduced by 15c in the week.

The price increased by 32c in October and in November. Crude oil was priced at 22 a barrel. The September increase was announced.

At the start of the Gulf crisis the price of oil fluctuated daily as good and bad news came out of the region. At one stage the price rose to 42 dollars.

In a significant statement, he urged political opponents to stop their mass campaigns against a local government system that would "disappear soon". He suggested they prepared themselves for speedy and urgent discussions on a new system.

Top priority

Reforming local government has become one of the government's top priorities in the light of the serious situation in black areas all over the country where local government structures have broken down.

The matter is said to have been thrashed out at a recent special three-day meeting of the Cabinet which was also attended by members of the white Ministers' Council and top officials.

Western Cape Nationalist MPs said today there must be one common local government structure in cities and towns instead of the present fragmented system of town councils for whites, management committees with only advisory powers for coloured people and Indians, and township councils for blacks.

In many cases, township councils have simply not been

TML's wage offer rejected

Business-Day Reporter

JOURNALISTS employed by Times Media Limited in Johannesburg and Cape Town voted yesterday to reject the company's 12% final wage offer and to hold a formal ballot on the issue.

Members of the SA Union of Journalists (SAUJ) employed by TML in other centres and at the SA Press Association (Sapa) and Argus publications are expected to vote on the issue this week. 8/02/91

Argus and Sapa have offered employees a 14% increase. TML argues that other benefits make its offer equal to those of Sapa and Argus.

Section 205 erodes press freedom, say lawyers

Staff Reporter

Lawyers have slated the use of section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act as an erosion of press freedom and the public's right to information.

Joan Fuhbs, formerly employed by Sapa, became the second journalist to be issued with a subpoena in connection with a Cosatu press conference last

year at which a man was allegedly kidnapped and assaulted. Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harber was issued with a subpoena last week.

Nicholas Hayson, professor at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies and a member of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, said "The great danger in using section

205 against journalists is that it inhibits their willingness to report on events of public interest out of fear they will be forced to testify in court.

"They may be told to reveal sources, which are important for gathering information, or they may be perceived to be agents of the State or extensions of the police."

Ahmed Motata of Lawyers for Human Rights said the subpoenas "give lie to Pik Botha's statement on the first programme of 'Agenda' that South Africa still has freedom of expression. We believe section 205 violates freedom of expression. Journalists are inhibited in pursuing their profession. The Government should take urgent steps to remedy this situation."

Stories on Neethling defamatory - judge

Sowetan 18/11/91

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THE central question in the defamation trial launched by SAP forensic laboratory head General Lothar Neethling against two newspapers was whether the statements made were true or not, Mr Justice JC Kriegler said yesterday in the Rand Supreme Court.

The judge is handing down judgment in a civil action launched by the general against *Vrye Weekblad*, which published reports on November 17 and December 1 1989, and against the *Weekly Mail* which published an in-depth analysis in November 1989

In all three, former police captain, Dirk Coetzee, said General Neethling supplied poison to be used to kill ANC members.

Mr Justice Kriegler said his findings would be split into eight sections. It was expected the judgment would last more than a day.

One of the first find-

SOWETAN Correspondent

ings was that all three articles were defamatory.

Although the two newspapers share the same legal team, their defences were slightly different. *Vrye Weekblad* denied defaming Neethling in the first report.

Decision

Mr Justice Kriegler said it was ironic that in determining the case, he had to go through the stones, line by line and even punctuation mark by punctuation mark, subject it all to a legal microscope and then reach a decision based on what the reasonable reader "the person on the Westdene bus" would think.

The judge said although there was no direct link between the allegations in the first article and Neethling, the average reader would have believed that even if Neethling had not played a personal role, he was

responsible for the poisoning of two men.

Coetzee claimed two non-cooperative ANC members were first poisoned, and when that did not work, later shot. He claimed everyone spoke about "Lothar's poison".

The judge referred to the headline "SAP blood trail" (*bloedspoor*) and a picture of Neethling with his name under it, and said they were a strong link to the alleged murders

Report

In the second report, Neethling was named directly and there were no subtle inferences, the judge said

One of the issues which the judge has touched upon, and will decide later, is whether the press would be justified in publishing an accusation with only a small amount of corroboration in order to ensure a public debate (Proceeding).

JOHANNESBURG. — The central question in the defamation trial launched by police forensic laboratory head Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling against two weekly newspapers was whether the statements made were true or not, Mr Justice J C Kriegler said yesterday in the Rand Supreme Court.

The judge is handing down judgment in a R1,5-million civil action launched by the general against Vrye Weekblad, which published reports on November 17 and December 1, 1989, and against the Weekly Mail, which published an in-depth analysis in November 1989.

In all three, former police captain Mr Dirk Coetzee said General Neethling supplied poison to be used to kill ANC members.

At the start of the judgment, Mr Justice Kriegler said his findings would be split into eight sections. It is expected the judgment will last more than a day.

Judge finds newspapers articles defamatory

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One of the first findings was that all three articles were defamatory.

The judge said that though there was no direct link between the allegations in the first article and General Neethling, the average reader would have believed the general was responsible for the poisoning of two men.

Mr Coetzee claimed two unco-operative ANC members were first poisoned, and when that did not work, later shot. He claimed everyone spoke about "Lothar's poison" — Sapa.

ARGUS 18/11/71

Lawyers condemn use of law against Press

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The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Lawyers have condemned the use of section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act as an erosion of Press freedom and the public's right to information

Joan Fubbs, formerly employed by the SA Press Association, became the second journalist to be issued with a subpoena in connection with a Cosatu press conference last year when a man was allegedly kidnapped and assaulted.

Anton Harber, co-editor of the Weekly Mail, was issued with a subpoena last week

Professor Nicholas Haysom of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies and a member of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, said

"The great danger in using section 205 against journalists is that it inhibits their willingness to report on events of pub-

lic interest out of fear they will be forced to testify in court.

"They may be told to reveal sources, which are important for gathering information, or they may be perceived to be agents of the state or extensions of the police"

'DAMAGED INDUSTRY'

Professor Haysom said the use of section 205 not only damaged the media industry, but impoverished the public's access to information.

Mr Ahmed Motala of Lawyers for Human Rights said the subpoenas "give lie to Pik Botha's statement on the first programme of *Agenda* that South Africa still has freedom of expression"

"We believe section 205 violates freedom of expression. Journalists are inhibited in pursuing their profession. The government should take urgent steps to remedy this situation"



Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez, left, and police forensics chief Lt-Gen Lothar Neethling arrive at the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Coetzee is unattractive character, says judge

81 Day 18/11/91

SUSAN RUSSELL

IF FORMER police captain Dirk Coetzee had done only half the things he claimed to have done as a member of a covert police hit squad, he was a gangster (*rampokker*) of Olympian proportions, Mr Justice Kriegler said in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

The judge was speaking on the first day of his judgment in the R1,5m defamation claim brought by police forensics expert Lt-Gen Lothar Neethling against Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail.

Neethling's claim arises out of two reports published by Vrye Weekblad in November-December 1989 and a third article which appeared at the same time in the Weekly Mail.

The reports contained allegations by Coetzee that, while a member of a police hit squad, he had been given poison by Neethling to murder members of the ANC.

Neethling denies that he knew Coetzee or that he ever supplied poison to him or anyone else.

The newspapers have defended the action against them on the basis that Coetzee's claims were true and published in the public interest.

Coetzee has claimed he was involved in covert police activities which included murder, attempted murder, a failed poison

attempt and an attempted kidnapping.

Mr Justice Kriegler said the central question was whether the allegations contained in the Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail reports were true.

Coetzee's evidence also formed the basis of the newspapers' defence, he said.

It was, too, fundamental to Neethling's case that Coetzee's version of police activities was simply unthinkable.

The central question was whether Coetzee or Neethling should be believed, the judge added.

Mr Justice Kriegler described Coetzee as an unattractive character with limited background and training who had turned his back on his country and "volk", left his elderly mother and children and walked over to the enemy.

Neethling, he said, was a man of forceful, if not overpowering, character who had proved himself an outstanding policeman and scientist.

Mr Justice Kriegler said if the case had to be decided on these two characters, it would have been a simple matter.

But unfortunately, said the judge, it was not that easy.

Judgment continues today

Magistrate postpones Harber order

By Adam Gordon 143

A Johannesburg magistrate yesterday postponed to February 8 the Attorney-General's order for Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harber to provide police with the names of some of his reporters in terms of section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act

Harber had been subpoenaed to the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court to identify Weekly Mail reporters who were present at an alleged kidnapping and assault during a Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) press

conference on August 29 last year

The magistrate, Mr T M Muller, said the postponement would not significantly prejudice the State's investigation into the Cosatu incident

Harber's attorney, Greg Notts, asked for the postponement to February 8, citing the Weekly Mail's attempt to resolve the issue without recourse to a court subpoena

Mr Notts said he had contacted the Ministers of Justice and of Home Affairs and asked to meet them in order to come to an agreement to provide the necessary information

In his faxed communication with the ministers he had cited previous agreements by senior policemen that the section 205 subpoena would be avoided and be used only where it was the sole evidence in support of a conviction

Violated

The subpoena served on Harber violated this agreement as there was clearly a mass of public information available to the police, Mr Notts said.

He said Harber had on Wednesday met Deputy Minister of Law and Order Johan Scheepers and had agreed to

approach his own journalists to try to get the information required by the police

At that meeting, police investigating officer Colonel Edgar Lewitt had had no objection to the February 8 postponement

State prosecutor J Davidowitz said the State needed the names of the reporters immediately to effectively prosecute four men on charges of kidnapping, assault and robbery

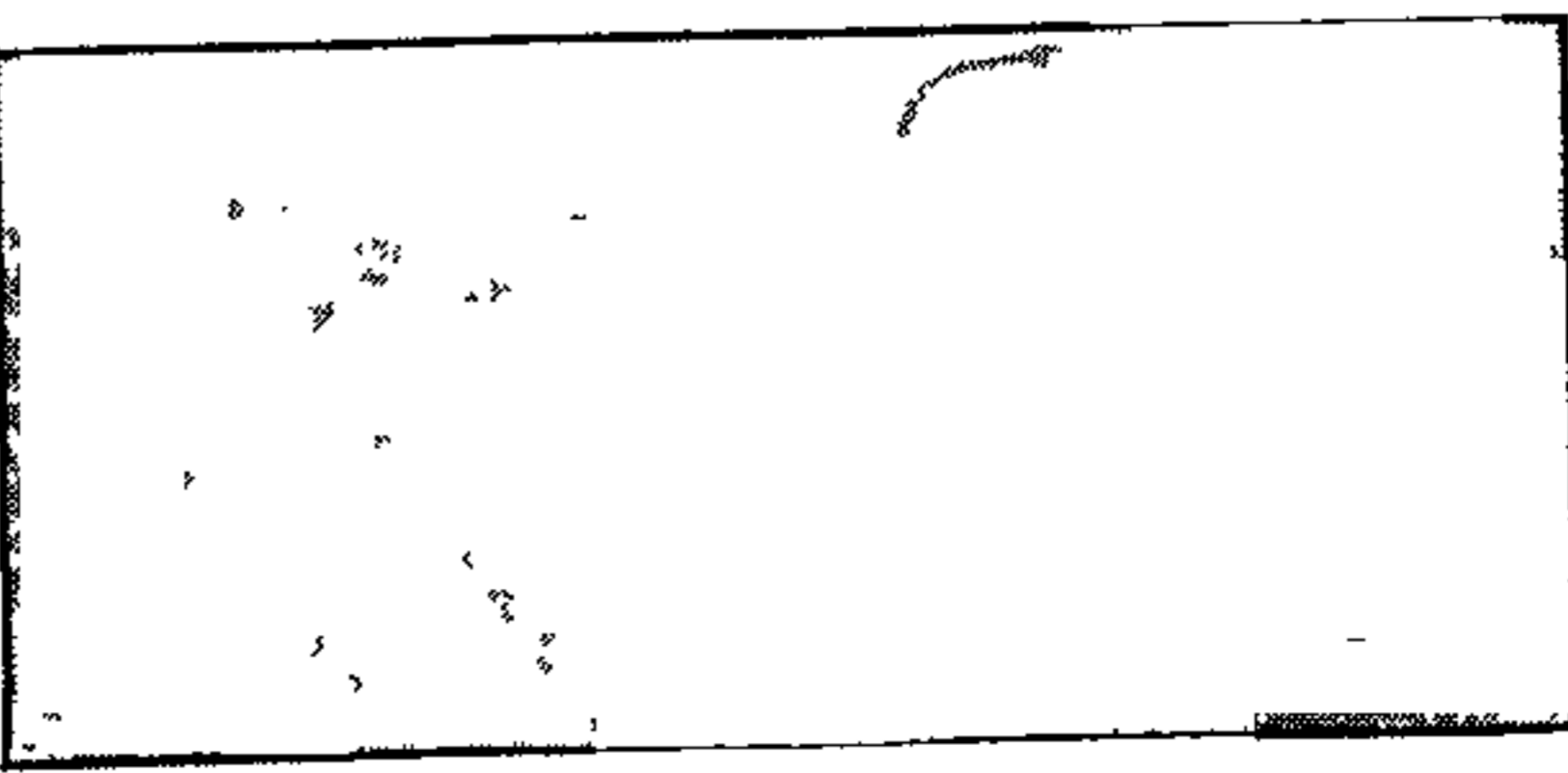
He said he was acting on the direct request of Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres in opposing any postponement

The State regarded newspapers' obligation to protect their sources as applying only to protecting outside sources, Mr Davidowitz said

Harber could not be protecting the relationship between journalist and source as all the State was asking for was the eyewitness reporters' names.

Any representations to ministers would serve no purpose as the ministers had no authority to cancel a valid subpoena, he said

Mr Muller warned Harber that the postponement to February 8 was final



Anton Harber ordered by police to supply reporters' names.

Top cop loses R1,5m death squad case

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JOHANNESBURG. — Findings of the Harms Commission were turned on their head in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday when most of rebel police captain Mr Dirk Coetzee's allegations about death squads were found to be true.

Giving judgment in the R1,5-million defamation case brought by Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling against the Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail, Mr Justice J C Kriegler said the general had lied when giving evidence before the commission — and had lied during this case.

HARMS PROBE UNDER FIRE

See PAGE 3

He ruled that General Neethling was not entitled to any damages and dismissed his application. He ordered the general to pay the legal costs of the newspapers.

An elated Mr Max du Preez, Vrye Weekblad editor, said legal costs amounted to about R1 million and that this award would now keep his newspaper afloat.

He called for the resignation of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and an in-depth investigation into the entire forensic laboratory activities.

General Neethling declined to comment. However, as the judge left the courtroom, the general demanded angrily that he return so he could give notice of his intention to lodge an appeal.

In his judgment, Mr Justice Kriegler said he believed that General Neethling's civil rights had not been compromised by newspaper articles, as these had served the public interest by publishing the facts.

Instead of dealing with the allegations that he supplied poison to kill ANC activists, General Neethling had given long, evasive answers in an attempt to divert at-

To page 3

From page 1

attention away from core issues. Referring to former police captain Mr Dirk Coetzee, the judge said he had treated him as one would treat an accomplice in a criminal trial.

The evidence was weighed very carefully — but there was not one example to show he had lied during this case.

On the other hand, Mr Kriegler described the general's testimony before the Harms Commission and during this civil hearing as untruthful and misleading, and said his motive for lying must have been important.

The judge also criticised the testimony of General Mike Geldenhuys, the former Commissioner of Police.

He noted that Mr Coetzee's evidence was mostly self-incriminating.

The judge weighed up the tape of the interview with Vrye Weekblad reporter Mr Jacques Pauw, a TV video, extracts from the Harms Commission evidence, documentary evidence, evidence given by freelance journalist Mr Martin Welz and evidence the former policeman gave in London.

The judge had not seen Mr Coetzee in the witness box because, after the shock disclosures made by death row prisoner and former policeman Mr Almond Nofomela last year, alleging the existence of police death squads, he had fled the country.

At that stage, he had been discharged from the police force. In an interview with Mr Pauw in Mauritius, he told the story which formed the basis of the articles which led to the trial.

His evidence for this trial was given in London. However, there had been no contradictions despite extensive cross-examination. — Sapa

Harms probe under fire

PORT ELIZABETH — The SA Union of Journalists yesterday congratulated Vrye Weekblad on its successful defence and called for further investigations into the police forensic laboratory.

The paper's courageous efforts in unearthing sinister activities among the police were "an outstanding example" of the value of a free press.

However, many questions about the activities of the police forensic laboratories remained unanswered, the union said.

Lawyers for Human Rights said the judgment would "open up once again the can of worms surrounding the Harms Commission".

The Campaign for a Judicial Inquiry into Hit Squads said: "The judgment confirms our view that President FW de Klerk is busy with a cover-up on the hit squad issue and that the Harms Commission was a farce." — Sapa

Unions slate 'new attack' on press

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Union of Journalists (SAUJ), the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa), and the Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ), have condemned "in the strongest possible terms" the issuing of new Section 205 subpoenas against journalists.

The organisations condemned the issuing of subpoenas against Weekly Mail co-editor Mr Anton Harber and former Sapa journalist Ms Joan Fubbs.

For decades South Africa had lived with stringent censorship and individual journalists had been harassed, detained and banned, the SAUJ said. Newspapers had been closed "at the whim of the government".

"In this era of change, the government purports to be moving into a new climate of democracy. But, with respect to press freedom, the media is still in the same position as before February 2.

Restrictions

"The removal of media restrictions under the state of emergency means nothing as long as the more than 100 statutes restricting press freedom remain

"And just when we thought that the government would move further and address the remaining obstacles to press freedom, the State has started an apparent witch hunt against the press."

The SAUJ said it questioned why police needed journalists to give evidence when they apparently had all the evidence they needed.

"The State's intention appears to be to destroy trust between reporters and their sources which is nothing but an attack on press freedom. Trust is a foundation of the free flow of information.

"In the same way that police would never disclose the identity of their informers, journalists have a duty not to disclose their sources." — Sapa.

Harber subpoena 'condemned'

THE SA Union of Journalists (SAUJ), the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa), and the Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ), have condemned "in the strongest possible terms" the issuing of new Section 205 subpoenas against journalists.

The organisations, in a joint statement, condemned the issuing of subpoenas against Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harber and former Sapa journalist Joan Fubbs

Harassed

The SAUJ said in a statement yesterday that for decades South Africa had lived with stringent censorship and individual journalists had been harassed, detained and banned. Newspapers had been closed "at the whim of the Government".

"In this era of change, the Government purports to be moving into a new climate of democracy. However, with respect to press freedom, the media is still in the same position as before February 2 last year

"The removal of media restrictions under the state of emergency means nothing as long as the more than 100 statutes restricting press freedom remain.

"And just when we thought that the Government would move further and address the remaining obstacles to press freedom, the State has started an apparent witch hunt against the press"

The SAUJ said it questioned why police needed journalists to give evidence when they apparently had all the evidence which they needed. Journalists were not policemen.

"The State's intention appears to be to destroy trust between reporters and their sources which is nothing but an attack on press freedom. Trust is a foundation of the free flow of information.

"In the same way that police would never disclose the identity of their informers, journalists have a duty not to disclose their sources."

Rhetoric

The SAUJ added "The Government continues with its rhetoric of change but this creates suspicion when the supposed change takes place in darkness away from the cameras and pens of journalists"

The organisations condemned the issuing of the subpoenas "in the strongest possible terms" — Sapa.

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Sapa

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CAPE TOWN

Friday, January 21 1991

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Call to reopen Harms probe

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Lawyers representing the Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail, which successfully defended a R1,5m defamation suit brought by police forensics head Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling, expect to recover only 60% of their costs of more than R500 000.

In the Rand Supreme Court on Friday, Mr Justice Kriegler ruled that General Neethling would have to pay the costs of the newspapers' defence

However, an attorney said the court's taxing master would probably order General Neethling to pay 60% of the actual costs, while the newspapers would have to pay 40%.

Meanwhile, Vrye Weekblad editor Mr Max du Preez and lawyers representing the Afrikaans weekly have called for the reopening of the Harms Commission.

This follows the court's acceptance of claims by former police captain Mr Dirk Coetzee about a secret police hit squad of which he was a member.

The Harms Commission found Mr Coetzee had lied about the existence

of the covert unit, his own involvement and his claims that he was given poison by General Neethling to murder ANC members.

After Mr Justice Kriegler dismissed General Neethling's claim, attorney Mr David Hoffe said the court had believed Mr Coetzee.

"Everything that Harms disbelieved has been believed," Mr Hoffe said.

Mr Du Preez said the Harms Commission "has obviously been discredited", and called for it to be reopened.

"This judge has found that several people lied and misled Harms," He also said the attorney-general

should look into the matter (of hit squads). Those involved, including General Neethling, should be charged.

Mr Du Preez said he was extremely happy about the judge's finding that the newspapers had had a public duty to publish the hit squad stories.

Another important aspect, he said, was that the judgment should frighten public figures away from using the threat to sue as a means of intimidating journalists into not publishing stories of this nature.

He said Mr Coetzee should be allowed to return to SA — Sapa

Calls to re-open the Harms probe

SUSAN RUSSELL

VRYE Weekblad editor Max du Preez, and lawyers representing the Afrikaans weekly have called for the re-opening of the Harms Commission.

This follows the Rand Supreme Court's acceptance on Friday of claims by former police captain Dirk Coetzee about a secret police hit squad of which he was a member.

The Harms Commission found Coetzee had lied about the existence of the covert unit, his own involvement and his claims that he was given poison by police forensics expert Lt-Gen Lothar Neethling to murder ANC members.

Disbelieved

After Mr Justice Kriegler dismissed Neethling's R1,5m defamation claim against Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail on Friday, attorney David Hoffe said the court had believed Coetzee.

"Everything that Harms disbelieved has been believed," Hoffe said.

Du Preez said he was extremely happy about the judge's finding that the newspapers had had a public duty to publish the hit squad stories.

Another important aspect, he said, was that the judgment should frighten public figures away from using the threat to sue as a means of intimidating journalists into not publishing stories of this nature.

Du Preez said he also hoped the outcome

of the case would mean an end to the "bizarre" practice of civil servants bringing such defamation cases being financed by the state.

He also called for the re-opening of the Harms Commission.

"The Harms Commission has obviously been discredited," he said.

"This judge has found that several people lied and misled Harms."

He also said the Attorney-General should look into matter and that those involved, including Neethling, should be charged.

Du Preez said Coetzee should be allowed to return to SA even if he was charged with the others. "He has been defamed in SA more than any other individual."

He said the judge's unflattering remarks about Coetzee might be true and were admitted by the former police captain himself. "But he should get a bit of credit now for pushing this thing into the open."

Du Preez added he believed Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok should resign as a result and an investigation be conducted into the activities at the police forensic laboratory.

While Du Preez was surrounded by an excited and emotional group of staff and well-wishers an apparently angry Neethling was seen shouting at his counsel.

Neethling is to apply for leave to appeal

Fintech subsidiary sued for R1,3m

LESLEY LAMBERT

CAPE TOWN — Fintech subsidiary, Jasco Business Communications, is being sued for R1,3m for breach of contract by Cape-based Seymour Communications

Seymour, the only local non-manufacturer of PABX systems licensed by the Post Office to install the systems, claims Jasco acted in breach of a contract in terms of which Seymour would service Jasco's customer bases in the Cape and Natal

According to Seymour MD, Seymour Howe, the contract was concluded in July, but in November, Jasco sold its entire business, including the operations serviced by Seymour, to Fintech.

Seymour gave Jasco notice of the alleged breach, cancelled the contract when the breach was not rectified and issued a summons. Jasco has given notice of its intention to defend the action.

The R1,3m damages comprises a management fee for the period Seymour was "caretaker" to clients in the Cape and Natal, the costs of taking over the two operations and loss of profits

Jasco spokesmen could not be reached for comment

Forward sales help mines

ROBERT LAING

8/10 am 21/1/91
A HIGHER gold price resulting from forward sales helped the Rand Mines group reduce the operating loss of its five gold mines to R13,6m in the December quarter from R22,1m in the September quarter.

However Harmony and ERPM, the group's two largest mines, remained firmly in the red.

ERPM has improved by cutting its quarterly operating loss to R1,02m from the previous quarter's R4,98m, but interest payments remained a major burden

Rand Mines gold division chairman Clive Knobbs said "So far ERPM's performance is ahead of the plan which we put to the Melamet Commission"

The mine appeared to change direction, and chose to increase its underground ore

mill throughput at the expense of recovery grade, which dropped to 4,49g/t last quarter from 5,5g/t in the September quarter.

The mine compensated for its disappointing grade by increasing underground tonnage to 262 000t from 242 000t, but production was down to 1 176kg from 1 250kg in the previous quarter. ERPM's high level of borrowing caused it to be hit by an interest bill of more than R10m, resulting in its bottom line loss of R8,9m

Barbrook, the small eastern Transvaal mine, was mothballed on December 19 after several quarterly working losses.

Chairman Dammy Watt said at the

□ To Page 2

Newspapers expect to pay 40% of costs

EDYTH BULBRING

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LAWYERS representing the Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail newspapers, which successfully defended a R1,5m defamation suit brought by police forensics head Lt-Gen Lothar Neethling, expect to recover only 60% of their costs of more than R500 000 8/10 am 21/1/91

In the Rand Supreme Court on Friday, Mr Justice Krieger found against Neethling and ruled that he would have to pay

the costs of the newspapers' defence.

However, an attorney said the court's taxing master would probably order Neethling to pay 60% of the actual costs, while the newspapers would have to pay the remaining 40%

● See Page 2

Economists quit as Gorby prints money

8/10 am 21/1/91
MOPSCOW — Economist Nikolai Petrakov says the Soviet Union's bid for free market reform failed because of "unrestrained populism" and a rouble overload in the economy.

In an interview published in a communist newspaper on Saturday, Petrakov confirmed he had quit as economic adviser to President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Petrakov and Stanislav Shatalin, Gorbachev's closest economic aides, signed an open letter, published on Wednesday, denouncing last weekend's military crackdown in Lithuania. This move was inter-

8/10 am 21/1/91
preted as effective resignation

Shatalin said in an interview on Friday he was no longer advising Gorbachev

Petrakov told Pravda that between June 1987 and January 1990, the government had boosted the number of roubles in circulation by 55%

"They said that we were moving towards a market system and at the same time destroyed the monetary system," he said "They worked out a plan for reforming the finance ministry and at the same time printed money"

"That is a scorched-earth policy and it is

being carried out by the administrative command system"

Gorbachev's original team of radical economists has almost completely deserted him, saying bureaucrats and Communist Party hardliners have sabotaged free market reforms

Petrakov said "unrestrained populism" was prominent among Soviet politicians. They promised living standards would not fall and pensions and miners' wages would rise — all needing billions of roubles

"And where can you get it? Only by printing money," he said — Sapa-Reuter.

Vrye Weekblad could pay R400 000 legal fees

Political Staff

22/1/91

JOHANNESBURG — Vrye Weekblad could pay about R400 000 in legal fees for defending the defamation action brought against it by General Lothar Neethling

This is in spite of a Supreme Court ruling that the police officers must pay the weekly newspaper's costs

Vrye Weekblad reporter Jacques Paauw, who first reported

on allegations of police hit squads by former police captain Dirk Coetzee, said the costs would be covered by contributions specifically for the court case

The Media Defence Trust had raised R500 000 from the European Community and about R100 000 from the United States and Canadian governments

The money was still in trust

and Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez was overseas to report back to the contributors on the outcome of the case

Mr Paauw said newspaper representatives would soon approach the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, to request that he stop civil servants from suing the newspaper

"Cases like these cost an enormous amount of money in America, for example, civil servants are by law forbidden

to sue for defamation.

"The correct channel to be followed is the Media Council," said Mr Paauw

He said two defamation cases against the newspaper were still pending — one brought by Witwatersrand Attorney-General Mr Klaus von Lieres and one by Law and Order spokesman Leon Mellet

The Von Lieres case had been set down for hearing on April 2, Mr Paauw said

Press sector with a special role

THE specialist Press was complementary to the mass media and addressed issues aimed at a specific target market, Specialist Press Association (SPA) executive director Rory Macnamara said in an interview.

He said there was a general feeling that there were too many publications in the market, but this was not necessarily true.

The SPA, which was es-

Bloom 22/1/91
tablished 26 years ago, is mainly involved with improving the standards of specialist publishing.

There are about 450 specialist publications in circulation in SA, of which 250 are SPA members. They represent the involvement of 72 owners — up from 25 in the last three years.

Macnamara said the SPA's function was to represent the publisher, agency and reader.

SPA publications include Black Enterprise, Engineering News, Financial Mail, Computing SA, Wheel, Car, MIMS and Living.

Adspend in this category was about R120m.

The majority of SPA publications are concerned with retailing. There are about 35 medical and paramedical journals for only 8 000 active doctors, but Macnamara said these journals all addressed different "reader profiles".

However, a problem was that the advertising base in this field was limited.

The SPA helped its members by liaising with about 300 agencies, most of which specialised, as well as with paper merchants, government and other organisations.

Macnamara said one of the major problems with specialist publications was that some lacked sophistication, and some "never come out on time".

The SPA was also involved in extensive training and education programmes, linked with other media and advertising associations. It also ran its own courses.

Macnamara said the specialist Press was struggling because of a lack of management skills, and profit margins were very low.

Judgment 'reaffirms public interest' as a defence for media

TIM COHEN

THE Supreme Court last week reaffirmed "public interest" as a limited defence — an "incredibly significant" development, Vrye Weekblad lawyer Mark Rosin said yesterday.

He said this aspect of Mr Justice J C Kriegler's judgment in the R1,5m defamation claim brought against the newspaper and the Weekly Mail was cause for great celebration and would help protect media freedom.

But he warned the defence remained limited to particular circumstances.

The public interest aspect of the case arose from a report in the Weekly Mail which contained a reference to poisoned alcohol which had not been proved to be true.

The newspaper therefore could not escape liability by means of the conventional and well-established defence that the allegedly defamatory statement was true and in the public interest.

The court found that although the Weekly Mail had printed something defamatory without first ensuring that it was true, in the circumstances the reputation of the applicant, police forensics expert Lt-Gen Lothar Neethling, was less important than the public's

right to know.

The judge said in making this finding he was not setting a "dangerous precedent" because the circumstances were so unusual.

The decision means that if sufficient facts are placed before the public which would enable members of the public to make up their own minds, and if the information was of sufficient importance, this could outweigh the possible prejudice to the defamed party.

However Rosin said the judge had been careful to make it clear the defence was limited and it applied only in certain circumstances.

In April Mr Justice Kriegler is expected to hear an application for an appeal against his decision, Neethling's advocate Manne Witz told Sapa.

Meanwhile, DP Houghton MP Tony Leon said yesterday he intended tabling a series of questions during the forthcoming parliamentary session on whether and why the state undertook to pay the costs of Neethling's case.

Leon said he also planned to ask whether the state had also agreed to pay the newspapers' costs.

B1024 22/11/91

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KOBUS VAN ROOYEN

FM 25/1/91

MINDING THE MEDIA



Kobus van Rooyen's recent appointment as chairman of the Media Council, an independent regulatory body, has inspired reaction very similar to what he earned when he chaired the Publications Appeal Board

In those days, even the most avid critics of censorship conceded grudgingly that if censorship had to exist, then you couldn't do better than to have Van Rooyen in charge.

And many journalists say that since they are stuck with a media council, he is a worthy choice for chairman.

In his days with the board, he wrought many small miracles. Censorship in SA, under Jannie Kruger and the old Publications and Entertainments Control Board Act, belonged in the dark ages. Not much progress was made with the appointment of the board's first chairman, Lammie Snyman

When Van Rooyen (47) took over in 1980, after serving five years as vice-chairman, he made sterling efforts to bring censorship to terms with the 20th Century. An uncharitable interpretation would be to wonder what possible purpose there could be in fitting power-steering to an oxwagon. What he proved was that the oxwagon could be pointed in a new direction. The changes he made were profound

Under his chairmanship the board set new and often politically daring precedents. It put paid to a lunatic petty censorship that was used to prohibit things such as a black man seen kissing a white woman. It recognised that civilisation in general and the bureaucratic Afrikaans interpretation of it in particular, were not imperilled by the sight of a bare nipple and the occasional four-letter word

In doing all this and in providing a cognitive base for it, he invented a new academic discipline he called "The Science of Publications Control," a meticulously annotated and argued set of axioms which, in actual texture, were less a science than an exercise in the legal.

And it is, of course, as a lawyer that Van Rooyen has an impeccable record. He graduated in 1965 from the University of Pretoria and, after lecturing for a few years, was appointed to head the department of Criminal Law at age 26. In the past, his students have voted him the most popular lecturer of the year. He has published two books on censorship and written several articles on press freedom.

Prof Gilbert Marcus, of Wits University's Centre for Applied Legal Studies, a long-time adversary of Van Rooyen at board hearings, describes him as one of the finest legal academic minds in the country

Van Rooyen is both accessible and sensitive. And, unlike so many government func-

tionaries, he has always jealously guarded his right to independent opinion.

This led to a few notable occasions where he seemed to hear a different muse to his masters. One recalls the passing of the film *Cry Freedom* by the board and the prohibition of its distribution under security legislation by functionaries in President P W Botha's administration.



Van Rooyen from chief censor to defender of press freedom

When Minister Stoffel Botha was hell-bent on banning *New Nation*, it was the board, under Van Rooyen, which passed four issues brought before it. Perhaps the most notable occasion was in 1984, when his board unbanned the Freedom Charter, a document that previously had been regarded as so radically undesirable, its mere possession was prohibited

Van Rooyen's "liberalising" of censorship caused rumblings within Pretoria's conservative elements. One story is that Snyman, the former chairman, warned that the most salient result of Van Rooyen's efforts was to reserve himself a guaranteed seat in hell

Perhaps — but as Van Rooyen once said: "It's quite difficult to get to heaven if you're a censor — and often you feel as if you are in hell"

With his new appointment (he replaces Jan Steyn, who wanted to make a full-time commitment to the Independent Development Trust), the rumblings are being heard from a completely different quarter. Dis-

quiet comes from the Left, where an irony has been noticed: how can a man who was our chief censor be appointed to a position where his brief is principally one of preserving the freedom of the press?

Not that Van Rooyen will now find himself completely divorced from the functions of the censor. The difference is that the protagonists will not be distributors of wine glasses decorated with nude women, distributors of films, publishers of political pamphlets and rude playwrights, but what will probably prove to be far more doughty opposition in the form of SA's newspaper editors and the public

What is more, any decision taken by the council is virtually guaranteed healthy debate in the papers

Journalists have kept an uneasy peace with the council. Following the Steyn commission of the early Eighties, there was a threat from government to bring journalists under statutory control. The reaction to this from the Newspaper Press Union and the Conference of Editors was an undertaking that the press would bring its own house into order. This resulted in a revamping of the Press Council into its new form as the SA Media Council

Simultaneously, a proposed amendment to the Newspaper Imprints and Registration Act was mooted that said newspapers which did not subscribe voluntarily to the Media Council's Code of Conduct would have their registrations withdrawn. Presumably, government still sought secondary control. But the amendment was never promulgated

The Media Council also sits in judgment on those who are not part of it. The SABC, for example, is not a member of the council and, therefore, is not subject to its disciplinary jurisdiction. This, however, does not preclude the council making findings with regard to the SABC's conduct. Indeed, they have in the past

Van Rooyen says the appointment is a great honour and that he feels very enthusiastic about his new role. An irony is that during his 10 years as board chairman, he was, in a sense, himself a victim of censorship

He had to think and work within the provisions and restraints of our ludicrous Publications Act, a piece of reactionary claptrap that still disgraces our statute books. The Act was part of Connie Mulder's cultural legacy and the sooner it is expunged the better

In the Media Council, Van Rooyen will find more scope for his generous intellect. There is no doubt he will again demonstrate a highly creative interpretation of his function

Robert Kirby

Judge Kriegler strikes a blow for press freedom

SI Times 27/1/91

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Sunday Times Reporter

THE judgment last week of Mr Justice Johan Kriegler in the Neethling defamation case was an important breakthrough for press freedom in SA.

Media lawyer David Hoffe — who acted for both Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail — said the courts had slowly extended press freedom in the past decade.

"The trend is particularly welcome if one bears in mind that in 1982, the Appellate Division laid down that newspapers were to be treated differently from others, and imposed strict liability on the press.

"A newspaper could not (and still cannot) raise in its defence that it had reasonable grounds to believe in the truth of what it published.

"Nor could it use as a defence the fact that it had taken all reasonable precautions to ensure that what was published was true and accurate, if in the event it turned out to be false. This is the case in America," Mr Hoffe said.

Truth and public interest have always been a defence.

But the onus in the past was on newspapers to prove that what they had published was true.

Based on Appellate Division authority, Judge Kriegler held that the onus was on the plaintiff — in this case Neethling — to prove that the allegations published by Vrye Weekblad were false, and not the other way round.

This is a departure from earlier law.

Mr Hoffe said this was a significant finding and had the effect of, to some extent, lessening the burden placed on a newspaper to ensure that its sources were credible.

He said, however, that Judge Kriegler held that even if the burden had been on Vrye Weekblad to establish the truth of its allegations, it would have succeeded.

The Weekly Mail case — which relied on hearsay evidence — succeeded on public interest alone.

Mr Hoffe said this finding confirmed a precedent set in a 1984 case — Zille versus Johnny Johnson of The Citizen newspaper.

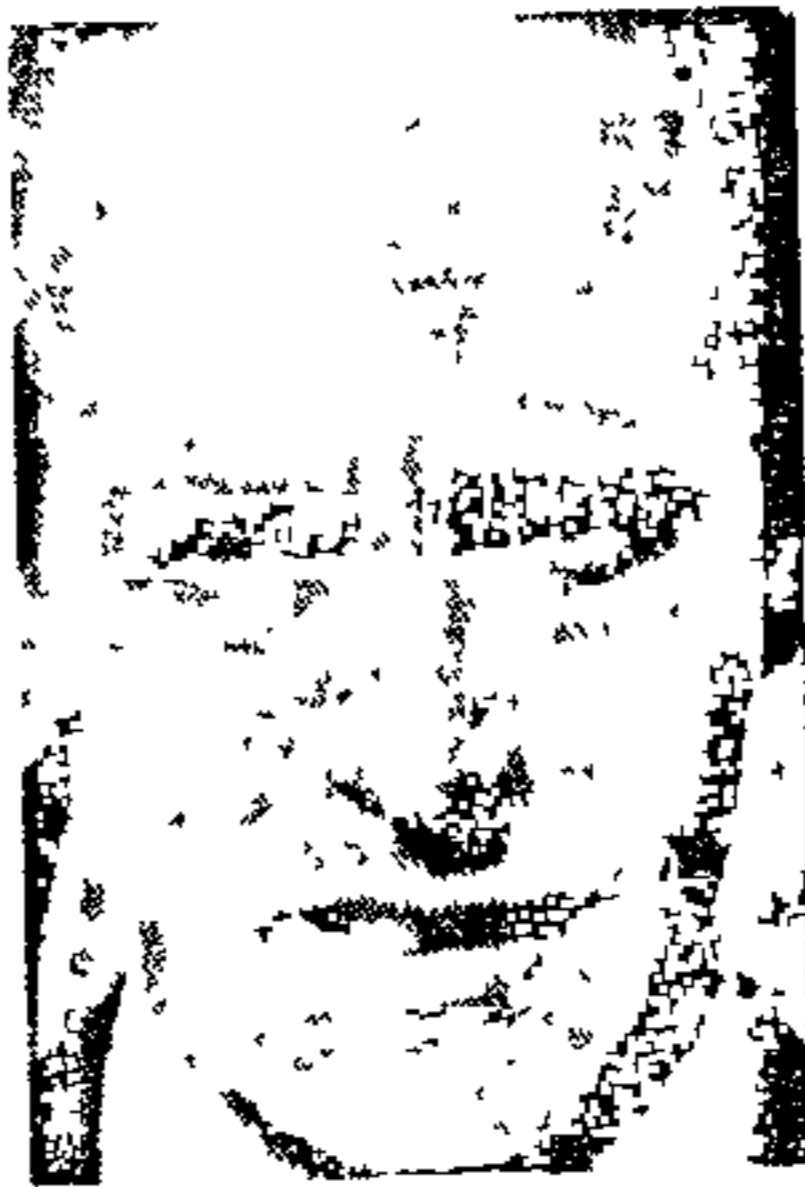
Mr Hoffe said: "The first crack for press freedom opened in 1984 when Rand Daily Mail political correspondent Helen Zille sued the Citizen and its editor Johnny Johnson.

"A notable feature of the 1981 general election was the controversy aroused by the remarks of the then Minister of Health, Welfare and Pensions, Lapa Munnik, that pensioners could live on a R20-a-month diet."

Miss Zille was the first to report the Minister's remarks and her account set in train a lively debate.

In response, Mr Munnik's released to the press a telegram conveying a complaint to the Steyn commission of inquiry into the media.

In it he complained of "twisted and malicious reporting" constituting "a flagrant and total distortion of the facts and the malicious misrepresentation" of his intentions by "certain newspapers"



JUDGE KRIEGLER
Onus on the plaintiff

This statement was reported by, among others, the Citizen newspaper.

Mr Hoffe said: "It undoubtedly defamed Miss Zille who instituted action against the Citizen for defamation.

"There was no doubt at the trial that Miss Zille's report of what the minister had said was accurate and true and so, under normal circumstances, she would have succeeded in her defamation application."

However, the court found that under these special circumstances, the public had a right to be kept fully informed.

It ruled that the press, including the Citizen, had a right "and indeed a duty" to publish all statements that might be germane to this issue, irrespective of whether the statement defamed a member of the public.

The right of a citizen to his good name and reputation, under these circumstances, had to yield to the greater good of the public weal.

Miss Zille, backed financially by the Rand Daily Mail, lost the case and was ordered to pay all costs.

Mr Hoffe said that Mr Justice Kriegler's judgment in the Neethling case endorsed this principle.

"However, the heart of the Neethling case lies in a credibility finding — that Vrye Weekblad had proved the truth of its allegations.

"Mr Justice Kriegler was at pains to stress that the facts in the Neethling case were extreme, and were unlikely to be repeated," Mr Hoffe said.

New Nation changes hands

THE Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference said yesterday it would cede its ownership of the *New Nation* newspaper to an independent company (243)

Speaking at the conclusion of the Conference's annual plenary session, SACBC vice-president Bishop Reginald Orsmond said in Pretoria the SACBC had originally assumed ownership of the newspaper to protect it from Government actions against the media.

"Given the changing conditions in our country, the Conference now feels that the conditions that threatened the existence of the *New Nation* no longer prevail."

The SACBC and the management of the newspaper had agreed to the establishment of an independent company, under a new board of directors, which would assume ownership of the *New Nation*. Durban 31/1/91

The new arrangement would not affect the funding of the newspaper through the European Community's Special Programme, he said. Sapa.

Journalist on fundraising charge

South 31/11 - 6/2/91
AN Oudtshoorn journalist will appear in the Cape Town Regional Court on February 22 in connection with charges of contravening the Fundraising Act.

Mr Derrick Jackson, coordinator of the Oudtshoorn-based trilingual alternative monthly, Saamstaan, was charged with contravening the Act from Sep-

tember 1984 to October 1989.

The alleged offences are said to have taken place when funds to finance the newspaper project were gathered from overseas sources.

In 1989 Saamstaan was charged for publishing a picture of then-imprisoned ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

~~SAAMSTAAN~~ (243)
Last year the newspaper was charged for contempt of court following its report on a pending court trial. It won both cases

Saamstaan is the only newspaper in the country published in three languages — Afrikaans, English and Xhosa. It is distributed throughout the country and overseas

Bishops Confess They Were Wrong

By LINDA GALLOWAY
Weekend Argus Reporter

THE Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference has added its voice to the Rustenburg Declaration by the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in confessing its wrongful support for apartheid.

In what was described by participants as "a very moving moment" the SACBC declared that it, too, had examined its church's history "with considerable pain" and recognised the Rustenburg message applied equally to the Catholic Church as a corporate body.

"We must admit with sorrow that though as a church we have often spoken out against the sin of apartheid we are not innocent of all complicity in

supporting or going along with it," an SACBC statement said

Forgiveness

"We ask for forgiveness from all those, both within the church and beyond, who have suffered from our actions, blindness and negligence in the past. We recommend to our members that they reflect upon the message of Rustenburg, pray over it and put it into effect."

"For our part we reaffirm our commitment to remove all vestiges of apartheid in our institutions and procedures."

The statement was made at the conclusion of the week-long bishop's conference in Pretoria at which five principle concerns were discussed relating negotiations to the church's social teachings, integrating the challenges of the Rustenburg

Declaration into the church's plan of action, tackling the issue of violence, education and the system needed to meet new educational needs and the church's ministry to the sick and needy.

● The SACBC is to withdraw its support for the weekly newspaper *New Nation*, a project started and supported by them in 1983.

The newspaper had achieved much of what it was founded to do, the SACBC said in a statement.

"Given the changes in our country, the conference feels that the conditions which threatened the existence of the paper no longer prevail."

"The SACBC and the management of the *New Nation* have agreed to the establishment of an independent compa-

ny under a new board of directors which will assume ownership of the *New Nation*."

Funding

The new arrangement would not affect the funding of the newspaper through the European Community's special programme.

● One of the key issues discussed by the bishops during the plenary session of the conference was a Pastoral Letter *Rerum novarum* (a letter from Pope Leo XIII to all members of the Catholic Church a century ago).

The letter was about a new social order and the situation of workers at a time of concern about social justice and had implications for the process of negotiations in this country, the bishops said.

W/L ARGUS 2/2/91

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A DIMINUTIVE ink-red St George adorns the masthead of the *International Express*, the world-wide version of the Fleet Street tabloid which inaugurated its South African weekly edition last week.

But the only dragons thus latest addition to the supermarket racks seems intent on slaying are Saddam Hussein, Nelson Mandela — and truth.

For R3,75 you can buy 64 pages of British jingo-whimsy photos of Princess Anne glaring disdainfully at a woman in underwear, Giles cartoons, amorous couples stopping trains on railway tracks, actress Julia Roberts with her legs spread wide, four back pages of British football, a drunk Oliver Reed, brilliant text-breaking graphics, and, of course, eye-catching headlines like "Chainsaw granny 'sliced up lover'".

Everyone loves a Chainsaw Granny story, and by local standards, the *Express* has had a phenomenal debut: its first edition sold close to 30 000 copies, and its British publishers are apparently considering increasing the print run to 70 000.

Foreign tabloid journalism is already well-established in South Africa, in the form of *People*, published fortnightly by Times Media, and with a loyal readership of over 80 000 that has been built over five years.

People editor David Barritt lifts stories off American tabloids like *The National Enquirer* and rewrites them for local consumption.

In brightly-coloured pages and easy-to-read format, *People* offers stories like "Tom Cruise Makes Bride Take A Fertility Test" and "How Dr. ana Rules The Royals".

"Our formula," says Barritt, "is a mix of celebrity, bizarre human interest stories and medical stuff." He feels that the *Express* will not threaten

The neo-colonial empire strikes back

WJ & Mad 5/2-14/12/91

his publication because, "even though the standard of their celebrities pages are much higher, they only focus on gossip for a couple of pages, whereas we do it from cover to cover".

The *International Express*, on the other hand, makes itself first and foremost as a hard-nosed newspaper, and has a definite political agenda.

The *Daily Express* and *Sunday Express* are widely known as two of Britain's most virulent right-wing newspapers, and have long been Britain's strongest supporters of the South African government.

While the bottom-of-the-barrel tabloids like *The Star* and *The Sun* outdo it in jingoism and screaming headlines, it mixes hard news with rightwing innuendo to appeal to the same solidly middle class Britons who kept Maggie Thatcher in power for 11 years.

To its credit, the first edition of the *International Express* does offer a comprehensive 30-page spread of the Gulf War with a blow-by-blow synopsis of the first eight days and some astute analysis.

But its wholehearted embrace of the war effort, along with banner headlines like "TARGET SADDAM" and a leader entitled "Allies must get rid of Saddam", makes CNN look positively pacifist.

The only reporting of peace activism in the entire 64 pages is a bitchy column about a rally that all but accuses peacekeepers of high treason, and sneers at the appearance of one of the speakers: "Emma Thompson's was a particularly hazy

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A tabloid filled with screaming headlines, rightwing innuendo and a pro-Thatcherite outlook? No, not The Citizen.

MARK GEVISSER takes a look at the new South African edition of the *International Express*



RIOTING The right to vote should have meant an end to this

delivery. There she was — the poor man's Vanessa Redgrave — with her scrubbed face presumably thinking that lipstick is an irrelevance."

There are only three pages in the edition that are South Africa-specific: a dull, well-manured feature on Willem de Klerk and Erica Adams under the title of "Love that defied the Colour Bar", and two pages of overwrought, inaccurate racist Jean Rookery that are, in my opinion, grounds to deny the First Lady of Fleet Street any further visas to South Africa.

Actually, the greatest crime belongs not to her, but to the subs in London who took a picture of an Inkatha impi out of their files and captioned it, "RIOTING The right to vote should have meant an end to this."

That the *Express* misidentified these cultural-weapon-bearing men as people rioting for the right to vote is bad enough, but that the erstwhile Fleet Street newsmen think that black South Africans already have the right to vote is inexcusable.

The subs, however, seem to have taken their cue from Rook herself, who, time and again, refers to black South Africans as free communing yuppies" as saying that "we never thought that when they got their freedom the bug-gers would start murdering each other", and, a few paragraphs later, she says that "Soweio is no longer the world's largest open prison, and the three million flung together here are now morally free to starve".

She concludes by quoting another "white chum of mine": "You think you've got trouble in Northern Ireland? You don't know what trouble is until you see a gang of louts with broken bottles yelling 'Death to all Zulus!' at the gang of yobs with spiked clubs on the other side of the street." Since when do white South Africans use words like "yobs" or "buggers"? The whites she quotes sound suspiciously like herself.

Rook's public appearances in South Africa explain the agenda of her article while denigrating Nelson Mandela, she shamelessly promotes Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, even though she cannot even get the name of his freedom fight at the *Express* launch, she apparently referred to it as "Kwazulu-land".

On TV news, she championed Buthelezi as South Africa's last great hope, and, in the *Express*, she honours the Inkatha henchmen as follows: "Only the Sowetan Zulus, crammed bunk to bunk in windowless, often roofless hostels fenced in by 'razor' wire take a viciously black view of the African National Congress leader."

By putting the adjectives "vicious" and "black" together in that way, she betrays her own racism. And her view of Mandela, while undeniably white, is as vicious her article rumbles out the well-worn facts about the Mandela mansion and Mercedes, and sneers at the African people for idolising their leader anyway. "They seem not to mind that his £50 000 Mercedes is better housed, in more room, than their own families, often cramped 16 to a room."

Her writing is riddled with inaccuracies, big and small. She describes, for example, "the African flag" flying over the Mandela home. Which African flag?

Such inaccuracy might be acceptable to British readers, but the *International Express* is going to have to do better if it wants any credibility in South Africa.

International Express, like *People*, will probably rely most heavily on supermarket sales. *People* editor Barritt says that "our readers are typically housewives and teenage girls". He says he had expected his main readership to be among "housewives in Boksburg and Benoni, and I was astonished to find that 30 percent of our readers are Sandton housewives. No-one likes reading about the rich as much as the rich themselves."

While he says that "we religiously avoid politics", he feels that publishing in South Africa means that "we have to be positive about race. We are sensitive to portray the positive when we do stories about black people."

But even if this is the extent of *People's* political commitment, the magazine's writing does have a certain humour and creativity to it.

Take, for example, the article in the latest issue on Princess Grace's ghost appearing to a 13-year-old girl with a 10-point message to guide mankind, or this sentence from the obligatory Charles-and-Di page, "(Princess Di's) cultured accent turned the crisp Norfolk air several shades bluer than Prince Charles's blood as he strolled off for a Christmas shoot with the Queen and Prince Philip."

While *People's* American equivalents are plagued with litigation and are considered by many to be sheer fabrication, Barritt is adamant that "everything we print is true".

Nevertheless, he is currently being sued for R150 000 over a piece he wrote for the British tabloid, the *Sunday Mirror*.

There is no doubt that the *International Express* offers its readers more substance than *People* does.

Certainly, the four pages of football news are a boon to soccer-loving South Africans, and perhaps there is enough hard-nosed Fleet Street journalism to warrant R3,75.

But while *People* peddles relatively harmless glitz-gathering, the *International Express* betrays a particularly virulent strain of post-colonialism.

The concept of an international edition is, in the words of the paper, to reach those "five million Britons scattered all over the globe who might welcome a paper specifically designed and edited to keep them in touch with Britain".

It is also "for all those who have any kind of affinity with Britain, or who seek a wider perspective on world and European affairs than is currently available to them".

It is already going strong in Australia and Asia where, the paper claims, it has around 200 000 readers. Now, a cover editorial reads, "it is time to move into Africa".

And so, like Cecil John Rhodes before it, the *International Express* hopes to paint all of Africa in its particular shade of colonial red. Its ad campaign promises "seven days in Britain", but this seven-day tour offers you the worst of English journalism too — its chauvinism, its muck-raking, and its blandness.

Tough lot of the black journalist

SELLO Rabothata, Robert Magwaza and I ultimately arrived in Phalaborwa after almost seven hours cramped in *Sowetan's* Toyota Corolla, tired and irritable.

Assignment: To cover funerals in the eastern Transvaal of eight people killed by SADF members in Phalaborwa.

Actually, the funerals on that day in the summer of 1986 were in some remote villages surrounding Tzaneen. We were lost when we went to Phalaborwa and had to drive another three hours.

This sounds like any other travellers' tale but it was a horror trip. Almost.

The point is that this experience tells the story of a black journalist in South Africa. The trials and tribulations of being a reporter in white-ruled South Africa and in a politically diverse black society.

We arrived at this village which lies in one of the most beautiful valleys of Africa as thousands of United Democratic Front placard-carrying supporters chanted and *toyed* back from the graveyard.

Suddenly about five, 10, 20 then 300 of them surrounded us. "Who are you Where do you come from?"

"We are from *Sowetan*," Sello said with pomp.

"Ja," said one of

fell. He got the pictures, anyway.

Sowetan has been boycotted, reporters threatened, from both sides. We have been caught in a dilemma. To write or not to write.

This brings me to this quote from *Friday Times*, Islamabad, Pakistan, which I picked up last year: "... democracy is not just an elected assembly, it is made up of a whole host of inter-linking institutions, intuitions and perceptions, all acting as checks and balances on the exercise of power."

The most disturbing thing about this is whether freedom of expression and eventually of the Press will be guaranteed in "post-apartheid" South Africa, Azania...?

At present, journalists in South Africa are expected to belong.

"You are either one of us or you are an enemy," black journalists have been told repeatedly in certain quarters of the liberation movement.

And where will this noble tenet of democracy fit in the future? "You may not agree with me, but I have to defend your right to say it."

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Sowetan
8/2/91

SENIOR Reporter THEMBA MOLEFE reflects on being a black journalist in the past decade of *Sowetan's* fledgling existence, specifically during an assignment with **SELLO RABOTHATA** (left), **ROBERT MAGWAZA** (centre) and himself to the eastern Transvaal in 1986.



like during the past decade, especially between 1983 and 1986.

Sowetan, in particular, had been singled out for allegedly being partisan, supporting one political party over the other. It was said most of its writers, including the editor, supported certain groupings.

Almost all of the reporters at *Sowetan* have been through such hair-raising incidents in 1985 an order was made by the editorial executives Don't try to be heroes.

Editor Aggrey Klaaste put it this way "If a situation is too dangerous

for you, for heaven's sake get out and go home."

Indeed, that's what we did. Between 1986 and 1989, even 1990, there were many stories we did not do as a matter of life and death.

Why? ANC supporters on the ground, especially, had declared: If you are not one of us, you are an enemy.

Security forces, on the

other hand, waved the endless security laws to either get us out of story areas or throw us into jail at a whim. The State of Emergency made us virtual criminals.

In 1987 photographer Mbuseni Zulu survived a hail of security bullets in Tokoza. His comment after the ordeal: "I lost my R2 change after I bought a Coke when I

We're in business

THERE are many sound arguments for the defence of a free Press. Most of these arguments are based on our values about society and how it should or should not operate.

But there are also simple business or commercial reasons for having a free press.

First, let's look at how a newspaper operates. Strange as it may sound, a newspaper is a business like any other business. There is not much difference between running a newspaper and running a shop, a transport company, a mine or a bank.

Service

In simplest terms it is about providing a service, managing resources, paying costs and pulling in revenue. If the money coming in is more than the money going out of the business, you should make a profit.

Newspapers get their income from two main sources: the money paid by the reader when he buys the newspaper and the money paid by the advertiser when he places his advertisement in the newspaper. Without these two sources of revenue (money), a newspaper would not make a profit and survive as a business.

Now, consider what



There are many sound commercial reasons for having a free Press, argues Sowetan manager RORY WILSON.



happens if a newspaper business fails to make a profit. Someone has to come up with the money to pay the salaries of the staff and to settle the bills that are outstanding. Once a newspaper accepts such support from any quarter, it lays itself open to interference.

After all, if you lend a newspaper money to pay its costs, wouldn't you be tempted to tell the editor how to improve his newspaper? And that's interference.

Goal

So the first goal of a newspaper is to operate at a profit - because that's the best way to avoid outside interference in the day-to-day operation of the newspaper.

The second major potential threat that faces all newspapers comes from advertisers. People who spend large amounts of money in newspapers often feel that they have a right to be treated in a

special way by newspapers.

They say: "I spend money with your newspaper so you should not criticise me or publish bad reports about me." But imagine what would happen if the newspaper gave special treatment to every person who advertised in it.

Vital

The abuse of power by people, all kinds of wrong-doing and unethical behaviour would go unreported simply because certain people were advertisers.

Another issue is also at stake: Would you believe any newspaper that only reported good news about its advertisers? Such a newspaper would have no credibility, and credibility is essential to the survival of the newspaper. This is because newspapers cannot survive without readers.

We call it the magic cycle, the vital link between readers and advertisers. It works like

this: Readers buy a newspaper because they believe in what it reports. Advertisers spend money in newspapers to reach as many readers as they can

When readers stop buying the newspaper, advertisers stop placing advertising (because they would be reaching fewer readers). So without credibility you have no readers. Without readers you have no advertisers.

Without readers and advertisers you have no newspaper...

All this explains why the managers of newspapers never interfere in the editorial running and why the editor is regarded as independent from the commercial side of the newspaper business.

Indeed, the mission statement of the Argus

Company is very clear about this. It says our mission is:

...to produce newspapers which "tell it like it is", without fear or favour, and to protect their independence by ensuring continuing and improving viability.

Of course, editorial independence does not mean that the editor can write and report what he likes. He must produce an interesting, newsy and entertaining newspaper. He is constrained by the laws of the land. He must abide by the morality of the day. He must be fair by giving both sides of every story.

Reasons

So there are many good reasons why newspapers should be edited by free and independent editors. As manager of Sowetan I may not always agree with what the editor and his staff write in our newspaper, but I will defend with all my strength the editorial right to be independent of all commercial and political influences.

I believe this because I am a democrat. I believe this because it is the way to produce newspapers of quality. I also believe this because it is good for business.

In all that we do, there's a purpose

States and Britain are Nkopane Makobane, Sy Makaringe (the came first in a class of 12 senior journalists from different countries in a Thomson's Foundation programme in 1989), Themba Molefe, Nthabisang Moreosele, Siza Kooma, Mojalefa Moseki, Mkgadi Pela, Ali Mphaki and yours truly.

By SELLO RABOTHATA

A REPORTER from a rival newspaper once said Sowetan journalists always meet at the airport and not at the office.

At first we took it as just a joke but in recent years it has become a fact. Sowetan reporters do realy meet at Jan Smuts Airport at one stage or the other. One may be flying in after spending three or six months abroad on a scholarship or exchange programme while the other is flying out for the same reason.

For example, when our political correspondent Ismail Lagardien returned from a week's trip to Israel, education reporter Phangisile Mtshali was on her way to Jan Smuts Airport from where she was to proceed on a tour of north and west African states.

All the trips are not undertaken just for the fun of it. There is a purpose. The Sowetan believes in training its employees



MOKGADI PELA

to the fullest. We believe that if we are to be number one then we should have the best team of



NTHABISANG

journalists and the only way to achieve this is through constant education and training programmes



ALI MPHAKI

Among those who have been on these programmes in the United



in North Africa on a British Broadcasting Corporation assignment after which she will also be writing articles for the Sowetan. All this has meant that at some stage or the other the Sowetan has not had its full staff complement in the country at the same time. But, we are proud of the fact that we have always been able to give our readers the best product on the market each day.

Phangisile is presently

THE marathon strike by black journalists, photographers and other media workers in solidarity with Cape colleagues had ended just before Christmas 1980.

With the end of the strike had come a new menace, the dreaded banning order

Zwelakhe Sisulu, then president of Mwasa and news editor of Sunday Post, was banned for five years.

As we reeled and wondered, Marimuthu Subramoney in Durban followed, then myself in Pietersburg. Then it was Joe Thloloe and Phil Mtshkulu in Johannesburg and Mono Badela in Port Elizabeth.

At some stage, it seemed as if the process would never stop and that the entire crop of black journalists was to be

wiped off the face of South African journalism. We were joining other well-known black journalists such as Don Matlata and Auntie Juby Mayet who had been confined to the twilight purgatory of the silenced much earlier.

Five of the six journalists banned between December 1980 and March 1981 were linked to *Sowetan's* forebearer, *Post*.

Pleasure

I was keeping in touch with the office, always about the absence of the paper in the region and urging them to sell *Sowetan* in the area.

The pestering

eventuality bore fruit in 1985 when we found ourselves also enjoying the pleasure of reading *Sowetan*.

With that period came also the era of sjamboks around the Lebowa



MONO BADELA

With no reporter in the region, there was little that could be done.

I remember arguing with Joe Thloloe for over 20 minutes after one man's skull was cracked after being assaulted. He had been arrested in the street and bundled into a police van.

The next day Joshua Raboroko came to do the story and three days later Themba Molefe also arrived.

It was at times like

bantustan, in which the police went on the rampage allegedly killing many and maiming thousands of seemingly innocent people.

The cry was made to *Sowetan* to cover these events.

Banned reporters recalls dark days

Sowetan 2/1/91

MATHATHA TSEDU is Sowetan's Pietersburg bureau chief. He was among this newspaper's journalists who in the past decade felt the might of the Government's iron fist - detention without trial and a banning order. He recalls those dark days.

these that I really felt the effects of the banning order.

Stories were waiting to be written. When on April 14 1985 at 2.04pm, my attorney Don Nkandimeng phoned to tell me my banning order had been lifted, I went back to work immediately.

A few days earlier, a comrade, friend and colleague Makompo Kutumela had been brutally killed in a police cell.

It became my first story after almost six years of silence.

In my story, I said a policeman who had been attacked following Kutumela's death was alive.

In fact, he was dead. My first story actually turned out to be factually lacking, to put it mildly.

Problem

As we grappled with the problem, the Government announced that should *Post*, *Saturday Post* and *Sunday Post* be published again, they would be banned.

I remember thinking

training with the SADF, so would those blacks who did their national service in the dungeons of South Africa's jails and detention centres and whose homes were turned into jails by banishment orders, be paid too.

Dreadful

And so it was that the five years that I was to spend huddled in Seshego township were not as dreadful as they would have been had the company not - thankfully - kept me on staff.

During that time, one merely had glimpses of the newspaper, if and when, someone from Johannesburg ventured in our area.

But I was back on the beat and this was exhilarating.



MATHATHA TSEDU

employers that just like those whites who were kept on staff and paid while doing military



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Sowetan
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to my colleagues and
myself too.

Then we heard that the
knock-and-drop that
Sowetan was, was going
to become a daily news-
paper serving the PWV
area only.

I was happy for those
who would be working,
but being based in the
bundu around
Pietersburg, I was not
even going to see the
newspaper.

I had been employed
at Post and it was no
more

Payroll

Would the company
take the easy way out and
say it could not keep me
on its payroll because my
publication is no longer in
circulation?

I wondered.

But it was not to be.

Mwasa, my union, had
already reached agree-
ment with major

Don Mattera was banned to his house in
Eldorado Park.



Phil Mtimkulu was banned to his house in
Senaoane.



How it started

By LEN MASEKO

IT all began in March 1980. Five cub reporters and photographer Robert Magwaza were seconded to the *Sowetan*, then a knock-'n-drop weekly which was to hit the streets about the same month.

The five rookies - all of them starry-eyed - were Elliot Tshingwala, Ntombi Mdunge, Zodwa Mshibe, Peter Setuke and Len Maseko

The idea was to publish a satellite newspaper that would concentrate on local news and small-time advertisers. Research had shown at the time that national newspapers were gradually shifting their focus towards national and international issues at the expense of local news - hence the need for regional newspapers

Thrust

The *Sowetan* was quintessentially the pulse of Soweto: its main thrust being the township "mgosi", crime, sports and general social stories. The coverage of national and international news was left to the *Sowetan's* sister-newspapers, *Post* and *Sunday Post*

These were then uneasily basking in the glory of their predecessors, *The World* and *Weekend World*, banned in October 1977.

Strange though it might seem, we produced the newspaper between elementary journalism lessons - all by ourselves (well, with a little help from our expatriate news editor).

The *Sowetan* was a training ground for us. At one moment, we would be typing away "raw" copy and the next learning the basics of the craft.

The real challenge for the *Sowetan* came in 1981 when its sister newspapers, *Post* and *Sunday Post*, were closed down by the Government.

The *Sowetan* had to fill the vacuum.

The day was February 2, 1981.

As we raised our bubbly-filled glasses to toast the newspaper's 10th birthday during a party last Sunday, four faces were missing. They are Ntombi Mdunge, Elliot Tshingwala, Peter Setuke and Zodwa Mshibe - the colleagues who laid the foundation for a newspaper that now "talks" to 1.4-million readers people daily.

Tshingwala died in a mystery car accident in 1985 while Mshibe leapt to her death from her 11th floor flat in 1987.

Setuke and Mdunge are now pursuing new careers.

Why the Sowetan is such a unique paper

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Sowetan
8/2/91

SOWETAN is one of six daily newspapers publishing in South Africa's economic heartland, the PWV. But it is the only black daily.

Indeed, it is the only black daily in the country - in spite of the fact that South Africa is - in population terms - a black country.

Sowetan is remarkable for other reasons as well:

- * It has the highest daily readership of any newspaper in southern Africa - 1,6-million, according to the All Media Products Survey of 1989/90;

- * It has recorded the strongest circulation growth of any newspaper in recent years - about 10 percent a year;

- * It follows a strictly independent political position, unlike almost all other black publications in South Africa; and

Unique

- * It has developed its own unique editorial philosophy, Nation Building.

Soon after his appointment as editor in October 1988, Aggrey Klaaste started writing about a dream that he had for the country. He dreamed of a land in which the black people would hold their heads up with pride, where they would be free. But he warned that political freedom would not be enough. Something had to be done, he said, about the endless cycle of violence that was tearing the country apart...

After less than three years, Nation Building has developed into a massive education and community-based series of programmes designed to rebuild those shattered structures. The budget for 1991 stands at well over R1-million.

Ten years ago Sowetan was a weekly free newspaper. It was converted into a daily newspaper after the Argus Company's newspaper, *Post Transvaal* lost its statutory registration when it did not publish for the requisite number of days during a strike by editorial staff.

In its first month Sowetan had an average daily circulation of just over 56 000. Today the newspaper sells more than 200 000 copies on a regular basis. The ACB for the last six months of 1990 was 185 000.

Sowetan does not publish at weekends and its main circulation area is the Transvaal, although a Natal edition sells well. The current cover price is 50 cents, well below all its competitors. Sowetan, usually averages around 36 pages.

Printing is done contractually with The Newspaper Printing Company, printers of *The Star*, *The Sunday Times* and *Business Day*.

This year, Sowetan will focus on the training and development of its staff. Everyone will undergo a basic management course and a refresher induction course on how both the newspaper and the company are run.

Later in the year the training needs of each staff member will be addressed individually.

The deputy editor, Joe Thlooe and senior assistant editor Thami Mazwa, are currently on an extensive training programme that will take them both to England and the United States where they will attend courses in advanced journalism.

They will also undergo periods of secondment to the best tabloid newspapers in those countries.

Missing Mandela accused: Police react

PRETORIA. — The lead article in a Sunday newspaper describing the sneak appearance at the Rand Supreme Court last Tuesday of one of Mrs Winnie Mandela's co-trialists (who has jumped bail) allegedly makes a joke of calls by the police for social responsibility, according to an SAP spokesman

In a statement from Pretoria yesterday, Col Johan Mostert said the police were "shocked and dismayed" at the article, which describes how a press photographer snapped Mr Katiza Cebekhulu, one of the accused, on the steps of the court

"The cheeky runaway moved brazenly among the court crowd, making no attempt to hide his presence or his identity. That was where the Sunday Times photographed him on Tuesday morning," the report said.

In his strong reaction, Col Mostert said. "The article makes a joke of the call to responsible newspapers. That community members should assist police to maintain law and order," the colonel said.

Asked for his comment, the editor of the newspaper involved, Mr Ken Owen, said: "I don't see that it calls for any comment." — Sapa

Foundation to honour efforts of journalists

Sowetan 12/2/91
THE Education Foundation this week announced an annual award "The Education Reporter of the Year" for excellence in education reporting, open to all journalists working within South Africa, including the self-governing states.

Announcing the award in Johannesburg, Foundation executive director Dr Johan van Zijl said: "The award will be made to accord due recognition to the efforts of journalists countrywide in bringing the importance of education to the attention of the South African public and to recognise outstanding work in this regard."

Trip to Britain

"Education reporting is defined in its widest sense and refers to all articles that deal with educational issues from the pre-primary to the tertiary phases, and within both the formal and non-formal sectors."

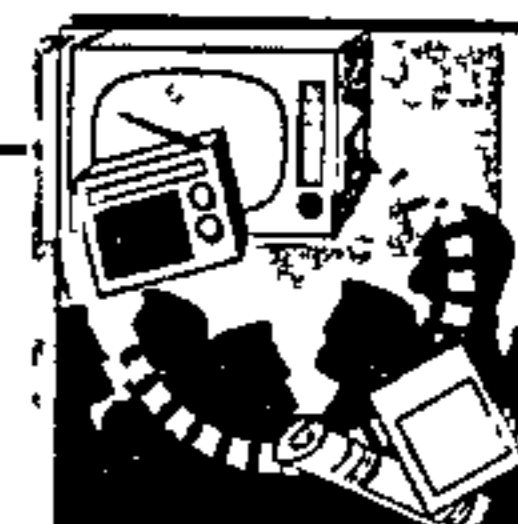
The winner will be awarded a month-long trip to Great Britain for an in-depth look at education journalism, and includes return airfare to the UK, accommodation, travel and subsistence expenses.

The closing date for 1990 entries is March 31, and entry forms are available from the Education Foundation in Durban. - Sapa

PUBLISHING

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FM 15/2/91



NAUGHT FOR COMFORT

The latest newspaper and magazine circulation figures provide little comfort for the hard-pressed publishing industry. Every metropolitan daily and weekly newspaper sales figure reported to the Audit Bureau of Circulations for the second half of last year was lower than for the first half (*The Weekly Mail* has not yet reported.)

Because of the normally dead month of December, second-half circulations are generally lower than first-half, points out Times Media circulation manager Graham Shaw. But it's rare for there to be no exceptions, indicating that the seasonal trend is not the whole explanation. A comparison with the second half of 1989 shows that circulations are at best static.

In the year-on-year comparison, losses and gains were evenly matched. Among daily newspapers the best performers were *The Citizen* (up 6.6%) and *Sowetan* (up 6%). There has been no let-up in the regular round of cover price rises which tend to limit circulation gains. "Rising cover prices had a bigger impact on sales than usual because of tighter economic circumstances," notes Jolyon Nuttall, GM of *The Star*.

Moreover, the first half of 1990 was brimming with upbeat news stories that drove up circulations — unlike the duller second half Nuttall points out, too, that as Christmas approached a diet of gloomy news (township violence) turned off readers.

But the Gulf War has galvanised sales again. "*The Star* had its second highest sale ever on the Friday after the war broke out."

Tougher economic conditions have also undoubtedly played a role in depressing sales, particularly among blacks. Sales of the *Sunday Times Extra* edition for blacks declined despite strong news values.

Magazines provide further proof of this. While *Nasionale Tydskrifte's You* and *Sarie* are enjoying phenomenal success, huge drops have been registered by black magazines such as *Bona*, *Thandi*, *Tribute* and *True Love and Family*. It's possible, though, that *You's* gains were made at the expense of stablemate *Woman's Value*.

CORNERING THE MARKET

The advent of media broking has caused ripples of concern in the advertising and publishing industries overseas. Media brokers, who buy up media space and time in bulk and then resell it at a profit direct to advertisers, now control 80% of all advertising revenues in France and 70% in Australia.

Brokers got their first foothold in the market by tackling the weakest medium. Now they use their muscle to negotiate huge media discounts (50% is commonplace.)

The media response is to drive up their

quoted rates by an equivalent amount, with the result that only the brokers win.

The problem is that brokers often pocket almost the entire discount and pass on only a small slice to the advertisers.

"Brokers weaken our ability to negotiate direct with advertisers," warns Dave Beattie, *Reader's Digest* international advertising

sales development manager. "Many media are discounting themselves out of business. Advertisers are footing the bill for this."

Can it happen in SA? Lindsay Smithers, media director Harry Herber is sceptical. "Media power is concentrated in too few hands here."

Tony Koenderman

CP official and editor subpoenaed

CONSERVATIVE Party national secretary Mr Andries Beyers and *Die Patriot* editor Mr ZB du Toit have been subpoenaed under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act, police confirmed.

They will appear in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court on February 21 to reveal their sources of a February 15 report in the CP mouthpiece.

The report alleged that missing key witness in the trial of Winnie

Sowetan 20/2/91
Mandela, Mr Gabriel Mkgwe, was kidnapped by members of the State Intelligence Service.

Police spokesman Captain Ruben Bloomberg confirmed the subpoenas were issued by Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau, who is in charge of the ongoing Mandela trial in the Rand Supreme Court.

The CP official admitted on Monday he had provided *Die*

Patriot's editor with information, which had led to a report alleging a key missing witness in the Mandela trial was abducted by members of the intelligence service. 243

Beyers insisted in a statement that the information he had provided had been reliable.

He was, however, not prepared to disclose his sources and said he had informed the SA Police's investigating officer, Brigadier CPJ Serfontein, of such. - *Sapa*.

Subpoenaed journalists defended

MEDIA groupings yesterday called for the State's withdrawal of subpoenas issued against two journalists.

The Star's special writer, Patrick Laurence, and editor of Die Patriot, ZB du Toit, were both issued with subpoenas in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act. *Star 23/2/91*

"The Anti-Censorship Action Group and the Campaign for Open Media demand that the subpoenas against the journalists be withdrawn immediately. The police and the Law and Order Ministry know that journalists cannot disclose their sources," said COM chairman and ACAG member Raymond Louw last night.

"These subpoenas are a form of harassment and they carry a penalty of up to five years' jail," said Mr Louw.

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PAT DEVEREAUX

"The press is again facing the threat of being dragged in to do the job of policemen," said Bob Kernohan, president of the South African Union of Journalists, in a statement.

The SAUJ called on the Government to repeal the legislation.

Both Lawrence's and Du Toit's subpoenas concern news reports on the disappearance of a key witness in the Winnie Mandela trial.

In terms of his subpoena Laurence is ordered to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on Tuesday to furnish police with "all the material information" on which his article was based.

On Thursday Du Toit appeared before a Pretoria magistrate under Section 205.

SAUJ slates subpoenas

Sowetan
26/2/91

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THE Press is again being dragged in to do the job of policemen, the South African Union of Journalists has said

Commenting on the issuing of subpoenas to Patrick Laurence of *The Star* and ZB du Toit of *Die Patriot* under the Criminal Procedures Act, the SAUJ said the Government's attitude to the Press "remains in the Dark Ages" - *Sapa*.

Express sales in SA zoom

8/20/91
26/2/91
MARCIA KLEIN

SALES of the International Express, SA's newest newspaper, have soared to about 40 000 a week. (243)

The 64-page tabloid — an international edition aimed mainly at British expatriates — is the first foreign paper to be printed in SA.

The newspaper, which costs R3,75, is a digest of news from the London Daily Express and Sunday Express newspapers and is for sale in SA every Thursday.

Local manager George Meyer said yesterday that a subscription and home delivery service was being made available in certain metropolitan areas due the publication's success in SA.

Meyer said that initial estimates for sales of the publication — which was launched late last month — were about 20 000 a week, but sales of over 27 500 in the first week jumped to 37 200 in the second week.

While no official figures were available for week three, Meyer was confident these would be around 40 000.

The fourth week's issue of the tabloid included the first adverts, although "the International Express is not actively seeking advertising", Meyer said.

Piet Rudolph health row

THE condition of Orde Boerevolk leader and hunger-striker Piet Rudolph was yesterday described by the Correctional Services Department as "satisfactory under the circumstances" (8/20/91 26/2/91)

Rudolph has refused food and liquids for 21 days.

However, Rudolph's lawyer Jack Nel said the physical condition of a 55-year-old man who had refused foods and liquids for 21 days "must be more serious than satisfactory".

Rudolph's family have been clamouring for his transfer to hospital.

The Department said eight right-wingers had begun hunger strikes in prison — Sapa

Vrye Weekblad, editor lose appeal 243

BLOEMFONTEIN — An application by Wending Publications Ltd, publishers of Vrye Weekblad, and its editor Max du Preez, for leave to appeal against their convictions for a contravention of the Internal Security Act has been refused by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein

The publishers and Du Preez were convicted in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on January 25 1989 as a result of an article published in the Vrye Weekblad on November 11 1988

The article was a report on a conference at Leverkusen

in West Germany, attended by Soviet specialists, the ANC and South African academics. The report referred to Joe Slovo, leader of the SA Communist Party, whose name appeared on the consolidated list of banned persons

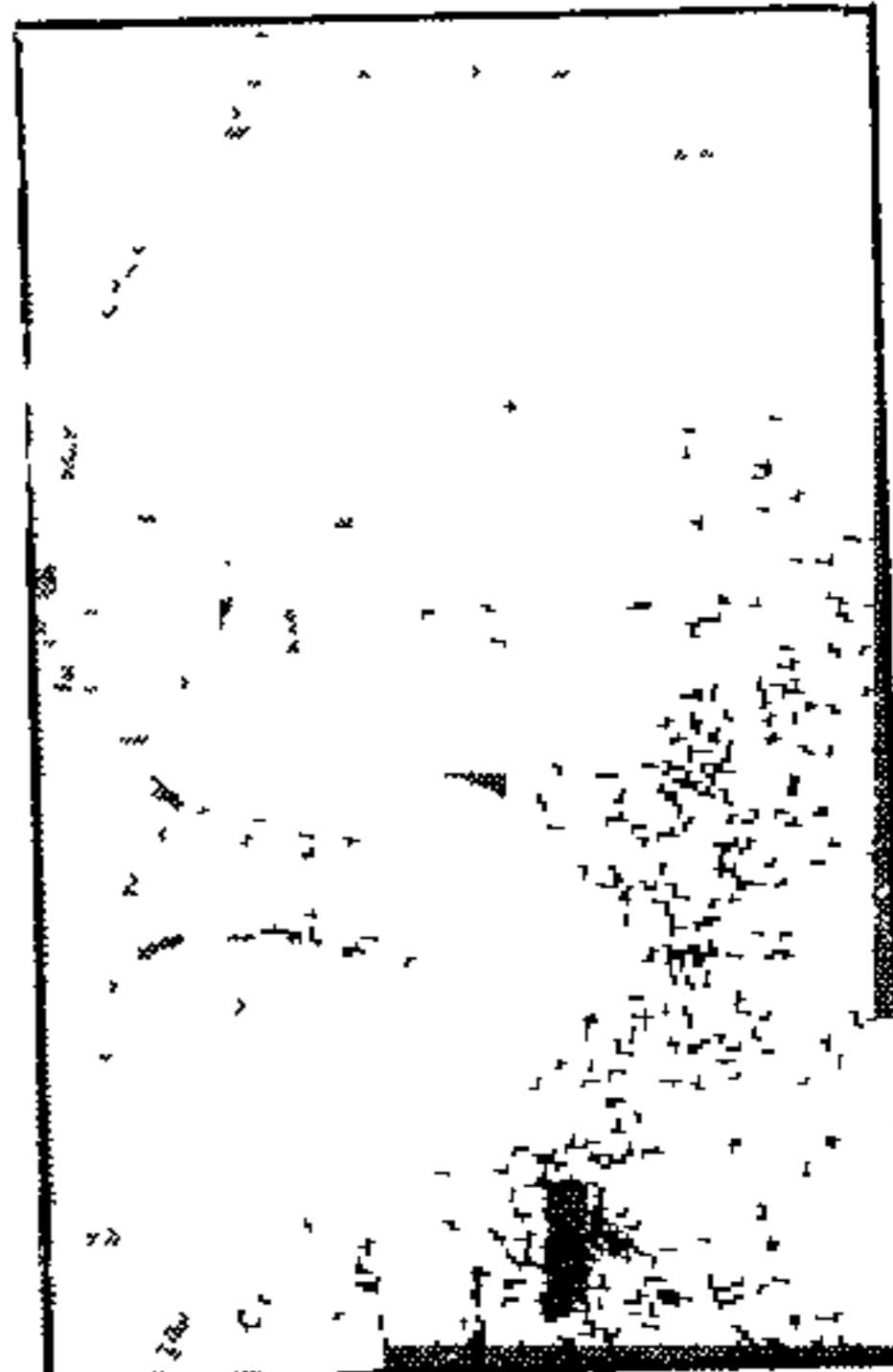
The publishers and Du Preez were convicted of contravening section 56(1)(p), read with section 16 and section 56(2) of the Internal Security Act, by publishing, printing or distributing a statement of a listed person without permission of the Minister of Law and Order

On appeal to the Wit-

watersrand Local Supreme Court on November 28 1990, Mr Justice W J Hartzenberg, with the concurrence of Mr Justice E L Goldstein, held that Wending Publications and Du Preez had been rightly convicted

The judges held that the words uttered by Mr Slovo and which were discussed by the writer, Mark Swilling, were clearly a speech, utterance or statement

The company had been fined R1 000, conditionally suspended for five years. Du Preez was sentenced to six months' jail, suspended for five years — Sapa



Max du Preez leave to appeal denied.

It's the Great Trek-tor

W/ Mail 11/2 7/2/91

There was something tragic on the day of the Groot Trekker as farmers drove their vehicles into Pretoria's streets in protest.

By CHARLES LEONARD

It was the "Boere" versus the boere: white policemen against white farmers. And the battlefield was within shooting distance from the statue of Paul Kruger on Church Square in Pretoria.

When several thousand farmers moved into a rainy Pretoria the day that they might be arrested by police who could be their brothers or enemies must have been very remote.

"How can you do this to people who feed in your mouths," an old farmer on the verge of tears, shouted at the police when they roughly bundled a farmer into a police van.

As the streets of Pretoria blocked and the capital in chaos, the two sides squared up for the first time on that day morning in Church Street. The farmers refused to heed the police to remove their vehicles.

In the seven-minute period — in which the farmers had to get into their vehicles — except for a few and the police stormed them. For a few seconds the farmers were stupefied when they saw their men being ar-

Fokken Mandela se lot mag maar nie, hoekom nie ons nie? (Mandela's bunch are allowed to protest, why not us?) a young farmer asked. Afterwards he disappeared into the back of a waiting pick-up with other troublemakers (troublemakers). There were a few brief scuffles between the two groups and more than a dozen farmers, including prominent lawyer Manie Maritz, were ar-

rested. Police and army tow-trucks then started removing the farmers' trucks, tractors and caravans to clear the way for emergency vehicles.

By the policemen's enthusiasm and the farmers were asked to remove their vehicles otherwise they would be arrested, "baie"

batons were swung and the whiff of teargas had farmers and by-standers scurrying for cover but there was none of the violence associates with marches. Batons fly, blood flows and people get killed.

In the late morning, after the last arrest, farmers either headed for the water-



State theatre ... Unlikely scenes in Pretoria as Boere faced boere

Photos: JUSTIN SHOLK



"I wonder what my farmhands are doing," one said to his neighbour.

As the sun set, Pretoria's residents came to witness the "carnival" in the city centre — and were treated to traditional farmers' hospitality in the darkening city. The scene was reminiscent of Herman Charles Bosman's *nag-maals* in Zeerust.

Between a row of trucks a crowd clustered around a familiar bearded face. AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche was in a jovial mood. He promised a bare-foot boy that he would teach him how to ride a horse.

He turned around and saw a friend whom he embraced boisterously: "Jou bliksem!" Then he recognised the second man and embraced him too: "My Here, wat maak jy hier?" (Lord, what are you doing here?)

He grinned and said: "I am the only politician who still farms as well."

Then it was our turn to greet "The Leader" as he is affectionately known. TerreBlanche at first could not hear where we were from.

"Weekly Mail, Mr TerreBlanche, we

Minister meets Star's lawyer

Staff Reporter

The Star's lawyer, Peter Reynolds, is meeting Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee in Cape Town today after urgent representations by The Star over the use of section 205 subpoenae to force journalists to disclose their sources to police.

The urgent meeting, requested by The Star this week, stems

from the case in which Patrick Laurence of The Star became the latest journalist ordered to appear in court in terms of section 205.

Mr Laurence faces jail if he does not give the police information about an article he wrote on the disappearance of a key witness in the Winnie Mandela trial. His hearing in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court set for today has been postponed until Monday.

The Attorney-General grant-

ed the postponement because the Minister of Justice has agreed to meet The Star's lawyers to discuss section 205 in general.

On Tuesday The Star's lawyers, Webber Wentzel, made urgent representations to both the Minister of Justice and the Media Council.

Attorneys Peter Reynolds and Paul Jenkins faxed Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee, asking for an urgent meeting to discuss implications of the sec-

tion 205 subpoena. Mr Reynolds stressed to Mr Coetsee he was acting not on behalf of a client but rather out of a concern that the use of section 205 against journalists was "possibly the single largest threat to press freedom in South Africa".

The section 205 subpoena can force a journalist to disclose the names of confidential sources to the police, contrary to any undertaking given by him to his source and contrary to his jour-

nalistic code of ethics. The maximum penalty for refusing to comply is five years' jail.

Mr Laurence, a special writer, has been ordered to furnish police with "all the material information" on which he based a report concerning the disappearance of a key witness in the Winnie Mandela trial. The report, published in The Star on February 12, said State witness Gabriel Mekgwe left the Methodist Manse in Soweto with three ANC men on February 10

F M 11/3/91

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

ticated workers about Aids

The comic was produced by ADM Hygiene Services as part of an Aids education service to major companies. Called *Linda and Zakes*, it tells the story of a modern urban couple and what they do after meeting in a nightclub. It also shows how to use a condom and lists the ways the HIV virus can be transmitted.

MD Kaye Bosworth says 10 000 of the booklets have already been printed and the expected target was about 400 000 copies of the first edition.

Ten further editions, dealing with Aids-related issues, are planned.

Bosworth says companies have shown interest because more serious educational methods have not worked at grassroots level and the comics go down well with illiterate or semi-literate workers.

The banning was listed in last Friday's *Government Gazette* and a letter sent by the Directorate of Publications to Bosworth says the "explicit presentation" of the comic outweighs the educational purposes of the publication.

Says Bosworth. "This banning could herald the end of really constructive, far-reaching Aids education in SA." The firm will appeal against the banning. ■

PUBLISHING FIM 11/3/91

BETTER DEAD

243

In the same week that glossy girlie magazine *Penthouse* came to SA, the censors banned a graphic comic designed to educate unsophis-

Row over AWB corruption claim

Star 2/13/91
~~2039~~ 243
PRETORIA CORRESPONDENT

A ROW has developed between Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche and a newspaper alleging corruption in the AWB.

Mr TerreBlanche said he would instruct his lawyers to take action against the newspaper concerned, Die Transvaler.

The report alleged unhappiness in the AWB that an expensive car, won in a competition to boost AWB funds, had been given to the AWB leader.

TWO years ago we launched an education supplement called *Learning Press*. Our critics at the time thought we were doing it for fun or financial gain, but far from it.

We could no longer sit on the sidelines and pontificate about the high matric failure rate year after year.

We had to do something, and certainly we did.

Many pupils who have followed this education supplement since its inception have written to me thanking *City Press* for having eased their workload.

One touching letter I received this week came from Iris Kgapole who lives in Sekhukhune in the Northern Transvaal. She passed Matric with exemption last year.

"Until I got hold of *Learning Press* I was struggling with my studies. It was difficult to follow what the teachers were saying. That goes for my classmates as well," she wrote.

"The most difficult subjects were science and mathematics and our

MY WAY
With Khulu Sibiya

243

More chalk, less talk!

3/3/91



teachers in these subjects were struggling as well. Later they also seemed to rely on *Learning Press*.

So much for boasting about *Learning Press*. The point is that many of our people out there are yearning for better education.

They know what apartheid education has done to them, and that they are trapped in rural areas where there is little access to educational tools.

Pupils like Iris should set an example for those who believe they can do without school principals — as was the case this week in Mamelodi where more

than 40 principals were chased out of their schools.

She should be a role model for those pupils who have taken over teaching when they need to be taught.

This year has been declared the year of learning. But soon after this announcement was made, we witnessed pupils taking over schools on the West and East Rand.

Each time our hopes are raised, they are quickly dashed by pupils who still believe in the slogan "pass one, pass all".

A teacher friend painted a gloomy picture about the kind of pupils

they are forced to teach these days.

"Our children are not as stupid as the matric results reflect. In fact some of them can easily obtain A aggregates. The problem is their role models are politicians. Everybody wants to be a political leader."

His assertion was backed up by an essay written by pupils on the topic: "My career after school". Almost all the pupils said they wanted to be cabinet ministers. One, who said he wanted to be Law and Order Minister, devoted his essay to explaining how he would oppress whites in a new

South Africa.

"It was a well-written essay. He said he would reintroduce apartheid. But this time, whites would carry bigger passes and be forced to hang them around their necks. He said his father's boss would be resettled at Mshenguville squatter camp and must be a gardener at his home," the teacher told me.

While our politicians are negotiating for a single education system for all, they must warn our pupils against unrealistic expectations. It is one thing to be angry and bitter about the apartheid system, but another to want to reintroduce it in a different form.

We at *City Press* will continue to play a role in helping our community with education. We will soon be launching an adult education supplement to assist victims of apartheid, especially those who were forced to cut short their schooling because of endless boycotts.

We will make this announcement soon. So keep an eye on *City Press*.

Subpoena 'incompetent', court told 243

Staff Reporters ^{Star} 5/3/91

A journalist from The Star, Patrick Laurence, will appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court again this morning in connection with a Section 205 subpoena requiring him to give information regarding the disappearance of a witness in the Winnie Mandela trial.

Yesterday, defence attorney Peter Reynolds argued the subpoena was "incompetent" as it required Laurence to give information concerning

the alleged kidnapping or disappearance of Gabriel Mekgwe. The word "disappearance" meant the state was unsure an offence had been committed, he said.

Laurence is required to disclose the names and addresses of the source(s) who gave him information about Mr Mekgwe's disappearance.

This follows a report in The Star which said Mr Mekgwe left the Methodist manse in Soweto with three ANC men on February 10.

Mr Reynolds said it was not

the purpose of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act to force journalists to disclose their sources.

He asked the magistrate to find the subpoena invalid. Alternatively, he would apply to the Supreme Court for a review of the decision by the magistrate who approved the subpoena.

Prosecutor Chris van Vuuren said the alleged offence was indicated in the subpoena, and that the court had no authority to review another magistrate's decision.

I AM concerned about incorrect and misleading reports and comments which have appeared recently in the Press concerning 'the fate' of so-called 'death row' prisoners. One such report appeared on Page 2 of the Saturday Star on March 2 under the headline 'Panel to decide on 170 death row prisoners'. It was evidently written by Pat Devereaux and, for convenience, I shall refer to it as 'the Devereaux article'.

On July 27 1990 the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1990 ("the new Act") was promulgated. It changed the law in regard to the imposition of the death sentence.

Prior to the new Act the death penalty was mandatory in cases of murder where the accused person was 18 years or older at the time of the commission of the offence and the court was unable to find extenuating circumstances. The burden of proving extenuating circumstances rested upon the accused.

The new Act abolished the mandatory death penalty. In its place it was provided that the death sentence should be imposed only

Factors

a) After the court had made a finding on the presence or absence of any mitigating or aggravating factors, and
b) If the presiding judge, with due regard to that finding, was satisfied that the sentence of death was the proper sentence.

In cases since the coming into operation of the new Act, the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court in Bloemfontein has interpreted these provisions to mean that "mitigating factors" were a wider concept than the old extenuating circumstances, that the burden to prove "aggravating factors" rested on the State and that proof of such factors beyond a reasonable doubt was required, that the burden was also on the State to negate beyond reasonable doubt mitigating factors suggested by the evidence or raised by the accused, that the words "the proper sentence" meant the only proper sentence, with the result that the imposition of the death sentence will be confined to exceptionally serious cases where such a sentence was imperatively called for.

The new Act also provides for an automatic right of appeal against a death sentence and, in effect, that in deciding such an appeal, the Appellate

The death penalty: no 'legislative muddle'

MR JUSTICE M M CORBETT, the Chief Justice (right), has expressed concern about a report published in the Saturday Star of March 2 on "the fate" of South Africa's so-called "death row prisoners". Mr Justice Corbett issued a statement to The Star yesterday, outlining his objections to the report. His statement is published here.



Division exercises an independent discretion if it is of the opinion that it, itself, would not have imposed the death sentence, it may impose such other punishment as it considers proper. These are further innovations.

Since July 27 1990 the provisions of the new Act had been applied in all cases that came on trial before the provincial divisions of the Supreme Court and on appeal before the Appellate Division after that date.

Thus, where an accused person was sentenced to death in a provincial division before July 27 1990 under the old law, when his appeal came before the Appellate Division, the criteria laid down by the new Act were applied to his case. This is all provided for by the new Act.

In the period August to December 1990 a number of such appeals were heard by the Appellate Division. In the case of 18 appellants the death sentence was set aside. In the case of 12 appellants the death sentence was confirmed.

In the current term and the next term, the Appellate Division will deal with a further 75 such appeals. These figures relate to the number of appellants, not the number of cases. In some cases there are more than one appellant.

The new Act had, of course, to make provision for those persons convicted under the old law who had already ex-

hausted all their legal remedies by way of appeal and the exercise by the State President of his prerogative of mercy and as at July 27 1990, were awaiting execution of their sentences.

It did so by providing
1 That the cases of all such persons should be considered by a panel of judges (or retired judges) and other legal experts, the panel to decide whether or not, in its opinion, the death sentence would have been imposed by the trial court had the new Act been in operation at the time sentence was passed.

2 That in the event of the panel finding that the death sentence would probably not have been so imposed, the case is then to be laid by the Minister of Justice before the State President for the extension of mercy to the accused.

3 That in the event of the panel finding that the death sentence would probably have been so imposed, then the case was to come on appeal before the Appellate Division which must consider it under the provisions of the new Act, irrespective of the fact that it may previously have dismissed the appellant's appeal under the old law.

If the Appellate Division confirms the death sentence, the accused person may still petition the State President for clemency.

Thus it is clear (1) that those accused who, as at July 27

1990, were awaiting an appeal against their death sentences have had, or will have, their cases considered on appeal by the Appellate Division in accordance with the criteria laid down by the new Act, and (ii) that those who, as at July 27 1990, had exhausted all their legal remedies will have their cases reconsidered by the panel and, in some instances, ultimately by the Appellate Division in the light of the criteria laid down by the new Act.

Impression

The Devereaux article creates the impression that the panel of judges, headed by Mr Justice Viljoen, will have the final say in "the fate of at least 170 South African death row prisoners". As I have shown, this is not correct. In cases where the panel decides that the death penalty would probably have been imposed under the new Act, the final say is with the Appellate Division.

The article calculates that there are altogether 290 prisoners under sentence of death who were convicted prior to the new Act coming into operation.

The article proceeds "Meanwhile, Lawyers for Human Rights claim that so far only about 170 of the 290 death row prisoners will have their cases reviewed by the panel, as at least 120 prisoners have been caught up in a legis-

lative muddle.

"One was Paul Bezuidenhout (22) who was this week notified that he is to be hanged on March 5. He was sentenced before July 27. Bezuidenhout, convicted on two counts of murder, will not have the opportunity to go before the panel. His appeal in September last year failed and his request for clemency from the State President was dismissed."

This passage in the article is misleading and constitutes an unwarranted slur on the administration of justice.

All prisoners whose cases are not being considered by the panel are either (i) persons awaiting the hearing and/or decision of their appeals by the Appellate Division under the new Act, or (ii) are persons whose appeals under the new Act have been dismissed and who are awaiting the outcome of their pleas for clemency, or (iii) are persons whose appeals under the new Act and petitions for clemency have been dismissed and are awaiting execution of their sentences.

No muddle

The number of 120 mentioned in the article, if correct, would be comprised of persons who fell into one of the above three categories. There is no "legislative muddle" whatever.

As I have demonstrated, all possible contingencies have been catered for. No one would be executed without his case having been fully considered on appeal by the Appellate Division applying the criteria postulated by the new Act.

The reference in the above-quoted extract from the Devereaux article to the case of Paul Bezuidenhout, as an instance of someone "caught up in a legislative muddle", is equally misleading.

Bezuidenhout, it is true, was convicted and sentenced to death prior to 27 July 1990. His appeal was heard by the Appellate Division on 17 September 1990 and judgment was delivered by Mr Justice Hoexter (Mr Justice Nicholas and Mr Justice Goldstone concurred) on September 28 1990.

The Court, applying the criteria established by the new Act, dismissed his appeal. And his appeal for clemency by the State President also failed. Obviously there was no need for his case to go before the panel. His case had received full consideration under the new Act by the Appellate Division," said the Chief Justice.

CP and ANC join outcry over Star

243

SAW 6/13/91

Staff Reporters

The State's efforts to force Patrick Laurence, a senior political writer on The Star, to reveal his sources, have caused outrage among journalists' organisations and human rights groups in South Africa and abroad. Mr Laurence was released on bail last night after being sentenced to 10 days' jail by a magistrate.

Calls have been made to President de Klerk and the Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, to stop the harassment of journalists, and to halt the use of section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act in terms of which journalists can be subpoenaed and jailed for failing to reveal their sources.

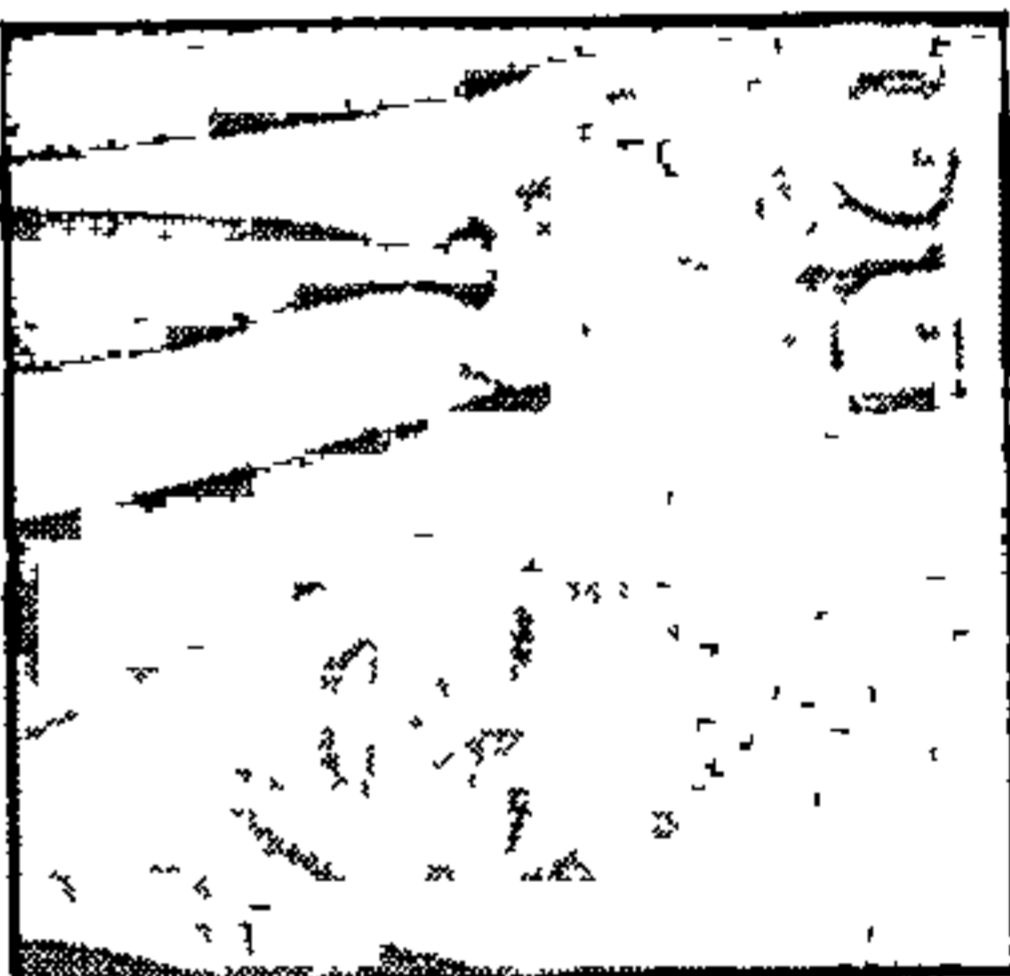
The International Press Institute (IPI) sent faxes to both Mr de Klerk and Mr Coetsee condemning the magistrate's court sentence of 10 days' jail imposed yesterday on Laurence (53), who is now out on R500 bail following an urgent application to the Rand Supreme Court last night.

"The (magistrate's) court decision is a serious threat to press freedom," IPI director Peter Galliner told the President and the Minister.

The British Ambassador to South Africa, Sir Robin Renwick, said in Pretoria that Laurence "was a highly respected journalist. The embassy welcomes the decision which was finally reached to grant him bail."

The deputy general secretary of the National Union of Journalists, Jacob Ecclestone, said in London: "The NUJ applauds Patrick Laurence's courageous stand which is in the best traditions of journalism."

Within hours of Laurence's imprisonment yesterday, the international anti-censorship group, Article 19, telexed a let-



Patrick Laurence with his wife Sandra after being released

ter to Mr de Klerk, urging the Government to rescind the sentence and unconditionally free

Laurence

The South African Media Council said it was dismayed by the proliferation of section 205 subpoenas against journalists.

The council's alternate chairman, Mr Justice G P C Kotze, said "This is extremely damaging to the free flow of vital information which would not otherwise come to light."

An ANC spokesman said freedom of the press included the right of journalists to protect their sources, provided that the information published had been accurate.

The South African Union of Journalists said it was outraged that Laurence, a union member, had been sentenced to jail for his ethical stand

The Association of Democratic Journalists said it was deeply disturbed by the sentence.

The chairman of the Foreign Correspondents' Association (FCA), John Battersby, said news of Laurence's sentence would be prominently reported in the international press since Laurence, who contributes to overseas publications, was well-known abroad. He said the FCA deplored the State's decision to compel Laurence to reveal his sources.

Lawyers for Human Rights described the sentence as "shocking". Director of litigation Ahmed Motala said the sentence imposed on such a highly respected journalist made a lie of the Government's

claim to a free press.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said the judgment constituted a "very severe inroad" on press freedom.

CP justice spokesman Chris de Jager said it was ironic that people who intimidated witnesses and created fear among journalists of exposing their sources were not prosecuted.

"Those intimidating them are the ones who should be acted against and not the journalists."

The chairman of the Campaign for Open Media, former Rand Daily Mail editor Raymond Louw, said yesterday "A journalist should not be penalised in this drastic way for following the principle dictated of his profession."

Writer

Laurence jailed for staying mum

PATRICK Laurence of *The Star* was sentenced in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday to 10 days imprisonment for refusing to comply with conditions of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act

Peter Reynolds, acting for Laurence, was to launch an immediate appeal against the sentence yesterday afternoon, with a view to getting the journalist released on his own recognisance (243)

Laurence, taking the witness stand yesterday, refused to reveal the source who had told him of circumstances surrounding the disappearance of Gabriel Mekgwe, a key witness in the Winnie Mandela trial.

"I am bound by a journalistic code of ethics to protect the anonymity of the source. I may only reveal the information if and when he or she relieves me of that commitment," Laurence said

Reynolds, in mitigating, argued Laurence had taken a courageous stand as a journalist on a point of principle and ethics. Sowetan 6/3/91

"If he had to reveal his source, he would not only break his word to the source, but breach his journalistic code of ethics and lower himself in the eyes of peers, colleagues, employers and future prospective employers"

In sentencing Laurence, the magistrate Mr Hein Verhoef said the sentence should not be regarded as punishment, but rather as a coercive measure to induce Laurence to reveal his source

The editor of *The Star*, Mr Richard Steyn, strongly criticised the use of Section 205 against journalists - Sapa

Laurence freed after judge grants bail

By Helen Grange *Star 6/3/91*

Journalist Patrick Laurence of The Star was last night granted bail of R500 by the Rand Supreme Court after a magistrate had earlier sentenced him to 10 days' jail.

The urgent bail application was heard by Mr Justice Levy in a bid to reverse the decision of magistrate Hein Verhoef who denied bail for Laurence following his refusal to divulge his sources as demanded by a subpoena in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

Mr Justice Levy granted bail pending an appeal against sentence and an application to have the validity of the subpoena reviewed.

Laurence walked out of Diepkloof Prison just before 11 pm. His wife, Sandra, the deputy editor-in-chief of The Star, Rex Gibson, and lawyer W Wendland met him

Speaking soon after his release, Laurence described his stay in jail as "an interesting experience" and said he had been treated well.

"Prison officers who received me were considerate and kind," he said.

Mr Wendland said the review and appeal proceedings would be instituted soon.

Mr Verhoef earlier yesterday refused Laurence's application for a review of a subpoena issued to him under Section 205 on the grounds that an inquiring magistrate could not review decisions by the magistrate issuing subpoenas.

Mr Verhoef sentenced Laurence to 10 days' jail with immediate effect for his refusal to name a source who had supplied him with information about the disappearance of a key witness in the "Winnie Mandela trial".

Laurence was then held at the court cells before being

transferred to Diepkloof.

However, last night Mr Justice Levy found that Mr Verhoef should not have assumed that the subpoena was beyond appeal.

The subpoena, he said, could be reviewed by an inquiring magistrate — and the subpoena should have at least been granted the hearing of a reviewing court.

The judge said that although his decision to grant bail would deny the State the opportunity of exercising pressure on Laurence, he was not prepared to put the matter to test.

In addition, Laurence's intended appeal against judgment and sentence would become academic since he would already have served his time in jail by the time the appeals were heard.

Laurence refused to give the name of his source to the magistrate yesterday, saying he was bound by his word

and by journalistic ethics. It was only if and when the source relieved him of his commitment that he could disclose information for a police investigation into Gabriel Megkwe's disappearance.

Webber Wentzel, the lawyers acting for Laurence, intend launching an immediate appeal against the magistrate's judgment and sentence — as well as applying for a review of the subpoena.

In a statement yesterday, the editor-in-chief of The Star, Richard Steyn, strongly criticised the use of Section 205 against journalists. "It is wrong for the State to use the press to gather evidence or to trace witnesses."

"Compelling journalists to reveal sources not only exposes them to danger, but has serious consequences for free flow of information."

● Outrage over sentence — Page 2

Not time to lift sanctions — Democrats

By David Braun *Star 6/3/91*
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Democratic congressmen made it clear to the Bush Administration yesterday that they would resist the lifting of sanctions even if Pretoria complies with all the requirements of American law.

The gauntlet was thrown down during a hearing of the

US House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa. It prepared the way for a fierce debate when the committee meets on April 30 to get an update on US sanctions policy.

US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, told the subcommittee the Bush Administration was committed to carrying out the provisions

of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

However, ranking Democrat, Howard Wolpe, supported by others, said as encouraging as the recent changes were, it would be foolish to think they could not be reversed. Furthermore, nothing fundamental had changed with relation to the structure of power.

● Big US grant — Page 4.



Herman Cohen . . . says he will follow the law on US sanctions policy.

6-2
6-3
6-9

6-2
6-3
6-9



prisoners were sentenced to solitary confinement with dietary punishment in terms of section 54(2)(e)(ii) of the Prisons Act, 1959 (Act 8 of 1959)

(a) and (b)(ii) In one hundred and fifty five (155) cases other sentences were imposed on prisoners in terms of the stipulations of section 54(2) of the Prisons Act, 1959 (Act 8 of 1959). The detail of which is as follows

- section 54(2)(a). In fourteen (14) cases prisoners were reprimanded
- section 54(2)(c) In one hundred and forty one (141) cases prisoners were sentenced to the deprivation of one or more meals on any one day

During this period no sentences in terms of section 54(2)(d) (corporal punishment) or section 54(2)(e)(i) (solitary confinement without dietary punishment) were imposed or served at the Leeuwkop Maximum Prison

(2) No The privacy of prisoners is respected and it is therefore policy not to make details of individual prisoners available

(3) Yes Regulation 103 of the Prisons Regulations issued in terms of the stipulations of section 94 of the Prisons Act, 1959 (Act 8 of 1959) sets out the procedures for dealing with complaints and requests. Prisoners are daily afforded the opportunity to lodge complaints/requests. The head of the prison or his delegate records the complaints/requests by entering them in the appropriate register whereafter such complaints/requests receive immediate attention. Feedback is given to the prisoner as soon as the complaint/request have been dealt with

In addition to this prisoners may also lodge their complaints/requests to inter alia any of the following persons/institutions

- the member in charge of the section where the prisoners sleeps (continuous),
- the commanding officer,
- visiting district surgeon,
- visiting inspectors of prisons,

(2) (a) and (b) fall away 243
I am prepared to place the list referred to in paragraph (1)(b) at the honourable member's disposal if he so requires

SADT: land

115 Mr M A TARR asked the Minister of Development Aid

(1) (a) What areas of land are under the control of the South African Development Trust in (i) the Transvaal, (ii) Natal, (iii) the Cape Province and (iv) the Orange Free State and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished,

(2) what is the current policy regarding the disposal of such land?

B326E

The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID

Province Area Extent in ha

(1)(a)(i) Transvaal Zebediela/ 30 111 (1)(a)(ii) Natal

Mynhardskraal

Blouberg 25 500

South

Munnik 3 199

Block 20 800

Bewaarkloof 1 643

Maitse 2 749

Pietersburg

Louis 3 972

Trichardt 18 248

Burgersfort 2 655

Letaba 25 456

Trichardsdal 51 202

Witvanger 42 141

Steilloop

Immerpan/ 63 000

Saliesloot 25 509

Moepel 6 660

Bosbokrand 24 000

Zaaplaats 1 900

Morgenzon 860

Delareyville 8 135

Brits 2 303

Hammanskraal 2 495

Pretoria 11 961

Rustenburg 5 332

Marico 24 682

Bronkhorstspuit 34 000

Warmbad

Koster 4 427

(Mthopestat)

Province Area Extent in ha

Coligny (Serobatsé) 5 864

Amersfoort (Daggakraal) 2 669

Wakkerstroom (Driefontein) 6 971

Pretoria (Soshanguve) 6 162

Brits (Lethlabile) 4 153

Brits (Hartbeestfontein) 5 693

Letaba (Sogop) 3 174

Location

Paul Pretersburg/Piet 102 000

Retief 66 000

Moutse 2 228

Other 647 854

Total

Ntambanana 35 000

Babanango 3 028

Empangeni 12 892

Eshowe 4 925

Alfred/Harding 2 245

Impendle 16 979

Ingwavuma 182 933

Ixopo 7 103

Ladysmith 2 032

Matatiele 3 309

Melmoth 1 639

Newcastle 1 096

Port 2 738

Shepstone 1 181

Richmond 2 104

Umzinto 5 190

Vryheid 6 100

Estcourt

Lower Umfolozi (Reserve No 4) 23 446

Ladysmith (Waaikhoek) 25 136

Port Shepstone 530

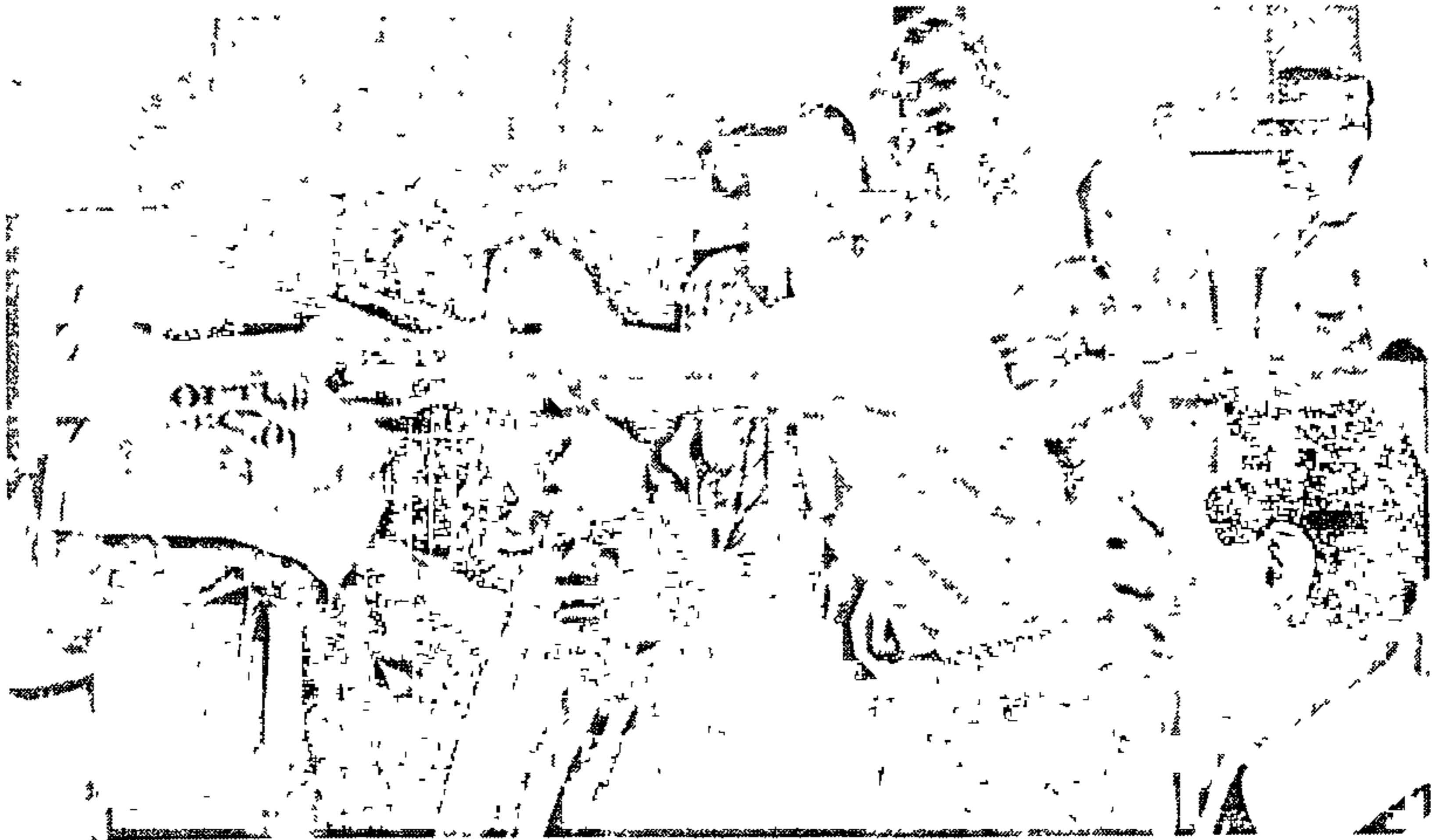
(Frankland) 3 500

Nkandla

Ladysmith (Qinisa) 2 500

Umzinto 15 000

(Ifafa)



Police seize posters from journalists who staged a lunchtime demonstration outside the Rand Supreme Court in Johannesburg yesterday against the prison sentence imposed on The Star journalist Patrick Laurence. Picture ROBERT BOTHA

30 journalists held after picket protest

DURBAN — Thirty journalists were arrested in Durban yesterday during a lunchtime picket to protest against the 10-day sentence on Patrick Laurence of The Star and the use of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act against reporters.

Sapa reports the protest was one of a series of countrywide demonstrations in support of Laurence.

Section 205 requires journalists to disclose confidential sources of information to the authorities.

The journalists were charged with taking part in an illegal demonstration and released on their own recognisances. They will appear again later this month.

Scuffles broke out in Johannesburg when police ordered about 60 journalists to end a demonstration outside the Rand Supreme Court in support of Laurence. PATRICK BULGER reports *B1024 713191*

Laurence was sentenced to 10 days imprisonment on Tuesday for refusing to disclose the source of a report on the disappearance of a witness in the Winnie Mandela trial. He was later freed on bail of R500 on the order of the Rand Supreme Court, pending appeal.

The Johannesburg picket took place shortly after Winnie Mandela emerged from the Supreme Court to cheers from bystanders during the lunchtime recess.

Journalists stood with posters declaring, "Away with Section 205", "Hands off our Press", "Journos for Justice" and "Viva Laurence of Azania". Police later tore up many of the posters.

Laurence appeared at the picket and was cheered by journalists.

Financial Mail takes issue with Sage chief's statement

THE Financial Mail (FM) has taken issue with statement by Sage chairman Lous Shill in yesterday's Business Day

FM editor Nigel Bruce demanded a retraction by Shill and said the suggestion that Sage Holdings "sought the protection of the courts" in 1990 "to prevent the FM from publishing inaccurate information obtained by illegal means" was both inaccurate and damaging to the FM

"At no time during the court proceedings was there any suggestion by any party that the FM had resorted to illegal means to acquire information. Moreover, while preparing for publication the article that was the subject of the subsequent court action, the FM gave Mr Lous Shill

and the Sage Group every opportunity to correct any alleged 'inaccuracies'

"Despite every attempt by the FM to co-operate in a reasonable manner, the Sage Group repeatedly refused to point out specific errors or provide 'accurate' information

"The accuracy of the information on Sage in the FM's possession was never tested in court. The court proceedings centred only on the legitimacy of its acquisition by a third party"

Responding to the FM statement, a spokesman for Sage said that Business Day's article could have been misconstrued by the FM. He

stressed that Sage had never suggested that the FM itself had resorted to illegal means to acquire information. Sage had always emphasised, and the Supreme Court had found, that the information provided to the FM had been obtained through illegal means by a source which the FM would not disclose

Regarding the inaccuracies in the article the FM intended to publish, the Sage spokesman said Sage had only refused to correct inaccuracies based on information illegally obtained

The spokesman disputed that the accuracy of the information on Sage in the FM's possession was never tested in court. Inaccuracies had been clearly established in court, said the spokesman

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B10am 7/3/91
Business Day Reporter

Press jailing sparks outrage

Sowetan 7/3/91

THE jailing of Mr Patrick Laurence, a senior political writer on *The Star*, has been met with outrage by journalist organisations, media lawyers, human rights groups and political parties from the ANC to the Conservative Party

It is the first time since 1974, when Mr Peter Welman served a six-month jail sentence under the Criminal Procedures Act, that a journalist has been sent to jail for refusing to reveal his sources.

Welman, who was a *Rand Daily Mail* reporter at the time, is now *Sunday Star* news editor.

"This is absolutely outrageous," said the chairman of Campaign for Open Media and former *Rand Daily Mail* editor Raymond Louw.

"A journalist should not be penalised in this drastic way for following the principle dictates of his profession," said Louw, who is also the president of the Anti-Censorship Action Group.

Renowned media lawyer Mr Dave Dyson of the firm Bell, Dewar and Hall said Laurence's sentence illustrated why Section 205 needed to be purged from the statute book.

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Privilege

"In an emerging democratic society the privilege between journalist and source should be recognised by the law," he said.

An ANC spokesman said freedom of the Press included the right of journalists to protect their sources provided that the information published had been accurate.

The South African Union of Journalists said it was outraged

"Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act is the greatest threat to press freedom and the free flow of information," said a SAUJ spokesman

Chairman of the Foreign Correspondents' Association John Battersby said news of Laurence's sentence would be prominently reported in the international press particularly since Laurence, who contributes to various overseas publications, was well-known abroad.

Conservative Party justice spokesman Mr Chris de Jager said it was ironic that there was no prosecution of the people who were intimidating witnesses.

"Those intimidating them are the ones who should be acted against and not the journalists," he said -
Sowetan Correspondent

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S 8843

Dogs, police and placards at picket protest for press freedom

Staff Reporter

Scuffles broke out near the Rand Supreme Court yesterday as policemen with dogs confronted placard-carrying journalists who were protesting against the jail sentence imposed on Patrick Laurence of the Star in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

Protests were also held in Pretoria and Durban, where 30 journalists were arrested.

The lunch-hour picket in Johannesburg, which was organised by the South African Union of Journalists, was attended by more than 50 journalists, including representatives from the Media Workers Association of SA and the Association of Democratic Journalists. A police major on the scene gave journalists five minutes in which to disperse.

When journalists grouped opposite the Rand Supreme Court, policemen on duty at the Winnie Mandela trial rushed over and tried to disperse them.

There were scuffles as some journalists resisted. The protesters regrouped and started chanting "Free the press, free the press".

Some of the placards proclaimed "Dark days for press freedom", "Section 205 strangles press freedom" and "Weg met 205" (away with 205). Police tried in vain to dis-

perse a barrage of local and foreign cameramen

No-one was arrested. Laurence arrived as journalists were dispersing.

He was released on bail from the Diepkloof Prison on Tuesday night following his sentencing to 10 days' jail for refusing to divulge his sources as demanded by a subpoena in terms of the Act.

Staff of the Pretoria News yesterday held a one-hour placard picket outside the newspaper's offices.

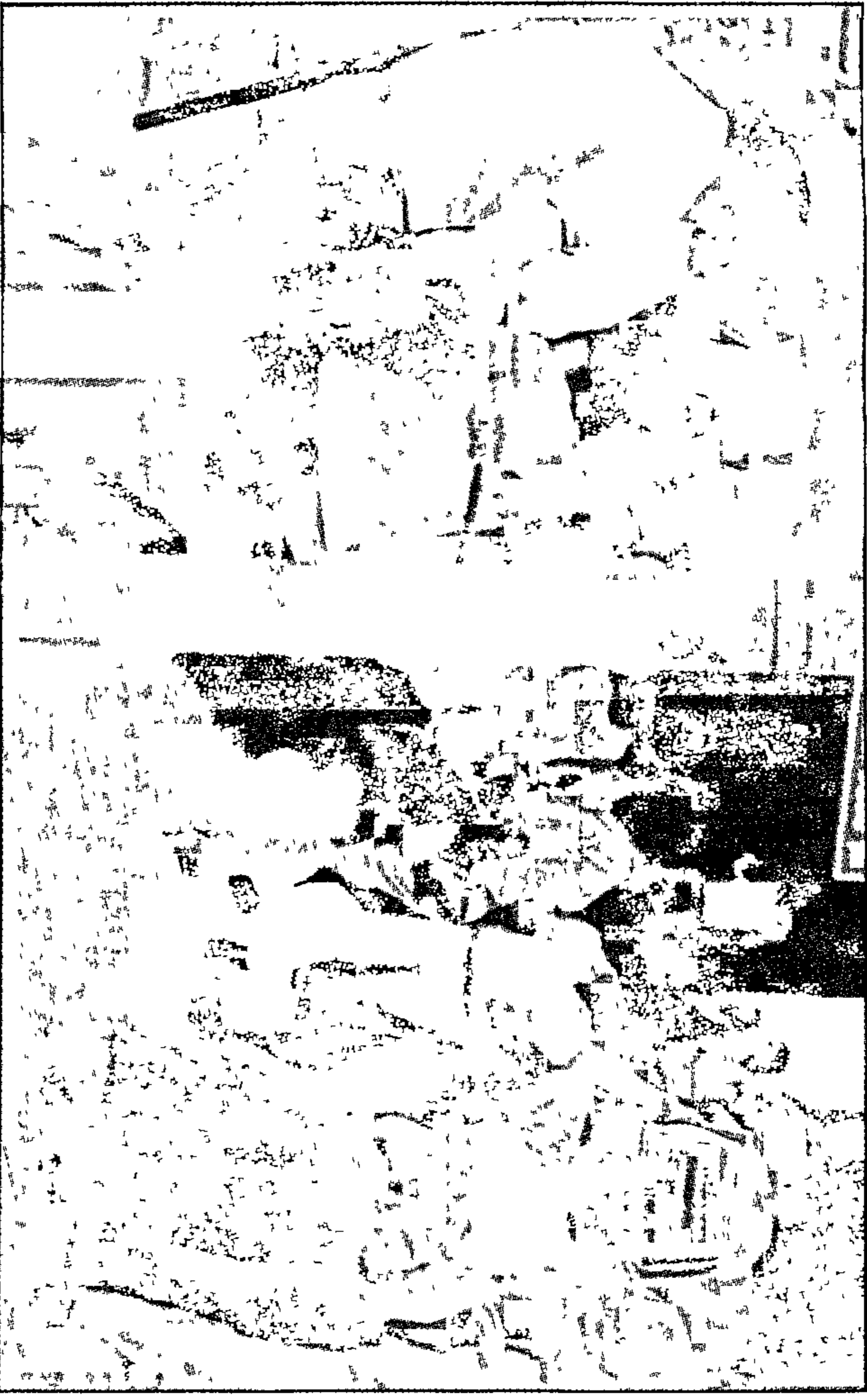
The demonstrators, who numbered about 20, displayed placards calling for the repeal of Section 205 and for the police to end harassment of journalists.

In Durban, about 30 journalists were arrested yesterday during a lunchtime picket.

About 10 of the journalists were from The Mercury, about 12 were from The Daily News and the rest were from The Sunday Tribune, Sapa was told. About 100 journalists attended the picket, including many from Ifanga, Post Natal, City Press, UmAfrika and a number of freelance writers.

According to a police spokesman, 30 journalists had been arrested and would be released after being charged.

Similar pickets are planned in Cape Town, Maritzburg and Port Elizabeth later this week — Sapa



The tooth and the word. Journalists demonstrating against the jail sentence imposed on Patrick Laurence confront a police dog handler outside the Johannesburg Supreme Court yesterday. Picture Associated Press

Viva Laurence of Azania' as SAP hits press

By DREW FORREST

243 ~~243~~
THE Winnie Mandela trial had presented the police with fresh opportunities for venting their long-standing hostility to the press, the chairman of the Campaign for Open Media, Ray Louw, said yesterday.

"The lifting of the Emergency and unbanning of liberation movements has curtailed the SAP's clampdown on journalists, which is second nature to them. They'll harass wherever they can, and are now using section 205 subpoenas to do it." *w/mant 8/3-14/3/91*

And yesterday the 175 000-member International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) hit out at the "intolerable assault on essential democratic freedoms" following the police crackdown, which it said was "resonant of the worst days of apartheid oppression". The reaction follows the serving of a subpoena under section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act on veteran *Star* political writer Patrick Laurence, requiring him to identify a source quoted in an article on the Mandela trial.

Subpoenas have also been served on ZB du Toit, the editor of the Conservative Party's mouthpiece, *Patriot*, and CP general secretary Andries Beyers, in relation to the case. Other recent targets for 205s have been *Weekly Mail* editor Anton Harber and former Sapa reporter Joan Fubbs.

Laurence has been sentenced to 10 days' imprisonment for his refusal to testify — a penalty which could be reimposed if he repeats the offence while the trial is in progress.

In sequels to the Laurence case, 30 journalists were arrested in Durban this week during a picket protest calling for the repeal of section 205 and an end to the harassment of journalists. At a lunch-hour protest outside the Rand Supreme Court, also organised by the South African Union of Journalists, police with dogs clashed with members of the SAUJ, Mwasa and the Association of Democratic Journalists after giving them five minutes to disperse. A one-hour picket was also held outside the offices of the *Pretoria News*.

Placards proclaimed "Section 205 strangles press freedom", "Dark days for press freedom" and "Viva Laurence of Azania". And in another incident, a journalist covering the Winnie Mandela trial and an official of the National Coordinating Committee for Returnees were arrested in the Rand Supreme Court on Wednesday and charged with trespass.

Police said Audrey Brown, from *Vrye Weekblad*, and the NCCR's Moss Chikane, lacked accreditation from the Bureau for Information required to attend the trial. They were released on R200 bail and ordered to appear on April 17.

Hansard
FRIDAY, 8 MARCH 1991

SOFIA

- (i) South Africans
2 Line function posts
2 Administrative posts
- (ii) Local Citizens
7 Administrative posts
4 General posts

WARSAW

- (i) South Africans
2 Line function posts
2 Administrative posts
- (ii) Local Citizens
7 Administrative posts
4 General posts

ANTANANARIVO

- (i) South Africans
2 Line function posts
2 Administrative posts
- (ii) Local Citizens
6 Administrative posts
9 General posts

RABAT

- (i) South Africans
2 Line function posts
2 Administrative posts
- (ii) Local Citizens
7 Administrative posts
4 General posts

(3) Yes

Saint Denis (Réunion)
La Paz (Bolivia)

Teachers: salaries outstanding

91 Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Training

- (1) Whether the salaries of any teachers employed by his Department have been outstanding for more than one month, if so, (a) how many teachers are involved and (b) for what reasons are these salaries outstanding,

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? Hansard 8/3/91

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

(1) Yes

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

(a) 544 Hansard 8/3/91

- (b) Continuous endeavour is made to improve the system of payment, in order to limit this type of error to the minimum. Where such cases occur they receive prompt attention

(2) No

Blacks: matriculation examinations

97 Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of Education and Training †

- How many Blacks (a) entered for and (b) passed the matriculation examination in 1988, 1989 and 1990, respectively?

Hansard 8/3/91 B265E
The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

- 1988 (a) 41 812 (b) 21 909
1989 (a) 42 729 (b) 17 249
1990 (a) 56 081 (b) 18 946

Note

This information is as on 7 January 1991 and applies to the candidates of the Department of Education and Training who offered subjects for a senior certificate with matriculation exemption

Publications Appeal Board

112 Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Home Affairs

- (1) Who are the members of the Publications Appeal Board,

(2) what, in each case, are the (a) ages, (b) race, (c) sex, (d) educational qualifications and (e) literary and artistic expertise of these members,

(3) in respect of what date is this information furnished? Hansard 8/3/91 B316E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

- (1) and (2) The honourable member is referred to the accompanying schedule. In regard to (2)(e) it should be noted that section 35(3)(b) of the Publications Act, 1974, requires only "educational qualifications and experience"

(3) 26 February 1991

Hansard
FRIDAY, 8 MARCH 1991

(1) Member/Lid

(2)(a) Age/Ouderdom

(2)(b) Race/Ras

(2)(c) Sex/Geslag

(2)(d) Educational qualifications/Opvoedkundige kwalifikasies

| Member/Lid | (2)(a) Age/Ouderdom | (2)(b) Race/Ras | (2)(c) Sex/Geslag | (2)(d) Educational qualifications/Opvoedkundige kwalifikasies |
|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---|
| Ramsamy, A | 65 years/jaar | Asian /Aster | Male/Manlik | National Diploma in Commerce/Nasionale Diploma in Handel National Diploma in Accountancy/Nasionale Diploma in Rekeningkunde Natal Teachers' Senior Certificate/Natal Seniorsertifikaat in Onderwys National Commercial Teachers' Diploma/Nasionale Onderwysdiploma in Handel BCom BA TOD LTCL BA(Hons) MA D Litt |
| Pretonus, C E | 58 years/jaar | White/Blanke | Female/Vroulik | BA TOD LTCL BA(Hons) MA D Litt |
| Mettler, J J F | 52 years/jaar | Coloured/Kleurling | Male/Manlik | Dip Th BA LLB |
| Hugo, G | 59 years/jaar | White/Blanke | Male/Manlik | BA B ED M ED MA D ED BA MA |
| Mawasha, A L (Prof) | 52 years/jaar | Black/Swarte | Male/Manlik | BA B ED M ED MA D ED BA MA |
| Louw, F C | 65 years/jaar | White/Blanke | Male/Manlik | BA B ED M ED MA D ED BA MA |
| Hough, M (Prof) | 46 years/jaar | White/Blanke | Male/Manlik | BA B ED M ED MA D ED BA MA |
| Du Preez, J A (Brig) | 64 years/jaar | White/Blanke | Male/Manlik | Dip Juris, Dip Legum BA TLB BA(Hons) |
| De Jager, J J | 51 years/jaar | White/Blanke | Male/Manlik | BA LLB LLD |
| Oosthuizen, P (Prof) | 55 years/jaar | White/Blanke | Male/Manlik | BA LLB LLD |
| Van der Merwe, P R | 64 years/jaar | White/Blanke | Male/Manlik | BA Dip Th |
| Grové, A P (Prof) | 72 years/jaar | White/Blanke | Male/Manlik | BA MA UOD DLitt |

Own Affairs

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

- (1) Yes, to the best of my knowledge,
(2) no

Model B schools: cadet activities

21 Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture

- (1) Whether permission has been granted to all pupils at Model B schools whose parents so request to be excluded from cadet activities, if not, why not, if so, when was this permission granted,

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

B315E

Training of pharmacists
26 Dr W J SNYMAN asked the Minister of Education and Culture †

- (1) Whether, pursuant to the instruction by the Minister of National Education in July 1986 that the Universities and Technikon Advisory Council (the UTAC) investigate the training of pharmacists in South Africa, the report and recommendations of the UTAC have been submitted to the

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

THE purpose of section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act, against which foolish journalists have been railing in the past week, is to facilitate the administration of justice by the medieval device of applying increasing misery until the victim's spirit is broken. It is the pursuit of truth by torture.

The journalists' demonstrations and protests (what the newspapers, in their usual loose fashion, called "outrage") were precipitated by the sentencing to prison of Patrick Laurence, a man much admired for his integrity.

Personally, I suspect that Laurence's career has suffered — in an age when a gift for deceptive packaging is the most highly valued of all commercial skills — from his excessive insistence on precision, balance and truthfulness. He has mastered one essential part of modern journalism, which is to inform, but not the more pressing need to entertain.

He also tends to say what others dare not. It was he, for example, who first drew my attention to the evil practice of "necklacing" which other journalists had witnessed, but failed to disclose. He has, as I say, too much integrity.

That was why he found himself be-

fore a magistrate who sentenced him, and of necessity his family, to a spell of misery — 10 days in prison — in order to induce him to disclose the identity of an informant to whom he had promised anonymity. The matter is on appeal, and I shall not discuss the merits of the case, but the Criminal Procedure Act, following the Inquisition, provides for a progressive and unlimited increase in suffering until the witness, like Galileo, denies his own beliefs. Laurence's first sentence can, in theory, be followed by another, and another, forever and ever, until he cracks.

The misery is cunningly heightened by the fact that he can himself end it. The moment the information is torn from him, he will be set free. So the Act promises.

South Africa is not alone in employing these barbarous methods in the noble cause of justice. In the United States one journalist who refused to name an informant was sent to prison until I (and most other journalists) lost track of him.

The reason for this harshness is obvious: some means must be found to compel recalcitrant witnesses to provide information necessary to the administration of justice. What does one say to the mother, or child, or

KEN OWEN

5 Times 10/3/91

ON SUNDAY

spouse, of a murder victim whose killer goes free because a witness refuses, whether from abject fear or noble principle, to assist the courts to arrive at the truth?

INDEED, the journalists who demonstrated in support of Laurence this week seemed unconscious of the irony of doing so outside the court where two frightened witnesses were induced that very day, by threat of jail, to testify in the trial of Winnie Mandela. The duty to assist in the administration of justice rests on all citizens.

The exceptions, such as the right not to incriminate oneself, or the right to private consultation with one's lawyer, are those which are patently necessary to the administra-

tion of justice. I can think of no other justifiable exception.

Nevertheless, journalists around the world do observe an ethical duty to protect their informants for the simple reason that a free press cannot otherwise function at all. Ironically, the journalist who exposes corruption in government, or an impending military coup, may do great social good but end up in jail for refusing to identify his sources.

This ethical convention is so strong that journalists like Laurence continually defy the law to uphold it. They pay a high price. Thami Mazwai of the Sowetan was sentenced to 18 months in prison for refusing to testify. Other journalists, dating back to George Hearst in the 30s, have served lesser sentences.

Some years ago the gifted political

correspondent of the Sunday Express, Graham Watts, was forced by section 205 to affirm that a report he had written was correct. He was not actually asked to name the source, who was known and in police custody, but he nevertheless found the experience so distasteful that he emigrated. He would not work as a journalist if it compelled him to be a police mark

NEVERTHELESS, journalists are mistaken when they demand the repeal of section 205. What is required is not its repeal but its amendment to eliminate the aspect of torture.

Nobody, surely, will argue that citizens be permitted to choose what laws to obey, and what to defy. Like conscientious objectors against military conscription, journalists who re-

fuse to disclose sources must expect punishment, if only to prevent the law itself from falling into contempt.

Less obvious, but equally true, is that punishment may separate the truly ethical journalist from the charlatan who uses "professional ethics" as a cover to manufacture quotes, to invent sources, and to embroider facts. (I once knew a reporter who invented a whole town, including ratepayers, town council, and local scandals. Then he committed suicide.)

As matters stand, a dishonest journalist may hope to invent a source, spend 10 days or so in prison, and go free a hero because the courts don't like using torture, at least not in a glare of publicity.

A punitive sentence for refusing to assist the administration of justice — say six months — would not deter the truly ethical journalist from protecting his sources, but it might persuade the dishonest journalist that the price of lying had become too high.

At the same time, given such a clear conflict between the law and the ethical convictions of journalists, one might expect the government to be circumspect in using section 205. In South Africa, the contrary is true: the law is used so often as to be seen as an instrument of intimidation.

My own experience, in fact, sug-

gests it is most likely to be used when the police feel themselves to have been criticised.

On one occasion, my informant risked his career by identifying himself in order to keep me out of jail, on the other, I was able to identify my newspaper's source, with his permission, as an acting judge, author of a document already known to the police. In neither case, though the police got what they wanted, did any prosecution ensue. Surprise, surprise.

A pending amendment to the Act transfers the decision to use section 205 from public prosecutors to attorneys-general. That is an improvement.

A further improvement would be achieved if the Act required the police to affirm under oath that they had exhausted all other avenues of inquiry and that the information they sought was available in no other way.

That would not, perhaps, keep people like Patrick Laurence out of jail but it might reduce the number of occasions on which the police could invoke medieval methods in an attempt to break the spirit of a person of principle. At least it would put the police at some risk of prosecution for perjury if it turned out later that they had not been acting in good faith.

Cape editor's personal view of SA

THE CAPE OF STORMS, by Tony Heard (Ravan, R44,95)

TONY Heard edited the Cape Times for 16 years. That long period tends to be remembered for two recent happenings: his 1985 interview with ANC president Oliver Tambo which broke the law but brought Heard international acclaim, and his dismissal in 1987 which brought his employers international condemnation.

Heard, an intensely political editor, does not believe the two were directly connected, but is not sure there was no political motive behind the decision to fire him at 49.

He accepts without reservation that the man who fired him, TML, MD Stephen Mulholland, did not intend to wield a political axe but wanted change after one man's lengthy stewardship. Heard also believes the move was not sufficiently explained to stop others drawing what they

saw as obvious conclusions. "I'm an agnostic. I don't know," he said last week prior to the launch of what is billed as a personal history of the crisis in SA.

A personal history it is, from his Durban schooldays with Mulholland to the Tambo interview and his dismissal. It is deliberately not an epic tome, but it seems at times to try to encompass too much: Heard's life and editorship; the rise and fall of apartheid; Cape Town and the Cape Times. The switches from one theme to the other are not always easy, nor is the thread always distinct.

This detracts from, but does not negate, the value of this contemporary history of politics and some newspapering. Heard reminds us of things that are rapidly being forgotten in the eclipse of apartheid. He does so not as a researching academic but by recounting the inci-

ents he lived through and the people he met; he does so from a personal viewpoint, as a trained observer.

He does so, too, as a white South African. His youth and schooling were spent in a white environment in Natal; people of other races were either distant and unknown, or servants to be summoned by "little bells". It was in Cape Town that he first appreciated the horrors and human indignity inflicted by apartheid.

Heard had a meteoric newspaper career. He was a parliamentary reporter at 20, before he could vote, and an editor by the time he was 33. He watched the 1960 march on Cape Town led by the equally youthful Philip Kgosana, listened to police negotiating with the PAC regional secretary and saw the betrayal as Kgosana, persuaded to disperse the marchers and come back to present PAC grievances to Justice Minister

Frans Erasmus, walked into arrest.

He met Hendrik Verwoerd, John Vorster and P W Botha, his impressions, and some disputes, are recorded along with their policies and an assessment of the sometimes unintended results.

The Tambo interview, now legally reprinted with the unbanning of the ANC, is mild in retrospect; Tambo says nothing Nelson Mandela has not said since his release. The charges against Heard were eventually dropped, and his employers were fined R300 instead. Heard, fired with a golden handshake, is now an international columnist.

Heard says he felt very strongly at the time that the public had a right to Tambo's views; neither he nor his colleagues can know whether the incident helped unban the ANC and subject it to a public debate about the future of this country.

MICHAEL ACOTT



□ HEARD

Total revamp planned for Vrye Weekblad

15/04/91 2/3/91

VRYE Weekblad, the independent Afrikaans weekly newspaper, is to change its design, its coverage and its language

The publication, which fought off a R1m libel suit from police general Lothar Neethling, is to become a bilingual weekly magazine from April 6.

Editor Max du Preez said the defamation case had not prompted the change, as costs were covered. He said independent newspapers had to reassess their role in a changed SA.

While a truly alternative newspaper was possible in the past, now "most papers

MARCIA KLEIN

cover most areas of news"

Market research had shown it made no sense to try to compete with the dailies, the Sunday papers and other sources of news

With Vrye Weekblad's high-income, young, mostly graduate readership "we sensed that they needed an intellectually stimulating read at the weekend which gave the background to a story and interpreted the news", Du Preez said

The magazine would provide "a whole package — a nice mix of political analysis,

profiles, environmental issues, exposés and other areas of interest"

Vrye Weekblad had real sales of 11 000 to 12 000, and about 25 000 readers. Du Preez was hoping for sales of about 25 000

Although "conventional wisdom has it that bilingual papers don't work", Vrye Weekblad had successfully run English pieces, Du Preez said

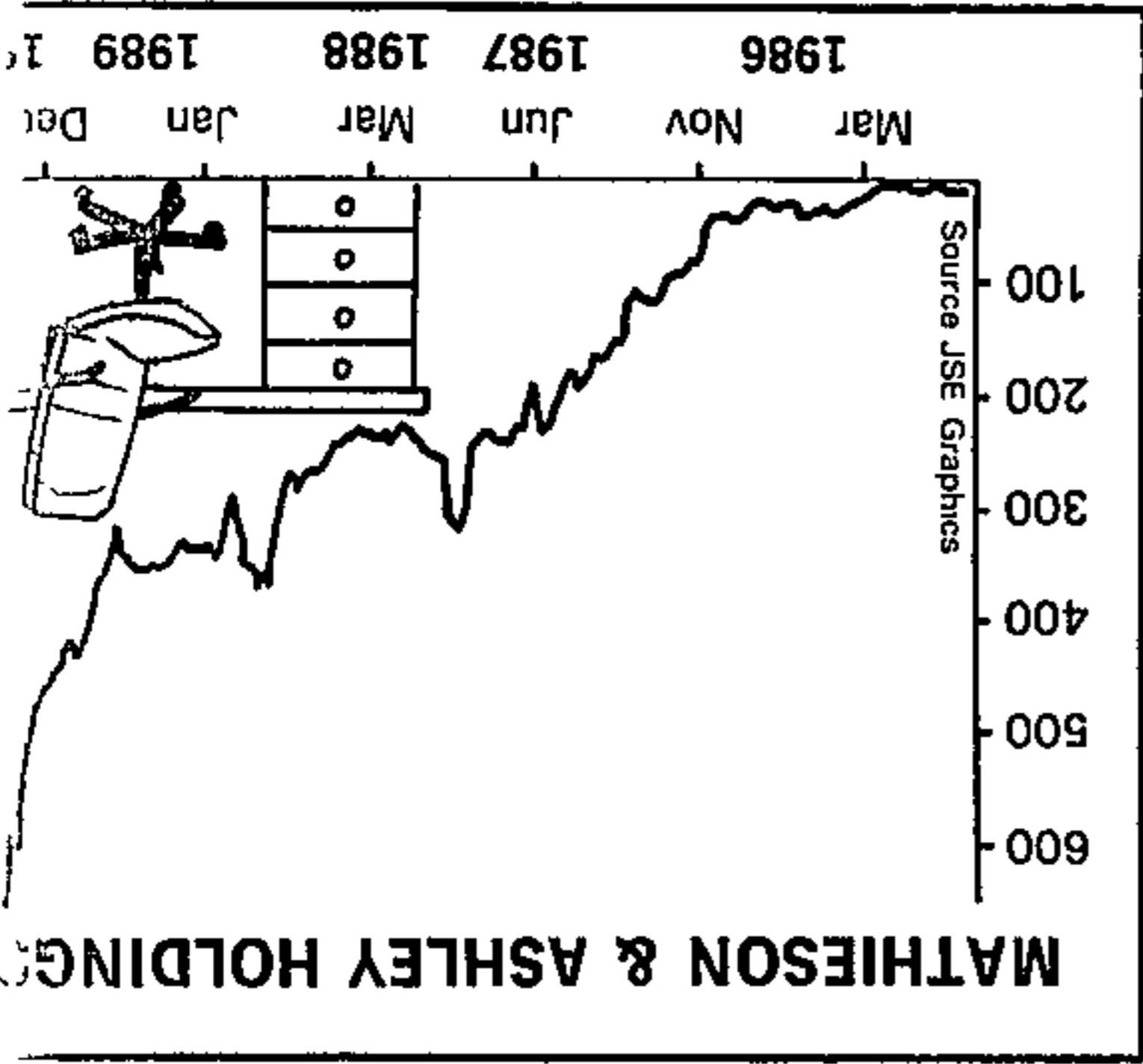
"We want to change the perception of Vrye Weekblad as a radical Afrikaans revolutionary paper. However, we will not lose our independence or our investigative journalism," Du Preez said

243



Tightly held shares put Mathash out of the race

5/Time 2112190
188



THE determination of shareholders in office furniture and equipment group Mathieson & Ashley to hang on to their stock forced the company out of prime place in the Business Times Top 100 table. Mathash's performance, which took it to fourth place in 1988, would have given it top position with an overall return of 95.8% in the past five years — if more shares had been bought and sold.

The group was not considered in the final tally because fewer than 13-million worth of shares were traded in the year. Chairman Winky Ringo is philosophical about the had break, saying "We have always been aware that there were too few shares in issue a year ago we went into a four for one share split of Mathash and Vestacor to improve marketability. There could be another share split two years down the line — or a big acquisition could be accompanied by a rights issue."

There are now nearly 12 million Mathash shares and nearly 8-million Vestacor issued. Institutions took advantage of the share split to increase their holdings and, given the group's remarkable track record, they have not been inclined to sell.

Mathash's strong performance sustained it in R20 million of stock in the year to June 30 when earnings fell by 27% to 50.2c a share after a 36% increase in group sales to R135 million.

Nevertheless, earnings a



WINKY RINGO A company that's too highly rated by the shareholders to find a rating in the Top 100



Mr Ringo says the strong element of up the rest. black businessmen customers will be shown that about Test market from other producers and the come from group in About 35% of st

Test

million in a full he hopes for sale half of the current on group results in says there will be black and white M ed by small busin conscious market compete in the The 5 000sq m the South Rand retail flagship will in the SA market ing on a promise Mathash is also ful distribution ch we must work on for our products selves that there "We have stn Mr Ringo on quality and pu will match Europ when we begin to equipment in "Our investm year assignment be sent to Europe year a senior execut the first quarter to exports this ven bigger capital com The group is m

market. The equipment division, which imports and distributes tax machines, mail-division for the office equipment income after a poor spell turnover last year and Office furniture contrib- Office furniture contrib- normal market" better terms than in a can do deals on about 20% small success in group scored it export opportunity After a long, hard profitability returned in the divi shake-out among the correction action Mr Ringo says sh

room equipment in lar have invested heavily in equipment and computer- shreders and other reported a loss of million for the v

Mr Ringo says "There is too much capacity for the office furniture market and this has led to price cutting. But lean group companies have benefited in the tough furniture industry — prob- environment, winning or- ders from major buyers who have found that they has experienced Margins have been cut to the bone

One company closure dumped R15-million to R20 million of stock in the office equipment division on forced sale, hammering sales by surviving suppliers

But the Mathash furniture companies in particu- ules tax machines, mail-

Invested

By IAN SMITH

Mr Ringo is not disheartened at recent results. He says the downturn is a full recession for the office furniture industry — prob- environment, winning or- ders from major buyers who have found that they has experienced Margins have been cut to the bone

Test

million in a full he hopes for sale half of the current on group results in says there will be black and white M ed by small busin conscious market compete in the The 5 000sq m the South Rand retail flagship will in the SA market ing on a promise Mathash is also ful distribution ch we must work on for our products selves that there "We have stn Mr Ringo on quality and pu will match Europ when we begin to equipment in "Our investm year assignment be sent to Europe year a senior execut the first quarter to exports this ven bigger capital com The group is m

Mr Ringo says the strong element of up the rest. black businessmen customers will be shown that about Test market from other producers and the come from group in About 35% of st

Education Foundation offers journalism award (243)

A NEW annual journalism award, The Education Reporter of the Year, is being offered by the Education Foundation *Sowetan 12/3/91*

A statement released by the Foundation on Monday said the award is in recognition of the efforts of journalists country-wide in bringing the importance of education to the attention of the public

The award is open to all journalists, for articles deal-

ing with issues from pre-primary to tertiary phases, and within both the formal and informal sectors

Independent adjudicators will select the winner, who will be awarded a month long trip to Great Britain for an in-depth look at education journalism. The prize includes return airfare to the UK, accommodation, travel and subsistence expenses

The closing date for entries is March 31 - *Sapa*

Daily newspapers hit by declining circulations

THE circulation figures of every major daily newspaper in SA dropped in the six months to December 1990 compared with the previous six months, Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC) figures for July to December 1990 show.

Traditionally the December holidays depress the second half figures, but newspapers seemed to have been hit harder in 1990, Media Plan director Murielle van Noort said.

Circulation figures were, however,

MARCIA KLEIN (243) marginally up against the last six months of the previous year.

SA's major daily newspapers have a combined circulation of around 1,3-million copies.

English and Afrikaans dailies fell by 3,9% in the second six months, and grew by 1,8% and 0,8% respectively in the full year.

The daily Sowetan and the weekly Sunday Times both showed increases

of more than 10 000 compared with the second half of 1989.

Financial magazines showed a 1,8% decrease in circulation for the second six months and a 0,1% decrease for the year, with only one publication — Finansies & Tegniek — showing an increased circulation.

Agricultural magazines were worst off with a 4,7% decline in circulation for the last six months of the year, and a 5,4% decline for the full year.

| | | | | | |
|-------|---------|-----|---------|--------|-----------------|
| Jan 1 | Balance | b/d | 5 400 | 12 500 | Clothing purch. |
| | | | | | |
| Jan 1 | | | 114 000 | | Sold clothing |

40

STOCK

| | | | | | |
|-------|---------|-----|--------|--|--|
| Jan 1 | Balance | b/d | 56 000 | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |

30

LAND AND BUILDINGS

| | | | | | |
|-------|---------|-----|--------|-------|-----------|
| Jan 1 | Balance | b/d | 5 000 | | BANK |
| | | | | 9 800 | BANK |
| | | | | 200 | Discount |
| | | | 10 000 | | Purchased |
| Jan 1 | Balance | b/d | 5 000 | | |

20

ACCOUNTS PAYABLE - HEX TEXTILES

| | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--------|------|
| | | | | 12 000 | Bank |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |

11

DRAWINGS

| | | | | | |
|-------|---------|-----|--------|--------|--|
| Jan 1 | Balance | b/d | 77 000 | 75 600 | |
| | | | | | |

10

CAPITAL

REAL ACCOUNTS

ALS

CP secretary to fight

Star 13/3/91

sentence in source row

Pretoria Correspondent

243

Conservative Party chief secretary Andries Beyers has been sentenced to 14 days' jail for refusing to divulge the identity of a source.

This follows a report in the CP mouthpiece, Die Patriot

Pretoria District Court magistrate M Kilian granted Mr Beyers leave to appeal, and bail was set at R500

Mr Kilian said the report about the kidnapping of a key witness in the "Winnie Mandela trial", Gabriel Mekgwe, alleged that a crime had been committed.

Mr Beyers has lodged an appeal against his sentence

According to the appeal, lodged with the clerk of the Pretoria Magistrate's Court yesterday, the sentence imposed was unreasonable

In terms of the appeal, the court should have found that Mr Beyers had sufficient reason for not divulging the identity of his source. Sufficient reasons include privilege, necessity and/or an emergency situation, documents said.

Sentence was also imposed without the court weighing Mr Beyers' refusal against the facts which came to light during the Harms Commission inquiry into the CCB, the Hiemstra Commission findings on the death of Wits academic Dr David Webster and the death of Swapo official Anton Lubowski, Mr Justice Kriegler's judgment in a civil case between a weekly newspaper and police forensic chief Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling, and a letter bomb sent to the attorney who acted for former police captain Dirk Coetzee during the Harms Commission

□ PROPAGANDA

TIME FOR CHANGE IN ALTERNATIVE PRESS

Clips 17/3/91

243

DURING the Vietnam war, American propaganda projected Ho Chi Minh's Vietcong as incapable of withstanding American might.

The Americans believed this and underestimated Vietnamese strength, lost the war.

Falling for one's own propaganda is not uniquely American, though in South Africa's prolonged internal conflict the regime - and its opposition - has fallen just as hard.

The State's sophisticated propaganda machinery painted the ANC, UDF, SACP and other organisations as "terrorist" with as little support as America attributed to Ho Chi Minh.

To counter this propaganda, the alternative Press emerged and *Grassroots*, *New Era*, *New Nation*, *South*, *The Weekly Mail*, *New African* and a host of other publications joined a battle against the State's misrepresentation of "reality" and its repression of the majority voice.

When *Grassroots* was formed in 1980 it aimed to "write for the people", become their voice and help them to build democratic organisations.

We thought it important to exaggerate the strength of the ANC and to sketch Nelson Mandela larger than life. Any internal organisational problems or flaws were attributed to apartheid, State propaganda and repression.

We were uncritical of the Mass Democratic Movement and swept most contradictions or controversy under the carpet.

In our attempts to hang apartheid and its perpetrators, we became infected

ADLI JACOBS, a staffer of the Cape-based publication *New Era*, says in the latest issue of *CrossTimes* magazine that the alternative Press must be more critical of political movements

ed by the very methods we found abhorrent

The SABC gave virtually exclusive coverage to the National Party, keeping the population in the dark about government foul-ups and cover-ups, hit squads and other scandals

Newspapers that supported the State would not encourage debate and openness around issues of national importance such as open schools, group areas, endemic violence and countless others.

Yet in engaging in the propaganda battle with the State we shot ourselves in the foot.

The weapons nearest at hand have been stereotyped images and rhetoric - have charismatic revolutionary leaders, clenched fists, rabid police and refrains of "we the people" and "forward".

Few of us realise how our own media have been injured in the war against the State. What started out as necessary propaganda has become the reality for many of us.

We falsely presented the ANC and MDM as interchangeable with "the people".

In order to build a true democracy, we need a new type of journalism

Democracy needs a society that is fully informed and this places particu-

lar demands on the alternative media. At the *Grassroots* AGM in August, the publication received a strong mandate from its affiliates to become more critical and not align itself with any party.

The implication for all of us alternative media workers is that we can no longer paint idyllic pictures of the liberation movement and no longer shirk the task of criticism and self-criticism in order to stimulate debate.

We need to shake off simplistic analysis and to admit the complexity of forging "a new South Africa".

It means we cannot just give views that simplistically counter State viewpoints. We need to transcend the propaganda battle.

We also need to acknowledge that we are not the people, nor any single political organisation, or all of them put together. We activists, or activist-journalists, remain a small section of society.

Our perspectives, therefore, cannot exist solely within the framework of the ANC or SACP. Our main responsibility is towards ordinary people and it is their genuine experiences, hopes and fears to which we need to give voice.

Finally, we need to begin to write without anger. We need to look at reality and set about reflecting it in ways that will not destroy our integrity or our values in the long term.

This does not mean that we should not take a political position or not choose sides. It does mean that these choices must not blind us, or in any way excuse us, from challenging ourselves.

not yet been released.

Prince Mhlongo (13)

sleeping in their bedroom

buried on Saturday

NPU is to withdraw from police liaison committees

Sowetan 20/3/91 (243)

THE Newspaper Press Union is to discontinue regular formal contact with the SAP and SADF through joint liaison committees, ending a protocol that has been in existence for several years.

This was announced in Cape Town yesterday by NPU president, Mr Ton Vosloo, who said the decision was taken in the light of the changing political and security situation in South Africa.

They had also taken into account the

Media Council's request to the Government to review all laws and regulations which hamper the free flow of news.

"In view of the fact that a review of restrictive legislation will take some time, both the NPU and the Conference of Editors are in favour of simplified arrangements to ensure that editors and journalists are not exposed to the full harshness of the Police and Defence Acts in their present form." - *Sapa*.

NPU reviews 8/20/3/91 security role

CAPE TOWN — The Newspaper Press Union is to discontinue regular formal contact with the SAP and SADF through joint liaison committees — ending a protocol that has existed for several years

NPU president Ton Vosloo said yesterday the Conference of Editors indicated it wished to withdraw from the liaison committee arrangement and "the NPU has formally backed this decision" (243)

He said "The NPU and the Conference of Editors are in favour of simplified arrangements to ensure that editors and journalists are not exposed to the full harshness of the Police and Defence Acts in their present form"

The Conference of Editors would consult all editors with the view to drafting new arrangements which would be considered at further meetings with the SAP and SADF — Sapa

- 20 Aug 90 Alleged assault
22 Aug 90 Breaking up of a meeting during which 1 person was killed
- 28 Aug 90 Alleged violent behaviour while under influence of alcohol
- 31 Aug 90 Alleged assault
- 18 Sep 90 Assault
- 7 Nov 90 Refusal of access through vehicle control point
- 24 Dec 90 A youth fatally wounded

SA Police investigation was inconclusive
SA Police investigation in progress

Dispute was solved by the Officer Commanding the Command No further action taken

SA Police investigated the matter No prosecution against SA Defence Force members
An Ordinary Court Martial found members not guilty
The matter was resolved between the parties concerned No further action required
SA Police investigation in progress

SAAF: pilots/technical personnel

159 Lt-Gen R H D ROGERS asked the Minister of Defence

- (1) How many (a) pilots and (b) technical personnel resigned from the South African Air Force in 1990,
- (2) whether any steps are being taken to prevent further resignations, if not, why not, if so, what steps?

Hansford 21/3/91

B403E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE

- (1) (a) First 6 months of 1990 27
Second 6 months of 1990 29
Total 56
- (b) First 6 months of 1990 506
Second 6 months of 1990 319
Total 825

- (2) Yes A project addressing the basic pay structures of each rank in the SA Defence Force as well as more market related allowances, was implemented with effect from 1 July 1990. It would appear from the figures above that the Project could have had a positive effect on the retention of technical personnel but not on the resignation of pilots. Further proposals to improve the situation have been submitted.

Bureau for Information: publications

161 Mr P G SOAL asked the State President

- 15 Dukathole News
16 Kwanonzame News
17 Kwamagxaki News
18 Mzomomhle Elethu
19 Sinakho News
20 Mkwenkwezi News
21 Kwanonjoli News
22 Ibhayi News
23 Karet
24 Daveyton News
25 Bekkersdal
26 Diepmeadow News
27 Ditaba tsa Lekoa
28 Duduzani
29 Evaton News
30 Ikutlweleng
31 Soweto
32 Reagile
33 Kwa-Thema Mirror
34 Munsteville News
35 Orange Farm
36 Ratanda News
37 Tembisa Tribune
38 Tokoza
39 Tsakane Herald
40 Vosloorus
41 Zonkizizwe
42 Kathlehong
43 Metropolitan Digest
44 Light/Khanya
45 Lux Femina
- Head Office Publications*
- 46 SA Panorama (ENG)
47 SA Panorama (AFR)
48 SA Today
49 RSA-Policy Review
50 RSA-Befeidsorsig
51 Amptelike Jaarboek 1990/91
- 52 Openings toespraak van Staatspresident (02/02/90)
53 Opening Speech of the State President (02/02/90)
54 SA Profile
55 Die Nuwe Suid-Afrika
56 The New South Africa
57 Die Nuwe Suid-Afrika (opgedateerd)
58 The New South Africa (updated)
59 Buro Jaarverslag
60 Bureau Annual Report
61 Suid-Afrika 'n Kritisgids
62 South Africa at a Glance
63 Buro Kalender/Calendar 1990
64 The National Economy
65 History
66 Guide to Foreign Investors
67 Constitution and Systems of Government
68 Peoples and Languages
69 Education
70 Black Political Development
71 Physical Features
72 Manpower and Industrial Relations
73 Community Development
74 Political Parties and Organisations
75 Wildlife and Conservation
76 Cultural Life
77 Health and Welfare
78 Foreign Relations
79 Mining and Minerals
80 Demographic Trends
81 National Security
82 Energy
83 Agriculture
84 Press and Advertising
85 Finance

- Hansard*
- * 86 Sport and Recreation
- * 87 Water
- * 88 Tourism
- * 89 Research and Development
- * 90 Religion
- * Reprintings from South Africa 1989/90 official Year Book (ENG)
- (c) R5 019 384,38
- (d) 1 Home Journal Press
- 2 Republican Press
Leader Press (Since Nov 1990)
- 3 Republican Press
Leader Press (Since Nov 1990)
- 4 Perskor
- 5 Ditto
- 6 NMB Printers
- 7 Ditto
- 8 Ditto
- 9 Ditto
- 10 Ditto
- 11 Ditto
- 12 Ditto
- 13 Ditto
- 14 Ditto
- 15 Ditto
- 16 Ditto
- 17 Ditto
- 18 Ditto
- 19 Ditto
- 20 Ditto
- 21 Ditto
- 22 Ditto
- 23 Galvin en Sales (Prop) Ltd
Paarl Post (Since Oct 1990)
- 24 Perskor
- 25 Ditto
- 25 Ditto
- 26 Ditto
- 27 Ditto
- 28 Ditto
- 29 Ditto
- 30 Ditto
- 31 Ditto
- 32 Ditto
- 33 Ditto
- 34 Ditto
- 35 Ditto
- 36 Ditto
- 37 Ditto
- 38 Ditto
- 39 Ditto
- 40 Ditto
- 41 Ditto
- 42 Ditto
- 43 Ditto
- 44 Hoofstad Pers (Aurora Press)
- 45 Ditto
- 46 ABC Press
- 47 Ditto
- 48 Perskor
- 49 National Book Printers
- 50 Ditto
- 51 CTP Book Printers
- 52 Perskor
- 53 Ditto
- 54 Aurora Drukkery
- 55 CTP Book Printers
- 56 Ditto
- 57 Ditto
- 58 Ditto
- 59 Ditto
- 60 Ditto
- 61 Ditto
- 62 Ditto
- 63 ABC Press
- 64 CTP Book Printers
- 65 Ditto
- 66 Ditto
- 67 Ditto
- 68 Ditto
- 69 Ditto
- 70 Ditto
- 71 Ditto
- 72 Ditto
- 73 Ditto
- 74 Ditto
- 75 Ditto
- 76 Ditto
- 77 Ditto
- 78 Ditto
- 79 CTP Book Printers
- 80 Ditto
- 81 Ditto
- 82 Ditto
- 83 Ditto
- 84 Ditto
- 85 Ditto
- 86 Ditto
- 87 Ditto
- 88 Ditto
- 89 Ditto
- 90 Ditto
- (2) Yes. Tenders for printing contracts are dealt with by The Government Printer
- Educational concepts**
- 174 Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:
- (1) Whether there are any differences between the concepts (a) teacher/pupil ratio, (b) average class size and (c) pupil density in relation to numbers of pupils in schools, if so, what are the differences,
- (2) whether information is available on the average class size in each of the education departments in South Africa, if not, why not, if so,
- (3) whether he will make this information public, if so, what are the relevant details,
- (4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?
- The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION
- (1) (a) The concept teacher/pupil ratio is defined by the Department of National Education as being the total number of pupils at public ordinary schools divided by the total number of full-time equivalent educators engaged within the public ordinary school sector (educators engaged in education management and auxiliary services are also included)
- (b) The term average class size is defined by the Department of National Education as being the total number of pupils at public ordinary schools divided by the total number of classrooms used for instruction (classrooms and laboratories) in public ordinary schools
- (c) My Department of National Education is not familiar with the term pupil density
- (2) My Department of National Education does not have such information at its disposal. It is not needed for determining general education policy
- (3) Lapses
- (4) Lapses
- Teachers: equalisation of salary scales**
- 191 Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:
- (1) Whether agreement was reached in 1990 to bring about the equalisation of the salary scales payable to male and female teachers of equivalent qualifications, if so, (a) as from what date will payments be made in terms of such scales and (b) what scales will be applied,
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?
- The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION
- (1) With effect from 1 April 1990 a number of steps were implemented in order to reduce the salary disparities in respect of

Editors reject agreement⁽²⁴³⁾ with police

W/Mail 22/3-27/3/91

By GAYE DAVIS Cape Town

A UNANIMOUS decision by the country's leading newspaper editors to withdraw from agreements governing relations between the press and the military and police was welcomed this week as a boost for press freedom

It means the system of police and defence-approved accreditation for selected journalists — seen as a form of government registration of journalists — comes to an end. However, pernicious clauses contained in the Police and Defence Acts, which resulted in the agreements being forged in the first place, remain on the statute books.

The decision was taken by the Conference of Editors in February and endorsed this week by the Newspaper Press Union, which represents newspaper managements.

Because a review of restrictive legislation would take time, the NPU and the Conference of Editors favoured "simplified arrangements" to protect editors and journalists from "the full harshness" of the Police and Defence Acts in their present form, he said.

Swaziland unbans

City Press

Clipped 24/3/91
SWAZILAND has lifted the six year ban on *City Press* and sister publication *Drum*, Interior Minister Senzenjani Shabalala told the Swazi Senate this week.

Drum and *City Press* were banned after they published "certain sensitive and critical articles" about members of the once all-powerful Supreme Council of State, the Liqoqo, which ruled Swaziland for two years after the death of King Sobhuza II in 1983.

City Press has not yet been officially informed that the ban has been lifted.

"Once that happens *City Press* will immediately begin circulating again in Swaziland," editor Khulu Sibiyi said yesterday

Political comment and newbills by K Sibiyi, headlines and sub-editing by B Keswa, both of 2 Herb Street, Johannesburg.

Editor of The Star to face contempt charge

243
Sowetan 25/3/91

TODAY'S contempt of court case in the Rand Supreme Court against *The Star's* editor-in-chief Mr Richard Steyn has brought swift reaction from the Campaign for Open Media and the Anti-Censorship Action Group.

In statements in Johannesburg on Saturday, chairman for the Campaign for Open Media Mr Raymond Louw and Ms Joyce Ozinski, director of the Anti-Censorship Action Group, criticised the incident.

The contempt of court proceedings were initiated by Mr Justice J Coetzee against Steyn on Friday.

He was asked to explain his conduct in publishing statements critical of a court judgment.

However, on Friday Steyn was not asked to make any statements when he appeared in court.

Reasons

Instead, he was ordered to appear again today.

The court has asked that *The Star* submit reasons why last Wednesday's article should not be considered *prima facie* contempt of court.

Steyn's appearance followed an article on Wednesday about an agreement between the National Soccer League and the South African Soccer Association - which had been put aside in a judgment by Justice Coetzee.

The Star's report quoted Mr Eric Dalton, chairman of Cape Town Spurs soccer team, as saying that justice had not taken its course.

Louw said in his reaction that, while not commenting on the legal merits of the judge's action, the Campaign for Open Media "was ap-

palled at its detrimental consequences for the free flow of information"

"It means that newspapers in future may be unable to publish statements critical of court decisions and judgments - a situation which is fundamentally dangerous in a democratic state

Comments

"It is important that newspapers should be free to publish comments and criticisms of judgments in the interests of the free flow of information," Louw said

Ozinski said *The Star* was doing its duty of reporting what was taking place in the community

"Acag does not wish to discuss the legal merits of the judge's action, but points out that if the editor is penalised, censorship of the media will in effect have been imposed." - *Sapa*.

Now CP 'forms private army'

THE Conservative Party wants to establish its own "volk army", according to newspaper reports in Cape Town.

Responding to, but not denying reports in yesterday's *Die Burger*, CP's spokesman Mr Andries Beyers said his party's supporters had no choice but to resist "with the necessary means to protect their living space and freedom."

"It is for us to know and for our opponents to find out," he said of the CP's preparation for their "struggle".

According to reports in *Die Burger* - the National Party organ in Cape Town - a meeting to launch the CP's private army was held in Pretoria on March 14.

"The party supports the attempts by whites to organise themselves into guard units or home-guards.

"The Government is allowing the African National Congress to keep and run a private army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. They even have the right to keep their AK-47 rifles," Beyers said.

He said as the Government was going to negotiate with the African National Congress, President FW de Klerk and the Minister of Defence, Mr Magnus Malan, had declared themselves willing to serve under the organisation's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

This, he said, left the CP with no choice but to resist "with the necessary means to protect itself and its constituents."

Yo

Ruling reserved on Star's contempt case

243

Sowetan 27/3/91

JUDGMENT was reserved in the contempt of court hearing against the editor-in-chief of *Star* newspaper at the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

The charge against Mr Richard Steyn follows an article in which the chairman of Cape Town Spurs, Mr Eric Dalton, said "no justice has been done".

Defence counsel GJ Marcus said the remarks in question were directed at the National Soccer League and not the Supreme Court.

A *rule nisi* was granted last week against Steyn to show cause why he should not be charged for contempt of court.

Marcus said a balance should be struck between the demands of free expression and the requirements due to the administration of justice.

The press had a particular and peculiar function to serve the public interest, Marcus said.

"If freedom of speech is to have any significance in a democratic

country, its commitment to freedom of the press must be recognised because it is only by reaching a large number of people and rallying their support that these freedoms can be utilised for the benefit of society," Marcus said.

To hold that "justice has not been done" constituted contempt of court would render the vast body of academic criticism in law journals to criminal liability, Marcus said. - *Sapa*

Editor is cleared of contempt

243
Sowetan
28/3/91

THE Rand Supreme Court yesterday ruled that the editor-in-chief of *The Star*, Mr Richard Steyn, had not committed contempt of court when he published a report concerning a row surrounding Cape Town Spurs.

Mr Justice JH Coetzee found that the comment "justice has not been done", made in *The Star* by Mr Ed Dalton, manager of Cape Town Spurs, referred to the National Soccer League and not to the Supreme Court.

He also found that even if Dalton's remark had been aimed at the court, it would not have been contempt for *The Star* to have printed it.

The Supreme Court last week Tuesday booted the Cape club out of the NSL and reinstated African Wanderers.

The next day *The Star* carried a front page report under the heading "Spurs dumped by NSL"

The brief report, which contained Dalton's comment cross-referred to a longer one on the back page

The judge's initial ac-

tion against Steyn was based on his *prima facie* view that one or both reports amounted to contempt.

The judge agreed with the newspaper's counsel, Mr Gilbert Marcus, that when the reports were read together there was no contempt.

Steyn said after the case: "If this charge had been upheld, it would have had severe consequences for freedom of speech and of the Press"

- *Sowetan Correspondent*.

General misled Harms

'unintentionally' ^{CAH 7/1/91}
^{242 (327) (B&V)} 4/4/91

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Forensics chief Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling had not deliberately misled the Harms Commission or the court that heard his defamation claim against Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail, his counsel, Mr Fanie Cilliers, told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

The court was hearing an application for leave to appeal against Mr Justice Kriegler's dismissal of the claim for articles quoting former police captain Mr Dirk Coetzee

The judge dismissed the claim after accepting that

Mr Coetzee had collected poison from General Neethling's home. He found the general had misled the commission in saying Mr Coetzee could have gleaned details on his home from a videotape Mr Cilliers said General Neethling had intended this as opinion, not fact.

John Carlin finds that the continuing cycle of violence has boosted Inkatha at the expense of the ANC

Losing out in the township power play

LAST week's edition of New Nation, the biggest pro-African National Congress newspaper, carried a startling critique of the ANC leadership's dismal failure to deal with the most pressing — and potentially destructive — political issue of the day: the violence against townships in Johannesburg's black townships.

The article carried the opinions of ANC supporters in Alexandra township interviewed after the latest atrocity, the AK-47 attack last Wednesday which left dead 15 mourners at a funeral vigil.

One person interviewed, expressing a generalised sentiment, said the ANC had shown itself to be incapable of protecting the people. "The ANC was the only organisation that we trusted in everything, but now it seems as if

we are left to the mercy of the killers." What they are saying in Alexandra is being echoed in ANC circles all over the Johannesburg area, where more than 100 people have died in political violence in the last month and where at least 1 200 have been killed since August.

Not surprisingly, the ANC leadership is in a panic. Which is why Nelson Mandela called on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, head of Inkatha, in Durban on Saturday. The idea was to try to come up with something constructive to try to end the slaughter. But all that came out was lame, tired rhetoric — little to reflect the urgency of a problem which threatens to destroy the entire process of negotiated political transition

on which the country is supposedly set

At the height of the township violence in September, Archbishop Desmond Tutu was quoted as saying that if nothing was done the country was "for the birds". Last week he repeated his cry: "Something has gone desperately wrong in the black community," he told his Cape Town congregation. "We can't go on forever blaming apartheid."

This, of course, is precisely what the ANC is doing. Blaming all the violence on a shadowy "third force", the ANC insists that to describe the violence as "black-on-black", as anything other than the product of yet another tardy apartheid conspiracy, is racist. This is not to say that the slaughter should be seen merely

in terms of black savagery, a position editorial writers in the "white" newspapers increasingly lean towards. One question these eloquent pundits rarely ask, oddly, is who is gaining and losing from the violence in political terms? (Otherwise, of course, why insist on referring to the violence as "political" in the first place?)

Beyond doubt, as New Nation's piece last week served to demonstrate, the ANC has suffered more than anyone. Its credibility among the vast majority of the black population who have long supported them has been seriously undermined. And Inkatha has gained. For all the bluster and well-honed PR of Chief Buthelezi, the fact is that his party's support is minimal compared to the ANC's. A national opinion poll conducted in Feb-

ruary by the government-funded Human Sciences Research Council found that in a general election, 53 percent of the total population would vote for the ANC, one percent for Inkatha. A poll conducted by a Gallup subsidiary, Markinor, found 58 percent of black urban adults supported Mr Mandela, one percent Chief Buthelezi.

At Saturday's meeting, notwithstanding, Chief Buthelezi had the temerity to propose that he, Mr Mandela and President de Klerk should form a sort of leadership "troika" to oversee the nation's problems. If Mr Mandela did not laugh the suggestion out of court it is because he recognises that the violence in the country, and Inkatha's central role in it, have given Chief Buthelezi a measure of power, a political bargaining

position, utterly disproportionate to the support he enjoys among the potential electorate.

If the country were at peace, Chief Buthelezi would rapidly regress to the relative obscurity — one homeland leader more — to which he was reduced just after Mr Mandela's release a year ago before the township killings flared. The violence of the last eight months has diminished the stature of Mr Mandela and significantly boosted Chief Buthelezi's. That is the politics of the township violence. If politics has nothing to do with it — if Inkatha has merely been caught up in a senseless spiral like everybody else — then the white editorial-writers are right and it's all just barbarism. — The Independent News Service □

243
play

John Carlin finds that the continuing cycle of violence has boosted Inkatha at the expense of the ANC

Losing out in the township power

Star 3/1/91

Handwritten initials and scribbles at the bottom right of the page.

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we are left to the mercy of the killers." What they are saying in Alexandra is being echoed in ANC circles all over the Johannesburg area, where more than 100 people have died in political violence in the last month and where at least 1 200 have been killed since August.

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At Saturday's meeting, notwithstanding, Chief Buthelezi had the temerity to propose that he, Mr Mandela and President de Klerk should form a sort of leadership "troika" to oversee the nation's problems. If Mr Mandela did not laugh the suggestion out of court it is because he recognises that the violence in the country, and Inkatha's central role in it, have given Chief Buthelezi a measure of power, a political bargaining

position, utterly disproportionate to the support he enjoys among the potential electorate.

If the country were at peace Chief Buthelezi would rapidly regress to the relative obscurity — one homeland leader more — to which he was reduced just after Mr Mandela's release a year ago before the township killings flared. The violence of the last eight months has diminished the stature of Mr Mandela and significantly boosted Chief Buthelezi's. That is the politics of the township violence. If politics has nothing to do with it — if Inkatha has merely been caught up in a senseless spiral like everybody else — then the white editorial-writers are right, and it's all just barbarism. — The Independent News Service □

Majority lauds Learning Nation as ... Valuable resource

New Nation (Learning Nation) 514-111491. 243

NEW NATION's education supplement, the **LEARNING NATION**, is regarded by students, academics, activists and the vast majority of the community as a viable resource for both formal and informal education.

According to a research done recently, a great number of readers bought **NEW NATION** because of their interest in the supplement.

The majority of readers are people whose aim is to improve their knowledge on issues of national and international concern, put in both formal and informal ways. **LEARNING NATION** deals with them in an exceptional way.

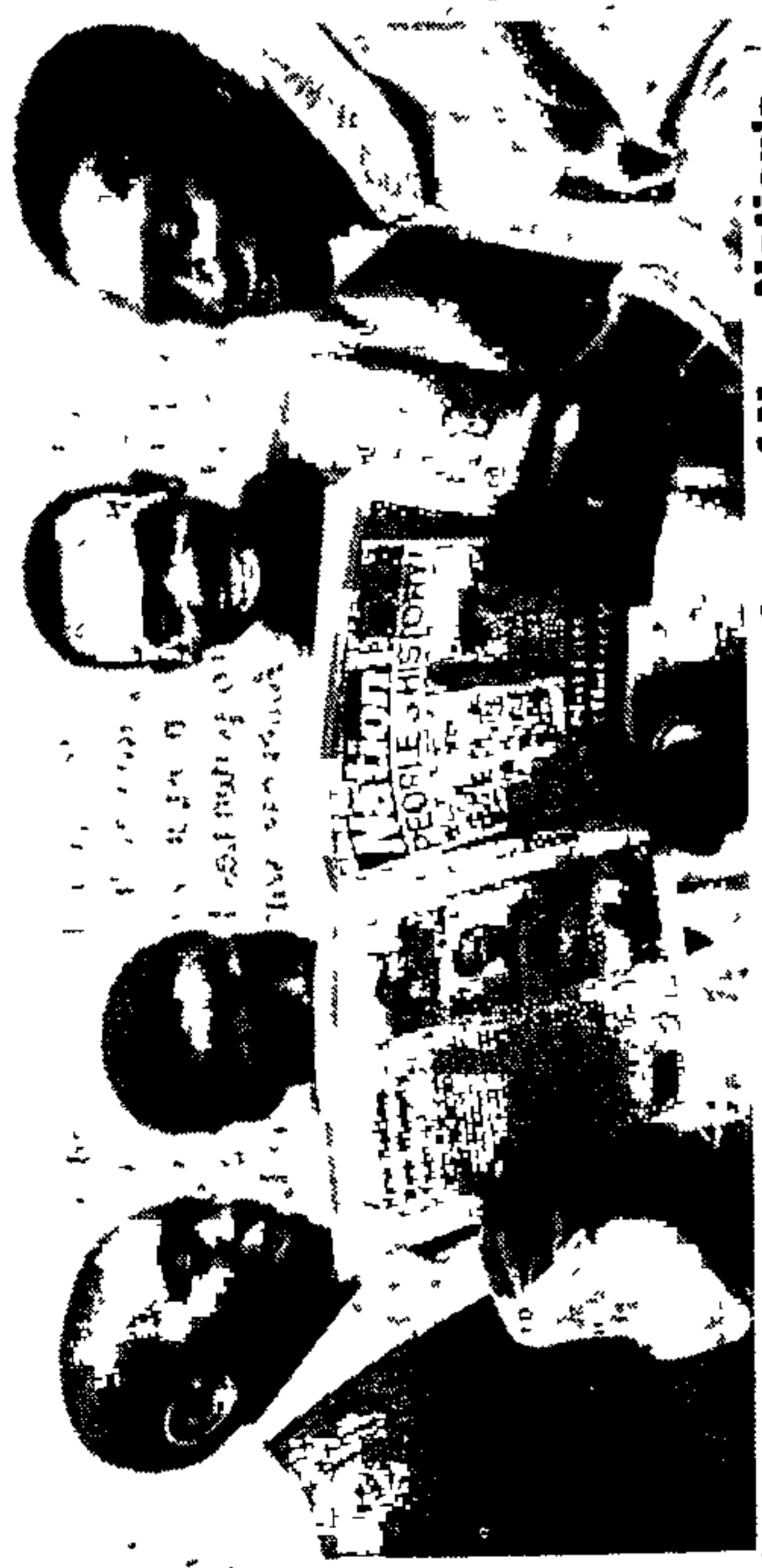
Its first page - International History - deals with political developments around the world and it attempts to situate them in the context of their happening. At the same time, one of its pages deals with matric history, which has been arranged to run concurrently with the school programme.

A recently introduced page - Resources - has been requested by the readers. Nine per cent of the respondents of the research wanted information on books, bursaries and other learning material.

Current Issues.

Also in the informal arena the supplement has recently introduced a page - Current Issues - in which matters affecting the South African society are discussed in detail, enabling people with little background to understand them easily.

Other exciting pages in the supplement are the ones that deal with the Skills for Learning



LEARNING: Students making use of one of New Nation's learning material

and Health Matters. In the Skills for Learning page readers are advised on how to study and make it interesting and productive.

Health Matters is a page which has helped many people, particularly youngsters and workers. It has advised workers on their rights as far as dangerous working conditions are concerned.

Women have benefited from articles on rape and child abuse which are skillfully written in this page.

Apart from benefiting from history syllabus, matriculants have literature at their disposal.

The last page of the supplement - Pupils Forum, has been highly recommended by students for the way in which it has reported about happenings in the schools and throughout the education arena.

Several students, teachers and parents have

communicated with **PUPILS FORUM** requesting guidance on several issues ranging from bursary information, career guidance, addresses of educational institutions, among others.

Offer

In response to endless calls by readers, particularly students and teachers, the editor of the **NEW NATION** has finally decided to make an offer to schools, youth clubs and other educational institutions who may need to buy the paper in bulk.

Instead of paying 70 cents for a copy of the **NEW NATION**, schools have been offered to pay 40 cents per copy if they buy a minimum of 100 copies. Delivery arrangements can be made after the orders have been placed.



Neethling's appeal affects media focus on corruption

w/ mail 5/4-11/4/91.

LAW & THE COURTS

Carmel Rickard

THE South African Police forensic chief, Lothar Neethling, desperate to restore his name and credibility, wants the Appellate Division to take another look at the judgment dismissing his "hit squad" libel suits against *Vrye Weekblad* and *The Weekly Mail*.

But the appeal has wider implications than Neethling's honour, or the survival of the papers which faced a claim of R1,5-million and legal costs of a similar order.

Media lawyers have stressed the legal significance of the judgment by Mr Justice Kriegler. Calling it more than just a vindication of the papers' decision to publish, they believe it should be seen as a "charter" for investigative journalism, particularly reporting on government and business corruption. This in turn means not only the media but also the public, which has an interest in clean administration and honest commercial dealings, should watch the outcome of any appeal.

The decision by Mr Justice Kriegler in the Neethling case went further than the previous high water mark judgment on the media and libel.

In that earlier case, *Zillie v Johnson*, the judge for the first time acknowledged a new kind of defence available to someone charged with defamation, and that was whether the matter published was in the public interest. Previously an editor faced with a defamation case could plead that the material was true and that its publication was justified because of public benefit.

But in the *Johnson* case the judge held that under certain strictly defined circumstances, publication of defamatory matter could be justified solely on the grounds of public interest. For example if a minister said something about someone which was not true, the fact that it was said by a mini-

ster of state made the comment reportable in the public interest, even if the content was, strictly speaking, defamatory.

In the Neethling case, lawyers for the *Vrye Weekblad* argued that the publication of defamatory comments about the police forensic chief was justified on the grounds of truth: the paper had information which it believed indicated the otherwise defamatory material was true. Additionally, as a kind of legal safety net, they argued publication was justified on the grounds of public benefit.

The Weekly Mail's defence was to argue purely for public interest — as the paper reproduced the *Vrye Weekblad* allegations without having all the information available to the *Vrye Weekblad*, *The Weekly Mail* could not justify publishing on the grounds of truth.

Crucial for the media in the Kriegler decision, the judge found the *Vrye Weekblad* was justified in publishing on the grounds of truth and public benefit. He also ruled *The Weekly Mail* was justified purely on the grounds of public interest, saying the information of former police captain Dirk Coetzee was so important that it had to be published and that the question of the truth of the material was therefore not the issue.

This "opened up" the principle established in the *Johnson* case — following the Kriegler judgment the media may publish "in the public interest" not only when ministerial statements are quoted, but when the material contains important information about alleged corruption.

One media lawyer commented, "The impact of the closely reasoned judgment of Mr Justice Kriegler is to open the door for newspapers to get involved in investigative journalism about corruption."

He said the judgment was "starting to change the face of journalism in South Africa"; editors were now in a position to give much greater scope to their journalists, knowing they would have to face the wider test of justification on public interest.

During argument on whether leave to appeal should be granted, Neethling's counsel attacked the judgment on several grounds, including the weight put on Coetzee's evidence.

Crucially for the development of media law, counsel questioned whether a defence on the basis purely of public policy should be allowed and has challenged the validity not only of the Kriegler judgment on this point, but also the *Johnson* decision.

He said new defences to defamation (like pure public interest) could not be framed, and that the only good defences were those based on the traditional categories of defence for defamation — truth for public benefit, privilege and fair comment.

Granting leave to appeal would mean that Neethling will not have to pay the legal costs of the two papers until the AD has given its ruling.

But the Kriegler judgment does not lose its teeth in the meantime. Pending the AD decision, Mr Justice Kriegler's findings are law in the Transvaal and of persuasive influence elsewhere.

At the time of writing Mr Justice Kriegler had not yet given his decision on whether to grant leave to appeal.

●Fanie Cilliers SC with M Witz, instructed by Dyasons, appeared for Neethling and Minister of Justice Kobie Coetzee. Robert Levin SC with Frans Rautenbach, instructed by Bell, Dewar and Hall, appeared for the two newspapers.

Wiman 514-11/471

Police are after the Mail again

POLICE this week informed *The Weekly Mail* that they are investigating a charge under the Police Act for the newspaper's coverage of the recent Alexander violence.

A policeman who identified himself as "security branch from John Vorster Square" formally told *The Weekly Mail* that a docket had been opened in connection with a report by Gavin Evans on March 15. In the report, Evans quoted civic leader Moses Mayekiso accusing the police of partiality in the conflict.

The investigation is in terms of the notorious section 27 (b) of the Police Act which prohibits the publication of "any untrue matter in relation to any action by the force ... without having reasonable grounds for believing that the statement is true".

Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harber said the newspaper was not prepared to co-operate at all in this matter. "The Police Act is a throwback to the dark days of the State of Emergency. The government itself has admitted that this law needs review and we expect it to be changed soon."

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Neethling's appeal against judgment fails

By Brendan Templeton

Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez called yesterday for the immediate suspension of police forensic laboratory head Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling.

Mr du Preez made the call after the general was refused leave to appeal against his failed R1-million defamation claim against the paper.

"We are looking forward to the suspension of Lothar Neethling and an investigation into the police forensic laboratory," he said. "The court has found he probably took part in multiple murder."

General Neethling entered a motion for leave to appeal after Rand Supreme Court judge Mr Justice Kriegler ruled against him in his defamation cases against the Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail.

The newspapers repeated claims by former police captain Dirk Coetzee that General Neethling provided him with poison to kill ANC activists.

Mr Justice Kriegler found on a balance of probabilities that Mr Coetzee was speaking the truth and that the general deliberately attempted to mislead him when giving evidence.

He confirmed these findings yesterday and found that a

higher court would not overturn his ruling in the Vrye Weekblad's case.

However, the converse was true in the Weekly Mail's case and the judge granted the general leave to appeal in respect of his R500 000 claim against the Weekly Mail.

In addition to Mr Coetzee's allegation, the Weekly Mail also claimed that the general sent bottles of poisoned spirits to ANC activists in Mozambique.

Contentious

The judge earlier held it was unable to prove the truth of this fact, but found in its favour, saying the case was unique and the public's need to hear the story was justification enough for publication.

But Mr Justice Kriegler said yesterday his conclusion was a contentious one that should be confirmed by a higher court.

He ordered the general to pay 90 percent of the Vrye Weekblad's legal fees of about R1.2 million, said Mr du Preez.

The remaining 10 percent will be decided on appeal.

The judge confirmed all his factual findings on Mr Coetzee's claims and ruled that another court would not disagree with him.

His findings included

- Mr Coetzee had personal con-

tact with the general. This was denied by General Neethling and put his evidence in doubt.

- General Neethling attempted to mislead the court by misreading a record from the Harms Commission and by trying to bully his "scientific" analysis of a video recording of his house (which he claimed Mr Coetzee used to find out what his home looked like) into the court record.

"I cannot, with the best will in the world, find that there was anything less than a deliberate attempt to mislead this court and the Harms Commission," the judge said.

- Claims that Mr Coetzee had a grudge against the police were unfounded; he only had a grudge against particular members of the force, but this did not include the general.

- Mr Coetzee's evidence showed a remarkable degree of consistency from the day he gave his story to the Vrye Weekblad through the Harms Commission to the defamation hearing.

Mr du Preez said afterwards the newspaper was looking forward to recovering the money it put aside for legal costs.

"If it (the ruling) had gone against us, we would have gone under."

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Gen Neethling's appeal bid fails

Capt 9/4/91
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Own Correspondent

POLICE forensics chief Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling was yesterday refused leave to appeal against the dismissal of his R1-million defamation claim against Vrye Weekblad newspaper.

Mr Justice J Kriegler dismissed General Neethling's application with costs after finding there was no reasonable prospect of another court coming to different legal and factual findings from those he made in rejecting the general's claim in January.

The judge then found that claims by former security policeman Mr Dirk Coetzee that General Neethling supplied him

with poison to murder ANC members were true.

General Neethling sued Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail for a total of R1.5m after the newspapers published articles in November-December 1989 linking him to covert police hit squad activities.

However, Mr Justice Kriegler yesterday granted General Neethling leave to appeal in respect of his R500 000 claim against the Weekly Mail, which had also been dismissed with costs.

The Weekly Mail article claimed the general was involved in poisoning bottles of liquor which were destined for ANC members in Maputo.

The judge earlier held that while the

allegations had not been proved to be true, publication was justified because the matter was of such importance that the public had a right to be informed.

Dismissing the application for leave to appeal in the Vrye Weekblad matter, the judge rejected submissions that another court could come to a different finding on the credibility of the two "key witnesses" — General Neethling and Mr Coetzee.

● Afterwards Vrye Weekblad editor Mr Max du Preez said he awaited General Neethling's immediate suspension and an investigation into the police forensics laboratory. He said the paper looked forward to recouping some of the R1 million it had spent fighting the case.



These two revellers forgot about the racial barriers in this country and got into the spirit of a different South Africa at Moretele Park in Mamelodi at the weekend. This was a special event - the reunion concert of Malombo Jazzmen Phillip Tabane, Julian Bahula and Abe Cindi - which also honoured political activist Solomon Mahlangu.

SAP chief can appeal - judge

SOUTH African Police forensic chief Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling's application for leave to appeal against a finding that he supplied poison for political assassinations partially succeeded yesterday

Rand Supreme Court judge Mr Justice JC Kriegler ruled that Neethling could appeal against the finding of his failed defamation suit against the *Weekly Mail*, but not against the finding in a similar failed defamation suit against *Vrye Weekblad* newspaper.

Kriegler said there was no reasonable chance the higher Appeal Court would rule differently where *Vrye Weekblad* was concerned.

He said he had to accept rebel former police captain Dirk Coetzee's evidence that he had visited Neethling at his home and office to collect poison, as was reported by *Vrye Weekblad*.

In view of this, the fact that Neethling had denied knowledge of Coetzee's very

existence was damning

Weekly Mail's report that Neethling had involved himself in spiking bottles of alcohol with poison and then sent them indiscriminately to ANC members in Maputo had, however, not been conclusively proved

Defamation suit

It was in view of this that the Appeal Court might rule differently in the defamation suit aimed at *Weekly Mail*

Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez, commenting on the judgment afterwards, expressed satisfaction that Neethling would be burdened with nine-tenths of the costs of the application in terms of Kriegler's ruling.

Effectively, this meant that Neethling would have to foot the bill for all of *Vrye Weekblad's* costs in the original defamation suit

This amounted to more than R1 million, Du Preez said - *Sapa*

Snub for Azapo

THE British Government has refused to grant funds to the Azanian Peoples Organisation this year, and Azapo officials yesterday accused it of "doling out funds to political organisations in a sectarian manner"

Azapo's publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley told a Press conference in Durban they had been turned down by the British Government because they were not prepared to "wheel and deal" with State President FW de Klerk and had not renounced the armed struggle

"The British Government claims it supports Inkatha and the ANC because these organisations are speaking to De Klerk and they have renounced violence," he said.

"However, both these organisations are primarily responsible for the deaths of thousands of innocent black people in townships countrywide.

"It seems to us the British Government is prepared to give money to organisations that are responsible for black people's deaths" - *Sapa*.

Click! the ...

'Charge Neethling, investigate his department'

By PHILIPPA GARSON

HUMAN rights groups are calling for the suspension of South African Police forensic laboratory chief Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling pending an investigation into his department

This week Neethling partly lost his appeal against the judgment in the R1,5-million defamation case he brought against the *Vrye Weekblad* and *The Weekly Mail*. He has been given leave to appeal against the judgment concerning *The Weekly Mail* (243) (82)

While Neethling will press ahead with his appeal against *The Weekly Mail* judgment, he will also petition the chief justice to overturn Mr Justice J Kriegler's ruling on the failed appeal application

The appeal against *The Weekly Mail* concerns a legal point only and does not challenge the bulk of the judge's findings, namely that allegations made against Neethling were in all likelihood true

Kriegler found in January that the allegations made against Neethling by ex-police captain Dirk Coetzee — that Neethling supplied poison for the elimination of political activists — were true

He also found that the allegations were of such a serious nature that the public had a right to be informed of them. It is this second finding, an important precedent in defamation law, which Neethling's legal team is to take up in the Appeal Court

This finding affects *The Weekly Mail* only. The article in question cites hearsay allegations that Neethling spiked bottles of whisky with poison destined for African National Congress activists.

While these allegations were not proved in court, the judge said they were serious enough to warrant publication

"If he doesn't get leave to appeal with regard to the *Vrye Weekblad*, there is no point appealing in *The Weekly Mail* case, since he is simply challenging a legal point," says one media lawyer

Head of the Human Rights Commission Max Coleman says there is a strong case for the prosecution of Neethling and an investigation into his department in the light of the court's findings. "We are pressing for his suspension and an independent investigation

"Evidence suggests that there are groups within the police which have been in-

involved in the planning of assassinations. (The findings) have led to the door of the top man in the forensic laboratories. Just what is going on in that department of his needs investigating," says Coleman.

Director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies Professor Dennis Davis says Neethling should be suspended since the partially successful appeal application has no effect on the essence of Mr Justice Kriegler's judgment.

"The court found that Neethling had lied, and what Coetzee said could well be true. Bearing in mind that he is a public servant, he should be suspended."

He adds that the state, which may pay Neethling's costs if his appeal is successful, has no right to do so for "what has turned out to be a technical defence".

"The ANC ultimatum must be seen in the context of profound public disquiet with regard to police action. Now the court has made a damaging judgment against a senior police officer. If De Klerk is committed to a clean police service he should be investigating what the police are doing"

Vrye Weekblad editor Max Du Preez also called for Neethling's suspension

W/mailed 12/4-18/4/91,

'Bolt from the blue' rattles establishment media psyche

By MARK GEVISSER (243)

THE African National Congress has a cheek calling for the resignation of Vlok and Malan. It is guilty of either buffoonery or political madness. It has shifted the goalposts and scuttled the peace process. It has bungled so badly that even Chris Barnard is leaving the country.

These are the views of the mainstream South African media. Almost every paper in the country spoke, this week, of the irreparable harm the ANC ultimatum has done to the image of the movement and to peace.

Perhaps the *Sunday Star* got to the root of media-rage when it wrote that "whatever the reason for the ANC's apparent change of heart, the move is ill-advised — a skittish white community, unnerved by escalating political violence and general crime, can only lose faith in black leaders and rally to the Right".

The mainstream media tends to reflect the anxieties and neuroses of precisely that "skittish white community".

One press commentator wrote, for example, that the ANC ultimatum "shows no awareness of (or respect for) the extent to which the negotiations process in South Africa is held together by the national psyche". He said the ANC ultimatum "has shattered that trusting psychology, offering in its place only psychosis".

But perhaps the only trust that has been shattered is that which protects white South Africa from the psychotic violence that has always ruled 80 percent of this country. While the ANC has unquestionably lost much white support in the past week, evidence points to the fact that the ANC's recent hard-line stance is very popular with its own most loyal constituency: urban black people who have borne the brunt of the current violence.

The ANC was caught in a Catch-22 situation: if it kept on playing the trusting collaborator to a regime that is regarded — rightly or wrongly — in the townships as being the root of anarchy, it would lose even more support in the black community; if it took a stand against the regime it could risk plunging the townships even further into this anarchy, and it almost definitely would alienate potential white supporters.

Faced with this choice, it is not surprising which option it followed. Perhaps the actual stand it took — the ultimatum — was foolish or politically unsavvy. But it was certainly not a "bolt from the blue", as a journalist labelled it on *Agenda*.

But if the media bears responsibility for an unbalanced "skittish white" response to the ANC ultimatum, then the ANC bears equal responsibility for not putting the media in touch — effectively — with the township sentiment that spawned its decision.

For if the ANC has betrayed one major flaw in this ruckus, it is not that it is a warmongering agent of destabilisation. It is, more simply, that it has not yet learnt how to handle the media.

The movement might have been following the directive of "the people" in issuing the ultimatum, but the fact remains, in this country, that the link between "the people" and its leaders is an often-conservative mainstream media, always sceptical when it comes to the ANC.

But even if the ultimatum did shatter the very fragile support that the ANC has garnered in the mainly white establishment, it did not shatter a fragile South African psyche. Rather, like a particularly lucid and terrifying moment in a long, convoluted session of psychotherapy, it exposed a psyche that has already been shattered by violence and that is groping for a solution.

The media gave ANC

A VERY strange reversal of tradition occurred in South Africa this week. The ANC, taking a large leaf out of the book of the National Party, devoted much of its energy in the debate over the political issue of the day to attacking the media, rather than its actual opponent.

The Government, by contrast, seemed quite happy with the performance of the Fourth Estate in its coverage of the "threat to pull out of negotiations" saga.

The somersault is sufficiently dramatic and curious to warrant careful consideration. I believe it has a bearing on the future of press freedom in the "new South Africa", and calls for some self-reflection.

Now that the dust is settling, we can begin to ask whether the media — newspapers, radio and television — did indeed give the ANC a raw deal.

I now think we did, in some very important respects.

It has emerged in the course of this week that the overwhelming interpretation which greeted the ANC's "ultimatum" bombshell was at best superficial, and at worst misleading.

Most commentators — this one included — made much of the ANC's internal politicking as an explanatory factor underlying the ultimatum. The common wisdom was that Nelson Mandela had been dragged, unwillingly, into a confrontation with the Government.

At its most crude, this analysis

this adequately has subsequently been presented as an ANC "back-down" rather than consistency in the organisation's approach.

Thus in my view, we in the media got important parts of the story wrong this time around. And as we journalists demand (and indeed are prepared tenaciously to defend), our right to criticise freely, we must surely embrace the obligation freely to accept criticism ourselves.

Having said all that, there is a profoundly worrying aspect to the ANC's press-bashing of this week. There is a tendency to conflate anger at what the organisation believes to be incorrect interpretation, with an underlying assumption that the media has no right to attempt such interpretation for our readers in the first place.

I believe the press has every right to contend that the intervention was ill-timed, ill-conceived, or badly executed, as long as it does not question the right of the organisation to make that intervention — and as long as it reflects the organisation's own explanation to the best of its ability. The right to dissent is vital for the "new South Africa", and all parties to negotiations must be prepared to endorse it at this early stage in the process.

Ours is an imperfect world, and that's what makes it vibrant and interesting. Press freedom, if it is to be real freedom, includes the right to be wrong. It also includes the duty to concede such fallibility

a raw deal

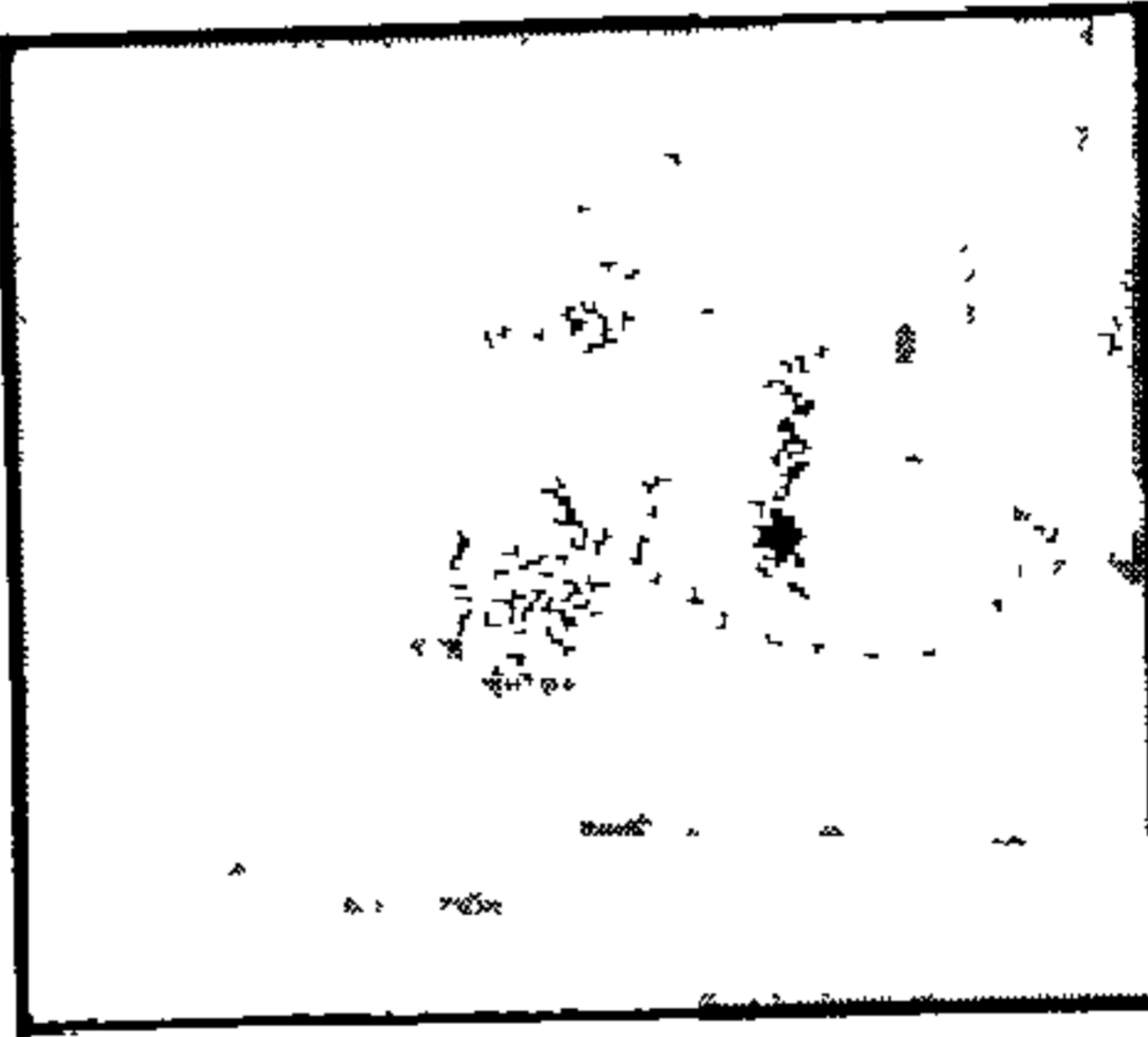
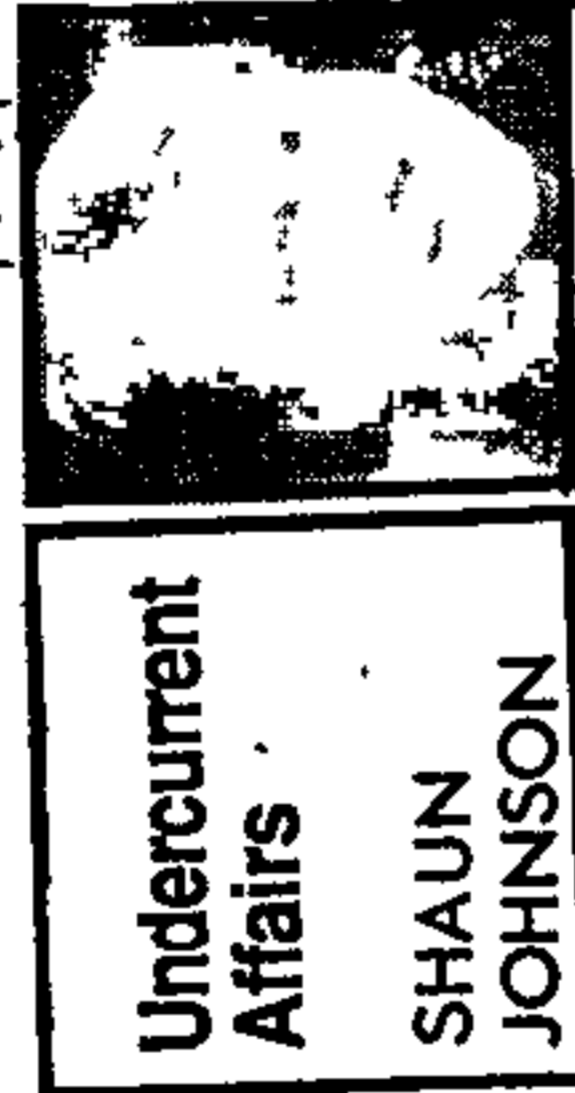
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decision was offered to readers. It was, they were told, that the ANC leaders were either lunatics or idiots.

Further, it was implied that the ANC demands were rigid, offering no room for manoeuvre.

In sharp contrast to this perception, diplomats and many other sceptical observers emerged from briefings by Mr Mandela on Tuesday convinced that he, and the entire NEC, were united behind this intervention. It was primarily the horror of the township violence (not directly felt in the white suburbs), that had driven them to drastic action.

Disagreement over negotiation strategy is a factor within the ANC leadership, but was not central to this issue. Certainly there might be tactical advantage for the ANC in putting the brakes on the peace process to gain time to put its own house in order, but this was at base a genuine attempt to jolt the Government — and indeed the white community — into realising that unless decisive action was taken to stop the violence, negotiations would in any event fail.

In addition, hindsight shows that Mr Mandela expressed a flexibility about the demands right at the outset, the media's failure to reflect



FLEXIBLE: Nelson Mandela's point was missed by most.

wholly dismissed as disingenuous the ANC's stated reason for its action — that an incredible 5 000 lives have been lost since negotiations began. In one case, only one possible explanation for the ANC's

A-G suing paper over 'vendetta'

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By Brendan Templeton

Allegations that the Witwatersrand Attorney-General was conducting a "petty vendetta" against it have landed Vrye Weekblad newspaper in court

Attorney-General Klaus Peter Otto von Lieres und Wilkau, SC, is demanding R35 000 from the newspaper, saying he has been unable to function properly in his duties since the allegations made in two articles early last year

Apologised

The newspaper earlier admitted that the allegations were defamatory, apologised, and paid him R15 000 in an out-of-court settlement for damages regarding the first article

At issue now is the quantum arising out of the second article

Mr von Lieres told Mr Justice AP van Collier in the

Rand Supreme Court yesterday that the newspaper had conducted a prolonged campaign against him aimed at discouraging and insulting him

In a series of follow-up articles in the newspaper, editor Max du Preez had called him "Herr Hoesenaam (Wot-sisname)" and "Klaus Otto Dinges (Thingummy)", which were plainly insulting, he said

Counsel for the newspaper, Bobby Levin, SC, said it was necessary for purposes of establishing damages to note that Mr du Preez's column was highly satirical

Mr von Lieres, whose full first names are Klaus Peter Constantine Otto, said he did not find the articles funny and felt highly insulted by them

His name was repeatedly followed with the addendum "with washing", which showed that the newspaper insinuated that he had something to hide, he said

Mr Levin argued that the "washing" addendum was a colloquialism that people added at the end of a title or name which was particularly long

Mr von Lieres said he had not heard of such a practice - His counsel, L Weinstock, SC, told the judge that Mr von Lieres was a public figure and that the consequences of unlawfully defaming him should be considerably weightier than in an instance in which an ordinary individual was defamed

Cleared

Mr Levin wanted to know why Mr von Lieres insisted on continuing with the case after his name had been cleared by the admission and apology

Mr von Lieres said his name would be cleared properly only once the matter had been decided in court and he had received sufficient compensation

The hearing continues

Attorney-general claims R35 000 for defamation

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16/4/71.

ACCUSATIONS by an Afrikaans weekly newspaper that he had practised selective prosecution were an "absolute disgrace", Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres and Wilkau SC said yesterday.

Von Lieres was giving evidence in a R35 000 defamation claim he has brought against Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez for two articles published in January and February last year which accused him of selective prosecution and waging a

SUSAN RUSSELL

"petty vendetta" against the newspaper.

Du Preez has admitted the remarks published about Von Lieres were defamatory, but challenges the amount of damages sought. The newspaper has closed its case without leading evidence.

Vrye Weekblad has published an apology and full retraction of the allegations. On Friday, Von Lieres and Du Preez reached a settlement regarding the first article, published in January last year, in terms of which Von Lieres will receive R15 000 plus costs.

He has, however, proceeded with his R35 000 claim in respect of the second article which, he claims, persisted with the untruthful allegations published in the first.

Von Lieres told the court he was most upset when the first article was drawn to his attention because it claimed he was incompetent. The article was "insulting and untrue".

He said the article's suggestion that police and the country's attorneys-general played politics with

selective prosecutions would be the downfall of any legal system.

"I am supposed to be an independent decision-maker," Von Lieres said. "If I were to conduct a petty vendetta it means I am not independent."

"That is most insulting and degrading of my function," he said.

Treason

Von Lieres also referred to a Weekly Mail article in which Du Preez was quoted as saying it could be expected that the police, bureaucrats and the Attorney-General would want to sabotage the President's attempts to achieve peace in SA.

This was extremely derogatory and insulting and suggested he and the police were committing a form of treason against the government by trying to sabotage the President's reform initiatives, Von Lieres said.

Von Lieres said he regarded the second article in a much more serious light, particularly since it had been followed by other articles in August, September and November last year. Argument on quantum will be today.

Meet the Afrikaans National Congress

31 Oct 1991

TIM COHEN

THE ANC's information and publicity department has employed recently released treason prisoner Carl Niehaus in order to improve the organisation's relations with the Afrikaans media.

Niehaus, 31, was freed from prison last month after serving more than seven years of the 15-year sentence he received for treason in 1983.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation felt its links with the Afrikaans Press were not as good as those with the English-language Press.

She said before Niehaus's appointment

no information department member could read Afrikaans well

Niehaus, who recently completed a theology honours degree at Unisa, has invited Afrikaans journalists to a meeting to make contact.

Niehaus was convicted for planting a bomb outside an SADF recruiting centre at the Carlton Centre in Johannesburg and of being involved in unsuccessful plots to bomb the SABC, RAU and the Johannesburg municipal gasworks.

Weekblad 'cannot be sued twice'

By Brendan Templeton ^{stav} 17/4/91

Vrye Weekblad could not be sued twice for alleging that the Witwatersrand Attorney-General was conducting a petty vendetta against it, the newspaper's counsel Bobby Levin told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau, SC, brought two defamation actions against the newspaper after the allegations were made in separate articles last year.

Mr Levin argued that the sting of defamation in the articles was the same, and the stories should not be seen as making different allegations.

An out-of-court settlement of

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R15 000 was reached regarding the first article before the hearing began, but the sides are in disagreement over the quantum regarding the second story.

Mr von Lieres is claiming R35 000 damages for the second article.

Argument was wound up yesterday by both sides and Mr Justice A P van Collier said he would make a decision later.

The newspaper's owners and editors have admitted that the allegations were defamatory and have printed an apology and a retraction.

Mr von Lieres's counsel, L S Weinstock, SC, dismissed Mr Levin's claim yesterday, saying the articles were published under different circumstances.

Substantial damages should be awarded to his client because of the considerable harm done to him by the allegations that he prosecuted selectively.

"If the imputation had been true, he (Mr von Lieres) would have had difficulty in maintaining the position and respect that he should have had from his staff, the Bench before whom he regularly appeared, and of his Minister," Mr Weinstock said.

He claimed that the position of the printers was worse than that of the owners and editors of the newspaper because the printers had not apologised.

Mr Levin argued that damages against the printers could not be calculated separately from that of the other parties.

...we spent a hard day now

Reporters hand notes to SAP

Staff Reporter

(243) (223)

Police yesterday served search warrants on two reporters of the Sunday Star, ordering them to hand over documented information relating to a report on, and interviews with, South African Defence Force undercover agent Nico Basson.

Journalists Charles Leonard and Ivor Powell had handed over notebooks, documents and a tape "under protest", said Sunday Star deputy editor Dave Hazelhurst.

The warrants related to an article written by Mr Leonard,

based on a Supreme Court action Mr Basson brought against Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, and subsequent interviews with Mr Basson carried out by Mr Leonard and Mr Powell. *See 17/4/91.*

The article was published on March 25.

"Both journalists handed over their notebooks under protest in answer to the search warrant," Mr Hazelhurst said

"They both felt no principle of protecting a source, as Mr Basson had gone public in both the Supreme Court and in subsequent interviews"



Sowetan editorial on unrest angers police

By LANGA SKOSANA

THE Police have taken issue with *Sowetan* over Monday's editorial comment which accused the SAP of lack of action in cases involving blacks.

Sowetan's leading article said the police often failed to respond to calls by blacks.

"Perhaps the police, no matter what their new advertising campaign says, do not take calls from blacks as seriously as calls from white people.

"Perhaps, no matter what Mr FW de Klerk says, the police, for political reasons of their own, do not want to see peace in black communities," the editorial comment said.

Police public relations

The police have taken issue with *Sowetan* over Monday's editorial comment which accused the SAP of a lack of action in cases involving blacks. The leading article said the police served whites better than blacks. What has been your experience? Let the nation hear your opinion. Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise today and talk to him live between 4.30 and 5pm. The hotline number is 714-8063. Listen to the *Sowetan* Radio Metro Talkback programme on mediumwave 576 KhZ.

spokesman in Pretoria Colonel J Mostert and the regional commissioner of police in Soweto, Major-General J Swart both reacted to the editorial.

Mostert said he was disappointed at *Sowetan's* negative statements.

"We want to stress that the South African Police is an apolitical organisation and it does

not get involved in political actions.

"We object to the statement that the SAP 'do not want to see peace in black communities' because of 'political reasons of their own'.

"The police treat people equally, irrespective of colour, race or creed and it is not true that the SAP 'do not take

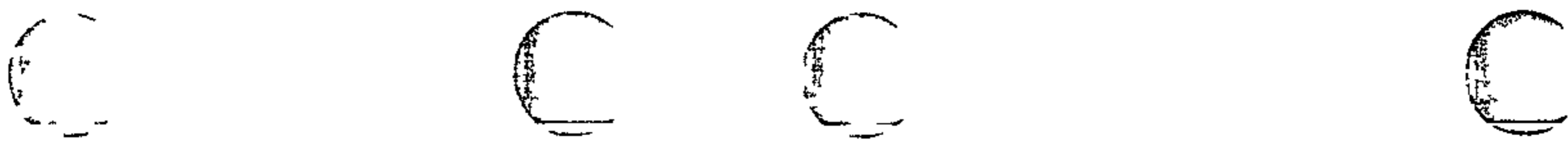
calls from blacks as seriously as calls from white people'.

"We wish to point out that there are black policemen serving their own communities," Mostert said.

Swart said police had reacted swiftly and quelled the violence when they heard of unrest at Nancefield Hostel last weekend.

"The SAP has every intention of policing Soweto properly according to internationally accepted standards of policing and we have come a long way towards reaching that goal.

"To be able to reach it, we need the help and support from you, the public of this city. We are definitely here for you," he said.



ANC's intolerance of Press raises doubts

Sowetan 22/4/91

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AN ANC official, a former journalist, recently called a reporter "filth" because she did not like a certain phrase in an article.

A senior Western Cape activist stunned reporters a few months ago when bluntly telling them "we expect you to become card-carrying members of the ANC".

These are two crude examples of the ANC's underlying intolerance of the media, but they serve to highlight increasing doubts about the organisation's commitment to Press freedom.

Coverage - and harsh criticism - of the ANC's May 9 ultimatum to the Government has brought relations between the ANC and the media to their lowest point yet.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela lashed out at the media, accusing it of creating a "smokescreen of propaganda" and attempting to destroy the ANC.

The media's criticism of the ultimatum was "a funny and conditioned response from a group of people who were in fact asserting that we have no right to express our views candidly", he said.

The ultimatum debacle - for which the media has to admit its share of responsibility - will certainly die down.

Hopefully, both the ANC and the media have learnt a lesson from it: the ANC to improve its public relations; the media not to push the alarm button every time it detects smoke.

Nevertheless, the latest incident of ANC Press-bashing, the most vehement since the organisation's unbanning 15 months ago, provides a useful opportunity to examine the ANC's attitudes towards the media.

Compared with other political parties, the ANC has vociferously campaigned for Press freedom.

Its proposed Bill of Rights states "There shall be freedom of



thought, speech, expression and opinion, including a free Press which shall respect the right to reply."

In November last year, Mandela again firmly committed his organisation to a free Press when saying the ANC would never seek to control or arbitrarily determine the way in which journalists performed their work.

"We wish to see the media report the facts as they see them, without hindrance by the State or any political party," he said.

Frustration

Much of Mandela and the ANC's current frustration with the media stems from an honest belief that the organisation, which has initiated the peace process, deserves more support for its policies.

But the media argues that the ANC should face fair criticism and should not regard that as implied hostility.

Media criticism of the organisation's communication skills has seldom been raised.

For months after the ANC's unbanning, journalists tried to keep their complaints to themselves, excusing bad information services as part of the transitional phase from a liberation movement to a political party.

But many have now become disillusioned.

Local reporters complain that the ANC pays more attention to the foreign media, as a crucial vehicle to get its message across to the world. Yet, a top visiting Dutch journalist was amazed when, on a recent trip to South Africa, many of her previously arranged appointments with ANC officials were not kept.

Some journalists charge that telephone calls are seldom returned by the department of information and publicity and other officials.

Messages often do not reach their destination. Overworked spokesmen are often abrupt or not available for comment.

Many argue that, as a government in waiting, the ANC should appoint media officers to help take the load off National Executive Committee members.

Interestingly, the ANC last week took a firm step to improve contact with the Afrikaans media, appointing a recently released activist, Carl Niehaus, as a liaison officer.

To the ANC leadership's credit, NEC members have steadfastly refused to brief the media on important events such as the Pretoria Minute, honouring its agreement with the Government that details of the negotiating process would not be made public.

Many of the logistical hiccups have been smoothed out. Compared to other fledgling parties, the ANC has gone public with relative success.

Control

But what is disturbing from an organisation which regards itself as the leading proponent of democracy - with freedom of speech as a vital pillar - is the ANC's underlying intolerance of the media if not a desire to control it.

Last week, Mrs Winnie Mandela branded journalists from *The Independent* as security police spies for having written a particularly critical article about the shady activities of her "football team".

In Natal, a leading ANC official's lambasting of a particular newspaper whipped up emotions to a pitch where the crowd chanted at reporters attending a memorial service "Kill them, kill

them!"

Journalists who write critical articles are often denigrated by the ANC as being either ill-informed or malicious.

"The ANC thinks if you criticise them you are the enemy," commented a foreign journalist.

In at least one case, a journalist who had written an article obtained from ANC insiders was subjected to a witch-hunt to ascertain who had leaked the information.

Even Mandela, many journalists' favourite politician, is being criticised for his dismissive attitude towards reporters.

Often, notably when he is tired, he answers probing questions with a standard response. "I don't believe I need to answer the question because you are clearly very confused."

Draconian

Intimidatory tactics are obviously not unique to the ANC. Many political parties have over the years resorted to methods, subtle or blatant, to influence journalists.

During the heyday of apartheid, the NP Government showed no hesitation in using draconian laws to control the media. Many of these are still in place.

And other groups are guilty too. The AWB denies certain journalists access to its public meetings, PAC supporters assaulted a photographer at Zeph Mothopeng's funeral, Inkatha supporters marching through Johannesburg threatened to kill a reporter and attempted to abduct another.

The ANC has come under closer scrutiny than other political groups for two reasons.

First, because it has taken on the awesome task of democratising South African society and secondly, because it will be a senior partner in a new government - *Sowetan Correspondents*

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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No more newspaper round on SAA's business class

FROM next week, SAA business class passengers will have to go out of their way to get a copy of their favourite newspaper

The airline will stop supplying complementary copies of Business Day and other newspapers on domestic flights from May 1

Business class travellers will instead have to collect their newspapers — which will still be on the house — from airport kiosks

SAA spokesman Zelda Roux says the airline has found it difficult to assess how many copies of each newspaper are needed

Weight restrictions preclude carrying a copy of each newspaper for every business class passenger

"If all the passengers wanted copies of Business Day, for instance, there would not have been enough to go round."

Due to demand, more copies of Business Day than any other newspaper have been carried on SAA's morning flights

Now business class passengers will have to produce their gold cards or boarding passes to get a newspaper free of charge from a kiosk

LINDEN BIRNS

SA newspapers will still be distributed on SAA's long-haul international flights

Meanwhile, SAA has also announced plans to increase the size of business class cabins on its A300 Airbus fleet

Spokesman Stephane de Witt said the move was in reaction to a recent survey of SAA's Frequent Flyers

"At present, 12,5% of cabin space is taken up by the business class section, but this will probably be increased to about 25%," she said

The A300 Airbus fleet is used extensively on high density flights between Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban, and on some regional flights to southern Africa

Engineers are currently studying several proposals for the project, which the airline hopes to complete before the end of the year

De Witt was unable to say how much the changes would cost

IPI deplors Laurence sentence

Star 24/4/91
Political Staff (243)

The International Press Institute (IPI) has deplored the jail sentence recently imposed on The Star's journalist Patrick Laurence for refusing to divulge his source.

Laurence, a political writer, was subpoenaed under section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act to disclose his source for a story on the disappearance of key State witness Gabriel Mekgwe in the "Winnie Mandela trial".

Laurence refused to divulge his source, and was sentenced to 10 days' imprisonment. He successfully applied for bail and was released pending the outcome of his appeal.

The IPI said it was watching with concern "the growing intimidation of South African journalists by political organisations".

The institute urged Pretoria and extra-parliamentary organisations to "act against this intimidation".

Nelson Mandela, in a major speech, has committed the ANC to a free press

Journalists are vital to democracy

stew 24/4/91 243

IN an address to the International Press Institute annual meeting in Tokyo, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela committed his organisation to the support of a "free and vigorous" press in the new South Africa.

He said "The ANC's draft Bill of Rights and the Constitutional Principles for a Democratic South Africa, which we unveiled a week ago, are a synthesis of the best in South African human rights traditions

"These two documents are the outcome of a debate initiated in 1986 through the ANC's constitutional guidelines.

"We deliberately set out to involve human rights lawyers, academics, authorities and ordinary laymen and women far beyond the ANC's own membership and support base.

"We avoided being prescriptive but sought to encourage participation.

"That intervention shifted the debate decisively away from a re-arrangement of the apartheid system to its roots...

"If there is indeed a narrowing of the gap that separates us from the South African Government, that is because the Government has been compelled to change in order to keep pace with the tide of opinion in our country

"These values, which the ANC espouses and shall continue to espouse, bear an incredibly high

price
"Hundreds have lost their lives in an attempt to make them a reality.

"Thousands of families and homes have been wrecked so that we can realise them
"Those who joined the struggle for human freedom did so with their eyes wide open.

"They were under no illusion about the path they had chosen. We knew that it entailed sacrifice, hazards, torment and even the risk of death.

"We all chose it not for personal gain or material rewards. We took this stand because these were goals we saw as worthy and virtuous

"We do not now nor shall we ever regret having made that choice

"Freedom of the media and the press is among the oldest and most valued freedoms for which people the world over have fought

"The ANC has extended its solidarity, and shall continue to support journalists, editors, writers and other media people who face persecution because they seek to exercise this right.

"As an expression of our commitment to the citizens' right to know, we have inserted this among the articles on the ANC's draft Bill of Rights.

"We place an equal emphasis on the right to disseminate such in-



Nelson Mandela ... freedom of press guaranteed.

formation through the press and other media

"We cannot claim that the institutionalisation of these rights is the road to perfection, but at least we have not placed obstacles in the way.

"We cannot over-emphasise the great store we set by a vigorous and free press in the democratic South Africa we hope to create.

"Ours has become, through po-

litical activity, an extremely engaged and critical constituency which will not take easily to political marginalisation

"We regard a press that has the courage to speak its mind, without fear or favour, as essential in keeping the public vigilant and alert to any temptation on the part of government to abuse its powers.

"We would say also that a democratic government that either feared or sought to constrain media scrutiny of its policies and actions is embarked on a course that must inevitably result in the evasion of accountability to the people.

"We ask the worldwide fraternity of newpeople for no favours.

"We ask them to give due recognition of these facts and to judge as they do all others. We shall not withdraw from the cut and thrust of politics, and we have the confidence that we can engage any of our critics on the strength of our record.

"The ANC shall continue to play its role for five great freedoms in our country. We shall do this not because we wish to please anyone or because we wish to cultivate new friends

"These are the core principles on which we have built our movement and its programme.

"We shall continue to uphold them because of their intrinsic value" □

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Media 'vital to
democracy' Star
26/4/91

By Carina le Grange

Journalists will need to continue fighting for press freedom and general recognition that the media are a vital part of the foundations of democracy, outgoing South African Union of Journalists president Bob Kernohan said in Johannesburg yesterday

Mr Kernohan was delivering the presidential address at the opening of the 15th annual congress of the SAUJ

"We must not lose sight of the fact that it is our responsibility — and an onerous one — to continue the fight for press freedom, irrespective of who is running the country

"We should ensure that guarantees of freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of the press are contained in any new constitution," Mr Kernohan said

He said the SAUJ was a major force in fighting the battle to prevent the registration of journalists with all the sinister connotations such registration would have had.

He is to be succeeded by Sven Lunsche.

SAP won't give Weekly Mail AK-47 reward

By ARTHUR GOLDSTUCK

(243)

The Weekly Mail will not receive Adriaan Vlok's promised R6 000 reward for the AK-47 rifle it handed over to police last week.

The newspaper had purchased the weapon during an investigation of weapons-smuggling networks on the Reef. *W/Mail 26/4 - 2/5/91 -*

Editor Anton Harber was questioned by senior police officers after he handed the rifle to police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman last Friday.

Opperman told a brief news conference that police investigations had started earlier that day, after the report about the network had appeared. He would not disclose details of the investigation, but said that the newspaper's eligibility for a reward was "debatable".

Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok had last year offered a R6 000 reward to anyone handing in an AK-47 rifle.

Shortly after *The Weekly Mail* had returned the weapon, Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe told a press conference that the full reward would not be paid merely for the return of a weapon — only for information which leads to the conviction of persons who either possessed it, or smuggled it into the country.

The Weekly Mail's announcement last Thursday that it had bought an AK-47 and exposed a smuggling network supplying Inkatha supporters led to a flurry of media attention on weapons smuggling.

A front-page report in *The Star* on Friday morning was based on an anonymous telephone call from someone who "revealed" the existence of arms smuggling networks supplying ANC members with AK-47s. He told *The Star* to phone the police if they did not believe him. *The Star* reported that police had confirmed the details.

Andrew Meldrum reports from Harare that, according to military sources, an estimated 1.5-million AK-47s have been introduced into Mozambique since the nationalist war against Portuguese colonialism. They estimate that tens of thousands of the guns are unaccounted for.

A significant source is the thousands of AK-47s that were covertly airlifted into Mozambique as part of the SADF's undercover supply of weapons and other essentials to Renamo.

The Press must be free and fair - ANC

Sowetan 26/4/91.

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By DAVID BRAUN

Sowetan Foreign Service

WASHINGTON - The ANC did not want a psychopathic Press which would indulge in adulation of Nelson Mandela and other leaders.

But, they viewed current newspapers in South Africa as being unfair to the organisation.

ANC national executive member Mr Chris Hani said this at a Press conference at the National Press Club in Washington this week

Hani is touring the United States as a guest of a coalition of anti-apartheid activist organisations and individuals, including a newspaper closely associated with the American Communist Party

Critical

After he made a passing remark about Sowetan's sister newspaper, *The Star*, being a bourgeois newspaper, asked what it was about the South African media that had made the ANC so disgruntled with it, Hani said the word disgruntled was too strong.

The ANC was instead critical of the South African media, he said

"I want to say the Press has an important role to play in society. It has to inform people (about) what is happening.

"It has to critically assess the ANC, the National Party, Inkatha and all the players in the South African situation.

"We don't want the Press to indulge in actions of adulation, saying what a great leader Nelson Mandela is. I don't think that sort



Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Chris Hani.

of psychopathic Press is useful.

"But I think sometimes the Press has been rough with us I once read an editorial in the *Cape Times* which was headed 'Hani and Malan'. The first sentence said the highly ambitious Hani was being helped by an outburst of Malan.

"Unfortunately, I have never

met that editor and I do not know why he should use such an epithet about me, but I assume it is the prerogative of the Press to say one has a big nose or a big head even if one does not have it," he said

The Press invariably sided with the Government "You regarded us generally as terrorists and bloody people.

"When we were attacked in Mozambique you said to (Defence Minister Magnus) Malan 'Well done, boys, you've knocked them out'. You never treated us as individuals and human beings.

"I don't want to generalise too much, but I think that is the general view

"I think some of you have predicted South Africa will be a real wasteland if the ANC rules some day You don't say South Africa has been reduced to its present position by the National Party Government

"You don't sympathise with us when we are attacked People like Ken Owen (editor of *The Sunday Times*) enjoy attacking us Two-thirds of what he says is a trade against the ANC "

Objective

Hani said the ANC did not want a situation where the Press did not like the organisation

Being generally negative was not helpful The Press should be more balanced.

"It should be balanced and objective in its assessment of the ANC in the same way as it is balanced and objective about the Government," he added

He said the ANC was often described as being an organisation of hawks and doves, yet little was said about the way the organisation discussed a position and arrived at a consensus decision

The ANC also objected to the way it was portrayed as a tribal organisation, representing the Xhosa people. The truth was the ANC commanded majority support in all the major black groups

The organisation had eschewed tribalism a long time ago.

"We do not wish to prescribe to the Press We need the Press It should inform us as much as possible," he said.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg

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29/4/77

Police seize 'death tape'

243 Political Correspondent

POLICE raided the home of the *Natal Witness* deputy editor at the weekend and confiscated a taped interview with a policeman claiming to have taken part in the murder of a prominent ANC member.

The policeman, Mr Siphon Madlala, last week walked into the Maritzburg offices of the newspaper wanting to talk about the February 25 murder of Chief Mhlabuzima Maphumulo.

He said he and four others shot at Maphumulo outside his home in an operation masterminded by members of the security police and military intelligence.

Maphumulo died on the way to hospital.

Madlala last week told deputy editor Mr Martin Williams that he had been attached to the intelligence unit of the military police for 10 years and that he had decided to defect because of the Maphumulo incident.

It was this tape recording that the police took on Saturday night.

Police have not yet confirmed the incident.

"The police had a warrant though," a Maritzburg source told *Sowetan*.

Replying to the allegations by Madlala last week, Commissioner of Police General Johan Van der Merwe announced that a special investigation team was being appointed.

Problems in society which go unreported also go unsolved, says Mia Doornaert

Choose the truth, not a side

Star 1, 1991

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THE issue of nationalism is an explosive one in every country where that problem exists, including my own (Belgium). But it cannot be ignored. Coverage and analysis of division and conflict between different communities presents journalists with what is, in my view, their most difficult challenge.

First, there is the eternal argument that reporting on ethnic strife is dangerous because it might further inflame passions. Many governments invoke public order and security to force journalists not to report on ethnic conflict. This is now a major talking point among journalists in the Soviet Union or Yugoslavia where journalists are learning to live with the responsibility of an independent media system.

I argue strongly that a professional and independent press does not create ethnic strife. The most dangerous thing to do is to ignore this issue and to cover it up. It will not go away.

But governments are not the only ones to put us under pressure. As journalists, we are part of society, often coming from a distinct cultural sector, and often our readers, listeners or viewers belong to that same sec-

tor. That means, in situations of conflict, we may come under heavy pressure to give priority to the "interests of OUR people". Our actions may be considered by some to be harmful to the common struggle.

In my 20 years as a working journalist, I have often seen how heavy this pressure can be, from Northern Ireland to India. In my own country, where the disputes between the two main language communities are addressed in a peaceful, democratic way, I'm from time to time surprised and upset by the hate mail colleagues who report on community affairs receive when they behave like professional journalists and not as "militants" for "their people".

In volatile situations such intimidation can be life threatening to journalists who give precedence to their professional rules. The third pressure point is a personal one, often coming from the journalist himself or herself. If our own people are being oppressed and harassed and detained without trial, or if they are being killed, is it not a luxury or personal indulgence to invoke the notion of professional duty and independence as a journalist? Is it not one's first duty to stand

shoulder to shoulder with one's people against oppression?

All of these pressures make reporting on internal strife between communities one of the most difficult parts of journalism. The more polarised community relations are, the more difficult that task becomes.

If you are critical of your own cultural group, you become a "traitor". If you are critical, in the same way, of another community, you become a "racist".

Beyond the first challenge of liberation and of realising a nonracial, democratic South Africa, is the challenge to ensure that freedom of expression and independent journalism become centrepieces of South African democracy. Such priorities need to be clearly and unambiguously sought and guaranteed.

Only then will South Africa be able to look forward to a functioning democracy in which all the different communities live harmoniously together.

It will not be possible to build a democratic South Africa on communities which are not democratic internally. Press freedom is like pregnancy: you either have it or you don't — you cannot have a little bit of it.

Moreover, cultural diversity can be and should be a national treasure. But it will be a source of decay and bitterness if belonging to an ethnic or cultural group is interpreted as subordination to one leader, one group, or one ideology. That is the road to totalitarianism and violence. For that kind of nationalism ("Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer"), the continent on which I live has paid a terrible price.

Journalists should never be required to step outside their communities, but they must remember that adherence to their professional rules is the best way to serve their community.

Often the public will not thank them for disagreeable truths. At those times journalism can be very lonely.

But just as it is not our job to subordinate our professional rules to the wishes of governments or commercial interests, it is not our job to pander to prejudice or shortsightedness within the community.

And it is certainly not our job to give in to arguments that freedom of expression is not part of "the culture" of some peoples. It has always seemed to me that this argument shows contempt for peo-

ple, to suppose that the citizens of given countries, or members of given ethnic or cultural groups, are by their nature or culture unable to judge for themselves, and that the truth should be withheld from them because they would not know what to do with it.

One question which divides the journalistic community, and which I am sure you have or will have here, is whether legislation can be acceptable if it limits the freedom of expression in favour of other values. Many democratic countries have legislation which makes the advocacy of racism and incitement to racial hatred a punishable offence.

This is based on the undeniably democratic concept that no right or freedom can be absolute, and that personal freedom is limited by the extent to which it infringes on the freedom and dignity of other citizens.

This is accepted by most journalists and publishers of those countries. But in other democracies, for instance in the United States, many journalists and publishers oppose such legislation for fear that it might be used by governments to limit reporting and comment on problems between or within different communities.

Coming from a continent which has paid a heavy price for the evils of nationalism and racism, I am personally in favour of such legislation. But only on the condition that a strict division is made between reporting and commenting on community problems on the one hand, and advocating racism on the other.

It is not advocating or fomenting racism to report, for instance, an attack by a group of Belgian or French or German racists on immigrant workers, and to comment on that. It would be incitement to racism and violence to applaud this kind of crime as a way to "solve" the problem of immigrant labour from other cultures.

It will be one of the duties of organised journalists to ensure that the legislation in the democratic South Africa strengthens the democratic freedoms, and cannot be used to limit them.

● Mia Doornaert, president of the International Federation of Journalists, recently visited South Africa as guest of the South African Union of Journalists. This is an extract from the annual Fairbairn Memorial Lecture which she delivered at Wits University last week.

Education is 'a tonic for black magazines'

B1044 715791
MAGAZINES targeted at black readers should look at increasing educational editorial to combat "an alarming drop" in circulation, says Hunt Lascaris TBWA media director Lyndall Campher

Titles in the "black magazine" category have been dropping circulation for over 10 years, she says, and Audit Bureau of Circulations figures show a 10-year drop in sales of 11.5% for the category as a whole

Circulation in this category dropped by 17% from July to December 1990 compared with the same period last year

According to Young & Rubicam's publication, Media Matters, True Love showed a year-on-year decline of 28% for the six months to December 1990. Thandi showed a decrease of 17.7%, Pace's circulation fell by 14.8% and Tribute dropped by 12.8%

Young & Rubicam says the fact that black magazines have largely steered around political issues while black-targeted newspapers have not "must be part of their decline"

Also, consumer boycotts and unrest in certain areas have had their effects, she says

Declining circulations may be linked to the worsening economic situation as

magazines cost more than newspapers. Black newspapers have shown a 225% increase in circulation over the past 10 years, although the growth rate dropped to only 4.8% last year

She says this may be a correction as figures show that 28% of blacks read a black magazine while only 14.5% read a black newspaper.

Newspapers seem to be gaining ground, and one of the ways of building a base was "by using educational copy to try to fill the gap left by the crisis in black schooling"

Tactic

Some newspapers were using a lot of educational copy — which was often based on school syllabi — in the editorial mix

"Magazines should try a similar tactic, but with an aspirational twist", which could be socially based.

"How-to and what-to stories have a great deal of relevance now that racial mixing is on the increase. Aspiration is the silent seller in lots of advertising aimed at township families," she says.

"But whatever response the magazines come up with, they had better be quick about it, their situation is getting worse every year"

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Star 815791

Govt will investigate curbs on press freedom

Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act and Section 27-B of the Police Act would be investigated, taking into account the principles of press freedom which were accepted and had to be maintained, Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers, told Parliament yesterday.

Replying to debate on the law and order budget vote, he said an investigation would be conducted objectively in the hope that it would place police links with the media on a healthier footing. — Sapa.

● Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act empowers police to demand that a person disclose information before

a magistrate if they suspect it has a bearing on an offence. It has been invoked against journalists in attempts to compel them to reveal confidential sources.

Media lawyer Peter Reynolds says that Section 205 has not been used to facilitate the successful investigation of serious crime, but rather to pressure journalists into disclosing sources

● Section 27-B of the Police Act makes it an offence to publish "untruths" about the police in relation to their performance as policemen, with the onus resting on the publisher to prove that he had reasonable grounds for believing that what he published was the truth.

Press freedom ²⁴³ curb may be lifted

REGUS 8/5/91

Political Staff

THE government is preparing to scrap the notorious Section 27(b) of the Police Act, which makes it illegal to report untruths about the police and places the onus on newspapers to prove their reports are true.

Official sources said yesterday that the section — which was widely condemned as a major infringement of Press freedom — would soon be repealed.

The section makes serious criticism of the police extremely hazardous as it is so difficult to prove that reported facts are correct.

Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers told parliament during the Law and Order budget debate yesterday that the police were prepared to review Section 27(b) "taking into account the principle of the maintenance of Press freedom".

Political Staff

The changes taking place present problems and challenges for a small sector of the press, writes Mark Suzman

Alternatives make the hard transition to a new SA

DURING the past decade, the small sector of the media dubbed the "alternative press" has had an impact on South Africa far out of proportion to its size

Spearheaded by weekly newspapers such as New Nation and the Weekly Mail, this loose agglomeration of tabloids, magazines and press agencies became a powerful force in the South African political arena, exposing government excesses and championing a free press at a time when the State was exercising its most draconian censorship measures.

Ironically, however, with the new South Africa they have long fought for on the horizon, many of these groups are now finding financial problems to be just as pernicious as the police harassment, detentions, bombings and even forcible closure they had to deal with under the old regime

Most conspicuous is the drying up of foreign funding. To date, none of the alternatives has ever been a commercial success, and in the prevailing political climate many donors are diverting their resources to other projects

Nevertheless, despite funding difficulties, most of the publications are optimistic that they will survive into a new South Africa where they have an important role to play.

At the Weekly Mail, the management is hoping to become fully viable by next year. But despite cost-cutting, including a significant reduction in staff, acting Editor Eddie Koch admits it will be difficult

"It's going to be very tough, especially in the current economic climate, but so far we're on track," Mr Koch notes. Editorially, too, he admits that

the paper has been forced to change from the cheeky and combative approach it took five years ago to a more reasoned and constructive tone

"We're working on how to reflect the current process of transition and capture future trends"

Other papers have tried a different tack. Just last month, Vrye Weekblad, the Afrikaans weekly best known for its exposure of the hit squads and its subsequent victory in a defamation suit brought by police forensics chief Lothar Neefling, altered its format and its philosophy.

From being a primarily political, anti-government tabloid paper, editor Max du Preez has changed the publication to a bilingual magazine incorporating articles of a more cultural and academic bent

"We realised that we needed to

shift from exposure and confrontation to reconstruction and building in order to help lead the Afrikaans community into the new South Africa," he notes "Our message to that community must now be that we have seen the non-racial future and it works"

Even papers like the New Nation, which with a circulation of around 70 000 has always been the biggest of the alternatives, are not yet viable

"Our main problem is that white-owned advertising agencies tend to ignore us because of our political stance," observes editor Zwelakhe Sisulu.

However, he remains optimistic about the role his paper plays in the community, and hopes that it will pay for itself within three years

"It is definitely true that changing conditions call for a new ap-

proach and we are constantly re-vising our editorial position," he says "And although we are part and parcel of the liberation struggle we certainly reserve the right to criticise the ANC as much as the Government"

Not all the news at the alternatives is bad. The magazine Work in Progress, which tends to focus on in-depth studies on different issues rather than straight news analysis, has seen its circulation jump dramatically from 3 000 three years ago to around 10 000 today

"There is still some uncertainty because of the drop in overseas funds, but at this rate of growth we hope to become commercially viable within the next year," observes editor Devon Pillay

However, Mr Pillay admits that the situation is easier for a month-

ly magazine than for weekly newspapers

"The key is that we provide information in a way nobody else does. We are an independent magazine appealing specifically to the top level of trade union management, with some interest from students and academics"

Despite this innovation, however, the bottom line is that much of the alternative press is going to have a difficult time surviving long enough to usher in the non-racial future that it has championed for so long.

Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that as many publications as possible will successfully make the transition, and continue to add their voices to the issues and debates that will inevitably characterise the South African political scene in the years to come □

SA 9/15/91

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(2) No

The purchase of the farms is at present being investigated by the Advocate-General and a report thereon will be tabled in Parliament

†Mr C B SCHOEMAN. Mr Chairman, arising out of the first part of his reply, I wish to point out the following to the hon the Minister. I asked almost exactly the same question on 6 March 1991

(1) Whether any land for the development of Black communities has been purchased in the district of (a) Heidelberg (Transvaal) and (b) Nigel, if so, (i) what was the purchase price per hectare and (ii) from whom was it purchased, in each case,

(2) whether the State was the purchaser of the land, if not, who were the purchasers?

The reply thereto was that no land had been purchased and the rest of the question fell away. I ask that the hon the Minister furnish his reasons why he did not want to give the information to this House at that stage

†The MINISTER. Mr Chairman, there is absolutely nothing secretive about the whole issue. The State was not the purchaser of the land, the regional services council is not the State

†Mr C B SCHOEMAN. Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I wish to point out to him that the question clearly read whether there were any other purchasers. It is not an issue of the State having to purchase it. I put it to the hon the Minister that he misled this House at that stage [Interjections]

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE. Order! That is not a question, it is a statement!

†Mr C B SCHOEMAN. I ask the hon the Minister, Sir

SAP: stolen copper cable wire

*5 Mr W U NEL asked the Minister of Law and Order

(1) Whether the South African Police are taking any steps to combat the sale of (a) stolen copper cable wire and (b) other types of stolen metal to scrap metal dealers, if not, why not, if so, what steps,

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B941E

ing these crimes. Much success has already been achieved in this regard

— An identification information poster to identify this type of property was designed by Eskom, in co-operation with the South African Police, and made available to all police stations, in order to assist members of the Force with the identification of these types of property

A very good understanding and co-operation exists between concerns who are affected by this type of crime

I assure hon members that everything possible is being done to trace the accused and bring them before court. If the hon member should have at his disposal any further information regarding offences of this nature, he is most welcome to pass it on to the Commissioner of the South African Police or me so that it can be investigated

Editor of certain publication: court action by SAP
*6 Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of Law and Order †

(1) Whether a functionary of the South African Police has given instructions for a court action to be instituted against the editor of a certain publication, the name of which has been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, if so, (a) what functionary, (b) what are the circumstances surrounding this court action and (c) what is the name of the publication concerned,

(2) whether authority has been granted for expenditure in connection with this court case, if so, (a) by whom and (b) from what source is this expenditure paid?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER B945E

(1) (a) In order to follow up information regarding an allegation in the *Patriot* that an information service had abducted a witness in the case of Mrs Winnie Mandela, the Commissioner of the South African Police instructed that the editor of the publi-

cation should be approached immediately

(b) No court cases were instituted. After the editor of the publication had refused to furnish any information, the matter was submitted to the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand who ordered that a summons be issued in accordance with section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act in order to bring the editor before a magistrate, to be questioned by a prosecutor regarding his allegations

While the process for the service of the summons on the editor was in progress, the chief secretary of the Conservative Party came to the fore and intimated that he had obtained the information which was published from a source and that he refused to make the source public. The latter was also then, on instruction of the Attorney-General, summonsed in terms of section 205

(c) The *Patriot*

(2) Except for the usual expenses involved in any investigation and normal court proceedings, no other expenses were incurred

Certain organisation, threatening letters to ANC members

*7 Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Law and Order

(1) Whether he or the South African Police have been informed of threatening letters allegedly sent by a certain organisation to at least four prominent Western Cape ANC members, whose names have been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, if so, what (a) is the name of this organisation and (b) are the names of the ANC members in question,

(2) whether he intends providing protection for the persons concerned against this organisation, if not, why not, if so, what protection,

(3) whether this matter is being investigated, if not, why not, if so, what progress has been made to date? B948E

ARG 21/5/91

WVDT 2000 50 YRS

Media 'a force for peace'

PRETORIA.. — The SA Media Council is aware that restrictions on the media exist worldwide, but only restrictions which are absolutely necessary are compatible with an open democratic society, according to chairman Professor Kobus van Rooyen.

At a Pharmaceutical Society of South Africa function here last night, he said allowing the media at the government-organised conference on violence

2040 211 243

Presence at summit feature of new SA

was a typical feature of a new South Africa

"Where in the past the Press was often regarded as a nuisance, now the media is drawn in as a force in the promotion of peace and it is realised that an informed public forms an integral component of the quest for peace and a new democratic society"

He said the Media Council appreciated the planned amendments to the Internal Security Act which could enhance the free reportage of opinions. Cognisance was taken of the fact that government was also studying proposals by the Media Council for more Press freedom

Professor Van Rooyen said

any legislation granting powers which could lead to arbitrary regulation of the media was not in conformity with the ideals of a democratic society

"The media accepts that it has a duty to inform the public and to do so in a fair and balanced manner, but it cannot subject itself to the arbitrary exercise of power

"The exercise of such powers was contrary to the Rule of Law, for which the Press has been an advocate for many years" — Sapa

Editor quits over bar on Vlok article

Political Staff

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THE editor of a left-wing magazine, Guy Berger, has resigned after its controlling collective refused to publish an interview by a communist with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok. *Blom 23/5/71*

Berger confirmed yesterday he had resigned as editor of the Cape Town-based New Era.

The full interview, which was conducted by SACP and ANC member Tony Holiday, a former journalist, is now being published in today's issue of South

Holiday interviewed Vlok in Cape Town last week on behalf of New Era. However, after the interview, the magazine's collective decided not to publish it.

Berger said "If you have an interview with a public figure you have to publish it even if you didn't like what they said."

"It is fundamentally a question of professionalism."

In the interview, Vlok conceded that the SACP had played a role in bringing government and the ANC to the negotiation table.

James McClurg examines a recurrent accusation the press has to face of staging a trial by media

Coolish look at Winnie issue from another angle

At the outset of Winnie Mandela's trial a former editor of the Cape Times, Tony Heard, made a plea for a "trial by media" to be avoided. At its conclusion Mrs Mandela declared that she and her co-accused had been "found guilty by the media". She complained of misleading reports over the past two years.

The matter did not end there. In an article in the last issue of the Sunday Star, Heard enlarged on his point and claimed that too many in the media had "declared open season" on Mrs Mandela before her conviction. This was robustly repudiated in an accompanying article by Rex Gibson, deputy editor-in-chief of The Star.

Resisting my inherited Irish instinct to join in any promising fight, I offer instead a coolish look at the issue from another angle. This article was written almost entirely before I read the exchange in the Sunday Star "Trial by media" is a fine, ringing phrase. The truth, ironically, is

that this is precisely the sort of phrase the media seize on and work to death. By overusing this one the media have in fact helped to create a rod for their own backs.

The phrase in its original form, "trial by the press", originated in the United States. The prototype case was the trial in 1935 of a man called Bruno Hauptmann for the alleged kidnaping and murder of the infant son of Charles A Lindbergh, the first man to fly solo across the Atlantic.

Although it was clear that Hauptmann had been somehow involved in the matter, there was no proof that he was the murderer. But Lindbergh was a national hero, the crime was horrendous and the public, egged on by the media, bayed for Hauptmann's blood. So intimidated were the jury and even the judge that a verdict of guilty became almost inescapable.

So a man who is now widely believed to have been innocent was

sent to the electric chair. This injustice was directly traceable to the outrageous conduct of a large portion of the press.

Though nothing quite comparable with the Hauptmann case has occurred since, the American media continue to show little restraint in discussing the merits of the more sensational type of court case before and during the trial.

The result has been that in major cases it has become almost impossible to assemble a jury whose members have no preconceived ideas about the guilt or innocence of the accused.

In Britain, contempt of court rules are much like ours. Yet trials are often preceded, especially in the tabloid newspapers, by exhaustive and sensational coverage of the crime. Can jury members be expected to approach such a case with open minds?

The important point to note is that this problem in both Britain and the US is directly linked to the jury system. In South Africa

the jury system, falling into disuse, was abolished more than 20 years ago.

The merits of that decision are open to debate, but its relevance to this discussion is that it leaves the fateful decision of guilt or innocence in the hands of a judge — or, in some cases, a judge and two assessors, who may be experienced judicial officers or experts in some special field involved in the case.

In the Mandela case Mr Justice Stegmann sat alone. Mrs Mandela's fate rested with a person whose appointment to the bench implies a trained capacity to weigh facts impartially and exclude from his mind any external factors that might distort his judgment.

It is generally agreed, even in countries usually critical of South Africa, that Mr Justice Stegmann did indeed exclude all extraneous factors, especially the overwhelming political aspect, from his

mind

Can anyone, then, seriously believe that he allowed himself to be influenced by anything he read, saw or heard in the media?

Should the case be taken on appeal to Bloemfontein, as Mrs Mandela naturally wishes, it will be heard by five of the country's top jurists. Here, surely, any imagined risk of media influence recedes to vanishing point.

But this does not entirely dispose of Tony Heard's admonitions. However impartial the courts, there is something inherently repugnant about the administration of justice in the kind of atmosphere that surrounded the Mandela trial.

To say that the media created that atmosphere would be absurd, but that they contributed to it is unquestionable. I do not see how it would have been possible to avoid extensive advance reporting of the events that came before Mr

Justice Stegmann.

They occurred over a long period, taking many twists and turns. There were sinister attempts to cover them up. Above all, they were so closely intertwined with political developments at a crucial time for the country that it would have been unthinkable to keep the public in the dark about them.

But it is important to see this case for what it was a sequence of happenings so unusual as to demand some stretching of hard and-fast rules. To regard it as precedent for future laxity would be wrong.

Judicial integrity, though vital is not enough. Justice, as the saying goes, must not only be done but must manifestly be seen to be done. That is as much the business of the media as it is of the courts. □

● James McClurg is The Star Ombudsman.

(243) CT 22/5/91

New Era editor quits over article

Political Staff

THE editor of a left-wing magazine, Dr Guy Berger, has resigned after its controlling collective refused to publish an interview with the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, by a communist

Dr Berger confirmed yesterday that he had resigned as editor of the Cape Town-based New Era

The full interview, by a member of the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress, former journalist Dr Tony Holiday, is now being published in today's issue of South.

Dr Holiday interviewed Mr Vlok last week in Cape Town on behalf of New Era

Dr Berger said "If you interview a public figure you must publish it even if you didn't like what they said. It is a question of professionalism"

Both Dr Berger and Dr Holiday met Mr Vlok for the first time last week since he visited them in Pretoria Central Prison in 1982, where they were both serving sentences for furthering the aims of the ANC

In the interview, Mr Vlok conceded that the SACP had played a role in bringing the government and the ANC to the negotiation table.

"I still think we played the opening strokes — it was the

government which unbanned the organisation and started talking to Mr Mandela. But they were prepared to come to the table, so they played a role. This is correct"

Mr Vlok said he was not sure whether communist thinking and diplomacy brought the ANC to the table and he did not know whether Mr Mandela would agree with this view

"I'm not so sure who is the leader in that alliance — the ANC or the SACP. I think they played a role, all of them. And Mr Mandela is a strong leader"

Mr Vlok stressed that he was dead against communism and thought it was a bad philosophy. He said this was also the

view of the South African Police

If the Communist Party could win seats in Parliament, "they can sit there and we can debate with them. I have no problem with that"

He admitted that the image of the police was "bad". "We would like to change it. We have taken a number of steps"

This including moving the police away from the party political playfield "to allow the politicians to play there, and to allow the police to stay on the sidelines" and to change the attitude of the police to one of service and friendliness towards the people

Press urged:

(243)
Threats

THE onus on the South African Union of Journalists to defend press freedom will not be any lighter once the country has reached a new political dispensation, says Sven Lunsche, newly elected president of the organisation.

on all sides forseen

"The current transition period has brought to light some serious discrepancies between political parties' official commitment to the free flow of information and their practice," he says. This has revealed an underlying intolerance of media criticism by organisations on all points of the political spectrum. Lunsche, who is Economics Editor of The Star, says many of the National Party Government's Draconian press laws are still in place.

"While they are being gradually dismantled, the SAP, for example, has not hesitated to use Section 205 in attempts to force journalists to reveal their sources."

The ANC has included

remain vigilant

Star 25/5/91

"However, last month it also became the first political movement to issue journalists with press cards and a senior Western Cape activist went even further a few months ago when he told reporters to become card-carrying members of the ANC."

Other parties are also guilty of threatening press freedom, says Lunsche

"PAC supporters assaulted a journalist at a funeral, Inkatha members threatened to kill a

journalist and abduct another at a march through Johannesburg, and the AWB has assaulted journalists at its marches and has barred some of them from its public meetings

"But the period of transition also presents an ideal opportunity to campaign vigorously for an unequivocal commitment to press freedom from all parties"

The free flow of information has to be constitutionally entrenched and continuously safeguarded by the media itself, says

Lunsche
A body such as the Media Council, set up by the Government and supported to facilitate international control of the media, is unacceptable as a "guardian" of the press, he adds

"Such a body, if it is necessary at all, needs to consist of journalists alone"

"Press freedom functions at its best when the various media are accountable only to their own journalistic ethics."



SVEN LUNSCHÉ: Intolerance revealed.

Curbs on press may be eased — Louw

Political Staff

LEGAL restrictions on reporting in the South African press could be eased soon, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, hinted yesterday

"I am confident that I shall be in the position to take the matter further in the very near future," he said at a seminar organised by the forum of editors of local newspapers in Johannesburg

The government was investigating those Acts which could be amended or repealed without endangering the safety of the state

The proposals by the Media Council to lift statutory restrictions on the press covered a wide field and he had to consult with seven other ministries

Vrye Weekblad ordered to pay Attorney-General R5 000 more

WITWATERSRAND Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres SC has been awarded R5 000 damages in a defamation action he brought against the Afrikaans weekly newspaper Vrye Weekblad

In a judgment handed down in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday Mr Justice van Collier ordered the newspaper to pay Von Lieres R5 000 plus costs, including the costs of two counsel

Von Lieres sued Vrye Weekblad for R35 000 for two articles published in the newspaper in January and February last year which accused him of selective prosecution and waging a "petty vendetta" against the newspaper

Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez admitted the articles were defamatory, but challenged the amount of damages sought by Von Lieres. The newspaper published a full retraction and apology.

Shortly before the case began in the Rand Supreme Court last month Von Lieres and Du Preez reached a settlement in respect of the first article and it was agreed Von Lieres would get R15 000.

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SUSAN RUSSELL

He went ahead with his R35 000 claim for the second article which he said had persisted with the defamation of the first

Mr Justice van Collier said Von Lieres was a person who filled an important and very responsible office. It was necessary that the public had faith in the person who filled such a post. To claim Von Lieres had made himself guilty of selective prosecutions and a vendetta were serious allegations, Mr Justice van Collier said

The judge said because the first article was in the form of a satirical column did not detract from the fact that there ought to be a substantial award. He did not agree with submissions by Von Lieres's counsel that the defamation in the second article was more serious than that in the first. He found that the second report on February 23 last year was a repetition of some of the previous allegations, but watered down

He found that an amount of R20 000 was appropriate in respect of both articles and therefore ordered the newspaper to pay R5 000 in respect of the second article

ARCUS 5/6/91 (243)

Call for the repeal of media restraints

Political Staff

A CALL for the revision and repeal of key legislation which placed restraints on media reporting was made by the Democratic Party's Mr Peter Soal (Johannesburg North) during the Home Affairs vote.

Referring to a comprehensive study commissioned by the Media Council to analyse legislation which placed restraints on reporting, Mr Soal said it had been assumed that South Africa would have a Bill of Rights in the near future

One of the provisions of the Bill would be a guarantee of free speech and a free Press, which would include the free flow of information

"It is important that these aspects be included in the Bill of Rights as those freedoms need to be enshrined and protected," he said

However, Mr Soal said Mr Jan Steyn, the new chairman of the South African Media Council, had noted that a free Press was not a guarantee of freedom in our society "but without that freedom, authoritarianism is inevitable"

He hoped the Minister of Home Affairs would say what progress had been made in regard to legislation surrounding Press freedom

Mr Soal referred to the Registration of Newspaper Amendment Act No 98, which was approved by parliament but never promulgated

"This legislation was often used as a threat against the Press when the previous State President and previous Minister of Home Affairs felt it appropriate to rattle their sabres," Mr Soal said.

If this legislation had been implemented, it would have stripped the Media Council of its independence and effective integrity and made it a tool of government

"The legislation affecting restraints on media reporting has been a festering sore for far too long."

● The Students' Press Union (Saspu) has handed a petition with 10 000 signatures challenging the State monopoly on broadcasting to Professor Christo Viljoen, head of the government task force on broadcasting, writes Staff Reporter Linda Galloway

The students call for public debate on the future of broadcasting and the "freeing" of the airwaves to allow campus radio stations and other "small, various and diverse" voices to be heard

Saspu general-secretary Ms Caroline Greene said despite widespread criticism of the task force's unrepresentative composition and "clandestine operation", little had been done to ensure meaningful public debate around a "crucial constitutional issue".

"We cannot allow the task group to make recommendations to the minority government, which will then be passed as legislation," she said

ENOS MABUZA

MAN OF PRINCIPLE

(243)

Fm 7/6/91.

"I think newspapers are the best medium of education," says Nganani Enos Mabuza, the headmaster turned KaNgwane chief minister who's now a director of Times Media (TML), publishers of *Business Day*, *Sunday Times* and the *FM*, among others

Growing up on the Sheba Gold Mine near Barberton, Mabuza remembers his father bringing home the *Sunday Times* every week "I would read it from cover to cover," he recalls

When Mabuza, who turns 52 this week, abruptly resigned from office two months ago for "personal reasons," he was tight-lipped about his plans — though he said he was not interested in pursuing politics. He's since joined the boards of Standard Bank and Premier. He may add one or two others to his portfolio

"I want to represent the views not normally represented. I would like to see myself becoming part of the blacks within corporations and promoting their advancement."

Mabuza knows that some people will see him as a token black added to corporate boards to help their image in the community, but he thinks he has something to add. "I would like to believe that companies are aware of the changing environment in which businesses have to operate — it's not the same environment it was five or 10 years ago."

"I want to help companies such as TML reposition themselves so that they will not find themselves out of step." One area where

he has a "very keen interest" is literacy and education through newspapers

Mabuza began teaching in the Lowveld in



Mabuza 'newspapers are the best medium of education'

1959, five years before he earned his matric, because black teachers didn't need the same qualifications as their white counterparts

He went on to become a headmaster and inspector of education in White River, and earned a BA, psychology, at the University of SA. He and his wife, Thokozile Esther, have three sons and three daughters

He has been described as "debonair, almost diffident," and indeed his hobbies — classical music, chess and nature conservation — would tend to back up that observation. And his interest in ethnology and education led him to co-author a pioneering series of SiSwati readers, language manuals and maths books for primary schools

In 1975, tribal chiefs appointed him to a regional authority and two years later he was elected to head the legislative assembly of KaNgwane, the homeland that adjoins Mozambique and Swaziland. He also headed the Inyandza National Movement — the political party he formed in the Seventies — another job he has relinquished

Mabuza consistently refused to play along with Pretoria when it came to proposed independence for the homeland. And he also fought to keep KaNgwane from being ceded to Swaziland. Somehow he managed to find receptive ears in Pretoria, while keeping on the good side of the ANC

He says he has psychologically prepared himself for entering the business world, but he's also ready to play the teacher again. "I have principles about social justice," he says, carefully weighing his words. "That will guide me in what I do and say." ■

'New phase in life of resistance press'

By PETER DENNEHY

FORMER New Era editor Mr Guy Berger — who resigned recently because an interview with Law and Order Minister Mr Adrian Vlok was not published — said yesterday that the end of his brief term in office reflected a new phase in the life of the "resistance press".

Mr Berger told a University of the Western Cape seminar on the resistance press that the main reason for New Era staff refusing to run the Vlok interview was that staff felt Mr Vlok "did not come off badly enough or revealingly enough".

Staff had, however, rejected this interpretation.

The interview was conducted by journalist and SA Communist Party member Mr Anthony Holiday.

Mr Berger said New Era had historically been a staunchly pro-ANC and SACP journal which built up a readership of some 40 000 township activists.

Now that both movements had their own legal mouthpieces, it had become untenable for the magazine to continue to give "the fine" as it had in the past, he said.

New Era's foreign funding was also rapidly diminishing, as it was for all

"alternative" or "resistance" publications. The New Era staff had agreed that "propaganda" had to go.

Publications which had been funded would have to get the bulk of their income from competing with capitalist media for sales and advertising.

He said the editor, who "carried the can", had to have the final say, or else staff would have equal power without sharing his responsibilities.

Interminable discussions and innumerable meetings of all staff had led to only two editions being produced in five months.

Mr Berger said an outside-journalist

had helped to secure the interview with Mr Vlok, and apart from other considerations he had not wished to put this person in an awkward position by not publishing the article.

● At the same seminar former Cape Times editor Mr Tony Heard yesterday advocated the adoption of effective anti-monopoly legislation in South Africa to "tame the media moguls".

Mr Heard said the government refused to unscramble the "monopoly or near-monopoly in the commercial press" despite overwhelming indications that such a situation operated against the public good.

SA reaches another major milestone

243
2/16/91
Cipres

IN every nation's history milestones are reached which, for the remainder of its existence, tower above all other achievements, *Beeld* said about this week's scrapping of the Land and Group Areas acts.

"Whether people supported or opposed the move, it would take years to see the profound effect the scrapping would have on our society, the paper said in an editorial.

The Transvaal morning daily grouped the event as having the same historical significance as the Great Trek, the discovery of diamonds and gold, the wars against British Imperialism and the political developments between 1910 and 1961.

The implementation of apartheid measures were painful, but unforgettable dates in the eyes of the world and black South Africans, it said.

"White people must not underestimate the results of the scrapping. These laws favoured them directly, an advantage they

world

"This is the foundation of true nationalism and is what we are regaining by discarding the baggage of the past - with results which we cannot fully predict now."

711

□ □ □ □

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok is lying when he says that those who cause violence in the PWV area cannot be prosecuted because of a lack of evidence, ANC media official Ronnie Mamoepa said in a hard-hitting letter to *Beeld*.

Calling for an independent probe into police handling of the violence, Mamoepa told readers of the Transvaal morning daily that the ANC's PWV region and other independent organisations had in recent months supplied police with comprehensive information which should have been "capable of stemming the culture of violence".

□ PRESSWATCH

What the Afrikaners' papers are saying

will now lose. It may even bring about material losses, and in the view of the far-rightwing it encompasses the abdication of political power.

"But that is not what history will remember. In the next century people will look back on these days as the period during which the abrasive load of apartheid was removed, especially from the shoulders of Afrikaners. A period during which they could again look supporters of Western values squarely in the eyes as equals - free and proud to be South Africans in the eyes of the

New SA will also bring new image

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WHATEVER political formula is adopted in South Africa, major changes lie ahead for the country's press

These, said Roger Omond — Guardian Research Fellow at Oxford University and presenter last night of the annual Guardian lecture — include the break-up of the four press empires, more diversity, and journalistic freedom

But the real challenge would be "not to repeat the mistakes of papers which acted as proxies for Afrikaner nationalism, not to become fat spaniels as some of the English press did in the 1980s, but to maintain the watchdog tradition and this time ensure that the caravan does not move on unheeding"

GARNER THOMSON of The Star Foreign Service reports from London

Mr Omond painted a picture of a South African press under an authoritarian regime and labouring on under the difficulty of being split down the middle the English-language press established as commercial undertakings on the one hand, and Afrikaans newspapers designed

to help Afrikaner nationalism on the other
They had different perceptions of their role, he added
"One often functioned as a 'magnificent watchdog' (to quote a former English editor), guarding civil liberties and sometimes reminding the white rulers that the real opposition to apartheid was the black people who were its victims"
But at the same time, they

relied on a community which did not want to be reminded that the society they lived under was fundamentally unjust
On the other side were the National Party-supporting papers, whose boards of directors were packed with politicians, and whose editors and journalists often saw no distinction between press and party
Mr Omond, a former political journalist on the Daily Dispatch

to the press

In East London, pointed out that newspapers catering for black readers were, until the 1980s, all white-owned
"It was whites who set the agenda for what blacks would read, right up to the new generation of black journalists which emerged immediately before the Soweto uprising of 1976"

papers were closed down by Government edict and a number of journalists detained
The rise of the alternative press in South Africa had altered the picture dramatically, Mr Omond said
However, he said the big four press groups still controlled most of the newspapers, while the alternatives, though trying for financial viability, were still weak. □

Immediately after that the two largest-selling black news-

Critics point to flaws in Tucker's scenario

AN article in the left-wing journal Work in Progress (WIP) has criticised former Perm MD Bob Tucker's scenario for social and economic upliftment

Financial institutions Old Mutual, Nedbank and the Perm are trying to sell the "compact" — which has been worked on behind the scenes for nine months at a cost of R1,7m — to organised labour, civic associations, progressive political parties, "the regime" and capital, the article says

The future scenario is an "unlikely marriage" of ANC/Cosatu's Growth through Redistribution economics and current efforts by the state and capital to mimic newly industrialised countries like South Korea and Taiwan, the article says

So far the scenario has been presented to the ANC's national executive, Anglo American, Cosatu leadership and the ANC's department of economic planning, among others

"F W de Klerk was said to be especially keen," the article's authors, Patrick Bond and Mark Swilling, say

Persuading big business of the merits of Growth through Redistribution, social investment taxes and other deals with the ANC and Cosatu will not be easy "But the team concludes that a compact is in everyone's interests, because managing SA's political

TIM COHEN

transition fundamentally depends on both a lack of violence in society and strong economic growth "

In reality, unmanageable township strife and the spreading slump in the manufacturing, mining and agriculture sectors appear as insurmountable barriers to a successful social democratic transition

The article accuses the scenario team of a "simple-minded cultural model" and says its analysis on racial integrations "comes perilously close to 'blaming the victim' in classic neo-conservative style" But, it says "Tucker stunned his audiences with the most ambitious housing programme yet mooted in SA "

The scenario also chips a big crack in the armour of smug self-satisfaction that Tucker says characterises the current occupants of the economy's commanding heights "... The scenario team criticises the opulence of SA corporate elites who spend more money on buildings and fanciful decoration than on R & D and new machinery "

The article suggests progressive forces launch their own scenario planning or risk having to accept someone else's because no better option exists

HEALTH SERVICES MEC ATTACKS 'SENSATIONAL' REPORTS ON INSTITUTION

IHL, MEC for health services, Fanie Ferreira, has attacked *The Weekly Mail* for "sensational reporting" in its coverage of conditions at the Lifecare mental health clinics last week.

"I most strongly object to the total and deliberate misrepresentation of conditions in the Lifecare institutions," he said in a statement.

"Lifecare institutions are inspected by medical advisers and senior nursing personnel of the Transvaal Provincial Administration on a regular basis. The service, facilities and patient care of these institutions are of a high standard.

"Furthermore, I wish to point out that the medical psychiatric, nursing and ancillary services provided by these institutions are rendered by highly qualified and motivated registered personnel."

He quoted the American Psychiatric Association, which in 1989 said that these facilities had "improved over the last 10 years ... and on the whole, the care of chronically mentally ill at Mill-site appeared to us considerably better, safer and more dignified than it was 10 years ago".

Ferreira invited media to visit Millsite yesterday. *WMAW* 1486 - 20/6/91.

The response from Lifecare has been similar. Group managing director Melville Malkin said in a letter to *The Weekly Mail* that the article contained "gross inaccuracies".

He invited *The Weekly Mail* to visit the facilities.

● The editors reply: *The Weekly Mail* has accepted the offer to visit the facilities, though for obvious reasons we place more weight on the ev-

idence that reporters found during unscheduled visits.

We must emphasise that our reports were based on first-hand accounts by reporters, backed by evidence from medical personnel from these institutions, the families of people held in them, and documentary information.

We confirm the basic facts: these institutions are chronically understaffed; patients insufficiently clothed for winter; physically disabled patients have no crutches or wheelchairs; food is poor and some children have to share beds.

Mr Ferreira should state if he considers this to be evidence of a "high standard" of care. If so, he should explain why Lifecare found it necessary within hours of our report to hand out or order new shoes, jerseys, pyjamas and other items.



Spoon-fed local press ²⁴³ 'is afraid of being free'

Political Staff Ser 17/6/91

CAPE TOWN — South African journalists had become afraid of using press freedom to the full and were not bold enough in investigating claims and allegations, whether these were made by the Government or the African National Congress, senior ANC spokesman Patrick Lekota said at the weekend.

He told a press briefing that "bold and independent" newspapers were vital to the transformation of South Africa.

"The ANC fully supports a free press but we are worried that the local press has operated for so long under the censorship of the National Party that it is afraid of being free, it's afraid of being investigative.

"Allegations are made against us, but our journalists will not investigate it. Some-

times we make allegations, but they do not investigate whether we are right or wrong.

"They are just satisfied with a statement from, say, Minister of Defence Magnus Malan or deputy president of the ANC Nelson Mandela."

Mr Lekota said: "We would like to see a press that investigates and informs the public, instead of just taking what the ANC says or what the Government says. They are being spoon-fed."

He said the media should understand that talks between the ANC and the Government were only one aspect of South Africa's transformation.

"Our society must be transformed in the newspapers too.

"Part of the depth of transformation will be measured by the independence of the press," he said.

Is Press bold or timid? 243

ARE South African journalists too nosy and self-appointed ANC spokespeople or are they too afraid to make full use of Press freedom?

This question arose after different ANC spokesmen painted contrasting pictures of the Press

At a June 16 commemoration service on Sunday, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela accused the Press of "running our struggle and our forthcoming conference"

He said local journal-

By THEMBA MOLEFE

ists should not attempt to be "spokesmen for the ANC" and that some were intent on denigrating the leadership of the organisation.

Mandela also criticised recent newspaper reports which speculated on the future leadership of the ANC three weeks before its national conference

Meanwhile, senior ANC spokesman Mr Patrick Lekota told a Press briefing in Cape

Town that South African journalists had become afraid of using Press freedom to the full

They were not bold enough in investigating claims and allegations made either by the Government or the ANC.

Lekota said "bold and independent" newspapers were vital to the transformation of South Africa. *Sowetan*

19/6/91
"We would like to see a Press that investigates and informs the public, instead of just taking what the ANC says or what the

Government says. They are being spoon-fed"

He said South African journalists had operated for so long under censorship of the National Party that they were afraid of being investigative.

But Mandela suggested that journalists were already too bold.

Specifically, he questioned why "comments and editorials" were written about certain ANC leaders being tipped for the position of deputy president This suggested the ANC was in shambles



NELSON MANDELA

ANC to bid for Sowetan again

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2/2/91

JOHANNESBURG

The ANC is to make another bid for South Africa's largest black daily newspaper, the Sowetan, informed ANC sources said this week.

However, the chief executive of Argus Newspapers Ltd, Mr Peter McLean, said the newspaper was definitely not for sale.

"The ANC has not spoken to us recently about purchasing the paper. They did speak to us about the Sowetan three months ago. We said then the paper was not for sale. Our view has not changed," said Mr McLean yesterday.

ANC publicity official Mr Saki Macozoma said a feasibility study into running a daily newspaper was underway.

"Any discussions with the Argus company must be viewed as part of the study. We did show interest in the Sowetan, but I don't know whether it has been renewed."

ANC sources said the latest bid would be backed by about R14 million from Swedish and Danish aid agencies.

Mr Macozoma confirmed that ANC sympathisers abroad had expressed an interest in financing a daily —

Sapa

Joe Latakomo answers a challenge

Dictatorships rise from ruins of press freedom

Star 21/6/91.

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THERE are certain values most journalists prize dearly, chief of which is their independence. And then, journalists are also taught to be sceptical, for, as is often said, news is not something people willingly offer, journalists have to dig for it as most people, particularly politicians, believe in withholding news. What they generally offer is almost always propaganda and advertising or public relations.

And so, when Patrick "Terror" Lekota suggests that the South African press is being spoonfed, and is not doing enough investigation, it demanded a moment of critical self-analysis and reflection. Too often, the debate over whether the print media is playing the kind of role demanded by the changing South Africa is divided into two camps, the "commercial" and the "alternative" press.

Often, the commercial press is accused, sometimes rightly but mostly unfairly, of not being bold enough in publishing certain stories, in spite of the vast resources at its disposal. The role of major investigative journalism has been left to the struggling alternative media, it is argued.

This view is not generally shared in the industry, however. The "mainstream" newspapers have played a major role in investigating, and exposing, and have had a much bigger impact on events. In some cases, particularly in commercial fraud investigations, the law has been changed because of such probes. On the other hand, certain investigations by other publications have not quite stood up to closer scrutiny.

And yet often, stories do not make the pages of the commercial press for precisely the reason advanced by Mr Lekota that the press did not simply accept what the ANC or the Government say.

"We would like to see a press that investigates and informs the public, instead of just taking what the ANC says or what the Government says. They are being spoonfed," he says.

It just seems to me that most responsible newspapers would go out of their way to double check and get "the other side of the story", but organisations like the ANC and the PAC have to realise that there is a certain level of responsibility which rests on them as well. If an organisation makes a mistake in its press release or during a press conference, it should not blame the press for the

consequences, as has often happened.

But even more important, there is a need to develop a democratic culture in the constituencies of these organisations. As Thom Winship, former editor of an American newspaper, said "A free press is to democracy what yeast is to bread. Without it, this system of government which we so prize falls flat."

Another American, James Mill, says "It ought not to be permitted to speak well of public functionaries without an equal liberty of speaking ill."

Both are absolutely right. Unfortunately, most politicians seem to believe journalists seek for themselves some special privilege, some higher rung in society. Nothing could be further from the truth. How often have journalists been threatened, labelled as reactionary, indeed, even attacked for publishing certain stories, which black political leaders do not like? It is not enough to proclaim support, and belief in press freedom at international forums, and yet preach the opposite at grassroots level.

Mr Lekota claims that South African journalists have "become afraid of using press freedom" and are not bold enough to investigate claims and allegations made.

"The ANC fully supports a free press but we are worried that the local press has operated for so long under the censorship of the National Party that it is afraid of being free, it's afraid of being investigative," he says.

I would suggest that a free press exists in South Africa because of the steadfast resistance to censorship by the media over many years. Yes, there were newspapers which were apologists for the Government. As indeed there will be in the future South Africa. That would be their democratic right. But the role of the newspaper as a critical observer of the process of government and the way public functionaries carry out their mandates, will continue well beyond our time.

As another media observer once said, if we were to lose all of our liberties except freedom of the press, the liberty of the press would bring them all back again. However, if freedom of the press is lost, you can be sure that all the other liberties will be lost, too, without the prospect of a return.

It is on the ash heaps of press freedom that totalitarian governments are built and maintained. □

Paper rejects LP advertisement

Political Correspondent (243)

THE Afrikaans-language weekly newspaper Rapport yesterday declined to publish a full-page advertisement submitted by the Labour Party for its Sunday edition on the grounds that it might be "degrading" or "biased"

The LP has been placing full-page advertisements in Rapport since the beginning of last year. This is the first time an advertisement from the party has been turned down. ET 21/6/91

LP public relations officer Mr Peter Hendrickse said Rapport's Western Cape representative, Mr Jack Viviers, told him yesterday that the newspaper believed the advertisement could fan racial hatred

The advertisement contained extracts from speeches in Parliament by LP leader Mr Allan Hendrickse and LP deputy leader Mr Miley Richards on the Population Registration Act and why the apartheid experiment had failed

Mandela fires a salvo at the press

2116-2716/91
Wimbo
AFRICAN National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela told the June 16 commemorative rally last Sunday his organisation was moving towards its first national conference within the country "not in shambles" but poised for final victory, and warned the press "not to try and run our organisation and our forthcoming conference".

In a wide-ranging speech delivered at the FNB stadium, Mandela accused the media of waging a campaign against the ANC, in particular the National Executive Committee (NEC).

He said the ANC would not compromise on the issue of an interim government and expressed his unqualified support and confidence in the organisation's present leadership.

Mandela's hard line against the media comes in the wake of press reports which alleged the existence of two factions within the ANC, vying for positions in the July conference.

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Nelson Mandela took a hard line on the African National Congress' interim government demands — and journalists — at a June 16 rally in Soweto last weekend.

By WALLY MBHELE

Reports said members of the ANC intelligence had "spied" on the organisation's social welfare department and leaked stories about ANC officials to the media, including controversial allegations against the Youth League president, Peter Mokaba.

Responding to the reports, Mandela said "the ANC is not in disarray", adding that its "leaders do not spend their time in a life-and-death struggle for personal power".

He said the ANC "valued journalists" because their criticism meant leaders could see themselves in a different light and correct mistakes. But they should "not to try to run our struggle".

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However, he admitted that the ANC has had problems and still has them. It would have been surprising if everything had gone without a hitch.

Mandela stood firm on the demands for an interim government and a constituent assembly composed of "the masses of our people". If the government refused to budge on this demand, he said the ANC would be forced to resort to mass action.

Mandela accused the government of spending nearly R50-million for propaganda purposes. He accused the SABC of overwhelmingly promoting the "interests of the white minority" and said the mainstream press was owned by the mining houses and could not be expected to project workers' interests.

He said the ANC's national conference would be an outstanding success. "As we move towards the conference, we do so certain of final victory. That is the message I'd like you to take home."

Accolades for Mail trainees

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PHIL MOLEFE, a graduate of The Weekly Mail Training Project for cadet journalists, has been named education reporter of the year. W/M 21/6-27/91
Most of the work for which he won the Education Foundation award was completed during his time at The Weekly Mail.

Molefe, who now works for The Star, gave up his teaching career and enrolled in the Training Project in 1989. A year later he was awarded a three-month Thompson Foundation scholarship to the United Kingdom.

Another Weekly Mail trainee, Linda Rulashe, has won this year's Thompson Foundation scholarship. Rulashe also walked off with a merit award at the 1990 SAB Sportswriter of the Year competition.



Media workers to launch forum

Argus 22/6/91 Weekend Argus Reporter (243)

AN association of freelance media workers is to be launched in Cape Town next month.

Membership of the association, to be known as Publishing Forum, will be open to freelance editors, artists, illustrators, desk-top publishers, photographers, film and video-makers, translators, authors and writers.

"Freelancers are lonely and exploited, and by getting together we have a chance to beat both these problems," said freelance journalist Mr William Barker.

Meetings will be held monthly over dinner, and speakers will be invited.

There will be no membership fee, but members will be asked to contribute R1 for postage and other costs, and pay for their own meal. Partners will be welcome.

More information is available from Mr Barker at ☎ 794 1155, or from Mrs Susan Lawrence, the interim convener, ☎ 786 1668.

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Handwritten notes and stamps, including a large '243' circled in red.

Sunday Times Reporter (243)

AN URGENT interdict forbidding the Sunday Times from publishing the results of months of investigation was granted in the Rand Supreme Court on Friday to Mr Vito Palazzolo, a wealthy Sicilian-born businessman who is seeking an extension of his South African working permit

Mr Justice Margo issued the interdict in chambers without hearing argument from the Sunday Times and in the absence of the Sunday Times legal advisers

Senior lawyers later described the circumstances in which the order was granted as unprecedented in their experience

UNDERTAKINGS

Notice of the application was served on the editor of the Sunday Times, Mr K F Owen, by an attorney representing Mr Palazzolo at five minutes before 3pm on Friday

The attorney told Mr Owen the hearing was set down for 3pm but gave an explicit undertaking that it would not proceed before the Sunday Times legal advisers arrived. The same undertaking was given to the Sunday Times attorney by telephone

After urgent consultations, during which counsel was secured and briefed, the Sunday Times legal team arrived at the Supreme Court at about 4.15 pm. They were told the order had already been granted

The effect of the order is to prevent the Sunday Times from publishing a report that drew heavily on the reports and records of the Harms Commission of Inquiry into Cross-Border Irregularities and on a judgement by Mr G Steyn, President of the Eastern Cape Regional Court, in which Mr Peet De Pontes, former MP for East London, was convicted in November last year of bribery, fraud, theft of Government documents and forgery

STRINGENT

The wording of the order is stringent. Its effect is to prohibit publication of the news report, of extracts or similar facts from the Harms records and the trial records, and the contents of Mr Palazzolo's application for the interdict

The return date is August 6 and the Sunday Times has been given leave to anticipate the return date on reasonable notice

Mr Palazzolo had previously told the Sunday Times through his attorneys that his South African working permit was presently under consideration

'SA poodle press' in reign of PW

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CT 25/6/91

By BARRY STREEK,
Political Staff

ALTERNATIVE newspapers emerged in South Africa because the PW Botha government had muzzled the commercial press which had been co-opted or coerced, says an Oxford University research fellow, Mr Roger Omond

The single most important cause of this co-option pre-dated Mr Botha's premiership — the 1977 banning of World, Weekend World and the editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods

Mr Omond said this in giving the annual Guardian lecture at Nuffield College, Oxford, entitled "Watchdog or Poodle? The Press in South Africa"

"The growth of the new papers came at a time when the state itself was suffering from a crisis of legitimacy and when the mainstream press was purveying a version of reality and political culture unacceptable to the majority of South Africans

"The United Democratic Front had

emerged as the strongest political force after the decline of black consciousness and tapped a vein of support very much in the mould of ANC thinking," said Mr Omond

"This to the state and, regrettably, some newspapers was unacceptable" Mr Omond, a sub-editor on the Guardian newspaper and author of several books, including "The Apartheid Handbook", said that against expectations most of the curbs on the South African press had been lifted

Problems and opportunities lay ahead, but the ANC had committed itself several times to a free press, although with some structural changes in ownership and outlook

The mainstream press was also making some efforts to accommodate the new dispensation

"For all the media, the challenge is not to repeat the errors of papers which acted as poodles to Afrikaner nationalism, not to become fat and lazy spaniels as some of the English press did in the '80s, but to maintain the watchdog tradition and, this time, ensure that the caravan does not move on unheeding," Mr Omond said

(243)
Star 26/6/9)
**Trade union
supports free
association**

All journalists should be allowed the right of free political association, but should not allow those associations to affect their professional conduct, South African Union of Journalists acting president Juliette Saunders said in Johannesburg on Monday

The SAUJ was reacting to a statement in the Sunday Star by Rex Gibson, deputy editor-in-chief of The Star newspaper, that journalists reporting on political events cannot belong to any political body if they wish to have credibility

In a statement, Miss Saunders said the SAUJ supported the right of any journalist to belong to any organisations of his or her choice

"At the same time, our code of conduct states a journalist has a duty to maintain the highest professional and ethical standards, and we expect journalists to be ethical and unbiased (243)

"Journalists, whether in sports, news or finance, constantly make decisions where their partisanship could come into play," she said "Fair and accurate reporting is taken as paramount" — Sapa

'More active role' for SA editors

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ET 26/6/91

JOHANNESBURG. — The Conference of South African Editors has adopted a new constitution that will promote a more active — and high-profile — role in defence of press freedom.

Membership was thrown open at a conference meeting this week to editors of all newspapers, news magazines and news agencies who subscribe to the Press Code of Conduct.

For the first time since it was founded in 1975, the Conference of Editors has elected a chairman (Mr Edwin Linington, editor of Sapa) and a vice-chairman (Mr Salie de Swardt, editor of Beeld) for a term of two years.

Their role is to represent the conference to the public and the government.

"Since its inception, the conference has kept a low profile, but now it will follow a more public and independent course, and adapt to the changing South African scene," Mr Linington said after the meeting.

"We feel a representative and united body of editors will be a strong voice to gain the widest adherence to the general concept of press freedom."

"One of our first actions will be to hold discussions with editors, who are not members, with the aim of broadening membership," he said. — Sapa

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Campaigning editor fired from top post

CT. 26/6/91

HARARE — Campaigning journalist Geoff Nyarota was fired from his post as editor of Zimbabwe's two independent weekly newspapers, colleagues said yesterday.

The owners of The Financial Gazette and The Weekend Gazette gave no reasons for dismissing Nyarota but colleagues said they believed his outspoken editorial policies scared away key advertisers including state-controlled enterprises.

Citing falling advertis-

ing revenues, shareholders were concerned by controversial reporting in The Financial Gazette, said a staffer.

Earlier, as editor of the state-controlled Bulawayo Chronicle, Nyarota led an unprecedented crusade against top-level corruption in Zimbabwe.

Five cabinet ministers resigned as a result of his disclosures in the second city of Bulawayo that they made large profits selling cars from a state-owned assembly plant. — Sapa-AP

Editors opt ⁽²⁴³⁾ for wider role

THE Conference of SA Editors has adopted a new constitution that enables it to take an active and high-profile role in defence of freedom of information and expression and protecting the interests of a free Press. B/D 26/6/91

At a meeting this week membership was opened to editors of all newspapers, news magazines and agencies which subscribe to the Press Code of Conduct

The conference elected its first chairman, Sapa editor Ed Linington, and vice-chairman (Beeld editor Sahe de Swardt)

Linington said the conference would follow a more independent course and adapt to the changing SA scene — Sapa

Editors vow to defend free SA Press

JOHANNESBURG — The Conference of South African Editors has resolved to take a high profile role in defence of a free Press

Membership was this week thrown open to editors of all daily, weekly or monthly newspapers, news magazines and news agencies which subscribe to the Press Code of Conduct

For the first time since it was founded in 1975, the COSAE has elected a chairman (Mr Edwin Linington, editor of Sapa) and a vice-chairman (Mr Salie de Swardt, editor of Beeld) for a term of two years

Their role is to represent the COSAE to the public and the government

Mr Linington said the Conference would appoint a professional secretariat to administer its affairs

"Since its inception the COSAE has kept a low profile — but now it will follow a more public and independent course and adapt to the changing South African scene"

"One of our first tasks will be to broaden our membership

"We feel a representative and united body of editors will be a strong voice with which to build the widest adherence to the concept of Press freedom" — Sapa

By Ciska Matties

THE Lifecare psychiatric hospital group has submitted a complaint to the Media Council about *The Weekly Mail's* allegations of maltreatment of black patients at two of its institutions.

And while the Transvaal Provincial Administration has denied some of the allegations about care at Sterkfontein psychiatric hospital, deputy director Jan van Wyk admitted a difference in facilities for white and black patients.

The exposé has had several consequences, including improved facilities and a new willingness among staff to speak up about their grievances.

Members of the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) at Lifecare last week discussed issues to be negotiated with management, such as racial discrimination among staff, and understaffing, which makes it necessary for patients to be put to work.

And at Sterkfontein, admission forms for the union are "going out like hot cross buns"; a Sterkfontein worker

Media Council to look into Mail exposé on mentally ill

commented, "whereas at first people were frightened to join up".

Nehawu members have for the first time been allowed to have a general meeting in the hospital.

Meanwhile, the same day *The Weekly Mail* exposed the extent of apartheid at Sterkfontein — with photographic evidence — management removed signs pointing to the "black kitchen" and the "female black wards".

One worker commented: "They can easily remove those signs but they should improve the situation."

The Weekly Mail had also reported healthworkers' allegations that black patients were kept in cold, overcrowded buildings, worked long hours on the premises and did not receive any treatment other than medication. White patients, on the other hand, were reported

to be living in comfortable, warm wards with plenty facilities — and receiving personal therapy.

Van Wyk denied these allegations, saying that all patients were "handled with full empathy". However, he acknowledged that apartheid still existed in the hospital.

"Simply taking practical arrangements as regards the culture, language, eating habits and so on of patients into account, it is clear that the situation that existed before could not be changed overnight," he said.

"As regards the basic facilities in the wards, the matter was investigated... we are busy drawing up a programme to rectify this. This will however depend on the availability of funds."

Healthworkers denied that changes had been started, and claimed there

would be enough funds — the problem lay in how the funds were used.

Still, management did make changes overnight, staff reported.

They said four elderly, black patients had last week been admitted to a white ward.

One ward is to become multiracial, as soon as renovations are complete.

Other healthworkers felt, however, that these changes were superficial.

A spokesman at the Nehawu national office said that after Health Minister Rina Venter's announcement last year that hospitals would be integrated, there had not been any circular in any institution to explain to employees what that meant. Neither the TPA nor the minister had taken steps to coordinate and consult staff in integrating the institutions.

● *The Weekly Mail* reported that Sterkfontein contained 700 black patients and 500 white patients. According to the TPA, a patient count following showed there were 426 black patients and 301 whites.



Safeguard the Press says IFJ

BRUSSELS - No governing party in the world, irrespective of its expressed commitment to freedom of the Press, likes a free and courageous media, the president of the International Federation of Journalists said yesterday.

Addressing delegates to a two-day conference on "Journalism at work: The global challenge of European Revolution" being held in Brussels, Belgium, Mrs Mia Doornaert, said only well-educated and well-trained journalists, operating within democratic and independent unions, can safeguard Press freedom.

Doornaert said politicians often argued that Press freedom was a luxury that could wait "until things are better". *Sowetan 28/6/91*

They argue that public debate on aspects of life could not be afforded.

The conference is the first international forum at which delegates from former Eastern Europe countries are sharing their experiences with journalists from all over the world.

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New Era takes sorry leaf from the old

Spur 29/6/91

Here is the story of a small South African tragedy. It happened just the other day, in Cape Town.

Its principal characters were a Cabinet Minister called Adriaan, a communist called Tony, and an editor called Guy. How did they come to be involved with each other? Well, first let me tell you something about the editor.

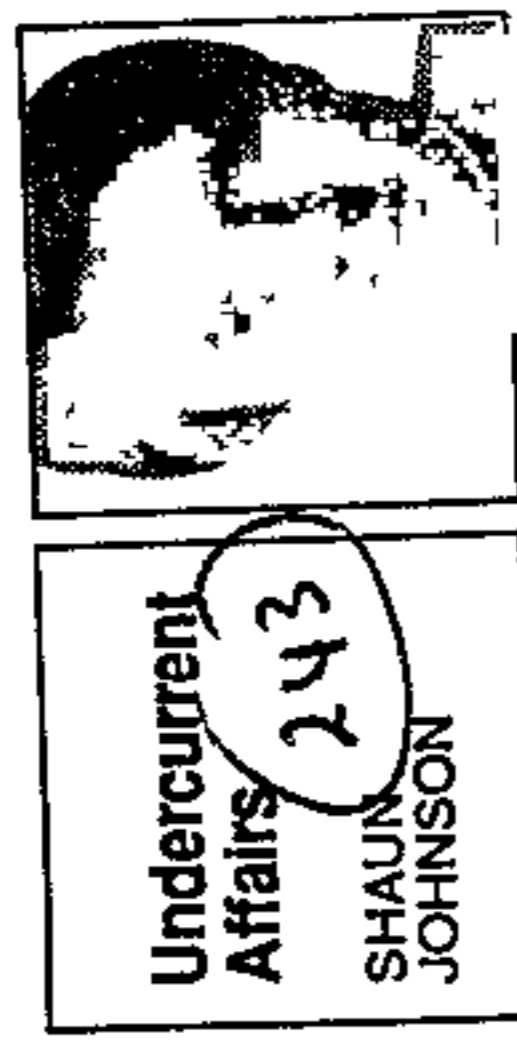
His full name is Guy Berger. He was a one-time lecturer at Rhodes University who had been sent to prison in the 1980s for "furthering the aims of the ANC" (remember that crime?), and who had gone into exile in England after he came out of Pretoria Central.

This year, at last, he could come home and — better still for him — there was a marvellous opportunity to put his considerable journalistic skills to use. The Cape-based left-wing journal New Era needed an editor, and he was appointed.

Now, despite the fact that Guy had gone to jail for his political principles, he also held some pretty strong journalistic ones.

He had withdrawn from party political involvement and wanted a magazine that pulled no punches, that wasn't afraid to probe even those groups it sympathised with and most of all, one that was different and zesty enough to make people buy it out of interest, not a sense of duty.

"Controversial?" he asked. "Sure" he answered



Undercurrent Affairs 243

SHAUN JOHNSON

"A couple of readers have asked 'Where's the line? Where's the political direction?' Well, they've got the wrong magazine. It's up to party mouthpieces to come up with 'the line' — no recycling of simple slogans here."

His first issue was a big hit. It carried a very tough and very knowledgeable interview with Chris Hami that most mainstream publications had to pick up on. The magazine was slick, alive, and delightfully irreverent.

Fired by this success, the editor started planning his second edition. He came up with a fascinating idea. Why not carry an interview with Adriaan Vlok, with a difference — the interviewer would be Tony Holaday, ANC and SACP member, former long-term security prisoner and exile. The two men had last met when the Minister visited the communist in his cell in 1982.

After much to-ing and fro-ing the Minister agreed, and the historic interview took place. The editor typed

it up and gave it to his colleagues at the magazine. Then the tragedy began to unfold. They refused to allow it to be published, because they thought the Minister came out of it too well.

The editor argued that that was journalism. You take your chances, and let your readers decide. They said no, and as a collective they had the power to enforce their decision. This was "direct democracy" in action.

The editor argued "You just can't operate like that in the real world," he said. "You can't just say 'up yours' to Vlok and then expect to be taken seriously. You're making a jummy out of me as editor. I shall be forced to resign."

Said Guy: "People were making decisions. I thought they were not equipped to make, and that professionalism required that I was given authority. They said no, it doesn't work like that here, this is democratic. I said I'm talking about representative democracy as opposed to direct democracy — give me a mandate."

"I was told that the idea that I had of an editor was a Western concept. I felt like saying 'Did you see the Eastern European editors?' I had to step down."

The editor's second — and last — edition came out this month. It is full of spark and pizzazz, but there is no Minister being interviewed by the communist, and the editor is now an ex-editor.

Berger attached a parting mail-shot. "There may have been too much direct democracy at New Era for me to survive as editor," he wrote, "but at least the second edition has hit the streets."

He, of course, hit the streets simultaneously. And that's where he stays while he looks for a new place to ply his trade. He was invited to put his case at the University of the Western Cape recently, and this was his message for the "alternative" media.

"In New Era's case the transition into the dominant mainstream of society has been shipwrecked on the rocks of anachronistic political attitudes and practical procedures. In the meantime there is a crying need to prepare for the coming crunch."

"The struggles for survival under the State of Emergency will look like easy meat when put against the harsh market and complex political forces that lie ahead."

The moral of the tale, of course, is that in the matter of press freedom, many among the Government's left-wing political opponents seem to have a lot in common with the unlamented Stoffel Botha. And if that isn't an awful irony, I don't know what is.

Judge Margo calls editor to his home

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8/11/91
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Sunday Times Reporter
RAND Supreme Court Judge Mr Justice Margo summoned the editor of the Sunday Times, Mr KF Owen, to his home on Friday to discuss the granting of an order the previous week which prohibited the publication in the Sunday Times of an article about Mr Vito Palazzolo, a Sicilian immigrant.

Judge Margo had issued the order in his chambers in the absence of the Sunday Times's legal team, although Mr Palazzolo's attorney, Mr MB Snoyman had earlier assured both Mr Owen and the Sunday Times lawyer, Mr David Hoffe, that the matter would not proceed until the Sunday Times's legal team arrived.

On Friday at his home, Judge Margo gave Mr Owen an assurance that he was unaware, at the time he granted the order, of any undertakings given by Mr Palazzolo's lawyers to the Sunday Times. He asked Mr Owen to put this assurance on record.

The judge said he had been ready to hear the matter, either in his chambers or later in the day at his home, but he was given no indication of any alleged assurances to the Sunday Times or to its lawyers.

Undertaking

The judge's assurance to Mr Owen followed an exchange of letters between Mr Snoyman and Mr Hoffe over the circumstances in which the order was granted.

Copies of the letters have been sent to Judge Margo, the Secretary of the Law Society and all the counsel involved in the affair.

In his letter, Mr Snoyman said that he had served papers on Mr Owen at 3pm on the Friday before last and had told him that the matter was to be heard at 3pm (in fact, the papers were served at five minutes before 3pm).

Mr Snoyman said he had then assured Mr Hoffe that the matter would be proceeded with at 3pm so as to give him time to brief counsel and appear in court.

Mr Snoyman said he had advised Judge Margo that he thought the hearing would take place at 4.30pm. At that time, said Mr Snoyman, he and his counsel, Advocate PJ van R Henning SC, went to Judge Margo's chambers.

"Counsel specifically told the learned judge of the undertaking which the writer had given to your Mr Hoffe."

He had also told the judge that, in his view, the Sunday Times had had sufficient time to brief counsel on their behalf.

Prohibited

Mr Snoyman said he had advised Judge Margo that, in view of the undertaking given to Mr Hoffe, the matter should stand down while he attempted to contact Mr Hoffe.

At 4.45pm, said Mr Snoyman, Judge Margo indicated he had read the papers and was prepared to grant the order. Before the order was granted, a secretary from Mr Hoffe's office rang to say Mr Hoffe was on his way. Mr Snoyman said this was conveyed to the judge, who nevertheless granted the order.

In his letter of reply, Mr Hoffe observed that Mr Snoyman had given Mr Owen an express undertaking not to proceed before the Sunday Times legal advisers arrived, and had given a further assurance to himself that the matter would be stood down to give the Sunday Times an opportunity to retain and brief counsel.

The Sunday Times legal team arrived at court at 4.15pm, said Mr Hoffe. The court registrar had informed his counsel that the order was granted at 4.15pm and not 4.45pm as claimed by Mr Snoyman. He called upon Mr Snoyman to abandon the order.

Meanwhile, the Sunday Times is still prohibited from publishing certain information about Mr Palazzolo, or similar facts. The return date is August 6.

PRESS — 1991

JULY — DEC.

Sowetan is not up for sale

Sowetan 1/7/91. (243)

SOWETAN's unaudited circulation sales for the first six months of this year now stand in excess of 200 000 for the first time ever.

This new record comes after two successive monthly circulation sales records: 212 433 copies in May and 214 716 in June.

Average daily circulation for the six months since January totals 200 721. This confirms *Sowetan's* position as the fastest-growing daily newspaper in Southern Africa. With more than 1,5 million daily readers, *Sowetan* also has the largest daily

readership in South Africa

These latest sales records come at a time of renewed rumours that the African National Congress has made an offer to buy the newspaper.

The chief executive of Argus Newspapers, Mr Peter McLean, confirmed categorically on Friday that the newspaper was not up for sale.

The newspaper's general manager, Mr Rory Wilson, yesterday said the ANC had inquired about the possibilities of purchasing the newspaper some months ago.

"We said then and we say again: we are not selling," Wilson said.

The editor of *Sowetan*, Mr Aggrey Klaaste, scoffed at the rumours of the ANC buying the newspaper: "Our greatest strength is that we are independent of any political organisation. Our readers know that we give everyone and every political party the chance to air their views.

"If we became a party political newspaper, it would negate everything we stand for. We stand for the people's right to know the truth. Our manifesto states: 'We answer to no party. We answer to the people.'

"That is why we have more readers than any other daily newspaper in South Africa."

'Parties misled?' asks Margo

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Any decision to overturn the interdict granted against the Sunday Times 10 days ago, prohibiting that newspaper from publishing an article on Sicilian immigrant Mr Vito Palazzolo, would depend on circumstances in which the parties involved may have been misled, Mr Justice Cecil Margo said last night.

Mr Justice Margo would not elaborate and said it was not ethical for a Supreme Court judge to give interviews on a case that was still "live".

On Friday, Mr Justice Margo summoned Sunday Times editor Mr Ken Owen to his home to discuss his granting the interdict the previous week.

Interdict

According to yesterday's Sunday Times, a difference of opinion has surfaced between the judge and Mr Palazzolo's attorney Mr M B Snoyman.

This surrounds the issue of whether Mr Justice Margo was told, prior to his granting the interdict, that Mr Snoyman had assured the Sunday Times that the matter would not proceed until the Sunday Times's lawyer, Mr David Hoffe, had arrived at Mr Justice Margo's chambers.

Mr Justice Margo told Mr Owen he had been unaware of any assurances made to the newspaper by Mr Snoyman.

Mr Snoyman said he had informed the judge of the assurances he had given the Sunday Times.

The return date for the interdict is August 6.

ANC 'does not want newspaper'

Blowan 2-17-91

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THE ANC did not want to own newspapers or radio stations, the organisation's information chief, Pallo Jordan, told a Media Association of SA meeting last week.

SA should not expect to see a Radio ANC, ANC TV or an ANC daily, he said. Jordan's comments came a few days before it was reported that the ANC was to make another bid to buy the Sowetan newspaper.

Weekend reports quoted ANC publicity official Saki Macozoma as saying that a feasibility study into running a daily newspaper was under way.

Argus Newspapers CE Peter McLean said the Sowetan was not for sale.

Jordan told the meeting the ANC did not want to own media.

It would join with other interested parties to establish "a democratic media", as there was not a consistent voice for the democratic movement in SA.

He said the ANC "would participate with a consortium, of which we would be a shareholder, with a democratic voice".

Reports by
MARCIA KLEIN

The ANC was not opposed to political parties owning newspapers, but it would not go that way, he said.

Media and freedom of expression in SA had suffered "some of the gravest assaults imaginable".

The battle for freedom of expression had not been won, said Jordan.

There were at least five vigorous African newspapers in SA before 1910. Now the English-speaking community had the most papers serving it. The Zulu community, which was three to four times larger, had only one, and other groups "probably none".

There was an alarming concentration of ownership and control of print media in SA, and the state controlled the bulk of electronic media, he said. The latter was the tool of government policy, not a publicly owned information asset.

Freedom of the media should entail giving

people the capacity to produce media in their own languages.

The ANC had three propositions for media in a democratic SA:

- Media production in all languages;
- The "disaggregation" of media monopolies, especially in the print sector; and
- Democratisation of state-owned electronic media, which, with privately owned media, should reflect the variety of the community.

Jordan said a government which sought to curtail media freedom was one that wanted to evade public scrutiny.

The ANC would accept criticism from every quarter and reserve the right to respond.

He said a poor community would not be an attractive market for advertisers.

Media owners who could stand on their own feet should do so. Others should be given a safety net to keep them going, both in the electronic and print sectors.

Jordan said monopolies might be willing to assist in setting up own-language media through grants or long-term loans.

Alternative Press still seeks a distinct identity

Blowan 2-17-91
THE mainstream and alternative Press are moving closer together in terms of editorial content, says Hunt Lascaris TBWA media director Lyndall Campher.

She says the "protest media" are changing their strategies to face the challenge of 1991, which is to be distinct without becoming extinct.

New Nation, Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail have each chosen their own response to "mainstream encroachment", she says.

"It is becoming increasingly difficult to out-radicalise the mainstream press without marginalising yourself right off the planet."

Mainstream newspapers were able to accommodate wide-ranging views in the year ahead and "the protest papers" were showing a lot of inventiveness in response.

New Nation's marketing is now being handled by the Argus and Caxton Groups' Newspaper Marketing Bureau.

Vrye Weekblad is becoming more like a magazine and more bilingual as it seeks to widen its appeal.

The Weekly Mail is now "lashing out to both left and right".

Papers bustin' out all over ²⁴³ these little cities

Star 2/7/91.

Is it status they want, or are they hungry for information? Or do they simply value the paper for wrapping their "Russians" and chips?

The fascination with newspapers in some of the neighbouring states is extraordinary. It might even be that Windhoek and Gaborone are the most newspaper-saturated cities in the world. They certainly seem to be near the top of the league when compared with some of the world's major cities.

New York, for instance, has only five dailies serving a population of about 7 million. London has, by my count, 10 dailies serving a population of about the same size.

Johannesburg has always considered itself to have more newspapers per capita than most cities, with five dailies and about five weeklies serving a population of no more than 2 million.

But that is small potatoes compared to Windhoek, which also has five daily newspapers and about the same number of weeklies but a population of less than 150 000.

In Gaborone, which claims a population only slightly smaller than Windhoek's, there are at least five weeklies.

These little sheets hardly compare with the New York Times on Sunday, which is so heavy that it is almost necessary to use a wheelbarrow to bring it in from the front porch. But they are nevertheless newspapers.

There is dispute in Windhoek, though, about whether some of the publications there should be called newspapers. Some have been known to sink frequently to depths that might make it more appropriate for them to be called fictionpapers or guesspapers.

It appears that the Namibian government is so worried about the nature of the news being presented to the citizens by these papers that it is planning to launch its own weekly newspaper.

We shall have to wait to see whether this improves the quality of Windhoek's press. It certainly will increase its newspaper-per-capita index.

And it certainly is better than banning or otherwise punishing the errant press, which is what some African governments would do without hesitation.

The frequent transgressions against journalistic ethics of which the Windhoek newspapers are accused suggests that they do not appreciate the freedom they

Out of Africa

GERALD L'ANGE



are given — even the freedom to be bad — and how precious this is in a continent where press freedom of any kind is rare.

Even in supposedly enlightened Botswana the newspapers are having to fight off efforts by some government leaders to introduce press curbs.

In Swaziland the government last week took a different approach to keeping the public uninformed. Instead of muzzling the press, it muzzled the public service.

All questions relating to the government must in future be put in writing to the Director of Information and answered by him in writing. And the director has been given the right to "edit" the replies of government departments before passing them on to the news media.

So it seems that Swaziland has seen the end of the news conference, which is one of the best means available to the man-in-the-street to get an accounting from the government that is supposed to be representing him. Not that the Swazi authorities had been exactly prolific with news conferences.

Press freedom has suffered in Zimbabwe, too. Geoff Nyarota, the courageous and outspoken editor of the Financial Gazette, last week disclosed what he believes is the reason for his having been fired: his criticisms of the government had so angered certain politicians that they made it clear to his employers that they would not get foreign currency approval to import a new printing press while Mr Nyarota was editor.

□ □ □

Engaged as we are with the subject of press freedom and responsibility, a bit of mea culpa is at this point appropriate, nay, required. On June 18 I said in this column that the Botswana President's jet plane was hit by a ground-to-air missile over Angola. I was wrong. It was hit by rocket or cannon fire from an Angolan air force MiG fighter.

I was the one who was hit by ground fire — from colleagues who were not reluctant to point out the error. □

Wend Wendland comments on the re-emergence of the section 205 subpoena and its effects on press freedom

This 'port of first call' should be last resort for State

Star 3/17/91
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RECENT times have seen the return of the dreaded section 205 subpoena, issued in terms of section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act 1977.

Properly used, the subpoena is for the purpose of obtaining from a witness, under oath before a magistrate, information relating to a crime which may have been committed.

There is perhaps nothing particularly unacceptable in this, but subpoena is used — almost always against journalists. A refusal to disclose the required information invites a jail sentence of up to five years, with no option of a fine.

In dusting off the section 205 subpoena, not seen since we embarked on a "new South Africa" in February last year, the State has, once more, attempted to force journalists to disclose confidential information, particularly the identity of people who have given information to a journalist on the strict understanding that their identities would not be disclosed. The reappearance of the section 205 subpoena is, to say the least, unwelcome.

It would seem that the State turns to the forced disclosure of confidential information by journalists, not as a last resort as should be the case, but as a port of first call.

Surely the State should look to the police for the information that it needs, and not be permitted to tap freely into confidential information held by journalists.

The forced disclosure of a journalist's confidential sources carries with it a number of pernicious dangers, as well as costs to the journalist.

First, a journalist who has once disclosed, without consent, the name of a confidential source, has breached the journalist's code of ethics and will never be trusted again, and may never write again as a working journalist — in other words, his or her credibility is gone.

The forced disclosure of sources will therefore destroy the journalist's livelihood.

Second, journalists play a valuable role in society by uncovering and publicising wrongs and malpractices in whatever sector of society or government these may

occur, and however unpopular such disclosures may be.

Such information is often confidential, and its disclosure to journalists is conditional upon it being treated and respected as such.

Forced disclosure, in violation of undertakings of confidentiality, will have a chilling effect on the chances of sources passing on information to journalists, and many serious wrongs and malpractices would remain undetected.

Thirdly, and most importantly, the forced disclosure of sources strikes at the heart of freedom of speech and democratic order.

Freedom of expression enables contending ideas to compete and society is the better-informed for it.

Freedom of expression includes not only the right to impart information, but also the right to receive it.

It follows that if the right of the press to receive information is obstructed, so too must its right to impart information be obstructed.

The forced disclosure of sources stifles the ability of the press to receive information and so inter-

feres with its right to inform society on matters of public interest. Society is the worse for it.

Freedom of expression demands both the right to impart information and the right to receive information. This is recognised in Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights and Article 19 of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Actually, for newspapers, the right to impart information goes even further — it is a duty.

Section 205 has, since its enactment, been used almost exclusively against journalists. In South Africa, a number of journalists, such as the recent example of The Star's special writer Patrick Laurence, have been convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for refusing to disclose the names of their sources. Journalists in other countries — including Britain and the United States — have suffered a similar fate.

However, a handful of countries do offer their journalists a measure of protection.

In Austria, for example, the Press Law of 1982 provides that

journalists have the right to refuse to give evidence, as witnesses, in court and to answer questions relating to the identity of the authors or sources of their information.

Swedish law provides similar protection, but, uniquely, instead of granting journalists the right not to reveal their sources, imposes upon them a duty not to disclose anything they know about the authors or the sources of their information.

In the United States, the chief Supreme Court decision on the subject, the 1972 ruling in *Branzburg v Hayes*, stated that, notwithstanding First Amendment rights to freedom of expression, journalists do not have a fundamental right to avoid testifying as witnesses in criminal trials to protect their sources.

The Supreme Court, however, went on to invite the individual states to legislate on the subject. A number of states, such as California and New York, have enacted so-called "shield laws" giving journalists varying degrees of protection if they refuse to reveal the identity of a source.

While it is not suggested that journalists should never, as a blanket rule, be obliged to disclose information, journalists should be entitled to some protection.

In March this year, after representations by bodies such as the Media Council, section 205 was amended so that the issue of a section 205 subpoena must be at the request of not merely a public prosecutor, but the Attorney-General. This amendment is, however, not yet in effect and it is unclear whether it will improve the position.

In May, the Deputy Minister of Law and Order announced that the police would re-examine section 205 in an attempt to place the police's relationship with the media on a more healthy footing. This is encouraging.

It is hoped that journalists will soon be entitled to greater protection.

Section 205, as at present formulated and applied, is a draconian measure, which has no place in a society reaching out for greater freedoms and democracy. □

● The author is a practising attorney.

Thursday July 4th 1991

Neethling can appeal ruling

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Police forensics chief Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling was yesterday granted leave by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein to appeal against the rejection of his defamation action against *Vrye Weekblad*

Neethling had claimed R1 million from editor Mr Max du Preez, Caxton Ltd, Wending Publications, reporter Mr Jacques Pauw and the newspaper itself for reports on November 17 1989 and December 1, 1989.

The reports were based on allegations by former police captain Mr Dirk Coetzee about murders and terror attacks by the South African Police special unit at Vlakplaas.

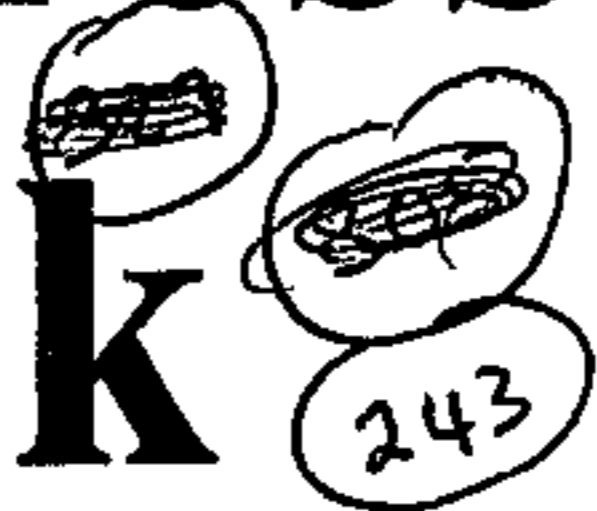
The claim, together with one for R500 000 against the *Weekly Mail* for a report in the November 24-30 1990 edition, was rejected by Mr Justice JC Kriegler in the Witwatersrand Local Supreme Court on January 19

Kriegler subsequently granted Neethling leave to appeal against the decision in the case of the *Weekly Mail* on the basis that the point of law by which the claim had been rejected was still "unexplored territory". The judge had found that justifiability was a defence without the truthfulness proved of the allegations published.

He, however, rejected the application to appeal against the finding regarding *Vrye Weekblad*. - Sapa

Left stifling press freedom — book

Star 4/7/91



By Brendan Templeton

Widespread grassroots censorship of journalists through left-wing intimidation is a "chilling" but unreported phenomenon in South Africa, according to the Institute of Race Relations.

The institute last night launched a book, "Mau-Mauing the Media: New Censorship for the New South Africa", which claims the Left has taken over from the Government in stifling press freedom.

The book contains transcripts of talks and discussions at an SAIRR seminar last year attended by senior black journalists and other people working in the media.

"They indicated that in recent years this 'alternative' censorship has been fierce enough to block the publication of much that happened in the country's black townships," the SAIRR said in a statement.

According to senior assistant editor of the Sowetan, Thami Mazwai: "We have a situation in which journalists are far less exposed to arrest, detention and incarceration by the Government than they used to be, but are being threatened and man-handled by political activists in the townships, in the towns and everywhere, and are being told to toe the line or else."

He added that many journalists had fought to retain their independence and credibility,

but not all had succeeded in the face of intimidation

Accounts of intimidation by the Left included

- A reporter threatened with necklacing by activists who accused him of belonging to a rival organisation
- A petrol bomb thrown at the home of a fellow-journalist employed by the paper
- The circulation of the Inkatha-owned newspaper, Ilanga, dropped by about 23 000 after shopkeepers who sold it were attacked, and people who were caught reading it were forced to eat it and sometimes threatened with death
- A news editor who could not come to work one day because local youngsters called him to a meeting. "Here were 13-year-olds, who could hardly spell their names, questioning a journalist on the policy of his newspaper."

Warning

- Reporters receiving abusive calls at night
- A reporter who had to evacuate his wife and children from his house after receiving a warning that he was about to be attacked
- A threatened boycott of a newspaper after prominent activists accused it of "sowing division".

According to the book, journalists were supported when jailed by the State but blacklisted when they criticised the Left. Senior political reporter at The

Star, Kaizer Nyatumba, said censorship from the Left was worse because it was never reported.

A senior labour and political journalist, Connie Molusi, attributed the current political intolerance "to the period popularly known as the mass insurrection era spanning 1984 and 1986 when a culture of 'people's war' was born, with compulsory attendance at street committees and punishment for disobedience".

White liberals came under attack at the SAIRR conference to launch the book. Black journalists accused them of being reluctant to criticise liberation movements for fear of having their credentials questioned

The English press was slated for being "sycophantic" towards the ANC for the past seven years.

Funding organisations also came under fire. They were accused of handing over vast sums of money to student organisations which did not have the discipline or skills to use it properly.

Mr Mazwai said: "You have some of these youngsters driving around in cars, with loads and loads of money in their pockets.

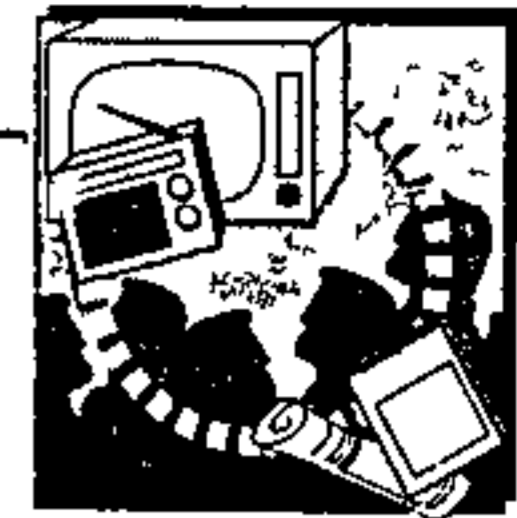
"There are countries that are particularly guilty of this but I believe they have done a great disservice to the struggle in this country they have created a monster which has now become uncontrollable"

PUBLISHING

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DOUBLE JEOPARDY

People are reading fewer magazines. An analysis of Magtrak, Nasionale Tydskrifte's monthly tracking survey of consumer magazine readership by urban white adults, shows that the average respondent now regularly reads 2,3 magazines compared with 3,4 two years ago.

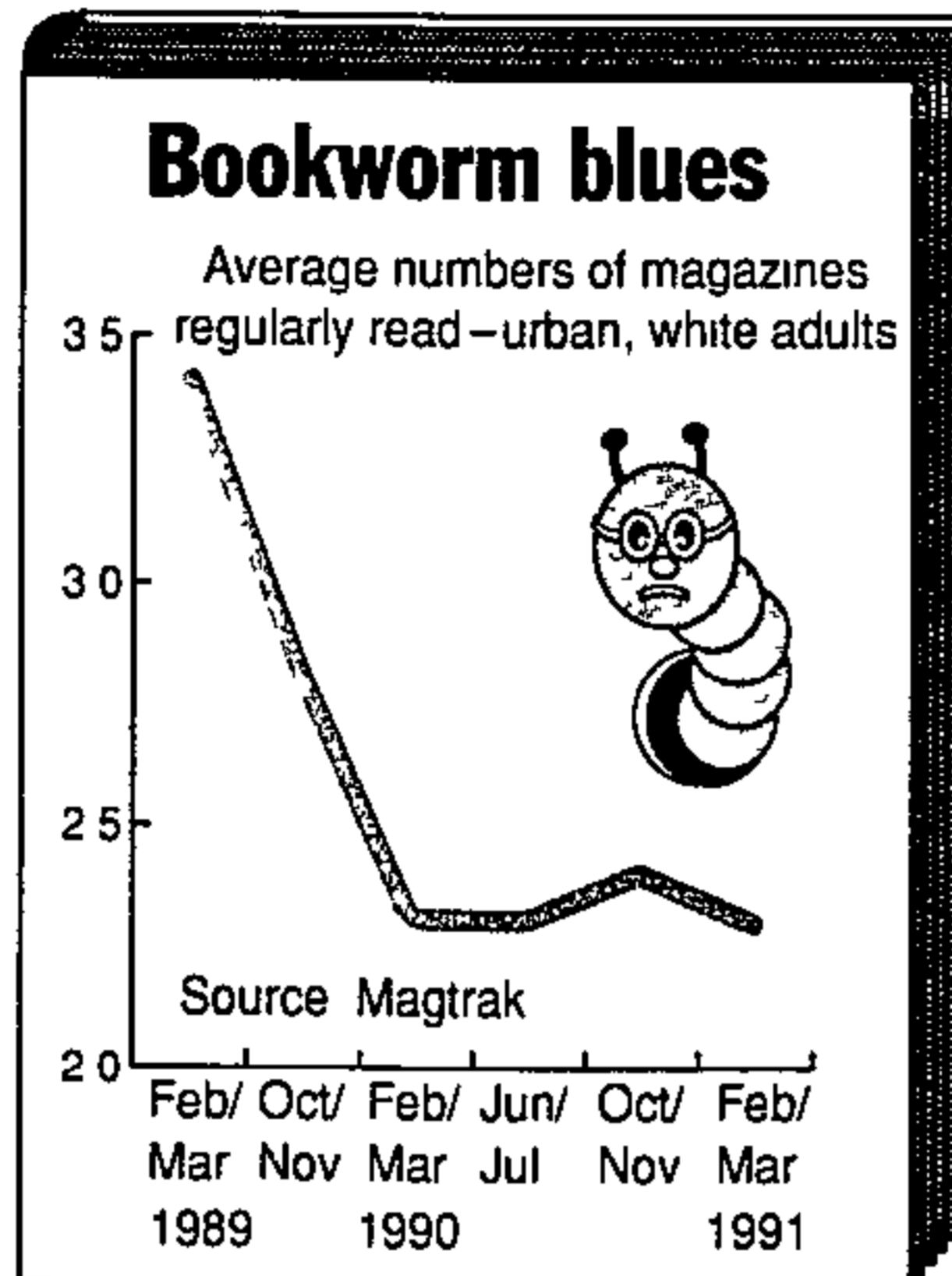
"Magazine purchasers tend to be women," says Nasionale GM Barbara Ross. "Their budgets are being squeezed, so the total number of titles purchased has declined. Some people were previously buying five or six titles. But that would cost R20 a month and today they can't afford that."

"This is not necessarily reflected in the circulations of individual publications. The top titles are not suffering. In the Afrikaans market, if the purchaser has to choose between *Huisgenoot* and *Sarie*, she will choose the former."

The findings emphasise yet again how important it is for publications to be leaders in their market niches. "You've got to be No 1 or No 2," says Ross. "If you're No 3, you're dead." In some segments, even No 2 looks vulnerable.

It's a variation on Light's Law of Dominance, a theory propounded by American brand management consultant Larry Light, who uncovered a direct link between brand dominance and corporate profitability.

Light surveyed more than 2 700 European and American businesses in the early Eighties before concluding that companies whose brands are dominant in their categories are 52% more profitable than their nearest com-



petitors and three times as profitable as the market followers.

Light sums up "One is wonderful. Two can be terrific. Three is often threatened. Four is the pits. Five is fatal."

SA publishing and media provide strong evidence for a variation of this theory. In category after category the market leader (measured by circulation) has a disproportionately high share of adspend.

Take, for example, the general interest Afrikaans women's magazine category, occupied by *Sarie* and *Rooi Rose*. *Sarie* has 60% of the total circulation in this niche but

68% of the adspend, while *Rooi Rose* has 40% of the circulation but only 32% of the adspend. This means that, while *Sarie's* circulation is 50% higher than *Rooi Rose's*, its ad revenue is more than twice as great.

In general interest English-language women's magazines, where there are three contenders, the vulnerability of being number three stands out like a sore thumb. Market leader *Fair Lady* has 43% of the circulation and 57% of the adspend, *Cosmopolitan* has 29% of the circulation and 31% of the adspend, but third-placed *Femina*, which is only just be-

hind *Cosmo* in circulation (28%), languishes with 12% of the adspend.

The obvious counter to the disadvantage of not being No 1 is niche marketing. *Cosmo*, for example, has been highly successful in creating a unique positioning of its own in a niche occupied by no other publication. For advertisers who want to reach people in that niche, it is the first choice. *Femina* has attempted to do the same thing, but so far with less success.

Radio 702 performed this trick quite effectively when it was swamped by Radio 5 in the teenage music radio mass market. It repositioned itself as the talk station for the baby boomers, a niche no other medium had attempted to capture.

Much the same thing happens in other segments — women's service magazines (*Your Family* and *Woman's Value*) and general interest magazines (*Huisgenoot* versus *Keur* in the Afrikaans market, *You* versus *Personality* in the English). It happens in trade magazines, in daily and Sunday newspapers, in financial weeklies and in radio stations. Indeed, there is hardly a media category in which it *doesn't* happen. An exception, however, is among the black magazines *Bona*, *Drum* and *Pace*. Though *Pace* is the smallest in circulation, it has the most positive gearing of advertising revenue.

Media are particularly vulnerable to Light's Law of Dominance in recessions. When ad budgets are cut, it's the secondary and tertiary media (not the primary medium) which are cut the most. All the advertiser's money goes into the single publication which has the biggest coverage of his target market. Only in good times, when advertisers have money coming out of their ears, does the secondary medium get its fair share.

Market trailers face a kind of double jeopardy by coming in second. The bigger the market leader's lead over its competitors, the more pronounced this all-or-nothing gearing effect. Not only can they attract more advertising but they can also charge more.

This leads to a delicious (for market leaders) mathematical escalation. If publication A has twice the circulation of publication B, charges twice the advertising rates and sells twice as many pages, then it will enjoy four times the total revenue.

The point is that financial gearing flows from the edge the market leader has in circulation.

There is, however, a danger that the leader can price itself out of the market. But it is rare for ad rates to be strictly related to circulation and on a cost-per-thousand basis the leading publication is often cheaper.

Tony Koenderman

LAW OF DOMINANCE

Circulation v ad revenue

| | % of circ in category | % of ad revenue in category |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| General-interest Afrikaans magazines | | |
| Huisgenoot | 81 | 96 |
| Keur | 19 | 4 |
| General-interest English magazines | | |
| You | 63 | 80 |
| Personality | 37 | 20 |
| Afrikaans women's magazines | | |
| Sarie | 60 | 68 |
| Rooi Rose | 40 | 32 |
| English women's magazines | | |
| Fair Lady | 43 | 57 |
| Cosmopolitan | 29 | 31 |
| Femina | 28 | 12 |
| Women's service magazines | | |
| Your Family | 58 | 62 |
| Woman's Value | 42 | 38 |
| General-interest black magazines | | |
| Bona | 54 | 54 |
| Drum | 24 | 21 |
| Pace | 22 | 24 |

Sources: ABC circulation Jun-Dec 1990; Adindex 1990

I try very hard to be an equal opportunity offender

Star
6/7/91
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THERE's been something of an onslaught against the media over the past week or two. You may not have noticed it, but it comes from rather unusual quarters.

For example, the ANC's Nelson Mandela, has accused the media of manipulating a split in his group's ranks. He added that the division had been invented where none existed.

Inkatha's leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi took a similar, more strongly worded line on his recent stopover in London. Referring to discussion of Inkatha he accused the media of political masturbation.

The government of Ciskei has added its sixpenny-worth. First of all, troopers crashed into a Radio Ciskei studio to eject PAC Foreign Affairs chief Barney Desai in mid-interview. Then a State edict banned from the same station all mention of Mr Desai's organisation, as well as groups like the ANC and Cosatu. This was later denied by Ciskei.

I wonder how many of these good people had just cause to complain at some or other point during the last four decades under the media tyranny of the National Party. Many of them still do, bitterly angry at the SABC's near-news monopoly.

Could it be that we are watching the budding of a tendency which might one day see a new government handling the media as roughly as the old has done?

It may well be that I am being over-sensitive, having recently taken



a sharp word or two from readers and listeners alike. The target of their ire? Words I penned in this column in May, focusing on Inkatha and its role in the peace process.

I suggested that perhaps the continuous staging of political rallies by Inkatha, featuring large numbers of armed supporters, was not being wonderfully helpful in the search for peace — in fact, was an obstacle.

These words were not calculated to endear me to Inkatha, but I was a little surprised by the reaction to them, especially from several people who have written to accuse me of being an ANC agent. Others have suggested I am a supporter of a terrorist organisation (the ANC again) and others still of losing my independence and objectivity.

Sorry, not true. I carry no party card nor hidden torch.

In this column, since December last year, I have also attacked F W de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, the AWB, Margaret Thatcher, Saddam Hussein, The Receiver of Revenue, the National Road Safety Council, traffic cops, General Magnus Malan, the ANC, politicians in general and,

through a piece of sloppy writing, at least one good friend.

I try to be an equal opportunity offender, and I will willingly send anyone who disbelieves me copies of the articles in question as proof. I also promise to get around to any organisation not included in the above list as soon as they do anything remotely interesting.

The reason behind all this noisome self-justification is because of the debate which currently grips many South African journalists. Should we be allowed to take part in the political process? Should we become members of this or that party or write in defence of a particular cause?

The ranks of the hacks are divided, but it might be wiser in the long run if individual journalists hesitated before nailing their political colours to the mast. I suggest this coward's way out for practical reasons and in the light of the examples I cited earlier.

How would an openly identified supporter of Nelson Mandela, Mangosuthu Buthelezi or the Ciskei government deal with any one of the comments or actions I list? With great difficulty, I fear.

Anything written by such a card-carrying journalist would be treated with great suspicion and as little more than party propaganda.

● Chris Gibbons is head of news, sport and talk shows on Radio 702

Media 'NP organs or monopoly-controlled'

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

DURBAN — The ANC was "most disadvantaged" by its relations with the media in South Africa, the organisation's new president, Mr Nelson Mandela, told a rally at King's Park stadium yesterday

Mr Mandela said to cheers from the 50 000 crowd that the state-controlled radio and television services "at the end of the day are organs of the National Party"

"Most of the nation's newspapers are in the hands of a few monopolies," he said to more applause

But Mr Mandela said that this criticism should not be taken too far

"We must accept the press has every

right to keep us under scrutiny. Of course we have the right to object to misinformation, disinformation and manipulation by the media"

But it was dangerous for the ANC to try to deny the press the right to criticise through their own eyes

"Our job is to answer them — not just swear at them"

● Mr Mandela cut his speech short to allow the crowd of ANC supporters to get home before darkness fell

Earlier, the ANC's deputy president, Mr Walter Sisulu, announced that "hooligans have been at work and some people who were coming to the stadium were assaulted"

COMPANIES

Afrikaans papers take a knock

AFRIKAANS newspapers have been hit by the belief in advertising circles that "in these times Afrikaners no longer needed to be catered for in their own language," Nasionale Pers (Naspers) says in its annual report. *B(Day) 15/7/91*

It described this as "a fallacy that needed to be redressed as a matter of urgency"

In their review of the past financial year, directors said dailies had also been badly affected by the larger slice of advertising taken by TV and radio

While newspapers had "battled throughout the year", the magazine sector "improved consistently and delivered an unequalled

MARCIA KLEIN

performance" *(145) (243)*. They said associated companies M-Net and Maister Directories should be "singled out for their sustained growth", and that Sarie, You, Drum and True Love were the outstanding achievers among the group's magazines.

Rapport was affected by lower advertising volumes, and it was exploring alternatives, including supplements and focus pages. Measures were being taken to rationalise its distribution and marketing.

But the "particularly pleasing" last quarter helped Naspers issue a special dividend in its 75th anniversary year

The special non-recurring dividend of 10c a share over and above the annual dividend of 25c was announced when the group reported a 71% growth in earnings to R49m in the year to end-March.

It also emerged in the annual report that Naspers has set up a new division to produce "the whole range of plastic cards in use in SA", including the new generation Smart Card.

Directors said Naspers's entry into this field should not be surprising as the production of plastic cards was nothing more than printing on plastic. This development offered Naspers "an excellent opportunity to extend its activities to a related field".

Township thuggery imposes new media censorship

Star 16/7/91

243

THIS country has suffered so much from censorship of one kind or another that many people have come to pin their hopes on a new order of personal liberty and free information within a new South Africa.

How substantial are those hopes? This is too wide a question to attempt to answer in this column. But a booklet published by the South African Institute of Race Relations under the title "Maunung the Media" provides evidence of a well-developed threat to reporting of the clashes, political and physical, within the black community. Here is an alarm signal that ought to reverberate far beyond the media circles primarily affected.

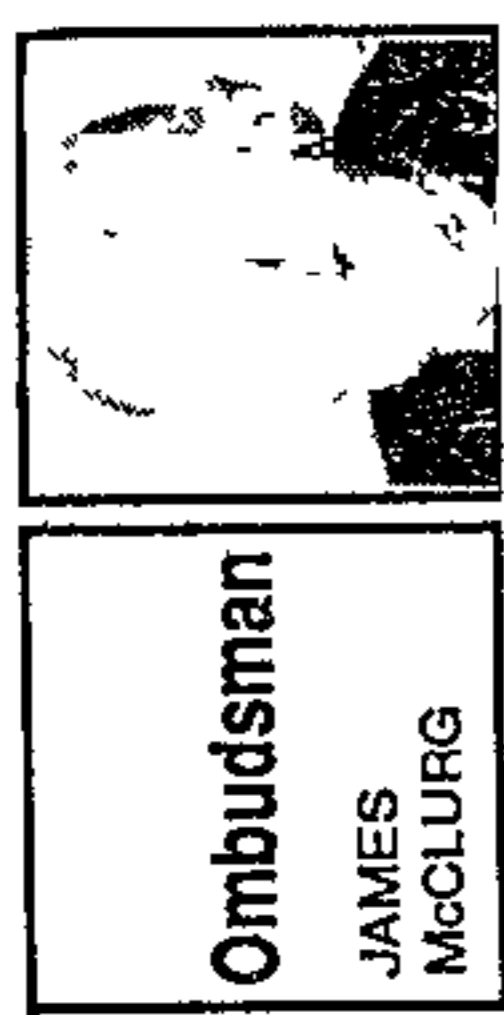
As one speaker said at a seminar which was held by the institute to discuss the problem and which formed the basis of the booklet. "We have a situation in which journalists are far less exposed to detention, arrest and incarceration by the Government than they used to be, but are being threa-

tened and manhandled by political activists in the townships, in the towns and everywhere, and are being told to toe the line or else."

This column has more than once stressed the difficulties and dangers faced by black reporters. But the ruthlessness of the intimidation they suffer and the extent to which this has prevented full reporting strike home as never before when one reads this booklet.

As The Star has already reported, incidents disclosed at the symposium include abusive telephone calls, threats of necklacing, petrol bombs thrown into a journalist's home and people being forced to swallow an unpopular newspaper when caught reading it.

Wringing one's hands in horror will do nothing to mend the situation. Clearly, the onus is in the first place on the political organisation to which the intimidators owe their allegiance. Unless they can root out this reign of terror and substitute some reasonable degree of tolerance, the outlook for democracy in South Africa is



Ombudsman
JAMES
McCLURG

dark indeed.

Eyes inevitably turn to the African National Congress and its newly elected president, Nelson Mandela is much given to denouncing the sins of the media. The word "monopoly" springs readily (and with some justification) to his lips.

But he has often expressed support for press freedom and said only the other day that "we must accept the press has every right to keep us under scrutiny".

Much hard work will be needed before this concept takes root, as we must hope it will, in the townships. But the task must be tackled with vigour and speed — as much in the ANC's own long-range interests as in those of the country as a whole.

On the other side of the conflict, the Newspaper Press Union and the Conference of Editors, recently fortified by the extension of its membership to the independent newspapers, must act with equal energy and decisiveness. This is not the kind of battle they can afford to lose by default.

□ □ □

MEANWHILE, another controversy has been engaging the attention of the press. Should a journalist whose duties impinge on politics be allowed to take part actively in any political organisation? The Star's rule is "no".

A reporter on the Sunday Star, Sefako Nyaka, has been "assigned to other duties" because, in a television debate, he revealed his occupation and added that he was a member of the ANC.

In an article in the Sunday Star, Rex Gibson, deputy editor-in-chief of The Star, said that by doing this Nyaka had "blown his credibility". However dispassionately he might write about the ANC, he could be suspected of being a

propagandist, and people in "other camps" (presumably including such bodies as the PAC or Azapo) would doubt his ability to write fairly about them.

In an impassioned reply in the next issue of the Sunday Star, the reporter made it clear that he felt victimised — "sidelined for being honest".

Both on general principles and on the facts of this incident, taken in isolation, Rex Gibson's conclusion was far from unreasonable. But, as Nyaka and other commentators have pointed out, the background to this case is more complex than it might seem.

In many newspaper offices, over the years, it has been an open secret that certain journalists had close relations with one or another of the white political parties. Some journalists have alienated between politics and journalism, with their personal views widely known.

Where the connection has been with a party hostile to the newspaper, the clandestine access to stories that would otherwise have

been denied it has been welcome. The ruling philosophy in many cases was that a reporter's political convictions were not his editor's business, provided he did not slant his reporting and provided his affiliation was not made public.

What we have here is a sticky bog of principle mixed with precedent. Somehow, in new circumstances, editors will have to get themselves and their staff on to firmer ground.

They could, I imagine, decide to revoke or modify the existing ban. But if it is retained — and there is much to be said for it in principle, given a new, clean start — then it must surely be applied firmly and consistently. □

● Have you a complaint about editorial matter that appeared in The Star? The Star's independent Ombudsman, the distinguished media personality James McClurg, is always available to adjudicate on readers' complaints. Write to him c/o The Editor's Secretary, The Star, Box 1014, Johannesburg 2000.

When the hands of 'freedom' muzzle the press

South 18/7-24/7/91

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A YOUNG REPORTER visiting a rural township in the northern Transvaal had a tyre put round his neck and was threatened with necklacing because political activists suspected he belonged to a rival political organisation.

A senior journalist had to send his family to safety after he published a report that a political organisation believed in "sowing division".

These, and other examples of a "new censorship" that has emerged in South Africa in the last decade, have been highlighted in a booklet published by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) titled "Mauling the Media - New Censorship for the New South Africa".

The booklet contains discussions at a seminar organised by the SAIRR

last year and attended by journalists and artists. Speakers frequently referred to activists and organisations who were pressurising them into writing in a certain way.

They said they were being subjected to an unofficial form of censorship by political activists.

Black journalists estimated that 60 percent of what was happening in the country did not reach the press.

They described the risks journalists took if they wrote about issues that many people believed should not be raised in public.

Mr Thami Mazwai, senior assistant editor of the Sowetan, said journalists today were far less exposed to arrest, detention and incarceration by the government than they used to be, but were being threatened and manhan-

A new and unofficial form of censorship has emerged in South Africa — one perpetrated by political activists. REHANA ROSSOUW reports:

dled by activists in the townships. Journalists, Mazwai said, were being told to toe the line "or else".

"When you are being told to toe the line you must make your stories convey a particular meaning — in other words, you must be a propagandist.

"You must play the numbers game. If there are 20 people at a meeting, and it's not in the interests of the organisation that called the meeting for the public to be told that there were 20 people present, you have got to add a couple of noughts. If you don't, then you become an enemy of the struggle."

Mazwai said many journalists were committed to the struggle, but their professionalism compelled them to reject and ignore the pressures.

"I will take whatever risk I can to make sure that the public knows what is happening.

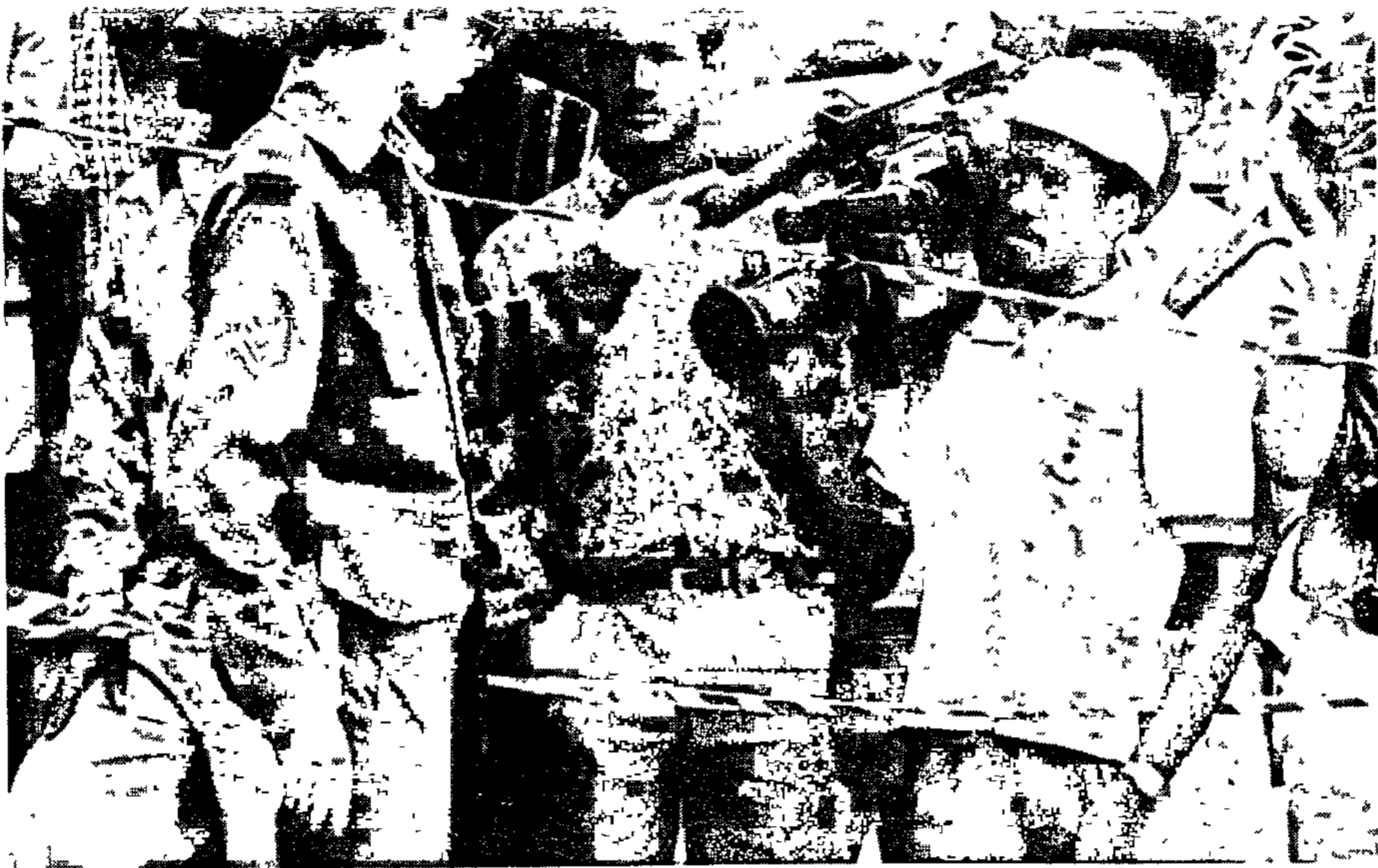
"But here is a new threat: Not only do I have to defy the government, I also have to present the facts in such a way that I am seen to be pushing a particular organisation. Many of us

have said we simply cannot have this."

Mazwai said journalists in Natal complained that they were experiencing difficulty in practising their profession. One night Inkatha members would visit them to complain about what they were writing and the next night ANC or UDF members would visit to make the same complaint.

He said a few years ago his newspaper, the Sowetan, was threatened with a boycott by the "people who believed in press freedom". They accused the newspaper of being anti a specific political organisation.

Mazwai said an attempt was made to necklace one of the reporters and a petrol bomb was thrown at the home of another journalist in 1984.



Old adversaries ... But freedom of speech is under threat from the left and the right

Photograph: KEVIN CARTER

The silent war over words

w/maul 19/7-25/7/91

(243) (203) (203)

THE American psychoanalyst, Paul Goodman, once observed that censorship is a sign that speech is serious: "Where there is none, it is pretty certain that the official spokesmen have all the loudspeakers."

This puts South African journalists in a bind. With a multitude of parties fighting for ideological turf, to be a loudspeaker for one party puts one at risk of being censored or censured by another. To be a loudspeaker for none is not to earn respect for independence but to be treated with suspicion and hostility by all.

The Institute of Race Relations' publication, *Mau Mauing the Media*, which has been widely reported on in recent weeks, hones in on one aspect of this silent war: censorship from the left.

Five black journalists tell grim stories of what it is like to report against the grain in the townships. Three other opponents of the commissars — including singer Dawn Lindberg, the managing director of *Ilanga*, Arthur Konigkramer, and poet Lionel Abrahams — testify.

We hear of threats of necklacing and assassination, of organised campaigns to stop shops from stocking Inkatha's *Ilanga* newspaper, of daily intimidation and pressures on black journalists to conform.

It is an articulate and disturbing testimony. *Sowetan* business editor Thami Mazwai relates: "We have now reached a point where a journalist is told, 'You are either for us or against us.' It is sheer political blackmail ... here is this new threat: not only do I have to defy the government, I also have to present the facts in such a way that I am seen to be pushing a particular organisation."

The institute's director, John Kane Berman, describes why he organised the conference that the book was based upon: "We wanted to expose people, our membership, to the kind of information that is not getting into the press." The alternative cen-

The Institute of Race Relations recently highlighted censorship from the left. **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK** reminds us that everyone is guilty of Mau Mauing press freedom

sorship, we are told, ensures that much of what is happening on the ground is just not making it into the mainstream newspapers.

What is disconcerting, though, for an account that sets out to fight for the right of the public to know more is what is absent from this book. We are presented with testimonial accounts that are fashioned into an ideological weapon to beat the African National Congress. This leaves an unfortunately partisan impression, that someone has an axe to grind.

Whoever believes that supporters of the ANC are the only culprits in intimidating should speak to journalists on *The Weekly Mail* or *City Press* or any other publication that have been threatened or harassed by Inkatha. They should speak to one of my colleagues who arrived at my home late one recent Sunday night after being threatened by a gun-wielding Inkatha supporter at a shebeen for something he had written.

They should also speak to reporters — especially black reporters — who attempt to cover the activities of the far right.

The report is also too sanguine in referring to state actions against the press in the past tense, simply because journalists are no longer in detention and newspapers are not under threat of closure.

The fact is that in South Africa, many politicians and activists, particularly those of the second tier, are overwhelmingly immature when it comes to respecting the independence of journalists.

What the book has usefully highlighted is the existence of an activist community which has sought an ideological hegemony in that community.

It is heartening to hear the honesty of the

testimony of the black journalists. Connie Molusi says: "I think for as long as political organisations continue to fight for political hegemony, to see themselves as sole representatives of black people, the violence is not going to end."

This activist community has set itself up as "the people" and sought to interpret the grievances and the aspirations of the entire black community. They have displayed an extraordinary oversensitivity to the written word, putting journalists into Mazwai's two categories: for them or against them.

Part of the struggle has been to project a false image of total unity in the black community — and to often enforce this image with threats and intimidation if necessary.

In effect these activists have often stood in the way of the journalist and his access to the broader community. A journalist, say from a foreign paper, goes into a township and meets instant spokespeople: a youth leader, a church worker, the local ANC leadership.

They purport to interpret for the outsider what the community at large feels, yet they are merely projecting a particular mainstream political line. The reporter misses the great diversity of opinion, of feeling, of mood in that community.

Do ordinary black people — those that the activists are supposed to champion — realise that they are the losers, both in the toned-down accounts of events that reach them in their newspapers and in the curious form of stereotyping that takes place?

Or has the leadership of the ANC or Inkatha, with their frequent press-bashing, managed to prevent the development of a greater tolerance towards the press?

These are crucial questions. The battle for press freedom, just like the struggle for pluralism, will inevitably be won or lost in the townships, where the pressures to conform — and thus the dangers to freedom of speech — are so much more intense than in the white suburbs.

TIMES MEDIA FM 19/7/91
FINDING NEW NICHES

Activities: Diversified information vendor. Managed publishing operations include Sunday Times, Business Day, Financial Mail. Other interests include an effective 18% of M-Net.

Control: JCI holds an effective 32,8%

Chairman: P F Retief; MD S Mulholland

Capital structure: 21,9m ords. Market capitalisation R285m

Share market: Price 1 300c. Yields 4,6% on dividend, 8,9% on earnings, p.e ratio, 11,3, cover, 1,9. 12-month high, 1 300c, low, 675c.

Trading volume last quarter, 108 000 shares

| Year to Mar | '88 | '89 | '90 | '91 |
|------------------------|------|------|------|------|
| ST debt (Rm) | — | — | 0,23 | 0,21 |
| LT debt (Rm) | — | — | 6,4 | 4,1 |
| Debt equity ratio | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Shareholders' interest | 0,71 | 0,62 | 0,50 | 0,63 |
| Int & leasing cover | 73,3 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Return on equity (%) | 48,9 | 38,9 | 30,0 | 16,9 |
| Turnover (Rm) | 154 | 181 | 238 | 266 |
| Pre-int profit (Rm) | 23,7 | 33,1 | 39,9 | 29,6 |
| Invest income (Rm) | 4,0 | 5,9 | 11,4 | 13,1 |
| Pre-int margin (%) | 15,4 | 18,3 | 16,8 | 14,9 |
| Earnings (c) | 134 | 125 | 119 | 115 |
| Dividends (c) | 30 | 45 | 54 | 60 |
| Net worth (c) | 255 | 343 | 397 | 681 |



Times Media's Retief . a clearly defined strategy

(primarily interest) represented 25,8% of pre-tax profit

This has reflected a deliberate effort to diversify the income sources. As well as the cyclical pressures in advertising revenues and other factors affecting operating margins (FM May 31), market share was lost last year to the electronic media — a worldwide trend.

Retief notes that, internationally, the print medium is under pressure. Advertising volumes and circulations are static if not declining. This, he adds, reflects fundamental changes in the manner in which people receive information and in the calibre and content of the information they require. Television coverage of the Gulf War was a watershed in the development of the information industry, the screen became the first medium and a compelling one, to which the general public turned, and they were treated to live war transmission.

In more specialised fields such as investment analysis and trading, which takes place in a variety of financial instruments, the electronic means of transmitting and accessing information increases its dominance all the time.

Retief emphasises, however, that international experience shows good returns are available in niche publishing, in which products are highly focused at specific groups of readers. TML has expanded in this area and constantly seeks further opportunities. He says the earnings plateau was always anticipated by TML's board and management. There is, he adds, a clearly defined strategy aimed at supplementing the steady cash flows from the publishing interests, with growth in the electronic information business.

Performance over the past year of M-Net, in which TML has an effective 18% interest, showed how the electronic media will provide additional scope for growth by media companies. The value of TML's stake in M-Net has grown from its cost of R11m to a current stock market value (at 490c per M-Net

share) of R134m and provides TML with a healthy and growing source of dividends. At M-Net's present price, the holding is worth about 612c per TML share.

Other electronic ventures have been embarked upon, the most recent being the audiotex, or premium rate telephone service which will be introduced to SA later this year. During last year, TML invested in a new computer-based financial news and business information service company, Intelligent Network (Pty) (I-Net), which is owned in association with Ivor Jones, Roy Start-up costs in the 1991 year exceeded revenue, but I-Net is expected to contribute to profit in coming years.

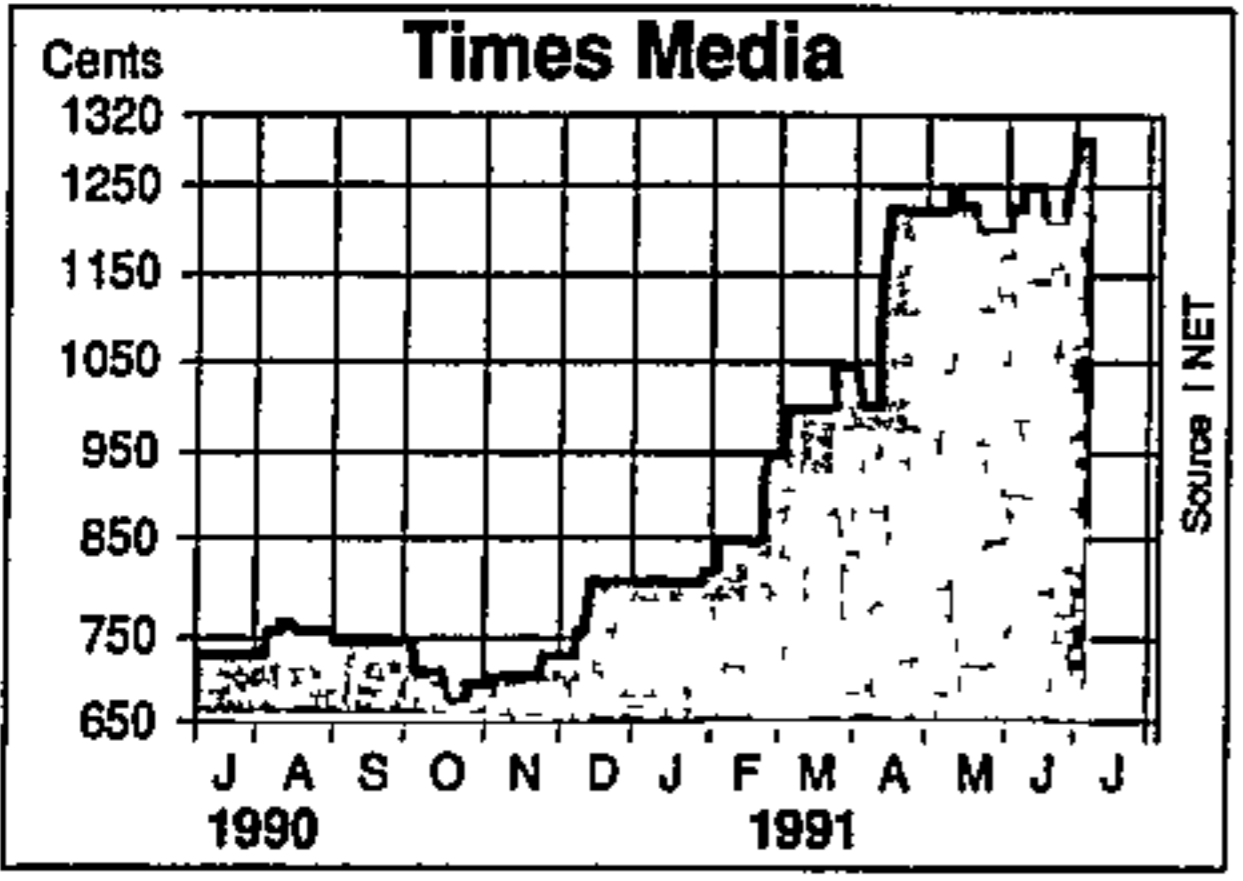
Retief offers no specific forecast for the current year, but says the target will be to achieve a rate of growth which, while likely to be short of inflation, will be a sound performance given current economic conditions. There appears to be potential for a strong improvement in business conditions by the fourth quarter of this year. That would enable a return to growth in trading profit by the second half. EPS of 127c could then be within reach, giving a prospective earnings multiple of 10,2 at the present share price.

Andrew McNulty

With recession blunting the performance of the managed publishing operations, Times Media Limited (TML) has become more dependent on its investments. A slight dip in operating profit in the 1991 year was cushioned to some extent by a R1,78m improvement in investment income. EPS dropped by 4c, to 115c, but the dividend was lifted by 11,1% to 60c.

Chairman Pat Retief says the board is comfortable with the reduction in the dividend cover to 1,9 times, given the strong cash position. Cash and short-term investments were maintained at about R58m (equivalent to 265c per TML share) and net current assets increased from the previous year's R14m to R19m.

Advertising revenues are usually linked closely to economic conditions. Pressures on trading profit — which is derived mainly from the publishing operations — were not unexpected at this stage of the cycle. However, income from other sources has continued to grow steadily. In 1988, investment income of R4m represented 14,8% of pre-tax profit; last year's investment income of R13,1m



Black magazines nearer to the wall

243

Star 20/7/91

MAGAZINES aimed at blacks should imitate newspapers by using educational copy, says Lyndall Campher, media director at Hunt Lascaris TBWA.

The circulation of black magazines has been dropping, she says — 11,5 percent for the category as a whole in the past decade and 17,1 percent since July 1989.

Yet newspapers seem to be gaining ground, partly because they are using educational copy to try to fill the gap left by the crises in black schooling

“Magazines could try a similar tactic, but with an aspirational twist

“It might be an idea to carry educational copy that is socially based. For instance, how to set a table for a formal dinner party, what wine to drink with what meal, how to dress for certain occasions and similar themes.

“Aspiration is the silent seller in lots of advertising aimed at township families”

Whatever the magazines do, warns Ms Campher, “they had better be quick about it. Their situation gets worse every year”

Entrance CIT 22/7/91. exam for potential journalists

DURBAN — The Department of Journalism and Public Relations at the Technikon Natal has announced that people wishing to enter the journalism course in 1992 will have to sit an entrance examination

There are only 40 places for first-year admissions, while the department expects hundreds of applications. A spokesman said the exam would give all candidates an equal chance and was being introduced because of the number of applications expected.

The examination will include a reading comprehension test, a short writing test, a news awareness test and an English language proficiency test for second-language users.

Candidates who satisfy the written test requirements will be interviewed by a panel before final selection is made. The interviewer will assess general knowledge, motivation, and personal demeanour —
Sapa

SA Press

SABC

allowed
CT 23/1/91
headway

LONDON — One consequence of the events of the past few days concerning security police funding for Inkatha has been the enhancement abroad of the reputation of the South African Press and, for once, the SABC

Though it took Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber to get Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to state publicly that he was considering resigning, the mere fact that the SABC provided the forum for this sort of debate did not go unnoticed.

Both the BBC and Independent Television News carried clips of the television debate which, for once, showed a South African Cabinet minister subjected to questioning from journalists who aren't on their knees.

This sort of television is taken for granted in the United Kingdom, where people like Jonathan Dimbleby have made ministers squirm visibly before millions of viewers

The underlying premise is that ministers are accountable to the public who elected them, and the journalists operate on behalf of the electorate

In South Africa's case where the majority do not even have the vote, the role of sharp, independent journalists tackling ministers on key issues, becomes that much more important —
Daily Telegraph

Buthelezi hits out at media

Sowetan 23/7/91

243

THE Inkatha Freedom Party indulged in a spate of media-bashing at its weekend national conference, with IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi labelling the media "anti-Inkatha and partial".

Repeated attacks on journalists present at the conference continued through the weekend following the continued coverage and comment of revelations of Government funding to the IFP.

Buthelezi said on Sunday that he was "not the darling of the media" because he was an indigenous leader "who doesn't lean on any liberal or anyone".

"The IFP is so detested because it's proving a point that the sons and daughters of Africa can run an organisation like this on our pitances," he said.

The Inkatha leader

said the Press had linked the media reports to violence in the country "implying we're responsible for the violence".

"Yet just to show how anti-us the media is, we were not given a chance to give our side," he said.

Buthelezi picked out newspapers' call for his resignation, saying "If the *Sunday Times*, the *Weekly Mail* and others think the future of the country can be determined without an impact by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, they need their heads read."

Prior to his address, IFP officials read lengthy media reports on the Government funds controversy from a Sunday newspaper and asked them to take a decision on Buthelezi's future leadership after listening to the reports.

The strongest attack

on the media came at a Press briefing on Saturday, when the Inkatha leader repeatedly insulted journalists.

Asked by an Australian journalist whether he could be assured that the lunch journalists had been invited to that day had not been sponsored by the Government, Buthelezi responded: "I wish I knew your parents because you are ill brought up. That is a rude question."

He dodged sensitive questions about the Government's financial assistance to the IFP by labelling journalists as "ANC supporters" or attacking them for being "white journalists with no knowledge of the culture of South African politics".

On Sunday, the last day of the conference, a resolution was passed expressing "disgust at the

media's double standards which offers no criticism of assistance rendered to the ANC"

The IFP called on the media generally, and the *Sunday Times* and *Weekly Mail* in particular, to "recognise that the way the issue is being handled by the Press involves the Press and the media in activity which is tantamount to fanning the flames of violence".

5/0ay 23/7/91

'Encouraging' 30% hike in ad spending bucks trend

MARCIA KLEIN

A MARKED rise in advertising expenditure in May saw media investment increase by 30,5% to R193,7m compared with May 1990, the latest Adindex figures show.

The increase bucks the trend of average growth rates of just over 20% from January to April this year, and The Media Shop MD Dick Reed said yesterday recent figures were "encouraging".

The strongest growth categories were cinema and TV, with a 44% and 46,8% rise respectively. Print and radio followed at a growth of about 22% each.

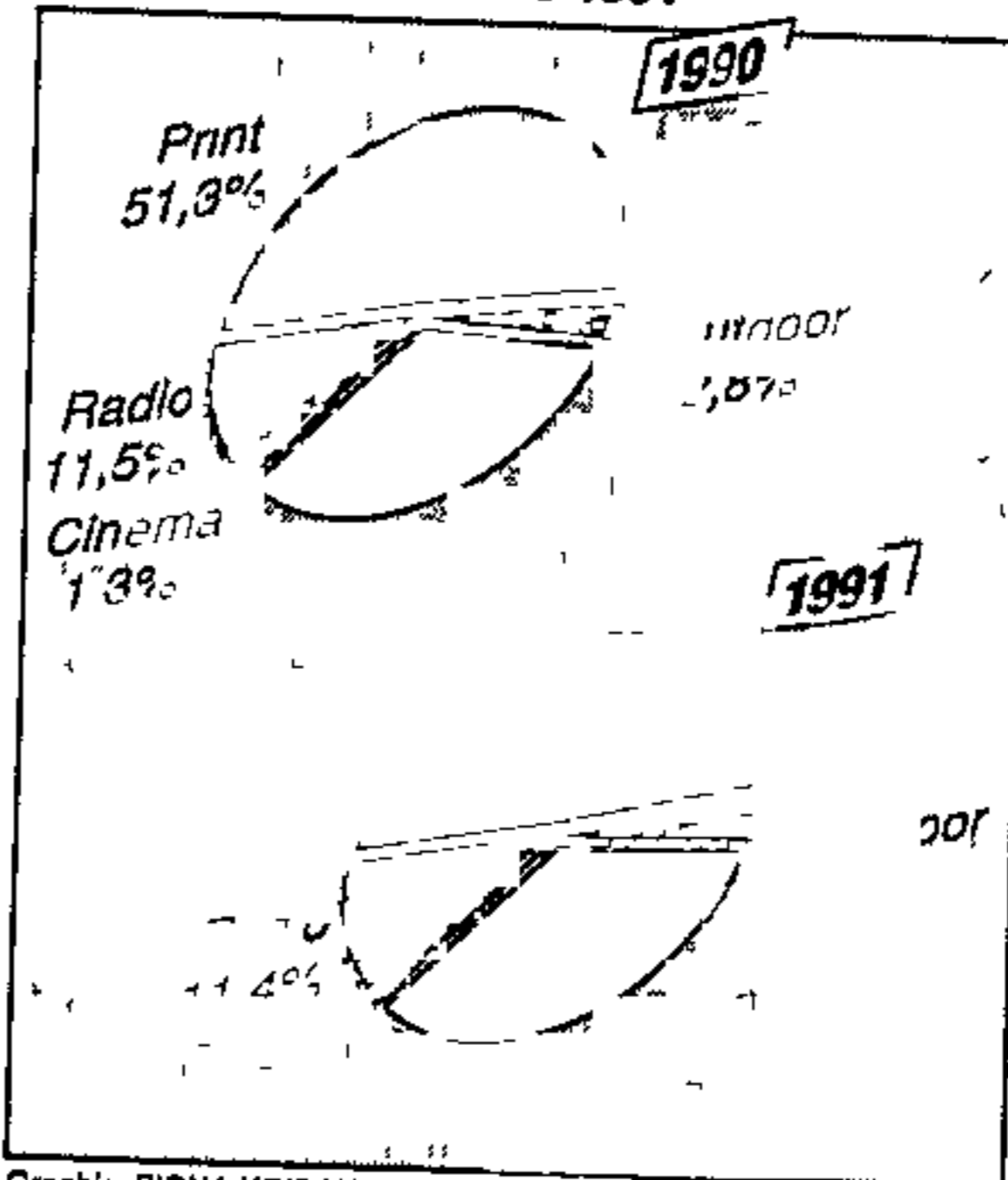
Reed said M-Net was "star performer", recording a 166,6% growth in adspend. It was followed by the SABC's Nguni/Sotho radio services at 48,9%. SABC TV stations 1,2 and 3/4 all showed growth of over 25%.

Other media types which showed growth of over 20% were English and Afrikaans dailies and consumer magazines, magazines directed at black, coloured and Asian readers, trade and technical magazines and financial journals.

Adspend declined in the Afrikaans weekend Press and SABC's regional radio stations, while black, coloured and Asian orientated newspapers and English weekend papers showed only 3% and 9,6% growth respectively. Radio 702 showed a 29% increase and Radio 5 growth of 8,3%.

Reed said outdoor advertising grew 39,5% for the period from January to May,

Adspend comparison Jan-May 1990 vs 1991



Graphic FIONA KRISCH Source ADINDEX

"although it is understood to be off a different base". 243

TV continued its strong growth with a 35,8% increase over the five-month period, but Reed said "the new discount systems are likely to cause this to be an over-reading of actual money invested". 240

Print's share of the adspend cake is running at 49,3% for the year to date compared with 51,3% in 1990. TV's share is 34,8% (33,1%), radio's is 11,4% (11,5%), outdoor accounts for 3,3% (2,8%) and cinema for 1,2% (1,3%).

Editor Sisulu seeks urgent probe

By Montshiwa Moroke and Sapa

with Mr Sisulu and deputy editor Gabu Tugwana

Nation published allegations by Mr Basson of the existence of secret camps in which youths were trained and at which arms were stored for use in township violence

Copies of two newspapers were given to the police by New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu yesterday as evidence of alleged SADF involvement in civilian murders in townships and on suburban trains.

The newspaper sourced its information on SADF complicity to a claimed former Special Forces unit member, Sergeant Felix Isaias Ndimene, who had since been handed over to Soldiers of Peace, Mr Sisulu said.

According to the Soldiers of Peace statement, Mr Basson told General van der Westhuizen it was difficult to co-operate with the police or SADF in any investigation implicating security forces

And Major-General Ronnie van der Westhuizen, who was appointed to investigate the allegations carried in the New Nation on Friday, told The Star he was satisfied with the information at his disposal

Former Sergeant Ndimene had said in the video-recorded interview that much of the township violence and the Reef tram massacres of the past year had been planned and carried out by SADF Special Forces units

According to the statement, General van der Westhuizen and his team expressed their intention of bringing any criminal offences into the open

Mr Sisulu said police were handed copies of the New Nation and the Sunday Star.

Mr Sisulu yesterday offered the SABC the video tape for screening

Mr Basson accepted this and agreed to co-operate by supplying all evidence to the investigating team as soon as it became available

He told them he believed that on the basis of the reports contained in the newspapers, the police should be able to start investigations immediately.

Editor-in-chief of television news production J.L. Pretorius said the cassette would be collected today

He also agreed that police could interview Mr Ndimene, and that sensitive information be supplied to the police a day or two before it was published in the media.

General van der Westhuizen and other police officers held talks

Later in the day, the police officers met Nico Basson, a former SADF officer and project leader of Soldiers of Peace

Last month the New

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Accounts receivable

No assurances, no documents — editor

BILLY PADDOCK

HIGH-ranking SAP members met Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber on Tuesday in an attempt to get copies of the documents the newspaper used for its reports on government's funding of Inkatha.

However, Harber did not hand these over as the policemen refused to give him assurances that they would not restrict, harrass, bring interdicts or subpoena the paper or its journalists.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze confirmed that he, Lt-Gen Louwtjie Erasmus, the Crime Investigation Services CO, a legal adviser and a Crime Intelligence Service (formerly the security police) member met Harber and the paper's legal adviser at the Law and Order Ministry offices in Pretoria.

He said the purpose of the meeting was to obtain access to documents held by the Weekly Mail "in good time so that we could give proper and informed comment" on stories the paper would publish tomorrow.

Harber said the police were desperate to see the documents *May 25/79*

"They said they were investigating a case of theft and breach of the Protection of Information Act. But we argued the documents and this case did not fall into this category," he said.

It was reported yesterday that police believed an SAP member based in Durban had stolen the documents and had then disappeared

The practical side of Nation Building

Star 25/7/91

243

By Louise Burgers

Nation Building was launched by the Sowetan newspaper in October 1988 to "stop the madness and pick up the pieces"

Sowetan editor Aggrey Klaaste said Nation Building had to try stop anger in the black community

In launching the programme in 1988, Mr Klaaste referred to the almost endless cycle of violence that was tearing communities apart throughout the land and said somebody had to do something to stop the madness

He said that instead of fanning the flames for the next explosion, the black community had to start rebuilding their communities

The Nation Building manifesto states "Nation Building means picking up the pieces and rebuilding the structures that have collapsed in our communities. It means striving for the best in all that we do for our people. Nation Building is our hope for the future"

The Sowetan is the biggest daily black newspaper in South Africa with a daily circulation of more than 200 000 and a readership of more than 1,5 million — the largest of any daily in the country

The idea of Nation Building was first mooted by Mr Klaaste in his weekly column "On the Line" in April 1988. His suggestions led to a debate among readers and leaders in the community and his idea began to take shape

The annual Nation Building festival has become a highlight of the programme

Other projects are

- A special trust has been formed for the administration of the Gerard Sekoto Collection

of drawings and sketches

- The Sowetan-BP Re-Write Matric School, run by William Smith at the University of the Witwatersrand

- Sowetan sponsorship of the Ikemaleng Remedial School in Soweto

- The Sowetan Business Development programmes to assist businessmen in improving skills.

The Sowetan is also looking at developing a legal aid clinic for readers and running a business conference

Sowetan marketing director Eric Mani said Nation Building was divided into two thrusts — Nation Building on tour and the Nation Building festival at year-end

The Nation Building festival will run from the end of August to October. This will feature Prayers for the Nation, choir festivals, Woman of the Year, a press seminar, Entrepreneur of the Year, Community Builder of the Year, a fun day and many other activities.

With Nation Building on tour, seminars are held between June and August in Pretoria, Pietersberg, Soweto, Bloemfontein and Daveyton on the East Rand. The topics this year were the Role of Parenting and Your Health is Your World.

"The main thrust of Nation Building is to educate and to build a spirit of togetherness. The Nation Building festival is a showcase of black endeavour and achievement

"We know there are problems, but we say to communities to spend more time uplifting themselves. We need to be ready spiritually, emotionally and with a good family base, to help prepare people for that era when black people will be in Government," Mr Mani said.

IF THE SABC's handling of the government funding scandal is any guide, there are grounds for hope that it has finally turned its back on an era of timidity and subservience

After a shaky start the corporation evidently decided to meet a difficult situation head-on. No holds were barred either in a discussion by three foreign correspondents in Nigel Murphy's radio programme, The Editors, or, more significantly, in the key TV programme Agenda

Particularly telling — and an example to most of the SABC's own interlocutors — was the courteous but insistent questioning of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, by Mr Anton Harber, editor of Weekly Mail, which had revealed the scandal

This produced a moment of genuine drama when Mr Vlok disclosed that he was "reconsidering his position"

There was drama, too, from Ulundi, with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi fighting for his own political life and that of his movement, Inkatha

In most democratic countries television has shown that it can make history as well as reflect it. For good or ill — mostly, we may hope, for good — that day may now have dawned in South Africa

Moment of truth all round

NOT less than for the SABC, this was an uncomfortable moment of truth for the editors of the government-supporting newspapers. Would they funk it? If not, how far would they go?

In Rapport, Naas Botha and his "brand-new" wife reigned supreme over the front page. Readers who might have been interested in the scandal had

to content themselves with a long, exculpatory discussion between Mr Vlok and the recently-appointed editor, Mr Izak de Villiers. "At the time it was justified", said the headline, summarising Mr Vlok's case

In contrast, Beeld accused the government of "shooting itself in the foot" and said it was clear that the help to Inkatha was concerned with much more than the fight against sanctions

The revelation would cause greater credibility to be attached to the allegations that the SA Police had been in cahoots with Inkatha over township violence

Die Burger, always more cautious than its sister of the north, said the affair was "not exactly an elevating story at this stage of South Africa's history"

Although the ANC was in no moral position to throw stones, the donation to Inkatha was "troubling" and President De Klerk would do well to consider changes in the Cabinet

Dawie, political commentator of the Nasionale group, said it was "generally expected" that heads would roll

A price would have to be paid for what was "widely regarded as a wrongful action in support of a single political party"

Die Volksblad said the government's judgment and even

SABC's treatment of scandal builds hope for new era



— How Fred Mouton of Die Burger saw Mr Adriaan Vlok's plight

Sayings of the Week

□ In all his letters Jan van Riebeeck pleaded for more slaves. Since that time many of us here have had no enthusiasm for manual work — Rapport columnist Pollux.

□ □ □

□ Unfortunately for President De Klerk, the perception has arisen among many people that his government is perhaps not to be trusted. He ought to be worried about that — Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general of the ANC, as quoted in Die Volksblad

□ □ □

□ I believe South Africa should be bombarded with ideas rather than that the narrow-mindedness and old-fashioned thinking that caused so many problems should be reinforced by isolation — André P Brink, author, in an interview with Vrve Weekblad.

POLITICS

Ameen Akhalwaya



An alternative to deception

WMA 2017-11/19. 243 (12/19)

TAKE a deep bow *The Weekly Mail*, *New Nation*, *Vrye Weekblad*, *The Indicator*, *South*, *Saamstaan*, *New African* and other independent "alternative" publications.

If I am being even more self-congratulatory than usual, it is because, like everyone else in the independent media, I'm basking in the reflected glory of last week's magnificent journalistic performances by *The Weekly Mail* and *New Nation*.

We can't help but celebrate as we observe the irony. These newspapers were born out of the 1985 ashes of the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Sunday Express* — which had won South African journalism its proudest moment by exposing the Info scandal.

The editors of all three Johannesburg-based English "alternatives" had worked as political writers for the *Rand Daily Mail*. When we launched our papers, the Nats under PW Botha were pursuing their conspiracy of deception with greater vigour by trying to shut them down.

Lacking in financial and journalistic resources, each of these papers not only survived — most of them with much thanks to the Canadians, Swedes, American foundations and churches, among others — but have lived to uncover several major political scandals.

Last week's unmasking of government-Inkatha links and alleged SADF dirty tricks followed *Vrye Weekblad's* initial exposé of death squads.

Those who'd set out to smite the messenger found that the message was greater than their arrogant might accumulated through fair means and foul, what *The Sunday Times'* Ken Owen calls "gangsterism". But they've not learned that the medium is the message.

The Nats started their conspiracy of deception after coming to power in 1948: to destroy publications critical of them, and then use monopoly radio — and later television — to further their aims.

They introduced laws to destroy anti-apartheid publications in the 1950s and curb the increasingly outspoken *Rand Daily Mail* under Laurence Gandar. When *The World* under Percy Qoboza spoke out, the Nats found it unthinkable that black people could show such ingratitude. They banned the paper.

But the *Mail* and the *Express* soldiered on. When their owners killed them, the way was opened for PW and Stoffel Botha to carry on with the conspiracy of deception. They didn't bargain for the rise of the "alternatives".

And in a situation fraught with irony last Sunday night, two independent editors, *The Weekly Mail's* Anton Harber and *Vrye Weekblad's* Max du Preez, used the Nats' most effective propaganda medium, SABC-TV, to inflict further damage on the NP cause.

Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi showed he is a shrewd and intelligent politician. But for him to have used his colour to question the motives of his interrogators was a cheap shot. Journalists know that their colleagues Max du Preez, Shaun Johnson and Len Maseko are committed to justice for black people.

If Buthelezi was unaware of Inkatha's being funded by the government, did he not realise that he was perhaps being manipulated by his white Nat friends — because he is black? Indeed, the Nats admit they wanted to show the world black people oppose sanctions.

What emerged from the TV debates is that in strict legal terms, the Nats may have been entitled to fund Inkatha, but their actions are morally corrupt.

Both State President FW de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok side-stepped the question of Inkatha funding when the Democratic Party first raised it in parliament. They didn't actually lie, but their actions were clearly aimed at not telling the truth.

It was the same De Klerk whose sincerity many of us victims of apartheid — including Nelson Mandela — came to accept grudgingly. But we will not trust him again until he comes genuinely clean on the dirty tricks of his party.

Even as he held out an olive branch to Mandela last year, his forces were planning to counter the ANC leader and his movement by funding an Inkatha rally. If De Klerk knew about it, it was an act of political betrayal, of using Mandela to get the world to trust the state president when he said he believed in democracy.

If De Klerk didn't know what his forces were up to, then he must sack everyone involved in the dirty tricks. De Klerk and his party too must resign and call fresh elections — but on the basis of universal, non-racial adult suffrage.

That won't happen. The NP has become so power-drunk over 43 years of oppressive rule that it believes its actions to protect itself are in fact for the good of the country.

■ NEXT WEEK: Steven Friedman's Worm's Eye

Further disclosures from Weekly Mail

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok was wrong to contend that "each and every cent" of taxpayers' money had been accounted for, the Johannesburg-based Weekly Mail will disclose today. (243)

Secret police documents in the newspaper's possession showed Vlok had been so worried about the money given to the United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa), that he had asked for an internal inquiry, editor Anton Harber said last night.

"This inquiry found that Uwusa had not even kept any books, had no financial records and was unable to account for any of the funds given to them," he said

Other disclosures in the Weekly Mail will show that

- Five Inkatha men knew of the police funding for Inkatha and Uwusa,
- Uwusa was a joint project launched by the police and Inkatha, and
- The security police plotted with the conservative student organisation, the National Students' Federation (NSF), to form a right-wing umbrella body to counter the mass democratic movement (MDM) early last year
- Meanwhile, Auditor-General Peter Wronsley said government's clandestine payment of public money to Uwusa amounted to almost R1,55m over four

years and was not irregular

In a statement in Pretoria Wronsley said "no irregularities were found" in the transfer of R1 549 135,12 to Uwusa from the financial years 1987/8 to 1991/2

The first approval for the funding of Uwusa from the SAP's special account was sought by the Commissioner of Police on September 1 1987 and approved by Vlok on September 18 1987, Wronsley said

He said similar approvals were subsequently made

He said the money was transferred to the SAP's special account from the secret services account on Finance Minister Bar-end du Plessis' approval — Sapa

Vlok reserves right to sue Mail

Star 26/7/91
Staff Reporters

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok is today called a liar in print — and in reply has “reserved his right” to sue the Weekly Mail

The newspaper charges he lied when he said on SABC-TV on Sunday that every cent of the Government money paid to Inkatha and the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa) had been accounted for

The Weekly Mail said today this was not true because the Uswa books were too chaotic to be properly audited

The union received more than R1.5 million in secret Government funds.

Asked today if Mr Vlok intended suing for defamation, his spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said Mr Vlok “reserved his rights” to do so

Captain Kotze alleged the Weekly Mail had broken an undertaking to submit all its stories to the ministry before publication

Worried

In the paper's edition today, it is claimed that Mr Vlok, who said on “Agenda” last Sunday that every cent of taxpayers' money had been accounted for, had been so worried about the money given to Uwusa that he had ordered an internal inquiry

Quoting “secret police documents” in its possession, the Weekly Mail said the inquiry ordered by Mr Vlok found that Uwusa had “not even kept any books, had no financial records and was unable to account for any of the funds given to them”

Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harber said in a statement that police records showed five top Inkatha Freedom Party men knew about police funding for both the IFP and Uwusa

Other claims made today are that

- Uwusa was not only funded by the Government, but was a joint project launched by the police and the IFP

- Attempts were made by security police to impede an ANC rally in Durban at which Nelson Mandela eventually made his “throw your weapons into the sea” speech.

- The security police plotted with the conservative National Student Federation (NSF) early last year to form a right-wing umbrella body to act as a counter to the Mass Democratic Movement

- NSF local officials were at the time acting on the orders of the police and they got together to plan projects, initiatives and strategies

Captain Kotze said the new allegations would be investigated and responded to “at the earliest opportunity”

At the time of going to press, Uwusa and the NSF could not be reached for comment

Editor Du Preez wins top award

Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez is one of two recipients of the 1991 Louis M Lyons Award for conscience and integrity in journalism

The Nieman Foundation at Harvard University selected Du Preez and Kenyan Gitobu Imanyara, editor of Nairobi Law Monthly,

for the award, which is worth \$1 000 (R2 800)

Du Preez is the fourth South African to win the Lyons award. Previous winners are Joe Thlolo of the Sowetan, Zwelakhe Sisulu of New Nation and Allister Sparks

In nominating Du Preez, The Star's editor-in-chief Richard Steyn

wrote "Du Preez has been at the forefront of SA investigative journalism. Vrye Weekblad has time and time again come up with reports of corruption and brutality on both sides of the political fence, notably the exposure of death squads in the police and military" — Staff Reporter

Slush fund:

~~SECRET~~ (243) CT 27/7/91

Govt may sue

Weekly Mail

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE government may take the Weekly Mail to court following the publication yesterday of a fresh round of damaging allegations in the secret slush fund scandal.

And the editor of Weekly Mail, Mr Anton Harber, last night responded "We are happy to test Mr Vlok's honesty in court."

A new storm has broken out in government circles over the newspaper branding Mr Vlok "a liar" following the minister's claim on television that secretly-allocated taxpayers' money had been accounted for.

Mr Vlok spent much of yesterday huddled with senior advisers, but a promised statement on the row did not materialise last night.

All that Mr Vlok's spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze, would say was "We reserve the right to sue the Weekly Mail."

Mr Harber said Mr Vlok "is on very weak ground — the court case will turn into a commission of inquiry."

"If Mr Vlok wants to sue, then it's a case of 'I'll see you in court'," he said.

The Weekly Mail also said that five senior Inkatha officials — including Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — knew about the Inkatha slush fund.

An Inkatha spokesman in Ulundi said yesterday that the organisation would not be responding to the fresh allegations at this stage.

In other developments surrounding the government's secret funding scandal yesterday:

● A former army officer, Mr Nico Basson, said yesterday that the SADF staged fights between Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and the leader of Namibia's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Mr Dirk Mudge, in an attempt to show that the DTA leader was anti-South African. On Thursday Mr Botha

admitted that secret money had been channelled to the DTA during the election campaign against Swapo.

● ANC foreign affairs spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki said on British television yesterday that the ANC would continue negotiations with the South African government provided it demonstrated it was serious about change.

● SA Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo said the disclosures of secret funds had brought negotiations closer to breakdown than ever before.

In other reaction to the scandal, the Conservative Party accused Mr Pik Botha of arrogantly fudging answers he gave to Parliament in 1990 about the government's secret funding of Namibian political parties.

CP chief whip Mr Frank le Roux yesterday noted he had asked Mr Botha on March 27 last year whether South Africa helped political parties contesting the Namibian elections.

'Skirts issue'

He said the minister had replied as follows "According to available information, all Namibian parties which participated in the election received funds from sources outside Namibia. Namibia became independent on March 21, 1990 and it will serve no purpose to try to identify donors and associate them with parties."

The chairman of the Democratic Party caucus, Mr Colin Eglin, said that the disclosure that over R100 million in taxpayers' money went to anti-Swapo parties at a time when South Africa was supposed to be a neutral administration of Namibia in terms of UN Resolution 435 "still skirts the fundamental issue."

The crux of the scandal was the government's political collusion — and specially police collusion — with political parties and other organisations inside South Africa.

Natal judge files R100 000 lawsuit against paper

NATAL Supreme Court judge Mr Justice Michael Mitchell has launched a R100 000 claim against *The Natal Witness* in a case that has been set down for five days from September 2.

The case arises out of a report about a murder trial in which two members of the African National Congress who planted bombs in the Wild Coast Casino were sentenced to death in 1989. *Sowetan*

At the time Justice Mitchell was seconded to the Transkei Supreme Court. 29/7/91

The report was written by Miss Carmel Rickard, of the Durban bureau of *The Witness*

Report

The judge says that the contents of the report were intended to mean, and were understood to mean, more especially in the light of the headline, that in discharging his judicial duties, he had acted unfairly, illegally, immorally and untruthfully and sentenced two people to death without properly discharging his judicial duties and therefore not in accordance with the law.

He says that by reason of the publication he has suffered damages to his reputation, dignity, fair name and status in the amount of R100 000

He says that the contents of the report were published with the intention of injuring (animus

iniuriandi). They were wrongful and false.

Alternatively the contents of the report, read with the headline, "Casino blast: judge's ruling challenged" carried an innuendo.

The Witness denies these statements.

The newspaper says that in reporting what was said by Justice Mitchell in his judgment and what was said by Professor Naidu in an affidavit, and in giving the other facts contained in the report, the contents of the report were true, or substantially so.

In the event of the judge proving his allegations, the report was in the public interest and the comment was fair.

The report was published pursuant to a right and/or duty.

The Witness says that the Wild Coast Sun Hotel, frequented by the newspaper's readers, was controlled by South Africans.

The contents of the report concerned a South African judge who was presiding over a Transkei case.

The two accused were members of the African National Congress who had placed a bomb in a lavatory. When it exploded it caused loss of life

The accused were alleged to have said that they had done so because they felt it was a place that was exploiting the poor Transkeians in that area and they wanted to

chase people away from it. 243 253

Argument in extenuation took place in May 3, 1989. On May 12, according to *The Witness*, Mitchell delivered judgment on extenuating circumstances in the absence of Naidu, who could not be present.

Plea

It says that the judge did not find extenuating circumstances and said it was not necessary for Naidu to be in court as he had fulfilled his function.

The newspaper says in its plea that on or about May 26 Naidu filed an affidavit and *The Witness* report contains a substantially correct account of the affidavit or document.

In a replication Mitchell denied that he delivered any judgment on the question of the absence of Naidu and that Naidu deposed any affidavit.

A "document" only formed part of the judicial proceedings when it was handed in from the Bar on September 11.

Coleman sets ~~record~~ straight ²⁴³

Sowetan 29/7/91
Neil Coleman, Cosatu's information officer, writes:

The story in *Sowetan* of July 22 headed "Cosatu to review ANC link" attempted to create the impression that I had suggested in an interview that Cosatu was reconsidering its alliance with the ANC and SACP.

The journalist who wrote the story is entitled to his own view on the tripartite alliance. What is astounding, however, is that his whole story is based on an "interview" with me which never took place.

Furthermore, I certainly don't share the view that Cosatu is likely to reconsider its alliance with the ANC.

In fact, Cosatu's pre-congress Press briefing makes precisely the opposite point. It says: "Congress will have to devise its strategies to make the alliance a more effective vehicle of liberation through building powerful alliance structures at national regional and local levels."

Sowetan's article literally put words in my mouth.

The Press has a lot to say these days about unfair treatment they have received at the hands of anti-apartheid organisations. But the responsibility created by Press freedom cuts both ways.

Sowetan acknowledged the error in its second edition on Friday. Cosatu's official position is that it wishes both to consolidate its own identity and to increase the power of the alliance with the ANC and SACP as an "instrument of liberation." -
Editor.

Informal media demanding attention

THE established media is being joined by informal media types, says Hunt Lascaris TBWA media director Lyndall Campher *8/04/91*. She says "Media planners may soon find they have to create schedules and campaigns that blend formal and informal media, which will be a highly creative exercise."

Informal media types include pamphleteers stuffing handbills into cars at traffic lights, taxi tapes, rural

TV or videos screened at trading stores, sponsors' roadshows, campus radio, store-based radio and advertising space on record sleeves *(243)*

Media planning will become an art in itself and Campher believes agencies will extend the creative profile to cover informal media. *(243)*

She says there are no research figures for planners to hide behind if things go wrong.

AWB; reporter called to testify

Star 30/7/91
Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Nicola Cunningham-Brown, political reporter of The Daily News, has been subpoenaed to appear in the Pietermaritzburg Magistrate's Court on Thursday to give information about alleged Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging military operations in the troubled Richmond area of Natal.

The subpoena was issued under section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act, which the State sometimes uses to try to compel journalists to disclose their sources.

The subpoena arises out of a front-page item in The Daily News of Friday last week in which Ms Cunningham-Brown reported that AWB training camps had been set up on farms around Richmond.

People attending the camps were trained to use firearms and explosives and allegedly practised their military training on people living in the black townships of Indaleni, N'koben and Magoda.

This allegedly led to the death of at least two people, the report said.

AWB people on these raids allegedly wore riot police camouflage uniforms to try to mislead township residents into thinking they were members of the SAP.

The Attorney-General of Natal, Mike Imber, SC, requested the magistrate to summons Ms Cunningham-Brown.

Mr Imber said she "is likely to give material evidence in regard to offences alleged to have been committed by AWB members".

SA Press threat serious unions

243 Sowetan 31/7/91

THE most serious threat facing the Press in South Africa today is the State's use of subpoenas to compel journalists to reveal their confidential sources

In a joint statement the SA Union of Journalists, the Association of Democratic Journalists and the Media Workers Association of SA said the latest in a wave of such cases, Ms Nicola Cunningham-Brown of the *Daily News* in Durban, and an office-bearer of the SAUJ, had been subpoenaed under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act to reveal the source of a report on Afrikaner Weerstandbeweeging activities

SAUJ president Mr Sven Lunsche said the media unions were extremely disappointed the subpoena should have been issued at a time

when the Minister of Justice was considering representations from the media unions and other interested parties on the repeal of this legislation as it affected journalists.

Section 205 was enacted to compel witnesses to testify in criminal cases but had been used almost exclusively against journalists, often to harass them or to intimidate them into abandoning a line of inquiry.

The SAUJ, the ADJ and Mwasa believed this legislation seriously impeded the free flow of information, a cornerstone of any democratic society. The statement said it was for this reason journalists considered themselves ethically bound to protect their confidential sources.

In the statement the media unions called on

the Minister of Justice to stop this harassment of journalists and scrap Section 205 as it affected newsmen

They expressed their full support for Cunningham-Brown and called on the Attorney-General of Natal, Mr Mike Imber, to withdraw the subpoena immediately

The subpoena has been condemned by the Anti-Censorship Action Group and the Campaign for Open Media.

In a statement in Johannesburg on Monday, the two groups said the State was aware that it was against journalistic ethics to disclose information

ACAG and COM believe that the pursuit of evidence is the proper task of the police, the statement said - *Sapa*

Journalists' affiliations debated

243
Star 31/7/91.

By Shareen Singh

The issue of whether journalists should have the right to belong to political parties was the subject of a debate held in Johannesburg yesterday

The debate, organised by the Campaign for Open Media, started off with a panel discussion in which Rex Gibson, deputy editor-in-chief of The Star, Max du Preez editor of Vrye Weekblad and Strini Moodley, news editor of New African, took part

Mr Gibson argued that journalists should not be card-carrying members of political parties because they would be bound to support and advance the principles of these organisations.

This would compromise their journalistic ethics and their neutrality would be questioned. "The badge of neutrality is central to journalism," he said

Opposing this view, Mr du Preez, said he could not trust anyone who said they wore a badge of neutrality

"There is nothing neutral about South Africa and nobody can experience South Africa in a neutral way"

Mr Moodley argued that journalists should be honest about their political affiliation, rather than "going out into the world and pretending not to have a political affiliation," he said

Union protests at journalist's subpoena ⁽²⁴³⁾

JOHANNESBURG — The state president and the Natal attorney-general have been approached to stop a court action in Durban today aimed at forcing a journalist to disclose the source of a published report concerning AWB military operations in Richmond.

Ms Nicky Cunningham-Brown, a reporter on the Daily News in Durban, has been subpoenaed in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act and is due to appear in Durban Magistrate's Court this morning.

Section 205 was enacted to force witnesses in criminal cases to testify, but has in the past been used almost exclusively against journalists.

The SA Union of Journalists in a letter this week to its members said Section 205 seriously impeded the free flow of information, "and its use amounts to harassment of working journalists" — Sapa

SOUTH's new editor 243

South 1/8 - 7/8/91

DR GUY Berger has been appointed editor of SOUTH, with effect from August 1.

He served as editor of New Era, a Cape Town-based political magazine, from the beginning of this year after his return from exile in the United Kingdom where he was granted political asylum in 1985

Berger, a journalism and Doctor of Philosophy graduate of Rhodes University in Grahamstown, was sentenced to 30 months imprisonment in 1980 for ANC activities. He was detained again in 1984 and left the country after the state of emergency was declared in 1985

He has worked on various publications, including a stint as the diplomatic correspondent for the Morning Star in London, and set up Afravision, a television production company based in Britain

He has also served as a training officer and a media co-ordinator for the Transvaal region of the UDF.

Berger plans to boost SOUTH as a "sought-after paper and lively alternative to the establishment press"

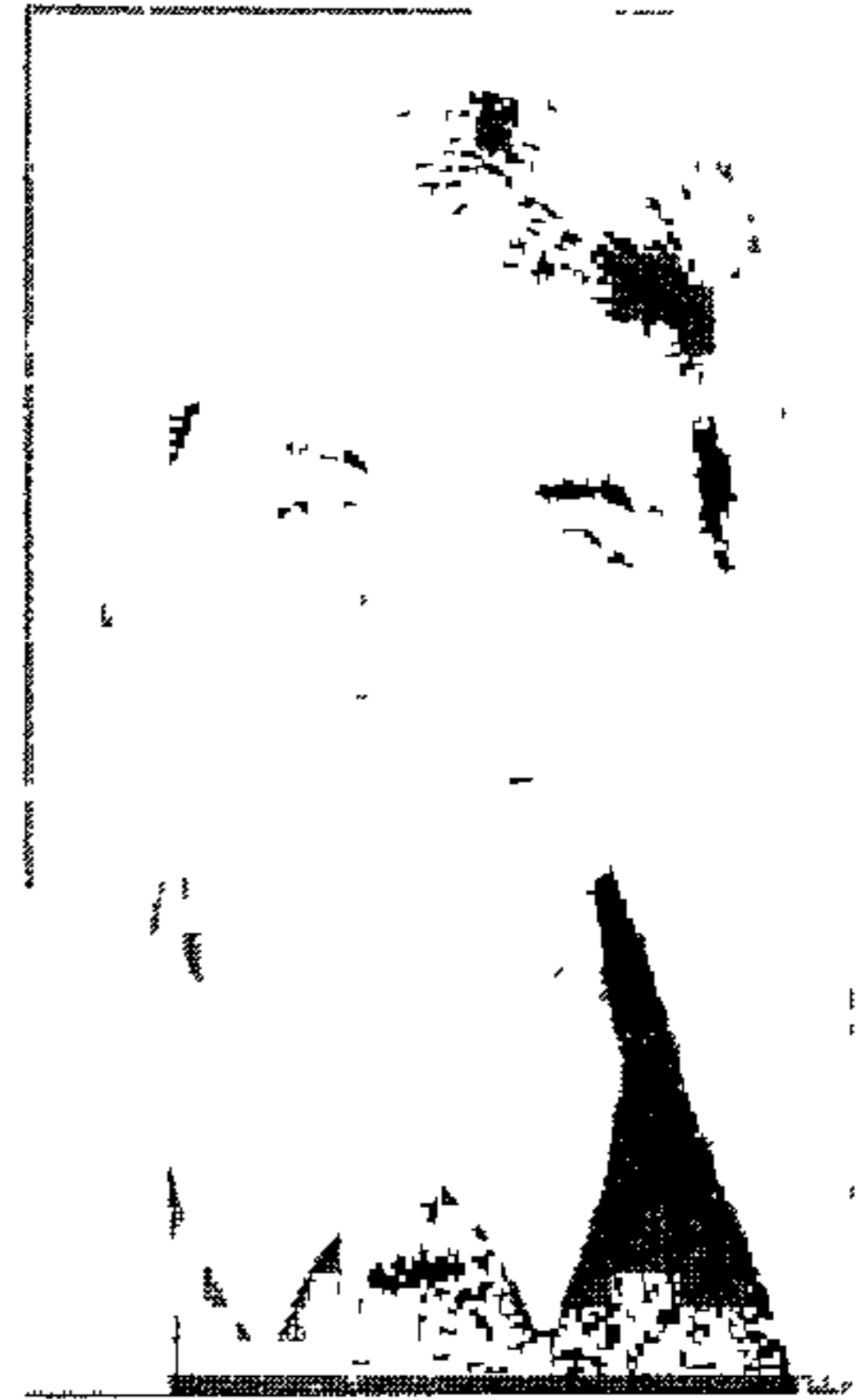
He said this week: "We are preparing for a relaunch in October and the new SOUTH will give readers a greater mix of content and a revamped reportage and design

"It is precisely because the mainstream media is so weak on investigative journalism and insightful analysis, that SOUTH has its work cut out for it

"Whether it is the heartlessness of squatter evictions, abuse of mental patients or racism within the democratic movement, SOUTH will take up the cudgels," he pledged

Berger, who has a doctorate in development studies, said he wanted SOUTH to play a developmental role

"The relaunched SOUTH will carry useful information on issues like VAT and inflation, savings and loan schemes, home ownership and DIY, study options and consumer rights "



Dr Guy Berger

He paid tribute to SOUTH's outgoing editor, Mr Moegsien Williams.

"The enormous effort by my predecessor has been central to SOUTH surviving the Emergency and reaching its present quality and potential "

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Star 2/18/91

Reporter's case postponed

MARITZBURG — The case in which a Daily News reporter was subpoenaed in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act was postponed yesterday at the request of the State.

Reporter Nicola Cunningham-Brown was subpoenaed to appear in the Pietermaritzburg Magistrate's Court after she wrote a report alleging Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and security forces involvement in township violence.

She has been asked to disclose the source of her information.

The case was postponed pending deliberation on the issue with the Attorney-General, Mike Imber — Sapa

star 2/8/91

Canadian 'seeks SA paper'

Star Foreign Service

MELBOURNE — Canadian Conrad Black, who is trying to buy Australia's Fairfax media empire, is also negotiating with one of South Africa's largest publishing groups, Times Media Ltd, reports The Australian Financial Review.

It said Mr Black was keen to buy some South African newspapers or become involved in some joint ventures, and added that preliminary talks had centred on the Sunday Times.

Mr Black has just left Australia after setting up a company in partnership with media owner Kerry Packer

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We back press freedom, reject intimidation - ANC

The ANC yesterday re-affirmed its commitment to media freedom during a seven-hour meeting with black editors, senior journalists, and television and radio producers

In a joint statement after the meeting, the two parties said the talks had dealt with, among other things, the intimidation of black journalists by political activists

"The ANC stressed that, in keeping with its policy of tolerance of differences of opinion, it condemned intimidation of journalists and/or

members of the community

"Both sides were satisfied with the outcome of the meeting and have agreed to meet more often to discuss matters of mutual concern"

The statement said the meeting was the first that several black editors had planned with major political organisations in the country

Among participants at yesterday's meeting was ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu

Future talks are envisaged with the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha - Sapa



Admiral slams CT 2/8/91 media allegations

KIMBERLEY — It is surprising and alarming that responsible media are willing to print unsubstantiated allegations and misinformation levelled at the SA Defence Force and then expect it to disprove the falsehoods, a senior army official said yesterday.

The Chief of Staff of the SADF, Vice-Admiral Bertie Bekker, was presenting colours to 31 Battalion here.

He asked, in reference to allegations that the SADF had been responsible for Reef train atrocities and that senior officers had hunted Bushmen, how the SADF was supposed to disprove something that had never happened.

"Should the purveyors of these horrid untruths not be required to substantiate their vile allegations?" he asked.

During this time of political change and the uncertainties and instability associated with fundamental change, the SADF had a vital role to play.

A well-motivated Defence Force, aloof of party politics, whose members carried out their duties calmly and professionally, and which enjoyed the trust of the people, was a prerequisite for peaceful political change, Admiral Bekker said — Sapa

ANC backs press liberty

JOHANNESBURG — The ANC yesterday reaffirmed its commitment to media freedom during a seven-hour meeting with black editors, senior journalists and television and radio producers

In a joint statement after the meeting, the two parties said the talks had dealt with, among other things, the intimidation of black journalists by political activists

ET 2/8/91
"The ANC stressed that in keeping with its policy of tolerance of differences of opinion, it condemned intimidation of journalists and/or members of the community," the statement said

The editors also plan to hold talks with the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha — Sapa (213)

The WM's slush fund exposé: The story behind the story

It began with a phone call. "Go to your fax machine. I'm sending you some documents."

The call came from the office of *The Guardian* in London. The minute *Weekly Mail* reporters saw the documents, it was clear they were sensational and, if authentic, would cause a major political outcry.

The Weekly Mail had for some weeks had a team of reporters working on the "Third Force" story. This newspaper, and a number of others, had published bits and pieces of evidence of a security force hand in recent violence, suggestions that there was an organised force behind Renamo-style attacks on trains and even of an illicit relationship between the security forces and Inkatha.

The information, however, was circumstantial and fragmented. There was not enough to nail anyone. None of it crossed the borders of "deniability".

Until the brief telephone conversation on Wednesday a fortnight ago.

Immediately we discussed with our *Guardian* colleagues how to verify the papers and put together a team of reporters to do the legwork.

Neither *The Weekly Mail* nor *The Guardian* knew enough about the source to rely solely on his word, so over the next 24 hours reporters in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town pursued every detail of the allegations in the documents.

They ascertained that the policemen mentioned were where the documents said they should be. A reporter who phoned one of the numbers, was greeted with, "Hello, security branch." When it was pointed out that the security branch was supposed to have been dismantled months ago, the police said, "Ag, I'm always forgetting. I mean CCI." Never mind, it was the right policeman in the right place.

To check the bank accounts, reporters had to deposit money. Inkatha got R50 from *The Weekly Mail* — the only way we could get the bank to check the existence and name of the account.

The reporters confirmed that meetings had happened when the documents said they were supposed to, that Major Louis Botha was in close contact with Inkatha at the relevant time and that the telex numbers in the papers were actually police numbers.

Every detail was checked, and, remarkably, every single one backed up the story. By Thursday morning, it was clear that the documents were genuine. We agreed with *The Guardian* that both papers would run

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w/Mail 2/81-8/8/91.
It was a story that rocked the nation
ANTON HARBER describes how it unfolded — and why *The Weekly Mail* handled it the way it did

the story simultaneously on their front pages the following day.

There was one major problem. Normal practice would have been to put the information to both the police and Inkatha for comment. Both organisations, however, have a history of trying to prevent *The Weekly Mail* from publishing sensitive information about them. The police closed the paper down for one month in 1988 and have twice seized all copies from the streets. They have used restriction orders, detentions and threats to try and stop this kind of reporting.

In 1986 Inkatha flew an entire team of cabinet ministers, attorneys and advocates from Durban to try and get an interdict to stop *The Weekly Mail* from publishing a Cosatu report that made grave allegations against them (ironically, accusations now made much more credible by last week's revelations). We had made the mistake of asking Inkatha for comment — and they had abused our goodwill to try and stop our paper from hitting the streets.

That couldn't be allowed to happen this time. There was an overwhelming public interest in getting the information into print.

A compromise was found. *The Guardian* would put the story to the police and Inkatha for comment and pass their statements on to *The Weekly Mail*.

In the end, neither the police nor Inkatha responded in time for publication, though both were given the opportunity.

Fears about the police reaction were borne out after the SABC-TV's *Agenda* programme on Thursday night, tipped off about our story from an interview on Radio 702, decided to rejig their programme to allow a debate on the issue between *Weekly Mail*, the police and Inkatha.

Police spokesman Captain Craig Kotze took one look at an early copy of the paper and asked to use a telephone in the studio. Within five minutes, the producer came through and told us her decision to run on our story had been overridden.

Kotze, it turned out, had phoned Vlok who phoned the SABC's Christo Kritzinger. Kritzinger made a snap decision to drop the programme on the basis that the police had not been given fair warning.

By that time both the police and Inkatha were in a tizz. They clearly wanted to know what evidence *Weekly Mail* had before they started confirming or denying, because policemen worked through the

might checking our story.

The next day was a tense one. Without pressure from the rest of the media, would the government try to brush the story aside? We waited to see whether other press would pick up the story. *The Star* on Friday treated the story as a minor issue, leading on "Mom forgives killer child", only Radio 702 and the foreign media seemed to take it seriously.

We waited all day for a response from the government. At 5pm reporters were told Kotze was in the state president's office and a statement was imminent. When it came, we cheered. The government admitted it all, only contesting the reasons for giving money to Inkatha.

Besides the public encounter with Law and Order Minister Vlok on Sunday night's *Agenda*, there was a second, less public meeting last week. Kotze, two senior policemen and a lawyer met *The Weekly Mail* to ask to see its documentation.

In return, the newspaper asked for guarantees that neither the newspaper nor its staff would be harassed or persecuted in any way and that the police provide further information on the matters raised in the documents.

Police declined. So did *The Weekly Mail*. This, however, did not stop Kotze saying on Friday, after we had published our second round of allegations, that we had broken an "agreement".

There was no such agreement — only an undertaking on our behalf that we would follow the normal journalistic practice of putting everything relevant to Kotze for comment. We had done this on Thursday, keeping a running supply of documents, articles and other material on the fax to Kotze and Inkatha most of the day. In the end, neither responded to the details of the story.

Another wait ensued. This time we had called Vlok a liar — and we knew that he either had to sue or he was in serious trouble.

There was no response on Friday and for most of Saturday. Eventually, in the afternoon, he issued a statement — simply a denial that he had lied. When Vlok went on television that night, it was clear that the SABC had not recovered from his previous appearance. This time there was no debate — just simple questions from a tame SABC reporter.

Now *The Weekly Mail* has to deal with all the other fallout — a flood of letters, telegrams and phone calls, some abusive, some complimentary, but enough tip-offs to keep a team of journalists following up the story.

Outrage at police's probe into newspaper

ANTI-CENSORSHIP groups yesterday slammed the police investigation of The Weekly Mail newspaper which exposed the slush funds scandal that rocked the Government.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze yesterday confirmed that the police had initiated an investigation against the newspaper and that it faced possible charges under the Protection of Information Act.

He said that in terms of the law, the police had to conduct an investigation into the leakage and publication of informa-

tion from top secret documents as they believed the reports were based on allegedly stolen Security Police documents.

However, the paper's news editor, Arthur Goldstuck, said last night the police had not yet contacted the newspaper in connection with the investigation.

The SA Union of Journalists demanded the police halt its investigation of the paper.

"It is the duty of the media to expose corruption wherever it might be

found," SAUJ president Sven Lunsche said.

"The role of the police in the Inkathagate scandal has been amply highlighted and for the SA Police to investigate The Weekly Mail and its source is simply vindictive."

The SAUJ also condemned the threat of using Section 205 to force the newspaper to disclose its source.

Campaign for Open Media chairman Raymond Louw said "This is a classic case of trying to kill the messenger."

"It is outrageous that

the police should be interested in using Section 205 to try and identify the person who supplied this vital information of enormous interest to the nation.

"Yet they show no such zeal in following up the enormous number of allegations of police and military misconduct in destabilising a political movement like the ANC in this country."

The Anti-Censorship Action Group said "Instead of harassing The Weekly Mail the police should put their own house in order

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Star 3/8/91
PAT DEVEREAUX

His wedding

gold
Consistent

I I I I I O S E C K n i u t h a t w i d e k a w e

t r r e t t n t e i t e i t e n t i t

Police 'following leads' in Weekly Mail probe

CT 3/8/91

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By BARRY STREEK

SEVERAL possible suspects had been identified in the investigation into the "deep throat" who provided top-secret documents to the Weekly Mail about government funding to Inkatha, police sources said yesterday.

No arrests had been made but several leads were being followed up, they added.

The police confirmed that they are investigating a case of theft against the "deep throat" as well as possible charges against the Weekly Mail under the Protection of Information Act.

But Captain Craig Kotze, a spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, rejected suggestions of a vendetta against the newspaper and said the police were committed to the free flow of information.

"We have bent over backwards to accommodate the public interest in

these issues."

The police were legally obliged to investigate any contraventions of the law, he said.

The South Africa Union of Journalists (SAUJ) has demanded that the police halt its investigation of the newspaper.

"The attitude of the police in announcing an investigation of the Weekly Mail in terms of the Protection of Information Act shows contempt not only for press freedom but for democracy itself," SAUJ president Mr Sven Lunsche said in a statement. "It is the duty of the media to expose corruption wherever it might be found."

"The role of the police in the Inkatha scandal has been amply highlighted and for the SA Police to investigate the Weekly Mail and its source is simply vindictive."



BRAVING THE RAIN . . . Demonstrators of a newly formed political alliance demanding the government's resignation over the slush fund scandal yesterday legally displayed their sentiments outside St George's Cathedral. Only six people took part.

Picture HAROLD KING

Scandal a flash in pan for govt?

c/p res 4/8/91

PRESSWATCH

(243)

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What the Afrikaans
papers are saying

(20/11)

THE government's well-considered response to the Inkathagate scandal means the "unhappy" incident may in time lead to positive results, *Beeld* forecast this week

The new measures surrounding secret funds should lift the Cabinet out of the crossfire while strengthening public confidence, the *Transvaal* morning daily said.

It added that the removal of Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan was a clever move by State President FW de Klerk which has largely exorcised the controversy surrounding the security forces

But their demotion was symbolic rather than punitive, as no other Cabinet member could have handled their two portfolios differently

"Still, their current positions became untenable because of the demands of the new politics and the desire to put a distance between the old order and the new approach"

The editorial said the new ministers of Law and Order and Defence reported for duty without the proverbial "political baggage" of the past

Hernus Kriel's experience and political style of not shying away from South Africa's unpalatable political realities made him suited for the difficult portfolio of Law and Order

The fact Defence was entrusted to a junior minister ahead of Cabinet veterans should confirm a change in priorities from military might to the upkeep of law and order, social questions and better living standards, the newspaper said

□ □ □ □

THE storm surrounding Inkathagate has unleashed a countrywide "wave of support" for the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told *Rapport*

Even non-members wanted to sign up, Buthelezi told the Sunday paper

"The IFP has for many years been a showcase of integrity and consistency I have always stuck to my principles The public knows this Even the media knows this," he said

Demo over subpoena

CP Correspondent

HISTORY was made on Thursday when more than 70 Durban and Maritzburg journalists took to the streets and staged placard demonstrations in protest against Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act

Under the act, journalists can be required to reveal confidential sources of information

Placards at the protest read: "Section 205 gags depress", "Society needs a free press" and "Stop gagging the press"

The protests followed the serving of a Section 205 subpoena on a *Daily News* political reporter, Nicola Cunningham-Brown

She appeared in the

Pietermaritzburg Magistrate's Court on Thursday to answer questions concerning her sources in an article about alleged AWB operations in the troubled Richmond area in the Natal Midlands

The case was postponed *Ciprem 4/8/91*

In the article, which appeared in the *Daily News* of July 26, Cunningham-Brown reported that AWB training camps had been set up near Richmond

At the camps, operatives are trained in the use of firearms and explosives. They allegedly practised their skills in raids on Ndalem, Magota and N'kobeni townships in which at least two people had died, the report said

The article said the AWB attackers wore camouflaged uniforms in an attempt to mislead township residents into thinking they were SAP members

Meanwhile, the Durban Supreme Court dismissed with costs a R20 000 defamation claim by advocate Gideon Sheltema against the *Sunday Tribune* last week

Sheltema was defence counsel for the KwaZulu Deputy Minister of the Interior, Samuel Jamile, who was sentenced to life imprisonment in June this year

The claim arose from a report headed "Judge slams handing over of privileged statements"

Editor: intimidation of media must stop

By Shirley Woodgate

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Star 6/8/91

declarations in practice"

South African political leaders' commitment to free speech remained open to question until they took steps to end intimidation of reporters, the Editor-in-Chief of The Star, Richard Steyn, said yesterday

Delivering the keynote address at the annual meeting of the Johannesburg Child Welfare Society, Mr Steyn highlighted instances of media intimidation, blaming all the major black political organisations "and some white parties"

He said "The leaders know of these incidents, yet do nothing

"Liberation movement leaders sound off in public about their support for freedom of association and free media, but their supporters often make a mockery of their

Saying there was scant understanding, even at the highest levels, of the role of a critical and inquiring press, he said pressure, both subtle and unsubtle, continued to be exerted on journalists to take sides in the political struggle

"This intolerance of the irritating intrusions and occasional excesses of newspapers in a free society suggests that the fight for freedom of expression did not end on February 2 last year, but will have to fought for again in the future"

Focusing on problems within the profession, Mr Steyn called for the scrapping of divisions of the apartheid society which still existed in South African journalism

● A protection, not a panacea — Page 12

The media have a critical role to play in a changing South Africa, says **Richard Steyn**

A Protection, not a panacea

Steyn 6/8/91.

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We live in a society steeped not only in violence, but in secrecy — as events over the past fortnight have demonstrated once again. Secret projects and dirty tricks have flourished in a culture of non-accountability. A huge body of legislation on the Statute Book has restricted the free flow of information and inhibited open discussion for as long as many of us can remember.

Matters have improved to some extent in the last year or so, but old habits die hard. Civil servants regard themselves as responsible more to the Government than to the public. Their instinctive reaction to media inquiries is "What the hell has it got to do with you?"

The extra-parliamentary political movements are little better. They deal even more harshly with critics or with journalists who write stories portraying them in a bad light.

The ANC, which claims to be a government-in-waiting, has learnt quickly that the easiest way to explain away embarrassment is to heap blame indiscriminately upon the media.

To complicate matters further, since February 2 last year we are experiencing an unprecedented openness, a freedom of expression that we are not used to and are uncomfortable with. When newspapers report, as they must, on the activities of previously

banned organisations, they are accused of being propagandists. Publicity is often equated with support for one or other cause.

Leaders of the "liberation" movement sound off in public about their support for freedom of association and free media, but their supporters often make a mockery of those pious declarations in practice. At grassroots there is precious little tolerance.

A recent publication of the Institute of Race Relations, entitled "Man Mauding the Media — New Censorship for the New South Africa", has drawn attention to a new breed of censor in SA, the young township activists who resort to naked intimidation and violence in their efforts to cow the press and prevent unfavourable publicity for their organisations.

Examples are legion — from a photographer hacked to death in Crossroads in 1988 to reporters being manhandled at demonstrations and funerals, to political journalists being threatened with death for critical comments about policy, to the mother of Stompie Sepele being prevented from speaking to the press after the Winnie Mandela trial.

All the major black political organisations — and some white parties — are to blame. They know of these incidents, yet do nothing to punish the miscreants or make an example of them. Until leaders take firm mea-

sures to put an end to intimidation of reporters, their commitment to free speech must remain open to question.

Even at the highest levels, there is scant understanding of the role of a critical and inquiring press. Pressure, both subtle and unsubtle, continues to be exerted upon journalists to take sides in the political struggle on the basis of "If you are not for us, you must be against us."

What therefore is the role of journalism in the new SA?

The trite, and insufficient, answer is — much the same as in the old. Traditionally, the role of newspapers has been to inform, educate, entertain and act as a watchdog over the excesses of officialdom and other powerful interests. (The watchdog role of the press has once again been vividly demonstrated by the Inkatha funding revelations of the past few weeks.)

Everyone seems to agree that the press has great influence for good or ill in the new society, and that a heavy responsibility rests upon us. But to whom are we responsible? Not surely to politicians seeking to thrust their policies down our throats, nor to those who are loudest in their criticism of journalists.

Our responsibilities — it seems to me — are these:

1. To convey information, and ideas to people, and put choices

before them that will make them free.

2. To act as a channel of communication between government and people, and people and government, thereby promoting good and fair government.

To fulfil these responsibilities, we journalists must dig out and publish information that is accurate, we must publish it as dispassionately and objectively as possible, we must interpret it as fairly as the human shortcomings and sometimes unconscious bias of editors permit.

We must give reasonable opportunities for reply to those whom we attack or criticise. We must keep free of any affiliations that might compromise us in the eyes of the public. And we must keep at bay powerful commercial interests who seek to control and influence the way in which news and comment is presented.

Our educative role is particularly important in a country in which literacy levels are frighteningly low and where 30 percent of children enrolled in schools have no books in their homes.

So much for the orthodox functions of the newspaper in a democratic society. Does South Africa's current situation impose any additional responsibilities upon the press at this crucial juncture in the country's history?

I think that it does.

Perhaps most important of all

is our duty to ensure that "the market-place of ideas", to borrow a phrase from John Grogan of Rhodes, remains open. We have to insist that the mistakes of the past are not repeated, either by the present Government or by its opponents.

Suppressing opinion, driving dissenters underground and muzzling the media simply remove the problem temporarily from sight. They do not produce lasting solutions.

In order to make sensible decisions and govern properly, governments need to find out facts quickly and respond to them. And free and open media are best placed to provide those facts.

Journalists should always be in the frontline in upholding the right to free speech and defending the rights of others including their political opponents, to speak freely. We have not always set a good example in this regard. We are also sadly divided among ourselves.

South African journalism still betrays many of the divisions of the apartheid society. . . Whatever good reasons existed for these divisions in the past, they will, I hope, fall away in the future. We ought, however, to be doing much more to get our act together and hasten the process.

Freedom of the press depends, in the end, on whether or not we have the support of the public. If

we are to retain that support, we have to be worthy of it. Not that we will be liked by the public, nor should we expect to be.

Who likes people who persist in reporting more bad news than good? Who are sceptical of conventional wisdom? Who ask awkward questions and rock the boat? Who do things in a hurry and get facts wrong? Who refuse — in the words of a former White House correspondent in the US — to be a pleasant and non-controversial bullet in board of the ordinary, pleasant and non-controversial?

Press freedom is a protection, not a panacea.

Newspapers, I believe, should refrain from contributing to the polarisation syndrome. If we lead our readers to believe that negotiations are a zero-sum game in which one side will win all at the expense of the other, we are reducing the chances of differences being settled peacefully around the conference table.

Finally, we journalists must continue to remind people, without preaching or sounding holier-than-thou, that a free press, with all its shortcomings, is not only a sine qua non for democracy — you cannot have one without the other — but the final guarantee of their security.

Richard Steyn is Editor-in-Chief of The Star. This is a shortened version of his address last night to the annual meeting of the Johannesburg Child Welfare Society. □

FM admits funding student body

Staff Reporter (243)

The Financial Mail helped pay for two members of the Government-sponsored National Students Federation (NSF) to attend an overseas conference, editor Nigel Bruce said yesterday.

And Mr Bruce said was not sorry he had helped finance an organisation that was subsequently exposed as having received State backing, saying he would do so again.

Mr Bruce had been a speaker at an NSF conference on the campus of the University of Stellenbosch "a couple of years ago", after which he had arranged for two mem-

bers of the organisation to attend an international students' conference in St Gallen, Switzerland.

The Financial Mail and eight other companies jointly paid for two return air tickets, Mr Bruce said.

He would not name the other companies, although the NSF last week said the Anglo American Chairman's Fund, the Free Market Foundation, Pick 'n Pay, Anglo Alpha and Everite had all funded the organisation.

"If we are getting to the stage where the security police are funding a liberal organisation, then we are definitely making

progress," Mr Bruce said.

He added that he was not disturbed that the NSF had allegedly been started to counter the left-wing student body, Nusas, saying "Nusas needs combating".

The Financial Mail had decided to help the NSF because it supported free enterprise "and the sort of liberal philosophies that we subscribe to here".

"This (the funding) was in furtherance of those ideals".

He said the managing director of Times Media Limited knew about the financial assistance, and it was "nothing clandestine".

star 6/8/41

Inkatha leader hits out at an 'unfair' media

Sowetan 6/8/91

INKATHA at the weekend launched a scathing attack on the media for allegedly trying to discredit and destroy the organisation.

Speaking at the official opening of Inkatha's office in Schweizer Reinecke, Inkatha Youth Brigade regional chairman Mr Themba Khoza said the Inkatha Freedom Party had not always been treated fairly by the media and therefore people often did not have a true understanding of what the party stood for.

He said despite the media trying to make an issue out of the

By ISAAC MOLEDI

recent revelations by *The Weekly Mail* of money channelled to finance Inkatha projects, people had reacted differently on the issue

"Instead, the publicity has pushed people to join us. The opening of this office is proof of this," he said

Khoza said the organisation had launched seven branches with more than 1 000 members in the Western Transvaal since the beginning of the year

Referring to Schweizer Reinecke, which is a Tswana-speaking area, Khoza said al-

though the media had tried to depict his party as violent and Zulu-speaking for it not to gain membership, this attitude had, on the contrary, been proved wrong

"Nobody in his right mind can claim that this is a Zulu-speaking area, yet people have had so much interest in our party that we have been forced to open an office," Khoza said

"We are sure that the people of the Western Transvaal support the IFP because of what it stands for"

Khoza reaffirmed his party's move to change the media's attitude

He said the IFP stood a better chance of survival in the Western Transvaal than in other areas where confrontation was frequent

A local IFP official, Mr Jonas Marumo, said Inkatha was a party which believed in the freedom of association and the right of each individual to choose what political organisation he wanted to belong to

He reassured Inkatha officials that the IFP stood a better chance of survival in the Western Transvaal than in other areas, where the party was accused of violence and of being in confrontation with other political organisations

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Call for 'war crimes' trial

A CALL for a Nuremberg-type war crimes trial of the South African Government was made on Sunday by the Media Workers Association of South Africa following revelations of covert Government funding of several organisations

Mwasa said in a statement in Johannesburg that "the gross negligence of the intelligence services and the State President render the Government a co-conspirator in the crimes against the un-

suspecting public of South Africa"

The media union went on to distance itself from calls for the resignation of the Ministers of Law and Order and of Defence

According to the statement, the resignation of the Ministers involved - Mr Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan - would "allow them to escape with impunity - Sapa

243 (S) Sowetan 6/8/91 (400)

Newspapers in Africa are displaying a new daring, reports Robert Weller

Pressing the cause of freedom

Star 8/18/91

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TOGO'S biggest independent newspaper asked for permission to begin publishing again — and “when we didn't get permission we went ahead anyway”, said Rico A Tettekpoe, editor of *Courrier du Golfe*.

The incident exemplifies the new daring of journalists in many African countries, where longtime press restrictions have been lifted or simply ignored as authoritarian regimes give way in the post Cold War-era.

Most of the new publications have been created by opposition groups, which are campaigning for multiparty democracy but have staked out few ideological positions beyond calls for honest government and new leadership.

President Gnassingbe Eyadema, who had shut down Tettekpoe's paper several times for articles critical of his government, now

finds himself lambasted or lampooned in a dozen papers

In the neighbouring state of Ivory Coast, a vigorously independent press has appeared in the past year. But in July Liberte newspaper manager Jacques Kacou and reporter Georges Koffi were sentenced to three months' jail for insulting President Felix Houphouet-Boigny in a story headlined “Look out, Houphouet has lost his mind”.

The wave of demands for democracy that is sweeping the continent has shaken the foundation of information control that was a key element of one-party rule.

Adam Finstein, managing editor of the International Press Institute in London, said in a telephone interview. “The general picture is a mixed one with the countries that were doing well falling behind on the press freedom

front. The ones that before were completely stifled are starting to produce some independent papers not of high journalistic quality but certainly (with) an investigative daring.”

In Zaire, where editors once feared torture if they offended President Mobutu Sese Seko, newspapers have become audacious critics of Mobutu since censorship was lifted in April 1990.

Eluma, a newspaper that once supported Mobutu, now calls for his resignation and a dozen new publications feature stories and cartoons that hammer at Mobutu and his cronies for allegedly raiding the nation's treasury and killing opponents.

Mobutu appears largely unconcerned. Few of the papers are sold outside Kinshasa, and as in many African nations the literacy rate is low. Most people rely for news on

radio or television, both still controlled by the government.

Elsewhere ● Benin, which had 12 newspapers when it became the first African country to hold a national conference that led to the ousting of a one-party ruler, saw 40 papers sprout up within 18 months.

● In Chad, desk-top publishing has made it possible for independent papers like N'djamena-Hebdo to flourish. It sells 12 000 copies weekly — a huge circulation for one of the world's poorest nations.

● In Mali, small independent papers are overtaking the circulation of official papers. The number of newspapers rose from four in 1989 to 12 in 1990.

● In Angola, the media remain state run but have been giving wide coverage to Unita since peace accords were signed. — Sapa-AP. □

Featherstone named new Argus Newspapers chief

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Star
9/8/91

John Featherstone will become chief executive of Argus Newspapers Limited next April, Doug Band, the chairman, announced today.

He will be replacing P W McLean, the present deputy chairman and chief executive, who will be retiring at the end of March.

Mr Featherstone, who is presently general manager of The Star, will be succeeded by Graeme King, the deputy general manager.

In his announcement Mr Band said "I would like to add to the terse public announcement by paying tribute to Peter McLean for his 37 years of loyal, dedicated service to the Argus Group.

"His career has been one of the greatest distinction, as evidenced by his rise to the very top of the company. His period as chief executive of the news-

paper group has been a particularly successful one.

"We are pleased that Peter has agreed to continue to serve the Argus Group in an ongoing capacity as a director of the Argus Holdings Limited.

"In John Featherstone we have a worthy successor to Peter. John has had a number of top-level responsibility positions both within the Newspaper Group and in the wider diversified aspects of the Argus Holdings Group. I know that you will all join me in congratulating John on his new appointment and affording him every support in his new role.

"Graeme King has made rapid progress in the group since his recruitment in 1984, and is well equipped for his new challenge as general manager of The Star. He too deserves our congratulations and full support," said Mr Band.

Editor
C/PRESS
to give
11/8/91
evidence

CITY Press Editor Khulu Sibuya has been subpoenaed to give evidence in the inquest into the death of slain human rights leader Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, who was gunned down in front of his home on February 25

Sibuya was told he might be called to give evidence at the inquest in Pietermaritzburg starting on Thursday City Press Natal bureau reporter S'bu Mngadi was also subpoenaed

City Press published a story quoting a self-confessed agent of the military police as confessing to the murder and implicating the security forces.

Paper in court costs dispute

JOHANNESBURG. — Witwatersrand attorney-general Mr Klaus von Lieres and the Vrye Weekblad were yesterday tangled in a legal battle in the Rand Supreme Court over who should pay the legal costs of a defamation action which was won by the attorney-general

The newspaper had alleged that he practised selective prosecutions

A first claim against the paper was settled. A secret tender of R5 000 was made to Mr Von Lieres for a second claim. He rejected this, but the court awarded this amount. The legal costs of this two-day hearing are in dispute.

Mr Justice van Coller reserved judgment. — Sapa

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CT 14/8/71
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Vrye Weekblad cost ^{Star 14/8/11} judgment reserved

Staff Reporter **243**

Judgment on costs arising from the defamation claim brought against the Vrye Weekblad by Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau has been reserved

Mr Justice A P van Coler reserved judgment after hearing counsel for both sides in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday

L Weinstock, SC, appearing for Mr von Lieres, argued that the newspaper's publishers,

Caxton Publishers, should be liable for all costs up to the first day of the trial

An out-of-court settlement was reached on the first article published by the newspaper, but Mr von Lieres could not accept the tender on the second article

Bobby Levin, SC, for Vrye Weekblad, said the newspaper had offered to pay all costs. This clearly meant Mr von Lieres need not have been concerned about costs concerning Caxton, he argued



Is the 'alternative' press really that alternative?

South 15/8-21/8/91

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Yes, says Guy Berger...

FIVE years ago, it was very clear what was alternative about the "alternative press".

It was its difference — its total difference — from the established, indeed establishment, press

For a start, the alternatives were counterposed to what was dubbed "the commercial press"

Alternative publications were free of vested commercial interests — whether advertisers, business managers and "editorial lackeys of the capitalist class"

Secondly, in contrast to the ethnic or racial character of the commercials, the alternatives were avowedly non-racial in their coverage.

And thirdly, the alternative papers served as organs of struggle — counterposed to the mainstream media organs of the Nationalist Party or the Anglo American Corporation

Today, things are different. Far from being a point of differentiation, commercialism is now top of the agenda of alternative papers struggling to survive in the apartheid-skewed market place.

And, as foreign funding continues to fall off rapidly, schemes to boost advertising and circulation, and to bring money into papers through

On the other hand, the economics and control of the alternatives still differ from the establishment media

For one thing, internal democracy remains far greater than on the estab-

SOUTH editor GUY BERGER argues that the 'alternative' press has made commercial compromises, but is still different from the mainstream news media. Stellenbosch professor SAMPIE TERREBLANCHE, a director of "Vrye Weekblad", says that to be 'alternative' means to be uncompromising in tackling inequalities in the establishment.

lishment press. For another, the ownership structures remain distinct

Trusts of community leaders and/or the journalists themselves control much of the alternative press

Commercialism

In the mainstream press, power continues to rest with large conglomerates that are in turn owned by other conglomerates

Despite commercialism then, the alternative press remains independent of the corporations

In some ways, though, this independence monopoly media make money through printing telephone directories for Pretoria, or through shares in M-Net, the cash-strapped "alternatives" have far fewer sources of revenue.

Despite the new commercialism

also the 'alternatives' continues to remain alternative in terms of their push for a nonracial South Africa in contrast to the establishment newspapers that still lag behind with an almost exclusive ethnic focus (usually white)

But to being an "organ of struggle", many alternative papers are moving away from this role

Their targets are becoming less the evils, shortcomings and scandals as epitomised in the Nationalist regime, than the same wherever these occur

In this development towards being wholly independent in terms of party political agendas — the alternative press still remains alternative to the mainstream press which maintains a less than fair focus of its spotlight

Summing up, the alternative press



Guy Berger

in the 1990s remains "alternative" in terms of its ownership, nonracialism and its increasingly non-party watchdog role

But, looking ahead, the same press will have to be even more distinctive if it is to survive in the new economic and political marketplace

Turf

Today, turf that was traditionally the preserve of the alternatives — like coverage of ANC issues, nonracial sport or labour struggles — is no longer exclusive terrain

At the same time, the alternative papers themselves — recognising that people now have some space to live a bit and laugh a bit — have also been moving on to "turf" they traditionally neglected as the concerns of the mainstream — like enter-

tainment, business and human interest stories

In regard, then, to both commercial principles and to what is being covered in the newspapers, a convergence between alternative and mainstream is evident

But it is also clear that so long as the mainstream press continues its political partisanship and ethnic exclusivity, its inadequacy in analysis and in-depth reporting, and its blindness to key areas of society — there remains a role for the alternative weeklies

There is enormous space for the alternative press to cover issues still ignored by the mainstream press — for example, women's and rural issues

And while the alternatives can no longer define much of their content in terms of what is covered, they need to look at different ways to cover the same areas dealt with in the mainstream

Powerful investigative journalism, new-journalism writing, better quality writing than the mainstream press, innovative design and graphics — all these are being added to the new definition of the "alternative press"

The tough question is whether the alternatives can survive and succeed in fulfilling their great potential — or whether South Africa becomes all the poorer by losing this distinct and vibrant sector of its media spectrum

Africa

The alternative press can only remain alternative if it continues to focus on this power concentration and on the structural inequalities

And if it remains outspoken about a democratic South Africa being unsustainable, should these inequalities be perpetuated

In the immediate future the alternative press should campaign very strongly — and even aggressively — for the removal of at least some of the worst inequalities as a precondition for successful negotiations and to create conditions that will hopefully be conducive to economic growth

The alternative press can only be really alternative if it can prove itself as a potent force for a truly alternative South Africa

If we take the structural nature of the South African problem into account — that is the inequalities in power and wealth — one cannot but conclude that the alternative press has not really been alternative during the last five years

No, says Sampie Terreblanche...

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in strategy by not only the "system" but also by the "struggle"

It should also try to evaluate what significance these changes in strategy may have for the transformation process

The last 20 years have been significant in both the "composition" and in the policy strategies of the two white establishments, that is the Afrikaner political establishment and the English economic establishment

Crisis

A series of crisis — for example the Soweto unrest (1976), the split in the NP, the township unrest (1984-1986) and growing international isolation — not only compelled both white establishments to change their strategies, but also brought about a rapprochement between them and ultimately (after February 2 1990) an almost complete merger



Sampie Terreblanche

For all practical purposes the bureaucratic state and capital has become one establishment

The success of the (white) estab-

lishments in weathering the recurrent storms — albeit not always in the interests of the total South African population — can be attributed mainly to the strength and loyalty (that is loyalty towards its own establishments) of the mainstream media and to a lesser degree also to the weakness of the alternative press

Concentration

The concentration of media power in South Africa must be seen as a component of the much larger concentration of power and wealth in the hands of the (now very close) alliance between state and capital

The alternative press should indeed be uncompromising in its stand that this concentration of power and wealth — and the structural inequalities closely associated with it — are irreconcilable with a new and democratic South

THE alternative press is supposed to be an anti-establishment press

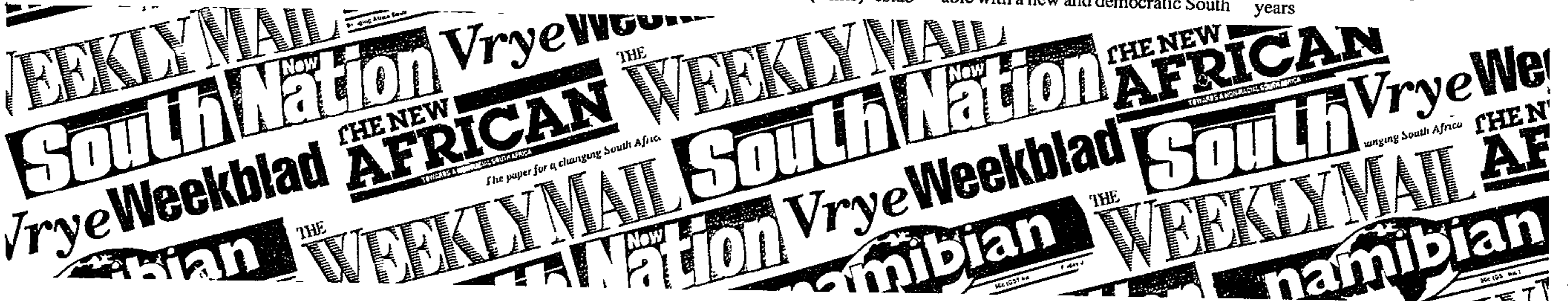
According to this definition the "alternative press" can only be really alternative if it is financially and ideologically independent from the mainstream media and from the establishment.

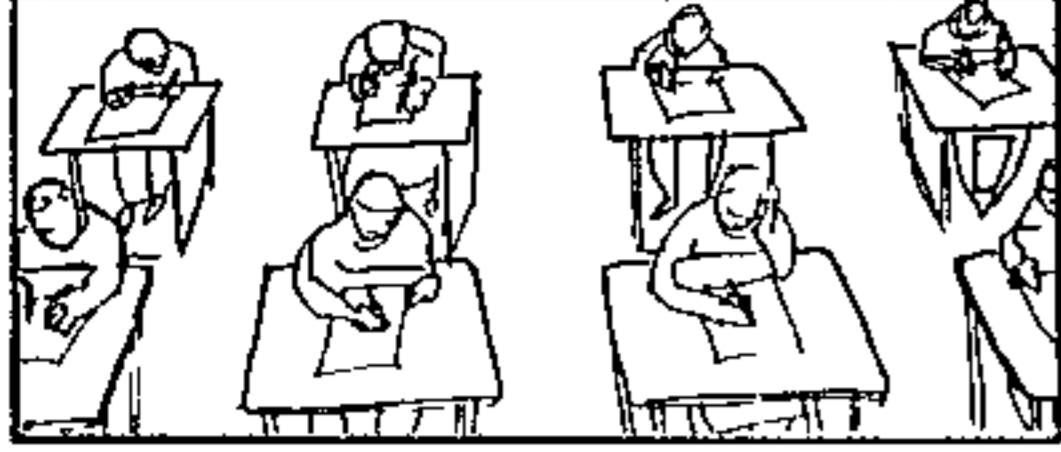
And it can only really be alternative if it is at all times prepared to take a rather critical and anti-establishment stand against the popular orthodoxy, articulated by the establishment and its supporting media

In our fast-changing world, the (white) establishment is constantly changing its strategy — not only in an attempt to maintain the initiative, but also to disrupt those who are regarded by the establishment as its opposition (or even its enemies)

In the present transitional phase of South African history, the alternative press — if it wants to remain alternative — should not only keep itself busy with investigative journalism, but should also play a "detective" and "evaluative" role

It should try to detect every change





STUDY BEAT

Talking heads in the classroom



How do you feel about studying?

We asked a group of high school students how they felt about burying their heads in their books.

Now we're inviting you to be a fly on the wall and to listen in! If you'd like to comment on any of the issues raised, or you can suggest how to study better, drop us a line and we'll print your contribution in 'Pupils' Forum'.

FAATIN: Subjects like mathematics that you have to work at every day are a problem for me. I prefer to swot subjects, which is easier for me.

CEDRIC: My friends and I find it quite difficult to actually start studying. But once we get into full swing, we find it much easier. The main problem is to get into the beat of studying.

FAATIN: Even if you make a study timetable, sometimes you find you can't stick to it, because you find homework consumes so much time that you can't fit in time to study.

DALEEN: On the other hand, I do think that control tests help sometimes. You're pressured to study for it, and at the end of the year when you revise your work, you find you actually remember the work you studied for the control tests.

ZULFA: We have extra maths classes here at school on Saturday mornings, but it doesn't seem to be helping most of us in our class. So we're going to give it up, because it's taking up too much time that we could rather be using to study.

ABDULLAH: In mathematics, it's not just what you understand, it's the way the teacher puts it over to you. Mathematics has to be understood from the basics. If you don't know the basics, you're not going to know how to do the sum further on. I can say for myself that I have a very good teacher. He goes from the basic right up to the end of the sum when he explains it.

As far as time goes, I have a girlfriend and it's taking up a lot of time. We're going to see a film tonight, but the only way I will be able to finish

my homework is to do it when I come home after the film, even if I'm tired.

Some pupils work over weekends and some, specially on a Saturday night, go to discos. They can spend that time studying. They're just going to have to sacrifice a few weeks now. It's not long until the end of the year.

FAATIN: People tell me it's good for your CV if you've participated in extra-curricular activities. I think that pupils in the lower standards can belong to societies and groups. But society meetings take up a lot of time. I've cut myself off from all societies, just to concentrate on schoolwork.

ABDULLAH: About study groups, especially in mathematics. I think it's better if two or three study together. If one doesn't know how to do a sum, then one of the other two might know how to do it. But if you're going to study maths alone, you're going to have to look through the textbook, to see if you can find any solution for it.

NATASHA: But sometimes work is not taken seriously in study groups. A lot of joking goes on. When you look again, there's no work done. Everybody's had a great time, but no work has been done! You can study mathematics in a group. But how do you study geography or biology in a group? You can't.

ABDULLAH: I know what you mean. But you have to discipline yourself in order to really study.

ZULFA: We're three friends in our group and find we can't study economics without one another. There was a time when I thought I must study alone — but in that term I did

so badly! I find it's a help to study with someone. But I can't study any of my other subjects with them — just economics.

FAATIN: We're four girls in our group. When we were discussing certain points, we'd make jokes about them. Later on, when you're sitting in the exam room, you think about that joke. Then you remember the answer. But study groups don't work with content subjects, because there you have to learn hard, basic facts.

DALEEN: I find it totally impossible to study with anyone. I have a friend who stays near me. But when she comes to study with me, I let her sit in my room while I sit in the lounge.

ZULFA: I find our parents influence our study concentration a lot. Sometimes, just before you start studying at night, you have an argument with your mother. Then you're sitting at your desk with your books in front of you, and all the time you're thinking about what she said and working yourself up. "How could she say that?", and so on.

NATASHA: I feel that because we're in matric now, we're adults. Now, I'll be sitting in the lounge, thinking to myself "Okay, I'm going to study in a few minutes' time." And then your mother comes along "Aren't you going to study?" Blah, blah, blah." It puts you off, because you want to be rebellious. I'm old enough to know when I want to study.

NATASHA: The thing is, you can't apply yourself if your environment is not right. You can't say, "I'm going to study", but then you have three brothers running up and down in the house, or your mother is screaming and the baby's crying. You can't apply yourself in such a situation. So what you say doesn't apply to everybody.

DALEEN: Just like we have to sacrifice to study, our parents must also sacrifice. They must know we need to have time for ourselves and time to study. And they mustn't look for chores for us to do; they're always finding things for us to do when they see we're not doing anything.

ABDULLAH: When parents go on telling us to study — okay, it does take away your concentration — but in a way they are concerned about you. They may be going about it in the wrong way, but we must realise they want us to have good results, a good job, a nice future.

A lot of parents don't realise how difficult Std 10 is. If I study for about an hour, I need a break, so I take a walk to the shop. Then my parents go on, "Ja, you can go to the shop but you can't study! If we ask you to do something, you can't do it!" They don't understand that people need to take breaks in between studying.

One more thing. I'd advise people in matric not to have a relationship. It not only takes up a lot of your time, but if there're problems between you and your partner, it's going to affect your studying.

TV 1

Monday Aug 19
 2 00pm **Telerama**
 Health care and social problems
 3 10pm **Beyond the Chalkboard**
 Multi-media learning experience

Tuesday Aug 20
 2 03pm **Telerama**
 Fotosintese, inseketende plante, protiste
 3 00pm **Ekonomie in beeld**
 4 15pm **Wetenskap in werking**
 Moderne tegnologie
 11 00pm **University of the air**
 Kepler's three laws, personal computers

Wednesday Aug 21
 2 03pm **Telerama**
 Language arts, Families of the world
 3 00pm **Historically speaking**
 Russian Revolution
 5 00pm **Innovations**
 Discoveries and inventions

Thursday Aug 22
 3 00pm **Eduspectrum**
 Career choices

Friday Aug 23
 3 00pm **Mr Microchip**
 How computers "read" and form pictures
 6 00pm **Gee Whizz**
 School teams science quiz

Saturday Aug 24
 9 30am **Beyond the Chalkboard**
 Multi-media learning experience

TV 2/3/4

Monday Aug 19
 2 15pm **Special transmission of Star Schools**
 Series to assist Std 9 and matric pupils to pass their end-of-year examinations
 3 45pm **School Talk**
 A programme for high school pupils in which subjects are revised for examinations

Tuesday Aug 20
 2 15pm **Star Schools**
 3 45pm **School Talk**
 4 35pm **Cross Over**
 Planning your career

Wednesday Aug 21
 3 15pm **Star Schools**
 3 45pm **School Talk**
 4 40pm **Communication skills**
 Improving interpersonal relationships

Thursday Aug 22
 2 15 **Star Schools**
 3 45pm **School Talk**

Friday Aug 23
 2 15pm **Star Schools**
 3 45pm **School Talk**
 4 30pm **Edutaining the English Way**
 Story and poetry

Saturday Aug 24
 9 00am **University of the Air**
 Kepler's three laws, personal computers
 10 45am **Edutaining the English Way**
 Literature
 12 28pm **Learning to be Yourself**
 Dealing with peer pressure



NEXT WEEK:

Tips on taking notes, making summaries

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Soviet mag seeks SA publisher

DAVE LOURENS

THE independent Soviet magazine New Times was looking for a publisher to print the magazine in this country, SA correspondent Nikolai Reshetnyak said in Pretoria this week

Reshetnyak, the magazine's southern Africa expert, opened the New Times SA office in November last year, and now hopes to tie up local publishing and distribution deals

New Times, which has Russian, English, German and Italian editions, was founded by a group of journalists seeking independence from state control

Reshetnyak said his mission in SA was twofold to provide news on the southern African situation for the magazine's 250 000 Russian readers, and to establish business contacts between SA and Soviet companies wishing to set up joint ventures or export deals

"Three years ago it was not possible for me to be here. But thanks to perestroika and 'Pretoriastroika' we are on the threshold of a new era in SA-Soviet trade relations"

He said the Soviet Union was in transition

"The old system did not work, now we have to phase the new one in. The situation in our country is terrible, the shops are empty. But we need to change to a free market gradually. We must re-organise our priorities. If we can be in space, we can feed our people. We need to use the market as a tool to make things better."

"I believe the free market system is necessary to open up society. Already it is better. We are becoming really free. We can criticise the government, the Communist Party, anybody," said Reshetnyak.

"Our countries have struggled against each other for 30 years in the propaganda sphere. But as President F W de Klerk pointed out to me, there are many parallels. Both nations are in the process of change, and both are facing opposition from conservative elements."

Reshetnyak is kept up to date with news on the home front by his own satellite dish which enables him to receive Moscow television.

● RESHETNYAK

Picture ROBERT BOTHA

A BMW 316

A BOTSWANA-based newspaper was on the point of being closed down this week amid allegations from its own staff that it is a covert project of South African military intelligence.

The newspaper's former managing editor has told *The Weekly Mail* that he believed the newspaper, *Newslink*, was a front for the South African Defence Force's Military Intelligence Division. The SADF has refused to confirm or deny the allegations.

The Weekly Mail has established that *Newslink* was closely monitored and controlled by a Pretoria based communications company that is known for its close co-operation with secretly funded organisations.

Newslink has a formal agreement for technical services with Q-Group, formerly Dixon-Soule Associates (DSA), which had been labelled a government front by former military intelligence major Vico Basson.

Newslink is owned and published by Magnum Press, based in Gaborone but controlled from the Pretoria offices which house Q-Group. The chairman of Magnum Press, Abel Rudman, is also a director of Q-Group.

DSA has provided services to the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance, which the government has admitted was covertly funded; to African Communica-

Rumpus as Botswana paper is linked to SA military

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tions Project, which Basson used to coordinate covert government activities in Namibia before the elections there, and to Veterans for Victory, which has long been regarded as having been established by the government to counter the End Conscription Campaign.

DSA staffers also comprise the staff of the rightwing South African magazine, *Southern African Special Dispatch*, known to have close links with the government. Further, DSA acts as the official media liaison body for the Bophuthatswana government, and performs a PR role for Armscor.

The former managing editor of *Newslink*, Barry Baxter, told *The Weekly Mail* last week he believed the publication had been funded and controlled by military intelligence through DSA.

Baxter was paid off this week and told by the newspaper's owner that it would be sold to Craft Press, a company controlled by the Bophuthatswana government. According to Basson, Craft is also fund-

The day President F.W. de Klerk announced an end to secret projects, the taps were turned off at a Gaborone newspaper controlled by South Africans.

By ARTHUR GOLDSTUCK and PERAL HAFALJE

ed by military intelligence. Craft Press publishes the *Mogkeng Mail* — a Bophuthatswana government mouthpiece. Magnum managing director Neil Burrows angrily rejected suggestions that the newspaper would be closed down. "No such luck," he said.

The DSA/Q Group companies numbers among their senior staff several former *Sunday Times* journalists, including Alan Soule, Gary Dixon and Neil Hooper.

A former SAHC journalist, Sipke de Vries, is also employed in the group. He is allegedly the link between military intelligence and Q-Group.

According to Basson, De Vries is a captain of the South African T-roop Information Unit, a citizen force unit falling under the control of Brigadier Ferdie van Wyk.

Van Wyk is the commander of the SADF's Military Intelligence Communications Operations (Comops). Baxter said that his suspicions about *Newslink's* funding were confirmed after President F.W. de Klerk's announcement that all secret projects would be closed down. Baxter discovered that his monthly salary, due that day, had not been paid into his bank account.

Last Thursday he received a message from Rudman saying that he was out of a job — "because they were cutting back on expenses and they were starting at the top".

Baxter was finally paid this week, from Rudman's personal bank account. On his visit to Rudman, he found that Q-Group, which had occupied an entire floor of the Sanlammerzicht Building in Verwoerdburgstad, had been reduced in a

matter of weeks to a third of the area. "All indications are that the tap was suddenly turned off".

The rapid restructuring of the operation, says Basson, suggests that Pretoria may be trying to cover up an info-type scandal which brought down John Vorster in the 1970s.

Basson has told *The Weekly Mail* that DSA and the rest of the companies in the group are financed by the SADF out of a secret government fund. He says the money used for these and similar projects run by military intelligence comes from a secret budget called the Special Defence Account, which was budgeted at R4,17 billion in the current financial year.

Much of it went on arms production. But it is also known that the account was used to fund military hit squads — the notorious Civil Co-operation Bureau.

Baxter said that both he and his staff had long been concerned about the source of *Newslink's* funding, because it did not seem viable as a commercial operation. It was supposedly financed by Rudman, who presented himself as a wealthy Western Transvaal farmer interested in investing in the Botswana publishing industry.

Copy produced locally by his staff was sent by computer to Pretoria where it was re-written before being sent back.

Row over SADF link to Botswana 'paper'

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● From PAGE 3

The Weekly Mail is in possession of documents which illustrate DSA's management of *Newslink's* contents.

One fax from DSA to *Newslink* gives instructions for the publication of a critical letter from the Botswana Journalists' Association, which was to be printed along with a response from the newspaper's editor, Douglas Tsiako.

De Vries wrote "You can go ahead with both items. Douglas' answer to the allegations is spot on and must not be changed. If anybody at Magnum Press or *Newslink* is approached for comment, there is to be the standard and friendly reply: 'No comment as this is an internal letter'."

"I just think it's a very direct comparison to the Info scandal," said Basson this week.

"The Info scandal was an attempt by the government to buy and manipulate a communication medium like magazines, newspapers and public relations and communications companies.

"This is a repetition, just far more sophisticated. They create holding companies which own communication facilities. It's a total strategy in everything that can create a critical message to change the attitudes of the voters in South Africa."

The Weekly Mail has learned that Rudman told senior *Newslink* staff on Wednesday night that he was only dealing with DSA "insofar as they provided special technical services". He added that "there's nothing wrong with these guys working for the government".

He said he had no link with DSA and only employed them to do this work. However, Rudman's name appears as a director on the letterheads of Q-Group. Calls to Q-Group confirmed his post.

The Weekly Mail was unable to reach Rudman for comment yesterday. However, Q-Group assistant managing director Cliff Patterson emphatically denied that DSA was funded by the military.

He added that Magnum Press and *Newslink* were clients of one of DSA's subsidiary companies, Future Graphics, "who supply a pre press production service to them. This is due to the unavailability of professional and technologically similar facilities in Gaborone".

When approached by *The Weekly Mail*, the SADF refused to confirm or deny the allegations. They referred *The Weekly Mail* to the statement released by the state president's office last week, saying that,

"for the present, no further details about alleged special secret projects or funds will be made known".

Botswana's CID chief, Assistant Commissioner T Kathalo, told *The Weekly Mail* that he had had several inquiries about the allegations, but no action would be taken until firm evidence came to light.

"If the reports prove accurate, it would amount to subversion," he said.

Staff dissatisfaction at *Newslink* has been running high for some months, with numerous complaints of racism directed against Neil Burrows, a former Rhodesian based in Botswana.

According to Baxter, Burrows had a sjambok hanging in his office until a few weeks ago. He has also been the subject of labour department investigations.

Newslink staff members have told *The Weekly Mail* that they were on the point of walking out in protest against the newspaper's links. However, they were waiting to be addressed by Rudman and Burrows at a special meeting called for today.

Medhaetsile Lepile, managing editor of the Gaborone-based newspaper, *Mmegi*, told *The Weekly Mail* that efforts to confirm the allegations elicited a "tense and evasive response" from Rudman.

He added "*Newslink's* management is known to be very close to South African Foreign Affairs Minister Pk Botha and Basimanyana Masire, the brother of the President Quett Masire and an associate of Botha's."

Lepile said it was widely believed that Basimanyana Masire had shares in *Newslink*. Botswana newspapers recently disclosed that Botha had stayed with him on a "surreptitious visit".

Equal airwaves access demanded

AMSTERDAM — The negotiation process would not be free and fair until South Africans were assured of an equal access to broadcasting media — radio and television, the Jabulani conference on freedom of the airwaves noted

The conference, held in Doorn, and attended by delegates from the ANC, Cosatu, Nactu and media trade unions, called for the SABC's impartiality before the start of negotiations.

Delegates resolved that an interim broadcasting consultative committee should be charged with the control and regulation of broadcasting until a democratically elected government appointed an independent broadcasting authority.

The conference also recommended the establishment of an independent media-monitoring commission to ensure fair and impartial media reporting during the transitional period

Delegates noted that the present government did not have the legitimacy or the authority to unilaterally re-regulate broadcasting and charged the all-party conference with the task of appointing a commission of inquiry to produce recommendations on the re-regulation of broadcasting under a democratic constitution. — Sapa (243) CT 19/8/91

'Halt Weekly Mail probe'

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JOHANNESBURG — The South African Union of Journalists yesterday demanded the police halt an investigation of the Weekly Mail newspaper which exposed the slush funds scandal that has jolted President F W de Klerk's government

"The attitude of the police in announcing an investigation of the Weekly Mail in terms of the Protection of Information Act shows contempt not only for press freedom but for democracy itself," union president Mr Sven Lunsche said in a statement yesterday

"It is the duty of the media to expose

corruption wherever it might be found," he added

The SAUJ, calling the investigation "harassment", said the police should "take a new look at the dozens of incidents involving the SA Police reported by the Weekly Mail and which police spokesmen denied so glibly at the time"

The SAUJ also condemned the threat to use Section 205 to force the newspaper to disclose its source

The Department of Justice is considering representations from the SAUJ and other interested parties on the amendment or repeal of this legislation as it affects journalists. — Sapa

Radio 702 had previously licensed
Hob...

Probe into broadcasting could affect other media

THE media industry could "slide back into the past" if the Viljoen task group's recommendations on broadcasting did not lead to government relaxing its stranglehold on the medium, Media Directors Circle (MDC) chairman John Montgomery said.

Montgomery said in his 1990/91 chairman's report that the MDC was anxiously awaiting the findings, which would be presented to government on August 27.

If the group recommended higher licence fees and a reduction in dependency on advertising revenue, this would be "a retrogressive step toward the dark ages"

Any changes would have to endure political change and the broadcasting system in SA had to be in the hands of a credible, independent broadcasting authority.

It seemed the recommendations would encourage the establishment of additional electronic media. Although there would not be a proliferation of TV stations, there could be as many as 200 radio stations by the end of 1992. This could lead to greater specialisation.

While the investigation had been billed as the most important thing to happen to broadcasting since the introduction of TV, Montgomery said its effects would be felt by most other media.

Print was ideally positioned to play a stronger role following rapid urbanisation and increased education and literacy levels. Overseas publishing groups were looking at SA with great interest in terms of investment and the introduction of established titles.

The Newspaper Press Union was about to release important research that would "confirm print's indispensable contribution as an advertising medium".

The MDC committee is Montgomery of Ogilvy & Mather RST & M as chairman, Chris Eyre of Partnership as vice-chairman, Elana de Swardt of D'Arcy Masius Benton & Bowles as secretary, John Barham of the Media Shop as treasurer and Roger Garlick of Bernstein, Loxton, Golding & Klein as past chairman.

Spur focuses



Writer sticks to crash report

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CP Correspondent

A DURBAN journalist who faces a fine of R10 000 or five years in jail for publishing an "untrue" story about police action at a bus crash in Inanda, Natal, insists her report was accurate

Christine Scott says she is considering legal action against the police because they told the South African Press Association (Sapa) that she had invented the quotes in her story.

Last year, the police tried unsuccessfully to get the *Natal Witness* to apologise for running her report on the crash, in which 29 people died

In her article, Scott claimed the dying bus driver told residents of the nearby Shembe Church complex that the attackers were SAP special constables

"Other members of the Shembe church said they heard large numbers of women and men from Mshayazafe - said to be an Inkatha territory - cheering and taunting: 'Umlotha' (you are ashes) after the bus and a minibus were shot at and crashed just before dawn," the report said.



MEDIA SPOT

to terms with ed marketing

Reports by
MARCIA KLEIN

in other areas like direct marketing Agencies believed clients wanted direct marketing, so many started a direct marketing arm or bought up direct marketing agencies which were doing well in various countries, but these were often mismanaged because agency people did not understand direct marketing.

Although it was a significant part of the agency's business, it was a different kind of business, with different priorities, ways of operating, and account paying.

While advertisers talked about how much to spend on a campaign,

"the direct marketer says we will spend whatever we can afford to spend — that pays" The direct marketing campaign would run for as long as the adverts or the mailings were producing results

Bird said this was not determined by budget, and advertising agencies often could not understand why direct marketing agencies found it so difficult to predict their income

While advertising agencies were trying to influence the way people felt about a product, direct marketers were trying to change the way people behaved

He said running direct marketing and advertising together would increase the effectiveness of both

Finance ads to win recognition

THE Business Day Financial Advertising Awards, to be made later this year, will reward creative financial advertising and improve standards

Times Media Limited financial advertising executive Barry Tannenbaum says judges will be looking for clear communication from the adverts, and a style "which best underscores a company's culture and corporate image"

Creators of financial adverts have been asked to submit what they regard as their most visually pleasing advertising, irrespective of the financial results it reflects

The awards will be given for financial ads which have appeared in Business Day between October 1 1990 and

September 30 1991 Entries close on October 15

There are three categories — interim statements, year-end statements and chairman's statements

The judging panel will include an agency creative director, a merchant banker, a stockbroker, a TML financial editor and an accountant

Apart from certificates, trophies and plaques, winning agencies and clients will receive editorial exposure, and the agency with the highest overall score will receive R20 000 worth of advertising space in Business Day

Further information can be obtained from Barry Tannenbaum (011) 497-2465 or Barbara Dunn (011) 497-2132

Local group forges Mozambique link

SAATCHI & Saatchi Klerck & Barrett (SSK & B) has joined up with Mozambique agency Intermark in the first phase of its expansion programme into southern Africa

SSK & B CE Jurie Snyman said Intermark was the first full service agency in Mozambique, with a head office in Maputo and a contact office in Beira and Quelimane Its client list included BP, national airline LAM, People's Development Bank, state lottery Toto-Loto and Mabor Tyres Snyman said major opportunities

had been presented for advertising agencies to extend their networks into Africa. The partnership was part of a plan for a network of agencies covering southern Africa

Intermark MD Mario Ferro, former editor of Mozambique newspaper Noticias, said the country had progressed rapidly towards a free market economy in the past year SSK & B in Johannesburg would give the agency the backup it needed in terms of infrastructure and strategic communications skills, he said.

Comic book classics are back in the stores

CLASSICS Illustrated, the comic book series which gained popularity in the '40s and '50s, is back in the bookstores, challenging recent electronic media blockbusters Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles, the Simpsons and Nintendo games

"Parents and teachers are anxiously awaiting the response of a TV-bred generation," says publisher, Americom MD Joanne Raphael

"Ironically, while the series was slated by the academic community at the height of its popularity, it's now being applauded as the only means of getting children and young adults to read the classics," she said

She felt the comics would revive interest in "the nearly forgotten classics and their authors"

Appeal

Classics Illustrated sold more than a billion copies in the '40s and '50s, and were published in 22 languages and distributed in 30 countries They were given to Allied troops during the Second World War

Artwork and text have been reworked to appeal to the modern generation

Of the 560 new titles, Hamlet, the Count of Monte Cristo, Rip van Winkle and the Adventures of Tom Sawyer are available Wuthering Heights, Moby Dick, Great Expectations, the Jungle Book and Treasure Island are coming soon

Raphael says it is important to make reading more attractive to youngsters in a country where illiteracy is high

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Subscribers
to The Star
to pay VAT

Staff Reporter *Star* 29/8/91

Home deliveries of The Star will fall within the wide net of value added tax when the new system comes into effect on September 30.

However, readers who subscribe before VAT is implemented next month can save on their VAT payments and on the full cover price.

According to The Star's circulation director Graham Bird, deliveries to subscribers will now be taxed

"Previously, subscription rates were structured so that GST was payable on only a portion of the overall rate and was excluded from the delivery fee," Mr Bird said

The introduction of VAT meant tax was now payable on the entire rate, he said.

The increase in subscriptions as a result of VAT would be between R1,70 for a three-month subscription of The Star Monday to Friday and R7,56 for a 12-month, seven-day subscription.

According to Mr Bird, the cost of The Star sold on streets and in outlets — including in TBVC states where tax was not collected previously — will not change.

The Weekly Mail survey uncovers the typical reader

W/ Mail 35/8-5/9/91. (243)

The Weekly Mail reader survey has finally appeared, and revealed our typical reader to be over-educated, under-exercised, keen on books but not on discos, critical of many things in the paper, but largely satisfied with where it's heading.

IRWIN MANOIM reports

Some 700 of you patiently filled in all the little blocks in *The Weekly Mail* reader survey form at the end of May. We're grateful indeed to you all, for your time and for the many comments — including some essays — that you scribbled on the backs of the forms. As promised, we present the results below.

The survey, like its predecessors in 1986 and 1989, was conducted by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry, headed by Mark Orkin, recently elevated to professor of research methodology at Wits Business School.

As Orkin points out, any survey which asks people to volunteer their feelings about a product carries with it certain built-in biases. *The Weekly Mail* survey, for example, was more likely to be filled in by those well-disposed to the paper. Similarly, more men filled in the form on behalf of their households than women, which indicates either rampant chauvinism or perhaps a gentlemanly willingness to shoulder irksome burdens.

To balance these potential biases, a second, point-of-sale survey was run at outlets throughout the country, where student volunteers accosted buyers and interrogated them with a shortened form of the questionnaire. A look through the survey results uncovers that the most striking characteristic of *Weekly Mail* readers is their education, nay, over-education. Eighty percent of readers aged between 25 and 49 have degrees, and 70 percent of these have more than one degree. Sixty-five percent of those under 25 are still at university or have recently graduated.

Two-thirds of readers are professionals and 18 percent of those over 50 are company executives. A little over half earn more than R5 000 a month.

58 percent. Next come Barbara Ludman on food and Humphrey Tyler on radio, both at around 32 percent.

Film reviews are the most popular feature (88 percent usually read them), followed by theatre (67 percent) and cultural politics (67 percent).

The favourite cartoonist is Derek Bauer (66 percent). Who's Left scored 60 percent, despite the fact that its holidaying artist, Stacey Stent, will be abroad until the end of the year. State Theatre and Comrade Joe both scored around 50 percent, while Doonesbury, a cult favourite a few years ago, dropped to last place with 46 percent.

The favourite Review supplements are books (77 percent), environment (71 percent) and education (69 percent). Only 45 percent read the technology reviews, which is about the same number who own an electric drill.

Ours is a sedentary readership, of whom a mere 18 percent have joined a gym, as opposed to the 42 percent who prefer to potter away at their computer keyboards at home. Still,

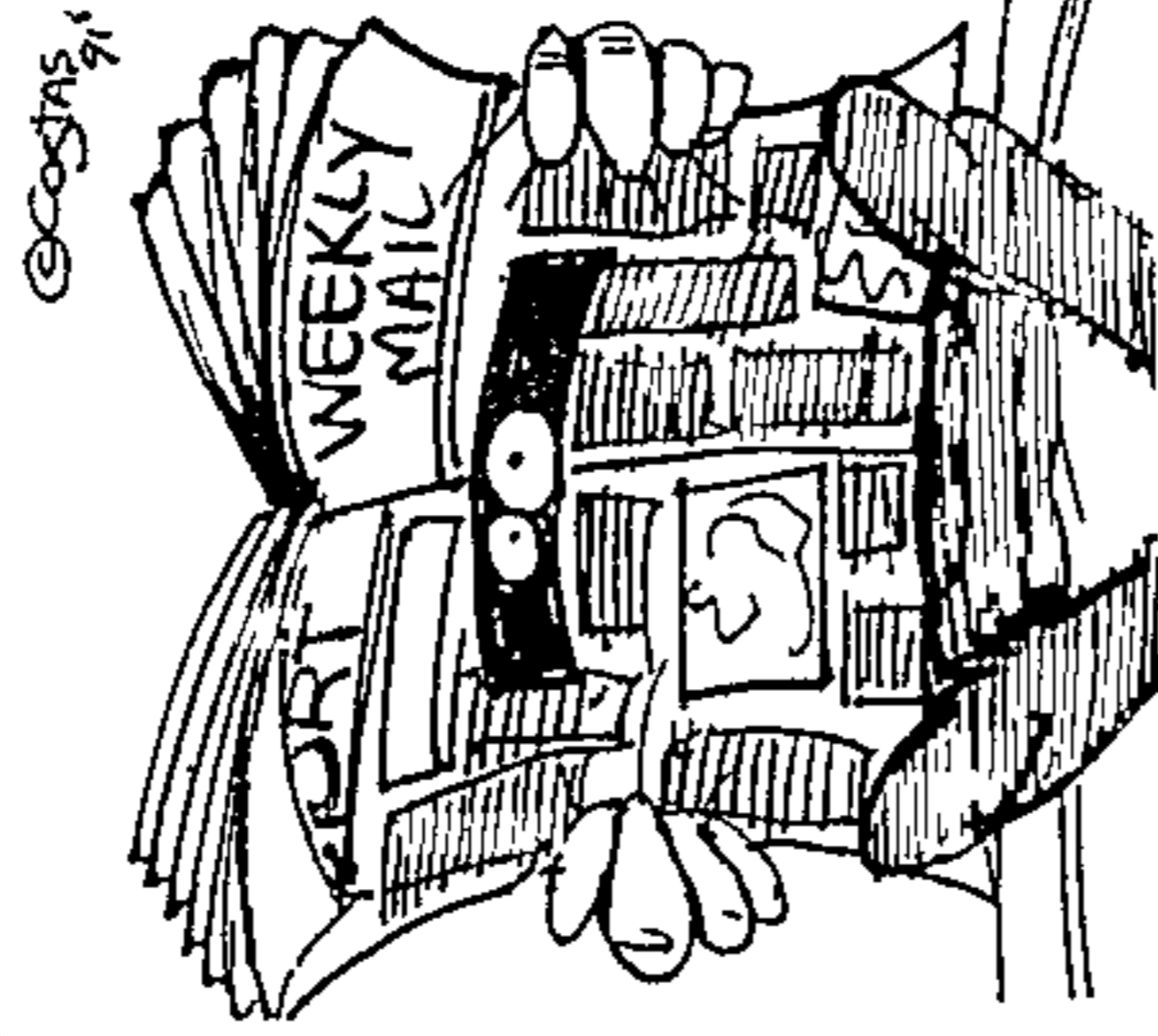
stance of the paper and the investigations. What they feel is missing is more general-interest news, particularly world news. Eight percent feel there should be more objectivity and five percent want more humour.

So much for the survey results. The next question in your minds is no doubt, what are the editors going to do about it?

First, we'll have to digest the results more thoroughly to try and isolate some patterns. Some are already evident; for example, international news and arts are attracting enough readers to deserve increased space. Other changes may be trickier to work through. Should the sports section be discarded because so many don't read it, or should it be nurtured because it attracts a different kind of reader?

Over the next few weeks, we'll be making small changes here and there to improve coverage in line with some more readily satisfied reader expectations. We won't be able to solve all problems (harsh economics is likely to prevent us increasing the number of pages or hiring more staff, as some people requested).

But you have given us a clearer idea of what the reading public wants out of the paper, which will help us determine where the paper should head in the next few years. For that, we're most grateful to you, and hope that you'll reap your rewards over the next few months.



they make up for the lack of exercise by avoiding other bad habits like smoking which only 22 percent can't give up.

This chair-borne lifestyle may explain why the sports section fared relatively poorly, as it has in other years. Nearly 40 percent read it and like it, but a third don't like it at all and 19 percent have never looked at it.

Asked for general comments about the paper, readers praise the political news and analysis, the independent

w/Mail

30/8-5/9/91

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But despite the heavy weighting towards the affluent and educated, the paper still manages to reach the other end of the spectrum. One reader in 10 earns less than R1 600, and 11 percent describe themselves as either clerical or transport staff, or as workers. A little less than 10 percent do not have matric.

Forty-three percent of readers are women, and of them, 84 percent are professionals or executives. This figure is unusually high, because professional women are traditionally the lowest consumers of print media (when they are not too busy chasing about for their clients at work, they are too busy chasing after their children at home). Only 4,3 percent of women describe themselves as housewives.

Race is a trickier area, partly because we decided not to do the traditional South African thing and ask people their colour. But based on responses to the question "What is your mother tongue?" and "How many people read your copy of the paper?", we deduce that 30 percent of readers are African.

The majority of readers — 70 percent — are aged 25 to 49. What is unusual about this group is that only a little over half are married. Almost 20 percent are older than 50 and only 10 percent are younger than 24.

The political profile of readers is just what Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would expect. More than 45 percent would support the African National Congress in an election and 27 percent would back the Democratic Party. It's an indication of the success of Pretoria's astroika that the next preference of *Weekly Mail* readers is the National Party, which scored four percent.

Over 90 percent of readers have bought a book in the last six months, which is the least one would expect of such an erudite readership. What is strange, though, is that our readers buy remarkably few newspapers or periodicals. Seventeen percent do not read a daily paper at all. Is this because the papers are too "pop" for our readers? Not likely, given that the favourite weekly is the *Sunday Times*.

Asked what they would read if there

he bulk of people who filled in the survey are *Weekly Mail* enthusiasts. Almost 60 percent say they have read the paper right from its launch six years ago. Fully 80 percent read the paper every single week. More than half spend more than two hours reading it and come back to it over several days. Not only the editorial matter is read — 70 percent of readers notice the advertisements, particularly those for books (67 percent), films (63 percent) and political organisations (68 percent).

A third think *The Weekly Mail* has improved over the years and 60 percent think it has remained the same. Only seven percent think it has deteriorated.

Those who think the paper has improved like the comprehensiveness, variety and balance. Those who think it has deteriorated say it has lost insight or become biased. The readers who complain of bias are split evenly down the middle as to whether the paper is too pro-ANC or too anti-ANC. Over 80 percent think the politics of the paper are "just right".

The news pages have in the past often been criticised as "too heavy", but clearly such sombreness acts as habit forming, for 98 percent read the news pages either always or frequently. The world section is next at 82 percent, followed by books (70 percent), arts (68 percent), education (67 percent), labour (58 percent), entertainment listings (57 percent), business (47 percent) and sports (34 percent).

Krisjan Lemmer has already gleefully leaked the news that his is the most popular column (78 percent read it always or often), to the indignation of Thomas Equinus, who tails the pack with an embarrassing 32 percent.

Lemmer is closely followed not by the "fun" columns, but by the political "heavies", like Ameen Akhalwaya (68 percent) and Steven Friedman (61 percent). Also popular are information columns such as Law and the Courts (56 percent) and Critical Consumer (53 percent).

Columns at the back of the paper fare less well, with the exception of Charlotte Bauer's TV column which scores

Sowetan is the biggest

Sowetan 4/9/91

SOWETAN is the biggest daily newspaper in South Africa - and that's official.

The most influential research study in the country, the All Media Products Survey (AMPS), yesterday released its results for 1991.

Sowetan's figures are stunning. Your favourite newspaper has 1 578 000 readers in total. This is:

- More than 687 000 than *The Star*;
 - More than 793 000 than the *Citizen*;
 - More than 436 000 than *City Press*; and
 - More than 1 151 000 than *New Nation*.
- Sowetan even has more black readers than a national weekly newspaper like the *Sunday Times* - by a whopping 431 000 readers. You, the readers, have made us Number

One in the whole of South Africa. Your newspaper, which is written specially to suit your needs, is the only newspaper in South Africa to show sales growth in the past six months.

In August we sold an average of 218 000 copies a day. And now AMPS confirms that our readership (as opposed to sales) has grown by a massive 10,5 percent.

Sowetan is read by the whole family. Each copy of the newspaper is read by an average 7,7 readers.

AMPS has also exploded a number of crazy myths - like the claim that more black readers enjoy *City Press*. Not so! In fact, 38 000 readers have deserted *City Press* since the last survey.

In the same period, Sowetan gained 177

000 new readers - more proof that your newspaper is the biggest and the best.

And Sowetan's readers are generally better educated, younger and more affluent than the national average.

Almost 400 000 of our readers are housewives, while almost 80 000 are married. And 69 percent of our readers are under 35 years old.

Just over 30 percent of Sowetan readers have either completed their matric or have studied further.

Our readers are great consumers: 1 278 000 drink rooibos tea, 793 000 drink instant coffee, 535 000 are beer drinkers and 91 000 are brandy drinkers compared to only 31 000 who drink whisky.

Almost all our readers eat rice (1 373 000),

chicken (1 466 000) and red meat (1 426 000). And almost 800 000 Sowetan readers are sweet-lovers, but very few - 7 000 - use diet sweeteners.

Almost 62 percent of our readers have savings accounts and 22 percent use autotele- lers to draw their cash.

The AMPS research, conducted between February and June this year, tested 17 325 people aged 16 years and older, living in private households, hostels, or similar accommodation in South Africa (including the TVBC states).

The AMPS research is generally regarded as the "Bible" of the advertising and publishing industry. It is undertaken annually by the South Africa Advertising Research Founda- tion.

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(243) AR 6/9/91

Court order gags Rand newspaper

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A Supreme Court judge has granted an interim interdict restraining The Star from publishing articles relating to dealings of a Johannesburg businessman, Mr Riaan Coetzee.

Mr Coetzee, who owns four companies in Midrand — Truckkor, SA Rebuild, Conomy and Contruck — made an urgent application to the Supreme Court on Tuesday to stop The Star from publishing what he alleges are defamatory articles. The application was heard yesterday.

Counsel for The Star appealed to Mr Justice R H Zulman not to grant the interdict, claiming that publication was in the public interest.

Mr Justice Zulman said the interim interdict related to all matter which Mr Coetzee alleged The Star proposed to publish.

Mr Coetzee has been granted seven days to supplement his papers. He is to file supplementary papers on or before September 12 or a response by September 16. The matter will be heard on September 24.

It's official: The Star still way ahead of the pack

The Star is still by far the most popular Johannesburg newspaper. This was confirmed today by the release of the latest All Media Products Survey (AMPS)

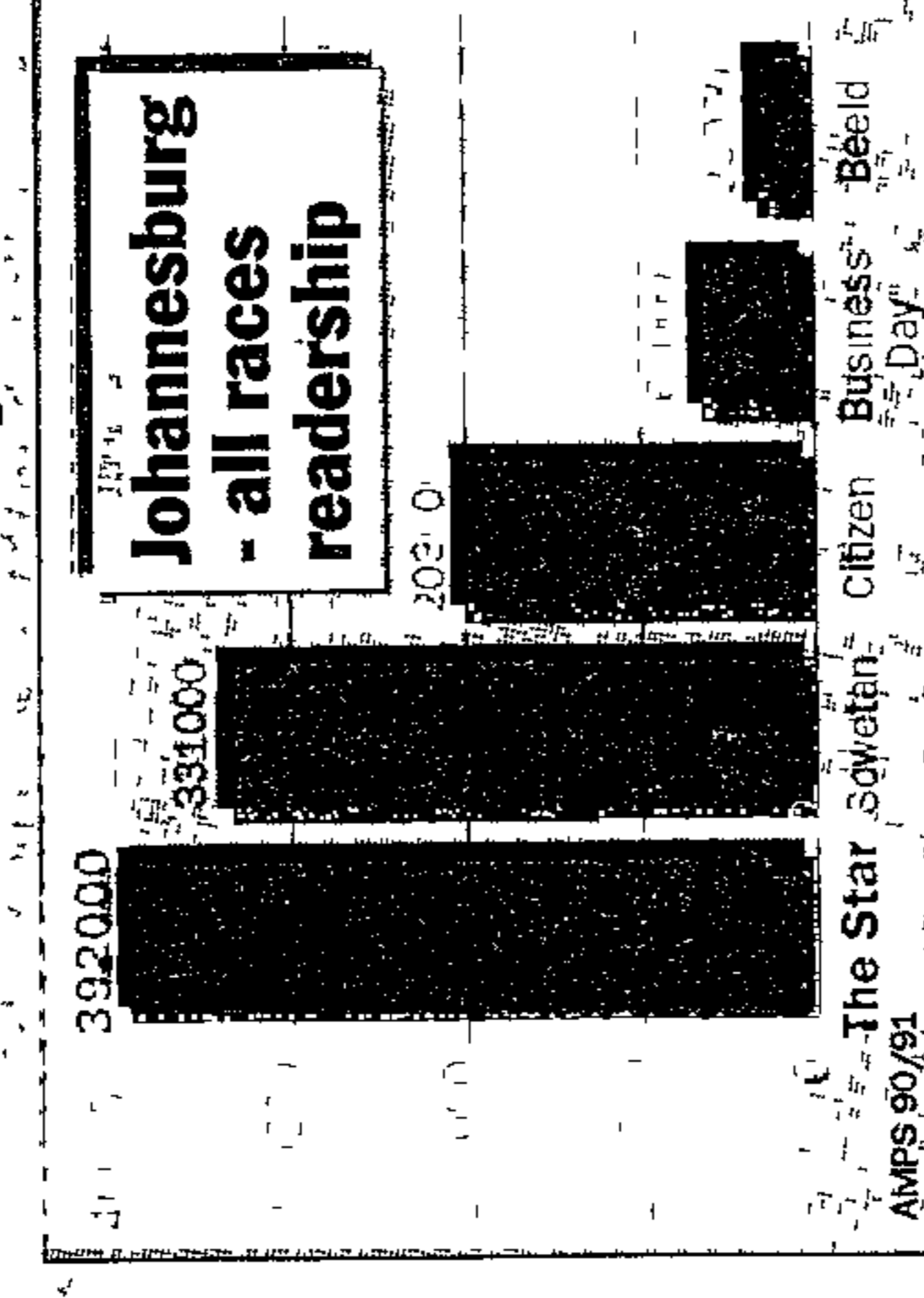
Not only is The Star the most popular, it also attracts more advertising than any other newspaper in the country — by miles. It carries more than five times as much advertising as a national newspaper such as the Sunday Times

And advertisers are smart they know which newspaper gives them the best results

According to Adindex, the market standard, during the past financial year The Star carried 2 387 pages of advertising, compared with the Sunday Times' 416.

Rival daily The Citizen carried only 573

Johannesburg - all races readership



AMPS figures also prove The Star to be the best advertising medium for Johannesburg. Of The Star's 891 000 readers of all races, 392 000 are in the Johannesburg/Soweto area, compared with nearest rival — our sister newspaper the Sowetan — which has 331 000 readers in the same area

No other daily even comes close to 300 000. Even better news for ad-

vertisers is The Star's penetration into Johannesburg's wealthy northern suburbs. No fewer than 72 percent of households in the north get The Star.

While The Star circulates throughout the Transvaal, Johannesburg's northern suburbs have the greatest discretionary income

When it comes to subscribers — a traditional way of measuring reader loyalty — The Star outperforms all its Johannesburg rivals. Some of them are coy about their subscriber levels. Ask them. You are entitled to know.

The Star has 55 000 subscribers, 40 000 of whom live in Johannesburg. This means 36 percent of the total Johannesburg sale is delivered into the home, each and every day.

Need we say more?

New turn in Caxtons dispute

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Star 14/9/91

A DISPUTE between the Argus Group and Caxtons over regional editions of The Star, which was due to be heard in court last Wednesday, will go to arbitration instead.

Caxtons' Terry Moolman declined to comment on the row and Argus spokesmen were either overseas or still studying the legal ramifications. The man in the hottest spot is Doug Band, managing director of Argus Holdings and chairman of Caxtons. He is in London and unavailable for comment.

Citizen editor appeals

THE Appeal Court yesterday reserved judgment in the appeal by The Citizen editor-in-chief M A "Johnny" Johnson against the rejection of his defamation action against Frontline magazine editor Denis Becket and publisher Saga Press.

Johnson claimed damages of R50 000 because of a reference to the "increasingly depraved Johnny Johnson" in a Frontline article in May 1988. The claim was dismissed by the Witwatersrand Supreme Court.

*18/1/89
13/10/88*

Zambian wages double

ZAMBIAN public servants have clinched a 100% wage rise.

The deal was agreed on after protracted negotiations, which led to a four-week strike by civil servants, doctors and municipal workers.

*16/6/89
13/10/88*

Rus plant for Namibia

*18/1/89
13/10/88*



Journalists, Azapo meet

Sowetan 18/9/91 243

SENIOR black journalists and editors yesterday met with officials of the Azanian Peoples Organisation in Johannesburg

The role of the media and black advancement in the industry were discussed

"Azapo endorsed the principle of a free media and free speech. Both parties agreed the media had the right to inform the public, to uphold the principles of honesty and accuracy and to highlight disparities in society in the tradition of true democracy," said a joint statement issued after the talks

But Azapo noted that while black journalists had the right to criticise, they had to subject themselves to balanced criticism from political organisations

Last month the journalists met a senior delegation of the ANC which committed itself to upholding freedom of the media

They meet with the PAC in Johannesburg today - *Sapa*

Major trade pact signed with Poland

By Sven Lunsche

South Africa and Poland have signed a far-reaching trade agreement in terms of which Poland will lift all remaining sanctions on South Africa.

The agreement, which makes provisions for the strengthening of trade relations, was signed in Warsaw yesterday by the Minister of Trade and Industry, Dr Org Marais and the Polish Minister for Foreign Economic Relations.

Dr Marais said in a statement that South Africa would allow all goods of Polish origin to be imported free of surcharge.

He also disclosed that several cargo ships were being built in Poland for SA companies.

Trade relations between the two countries have been normalised over the past two years and a trade mission was set up in Warsaw in April this year.

SA's major exports to Poland are manganese, iron ore, steel, fruit and increasingly manufactured goods.

Media companies stand to gain from freeing of airwaves

By Des Parker

DURBAN — A proposal to free the airwaves and reduce the role of the SABC as a medium for advertising may not have them jumping for joy at Auckland Park — but wry smiles are playing on the faces of executives in a number of other sectors.

While the recommendation that the State broadcasting and television service should reduce its reliance on advertising revenue by almost half has been described as "cloud cuckoo land stuff", the suggestion that the way be opened for private regional radio and television services is being taken a lot more seriously.

Investors on the JSE have signalled their awareness of the prospects for media companies by bidding up their shares strongly in recent weeks, particularly since the proposals by the Government's Task Group on Advertising became more widely known earlier this month.

Public release of the group's report last week enhanced the market view M-Net's shares, which had dipped back below 700c by last Thursday in the wake of a rise of almost R2 over the previous three weeks, were back to 730c yesterday.

Newspaper groups Argus, TML and Perskor, which jointly hold the majority stake in M-Net, have all experienced strong rises — although less spectacular than M-Net's — since late-August. Argus has gone from 2100c on August 25 to 2700c yesterday, Perskor from 1950c to 2400c and TML to 1750c (1350).

Advertising agency bosses, who are not happy with the proposal to cut SABC's advertising role, say the Press stands indirectly to gain from regionalised services.

John Charter, MD of Matthews and Charter of Durban and the Natal representative on the Association of Advertising Agencies (AAA), believes newspaper groups are well placed to get in on the ground floor.

"Obviously there would be some adverse consequences of a dilution of their share of ad-spend among regional radio — and even more so among TV. But the established press has the financial muscle to diversify in these areas, particularly the more capital intensive television field."

"And they don't face the anti-monopoly obsession they do in the US and other parts of the world. Not surprisingly, M-Net is going like a train."

Mr Charter is a strong believer in the symbiosis between TV and print advertising. "It's hard to beat TV for conveying product image and its similarly hard to beat print for advertising product and price."

The media won't be the only sector to benefit from liberalised broadcasting, Mr Charter believes.

Regional retail groups, presently heavily reliant on press ads to draw customers on price discounts, will be able to use regional TV spot ads to do some of the job.

Assore slashes its dividend

Finance Staff

Associated Ore and Metal Corporation (Assore) has cut its total dividend for the year to end-June by 45 percent to 550c, with a final of 350c.

This follows a drop in earnings a share of nearly 59 percent to 1139c from 2747c.

The directors say the sharp drop in earnings was due mainly to the lower dividends received from the group company Associate Manganese (Ass-mang), whose profits were affected by weak world markets.

The group benefited from higher manganese prices early in the year but the market for ferrochrome remained weak throughout. No improvement is expected in the first half of the current year.

Vektra's earnings slump

Finance Staff

W & A subsidiary Vektra, the distributor of vehicles and automotive parts, suffered a 27 percent drop in attributable earnings to R3,95 million in the first half of financial 1991 in the wake of the slump in vehicle sales over the period.

Turnover rose by seven percent to R242,6 million. Earnings per share slumped from 30,8c to 22,4c, while an interim dividend of 6c was declared.

Chairman Alan Schlesinger says that turnover from automotive replacement parts showed real growth.

PAC supports media freedom

JOHANNESBURG —

The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday became the third liberation movement in the last month to endorse media freedom and issue a public call for an end to the harassment of black journalists.

The PAC's views on the media were made known by its president, Mr. Clarence Makwetu, and other top national executive committee members to a group of senior black journalists here — Sapa

(243) CT 19/9/91

FM STABLE GROWS

FM 20/9/91 (243)

The *FM* had the pleasure this week of welcoming two other business-orientated magazines into its stable. They are *Leadership*, a pioneering journal that for 10 years has helped set the pace of political and social reform in this country, and *The Executive*, which chronicles the challenges faced by business people and those in the political economy.

The Executive was in fact launched by the *FM* in 1988 and sold to Leadership Publications in 1989 when our proprietor, Times Ltd, acquired a 50% stake in that company. Recently, TML acquired the remaining 50% of Leadership Publications from its founder, Hugh Murray, who resigned last week as a director and as chairman of its international division, to pursue other interests.

Murray and *Leadership* editor Martin Schneider brought a great deal of style and often exceptional insight into their journals which are widely read by opinion-formers here and abroad. *The Executive*, too, latterly under the editorship of Kevin Davie, is well established among readers in key executive positions.

While Murray is now departing from his challenging position, both Schneider and Davie will remain at their editorial posts with *FM* editor Nigel Bruce as editor-in-chief of the three publications.

Each magazine will retain its own distinctive character and editorial flavour.

CP man's appeal fails

THE appeal by the national secretary of the Conservative Party against his 14-day prison sentence has failed in the Pretoria Supreme Court

Andries Beyers refused to disclose the identity of his source for a report claiming State Intelligence kidnapped a witness in the "Winnie Mandela trial"

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst yesterday said the reasons offered by Beyers for not revealing his source were insufficient. *Sowetan 24/9/91*

Beyers was appealing against the finding of a Pretoria magistrate, who sentenced him to 14 days' imprisonment for not disclosing the source for the report "State abducts witness" which appeared in the February 15 issue of the CP mouthpiece *Die Patriot*.

Although Beyers testified and disclosed all the information he said he had, he refused to give any information which could lead to the identification of the source.

Mr Justice Roos was also on the Bench.

Van Dijkhorst said Beyers' first reason for not disclosing his source because he had given his source his word, was insufficient.

So too was the second that, as it was the duty of the official Opposition to make known allegations of alleged malpractices by the Government, their sources would dry up should they disclose their identities.

He said it was strange that, although Beyers could have made the information known in private before a magistrate, he chose to testify in open court - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

Boerestaat leader supports Beyers

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Boerestaat Party (BP) leader Robert van Tonder yesterday pledged support for CP chief secretary Andries Beyers, whom the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday ordered jailed for 14 days.

The Supreme Court, following an appeal by Mr Beyers in March, ordered Mr Beyers to serve 14 days in jail for refusing to identify a source who claimed National Intelligence had kidnapped a key witness in the Winnie Mandela kidnap and assault trial.

The claim was made in a story headlined "State abducts witness" on the front page of the CP's mouthpiece, Die Patriot, on February 15.

Mr Beyers agreed to testify and disclose all the information he said he had, but refused to give any informa-

tion which could lead to the identification of the source

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst and Mr Justice Roos dismissed Mr Beyers' appeal against his conviction and sentence, saying his reason for refusing to identify his source was not sufficient.

The CP chief secretary, who was released on bail of R500 pending appeal, had said he could not identify the source because he had given his word not to do so and feared identification could harm sources of information.

Uproar

Ordering Mr Beyers to report to prison within a week to begin his sentence, Mr Justice van Dijkhorst said that to merely claim a crime had been committed without allowing police to follow up the information was unacceptable and not in the interest of the public.

When The Star asked to talk to Mr Beyers at the CP office in Pretoria yesterday,

it was told he was not in and would be away "for the next three weeks".

BP leader Mr van Tonder warned that if the Government went ahead and jailed Mr Beyers it would cause an uproar.

He said it seemed that the Government was scared of having things said about the National Intelligence Service, and therefore wanted to silence Mr Beyers.

"We fully back Mr Beyers and call on the Government to back off," he said.

The leader of the Orde Boerevolk, Nic Strydom, said he hoped in future the laws of the country would be changed to protect sources, especially if the information they had given was for publication. If this did not happen, Mr Strydom said, "then people will not be likely to come forward with information".

CP MP for Overvaal Koos van der Merwe said the party would issue a statement on the Supreme Court's decision.

star 24/9/91

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Judge sues newspaper for R120 000 over article

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A defamation suit against The Star newspaper by a Supreme Court judge has begun in the Pretoria Supreme Court

Mr Justice Louis Esselen is claiming R120 000 in damages from The Star's owners, Argus Printing and Publishing, former editor Harvey Tyson and the writer of the article, director of Lawyers for Human Rights Brian Currin.

Mr Justice Esselen argues that his good name and reputation as a judge was damaged as a result of the March 1990 article "A tale of two tree murders"

Mr Currin detailed the circumstances of two murder trials — one of a black labourer fatally beaten and tied to a tree by white men in Louis Trichardt, and the other involving a white woman who was robbed, raped and tied to a tree by two black men in Witbank

The accused in the Witbank case were sentenced to death by Mr Justice Esselen before the Appeal Court overturned the ruling, while the Louis Trichardt accused had been given nominal fines, Mr Currin wrote

ARG 25/9/91
He wrote that the cases "are not the only two cases which lead us to believe our courts do sometimes discriminate on the basis of race when convicting and passing sentence"

The Star's counsel Gilbert Marcus SC, arguing a notice of exception yesterday, said the paragraphs being relied on by Mr Justice Esselen were not reasonably capable of conveying a defamatory meaning in the context of the article.

Mr Brian Southwood SC, for Mr Justice Esselen, replied that a "reasonable person" would understand the article to mean that Mr Justice Esselen had convicted and sentenced the accused in the Witbank trial because he was racially prejudiced

This would impute that the judge's conduct was disreputable and dishonourable — an unquestionably defamatory imputation

He said that criticism of a judge's decision was clearly permissible, "but must remain within legitimate bounds" Comment could not become an attack on the honesty and integrity of the Bench.

Mr Justice Hattinck has reserved judgment on the argument of exception.

Judge sues The Star for damages: article defamatory, says lawyer

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

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A defamation suit against The Star by a Supreme Court judge — resulting from an article published last year about two tree murders — began in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday

In the first action of its kind to be heard in a South African supreme court, Mr Justice Louis Esselen is claiming R120 000 in damages from The Star's owners, Argus Printing and Publishing, former editor Harvey Tyson and the article's author, director of Lawyers for Human Rights Brian Currin.

Mr Justice Esselen is arguing that his reputation as a judge has been damaged as a result of an article published in March 1990 entitled "A tale of two tree murders".

Mr Currin, in the report, detailed the circumstances of two murder trials — one entailing a black labourer fatally beaten and tied to a tree by white men

Star 25/9/91
in Louis Trichardt, and the other involving a white woman who was raped and tied to a tree by two black men in Witbank.

The accused in the Witbank case were sentenced to death by the presiding judge (Mr Justice Esselen) before the Appeal Court overturned the ruling, while the Louis Trichardt accused had been given nominal fines, Mr Currin wrote.

Mr Currin stated in his article that the cases "are not the only two cases which lead us to believe our courts do sometimes discriminate on the basis of race when convicting and passing sentence"

The Star's counsel Gilbert Marcus SC, arguing a notice of exception yesterday, said the paragraphs being relied on by Mr Justice Esselen were not reasonably capable of conveying a defamatory meaning in the context of the article

It was also contrary to public policy to permit a judge of the Supreme Court to recover dam-

25/9/91
ages in an action for defamation based on criticism of a judgment delivered by him

Brian Southwood SC, acting for Mr Justice Esselen, replied that a "reasonable person" would understand the article to mean that Mr Justice Esselen had convicted and sentenced the accused because he was racially prejudiced

This would impute that the judge's conduct was dishonourable — an unquestionably defamatory imputation

Addressing the public policy on the right of a judge to sue, Mr Southwood said anyone had the right to sue for impairment of their reputation under South African law — and there was no South African legal precedent disputing this.

He said further that criticism of a judge's decision was clearly permissible, but comment could not become an attack on the integrity of the Bench

Mr Justice Hattings has reserved judgment on the argument of exception



Packing for prison . . . Martie Beyers helps her husband pack his suitcase before he goes to jail.

Picture: Mark Wolhuter

CP seeks parole as Beyers enters jail

Political Staff 27/9/91

The Conservative Party has formally requested parole for its chief secretary, Andries Beyers, who yesterday started serving a 14-day sentence for refusing to reveal a source for an allegation against the National Intelligence Service.

In a formal request to Minister of Correctional Services Adriaan Vlok, the CP asked for Mr Beyers to be granted parole or to have two-thirds of his sentence suspended and to be allowed to serve the term at the Victor Verster Prison where he could enjoy the same privileges as ANC leader Nelson Mandela had.

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg charged that the Government's goodwill was directed only at the ANC and not at Afrikaner nationalists.

Proud

"The Government must explain why it gave orders for Mr Beyers to be subpoenaed to reveal his source while a journalist from a left-wing newspaper who revealed secret information about police funding of Inkatha was not subpoenaed to reveal his source."

Dr Hartzenberg said Mr Vlok had not yet responded.

Speaking to about 60 people outside Pretoria Central where Mr Beyers reported to serve his sentence, Dr Hartzenberg said the CP was proud of him and the example he was setting.

After a farewell to his tearful wife, Martie, and five sons, Mr Beyers entered prison wearing a red carnation and carrying a Bible given to him by Frank le Roux, chief whip of the CP's parliamentary caucus.

Right to publish defended

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Star 27/9/91

By Susan Smuts

The Star yesterday defended its right to publish investigative defamatory allegations, but was ordered not to publish evidence led in an application for an urgent interdict against it.

Trucking and cartage contractor Riaan Coetzee brought the interdict in the Rand Supreme Court to stop Star Line publishing defamatory allegations against him. The Star's lawyer, Denis Kuny, SC, said the media had the right to publish defamatory comments.

The media had the right to risk paying damages if it could not justify any defamatory comments it made, he argued.

"The press has a particular function in a democratic society to serve the public interest. Freedom of expression is recognised and enforced by our law as an integral part of democratic government."

Restraining

Mr Justice S J Mynhardt granted an order restraining The Star from publishing any allegations made about Mr Coetzee which might emerge during the court proceedings. The Star may publish judgment.

Applying for an order to restrain other newspapers publishing details, Mr Coetzee's lawyer, Bruce Berman, SC, said "By reporting the proceedings, newspapers can repeat the def-

amation. No newspaper should be able to publish the arguments."

Newspapers were obliged to report court proceedings fairly, but even if this were done it would effectively spread the defamation, Mr Berman said. The prejudice to the newspapers would "be limited" as it would either fall away or be upheld when judgment was given, he said.

Remedied

Mr Kuny said courts should be slow to grant final interdicts restraining publication of an article which was in the public interest. The media was entitled to make the truth known and to make fair comment on it. If it unjustly defamed someone, that could be remedied by further court action, he argued.

When a court had to decide whether a story could be published, it should steer as close to the preservation of liberty as possible. This was because freedom of speech was a "hard-won and precious asset, yet easily lost".

The freedom of the press was essential to free speech, since it was only by reaching a large number of people that such freedoms could be utilised for society's benefit, he argued.

The interdict was brought against Argus Newspapers Limited, Allied Publishing Company Limited and Star Line reporter June Bearzi.

The hearing continues today.

Judge upholds right for The Star to publish

THE Star's right to publish investigative defamatory allegations was upheld by a Rand Supreme Court judge yesterday.

Mr Justice S J Mynhardt gave judgment in a case where Riaan Coetzee sought an urgent interdict to stop The Star from publishing allegations about his trucking and cartage business practice.

Denis Kuny SC argued that The Star's allegations that Mr Coetzee's

business methods were dishonest and fraudulent were true and it was in the public interest to publish them. Mr Coetzee's lawyer, Bruce Berman, argued the allegations were defamatory.

The judge said although there was a dispute over facts, the court accepted that The Star had provided a defence for most of its allegations and that the interdict could not be made final. (A)

temporary interdict was granted on September 4.)

Although a defence had not been provided for the remainder of the allegations, it did not follow that the article should be stopped, he said. A similar article had been published in some editions of The Star which went to the country areas, the judge noted. This mitigated against a final interdict being granted.

Mr Justice Mynhardt referred the matter to trial and reserved the ques-

tion of costs.

"There is a sharp difference of facts in the affidavits relied on by the applicants and those by the respondents. I cannot exclude the possibility that Mr Coetzee and his witnesses will be believed."

On Thursday the judge granted an order preventing The Star from publishing any of the allegations which arose during court proceedings. Other newspapers, however, were not affected by the ruling.

20/11/11
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SUSAN SMUTS

How TML will pass on to readers benefits of VAT

S/Times 29/9/91.

Sunday Times Reporter

TIMES MEDIA LTD, publishers of the Sunday Times and other newspapers and magazines, has decided to pass on to consumers the benefits of VAT, wherever practicable.

TML managing director Stephen Mulholland said yesterday the company fully endorsed the Vatwatch Pledge and would urge suppliers to pass their VAT-derived costs and savings on and would in turn pass on to customers of TML any costs savings derived from VAT.

The aim is to make the switch from GST to VAT as neutral as possible for the company, and to ensure that the customers get all the benefits. As a result, the price of the Sunday Times will drop from R2,50 to R2,45 and TML magazine prices will also be reduced. Lower-priced newspapers will remain unchanged.

TML will absorb the recent petrol price increase and the additional cost of VAT on copies of the Sunday Times sold in the TBVC states where GST has not hitherto been levied. For the Sunday Times, the higher costs and the price cut balance out so there is neither gain nor loss to the company.

Business Day will still cost R1, the Eastern Province Herald 70c, the Evening Post 60c and Weekend Post R1,50. TML's increased benefit from the change to VAT on these newspapers varies from 1c to 3c. One reason for keeping these prices

constant is the problem of coinage. A reduction in price of odd cents is impractical for street sellers.

However, TML has decided to absorb the cost of VAT on the "delivery charge" portion of subscription prices. This weighs heavily on publications that have many subscribers so that, in some cases, the lost to TML is greater than the gain on street sales.

Magazines published by TML are all reduced in price because coinage is not a problem for publications sold in bookshops or supermarkets. The Financial Mail drops from R4 to R3,89; Leadership from R15 to R14,60, The Executive from R7,91 to R7,70; Wiel from R3,39 to R3,30; Computaform from R4 to R3,89; and Computaform as Race Cards from R2,50 to R2,43.

Vatwatch committee chairman Louise Tager said the TML reductions were an immediate and concrete demonstration of the company's support for the Vatwatch Pledge.

It was of crucial importance, she said, that business supported Vatwatch's principles and showed that VAT could become a factor in the struggle against inflation.

"I congratulate TML on taking the decision to reduce prices where practicable," she said.

● Argus newspapers announced yesterday they would not be passing on the VAT savings to their readers. Their prices will remain unchanged.

Court upholds right to publish claims

By Susan Smuts

Star 20/9/91
The Star's right to publish investigative defamatory allegations was upheld by a Rand Supreme Court judge on Friday.

Mr Justice S J Mynhardt gave judgment in a case in which Riaan Coetzee sought an urgent interdict to prevent The Star from publishing allegations about his trucking and cartage business practice

Public interest

Denis Kuy, SC, argued that The Star's allegations that Mr Coetzee's business methods were dishonest and fraudulent were true and it was in the public interest to publish them

Mr Coetzee's lawyer, Bruce Berman, argued that the allegations were defamatory.

The judge said that although there was a dis-

pute over facts, the court accepted that The Star had provided a defence for most of its allegations, and that the interdict could not be made final (A temporary interdict was granted on September 4)

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Although a defence had not been provided for the rest of the allegations, it did not follow that the article should be stopped, he said

A similar article had been published in some editions of The Star which went to country areas, the judge noted. This militated against a final interdict being granted

Mr Justice Mynhardt added. "There is a sharp difference of facts in the affidavits relied on by the applicants and those by the respondents. I cannot exclude the possibility that Mr Coetzee and his witnesses will be believed."

Price of Star
Star 30/9/91
sister papers
still the same

Finance Staff (243)

The cover price of The Star and all the other newspapers in the Argus Group will be kept at current levels until March next year — and this pledge has been registered with Vatwatch.

Savings created by the change-over to VAT partly makes this possible.

By that time, Argus Group newspapers will have successfully avoided an increase in cover prices for an average of 18 months.

Argus Newspapers Ltd chief executive Peter McLean says: "In this way we will achieve two objectives. We will be passing on the savings derived from VAT and, by holding our prices, we will be helping in the fight against inflation."

The Star last increased its cover price on September 18 last year.

Extracts from an address by Tony Heard, former editor of Cape Times

Why not give them a

Star 1/10/91.

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IT is common cause that the ownership of the media in South Africa is in too few hands. Broadcasting is an effective state monopoly and establishment newspapers are near-monopolies. The situation was created by the grip the white establishment had on the country and its resources.

Unless something specific is done about the ownership, control and direction of the mainstream media within the next year or so, South Africa will hardly be able to say that elections it subsequently holds are free.

Without the opening up of the media, millions of South Africans will have been denied access, simply because the main broadcasting and print outlets remain in the hands of the old establishment.

The future prospects will be a sterile choice: bitter opposition by people who feel robbed of victory, and who partly blame the media or, on the other hand, pressure for nationalisation or drastic anti-monopoly action by people who have triumphed in elections despite scant support from the media.

Both ways, the role of the media in the vital but delicate job of reconstruction after apartheid will be compromised. Things should and can be different.

What is as worrying as the absence of independent ownership is that major unbanned players in the peace and political process, notably the African National Congress, cannot rely on media support worth speaking of in the establishment press. That should be obvious from perusal of newspaper columns.

However much individual editors might sincerely strive for fairness, journalists might break ranks with the ruling atmosphere.

Ask the ANC how they feel about coverage of their affairs in the establishment press. To use a phrase of Ray Swart's in his recent book, "Progressive Odyssey", the ANC lacks "friendly editors". The genus "friendly editors", means people who will not "ambush" political friends who share confidences, people who, in broad terms, can be counted on to be well-disposed, within the confines of their commitment to the record and the public good.

As might follow day, the ANC will — if it comes to power — be under pressure to break up an unsympathetic press.

Look what happened in Zimbabwe. The press, bludgeoned into a pro-Smith posture, had been under the control of the Argus group, and this situation was intolerable to the new government of Robert Mugabe — and he effectively

vendetta and there is no result in state interference in the realm of the media. Let there be light, not control.

And let a task group report in six months, unlike the ponderous state-run press commission which took 12 years. Will someone take the initiative?



Tony Heard "things can and should be different"

ly nationalised it.

In Namibia, the pattern has been different because of a healthier diversity of ownership and the fact that at least one well-known paper, *The Namibian*, showed sympathy for Sam Nujoma's Swapo before independence, thus striking a blow for future press freedom in general. Moreover, in Namibia a clause in the constitution effectively entrenched free speech.

What I am suggesting is that this is the time for the established newspaper groups to democratise their operations, to throw open

their printing plants, distribution avenues and expertise. More important, they should consider divesting themselves of some of their titles, and allow ownership to pass to other interests who will, unashamedly, be more friendly towards once-banned groups.

The Anglo-owned press could take a page from annals of enlightened self-interest in 44 Main Street. Notably the move by the Openheimers a generation ago to allow control of General Mining to pass to Nationalist Afrikaners as part of a long-term insurance policy against state nationalisation or undue interference in the mining industry, despite the huffing and puffing of transient ministers like Dr Carel de Wet.

If it is, of course, always possible for the ANC and other formerly banned groups to start a daily paper, but party papers generally fail dismally just because they are party papers, and, as former *Cape Times* managing director Guy Cronwright used to say about starting dailies, it could prove cheaper and more hopeful to drill for oil. The sad experience last year of the *Weekly Mail's* daily effort sent a salutary chill down the spines of would-be newspaper launchers.

The SABC seems poised to concede the principle of a truly independent broadcasting authority,

even advertising and distribution arrangements, with editorial effort separate and competing.

Though in some ways regrettable, the "joint operating agreement" principle has gained widespread favour internationally because of rising costs. Presses and distributors are neutral factors and can be shared by all. There is no reason

shimmering irony after all the years of its being Government's Chief Poofie.

Someone there has obviously seen the writing on the wall, as power begins to shift in SA. But, even if done with the wrong motives, a placing of control of the SABC in independent hands will be a major step forward — though it must be noted that the task group that led to this recommendation was heavily representative of the old order in South Africa.

In a truly changing order, there must be access to all and sundry to air their views, not only in the expensive medium of TV but in the dirt-cheap medium of radio which is so important in South Africa because of high illiteracy rates, multiplicity of languages and remoteness of regions.

What about the press? I suggest that a properly representative task group is urgently needed here, to study the problem in much the same way as broadcasting was studied — and as successive Royal Commissions have done in Britain. Newspapers, though private concerns which should stay private, are firmly in the public domain, and there is every justification to have their structures, ownership and direction inquired into publicly — as long as this is not part of a Government or special-interest

why current joint operating agreements should not continue more or less as now, but with ownership of certain titles passing to other hands.

The future SA media order should be marked by maximum press and broadcasting diversity, and a fair spread of outlets for competing philosophies.

newspaper?

18 107

TML 'neutral
after VAT'

TIMES Media Limited yesterday emphasised that as a company its financial situation would be neutral following the introduction of VAT on September 30.

TML said the price consumers paid for some of its publications were being reduced while others remained unchanged.

TML said there were many factors to consider including the introduction of VAT in the TBVC states.

The company said it would absorb the additional cost as well as the VAT on distribution charges.

Vatwatch on Monday demanded a further reduction in newspaper cover prices because of tax credits businesses would now receive

"With regard to newspaper cover prices, as with all other goods, Vatwatch wanted to see not only a tax adjustment from 13% to 10%, but a further reduction," chairman Louise Tager said in a statement

The Star's GM designate, Graham King said newspapers would now have to pay VAT on newspaper deliveries, street sellers were being paid commission on a higher base price, VAT was now payable in the TBVC countries, and the price of petrol had increased — Sapa

BOE Merchant
shareholders of
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2 October 19

Merchant ban

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Governments prefer the power to nobble their critics, says Mr Justice Pierre Olivier

How free will SA's media be?

SKW 3/10/91

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All governments everywhere, whatever their make-up, share a certain antagonism towards the press. Notwithstanding their avowals that they are committed to openness and honesty, party and government officials — and politicians — will usually seek to prevent thorough airing and debate of issues that are uncomfortable or embarrassing or which are critical of their actions.

We have seen it in our country in the past and no doubt we will see it again in the future.

We should not ignore the fact that there are many of our citizens who still insist that the importance of a free press is overridden by nation-building, stability and economic development.

We should not ignore the fact that politicians who think they will come into power, will profess to protect freedom of speech and of the press, but in the end they will keep the back door open.

Many governments and political parties speak piously about freedom of speech and the press, but they place so many restrictions on it that, in practice, it becomes useless.

In this context there are, in the free world, two large systems of

restrictions on human rights the pattern of democratic yet parliamentary sovereignty, and the pattern of a justiciable bill of rights. The difference is simply this: under the parliamentary sovereignty system, parliament is the uppermost authority which can, at will and through legislation, place restrictions on the common law and natural freedoms and rights — also on freedom of speech and the press.

Under the second system there is a constitutional Bill of Rights which sets out the boundaries of restrictions on speech and press freedom, and which leaves the interpretation and enforcement thereof to the courts.

The former system is, as far as the protection of basic human rights is concerned, unsuccessful and not to be trusted. This sombre picture is confirmed in two countries which have, till now, clung to parliamentary sovereignty — namely the United Kingdom and the Republic of South Africa.

Many people, even informed journalists, think that the other approach, namely that of a constitutionally enforceable bill of rights, is the ideal.

This system is better, but then the issue of restrictions by means

place on the table, clearly and frankly, their specific proposals, particularly with regard to the restrictions on and suspension of the fundamental rights that they advocate.

These are the relevant terrains how much room is left in the bill of rights for restrictions which parliament places on the fundamental rights by means of specific laws (so that, in effect, the laws are watered down)?

How easy is it made to announce a state of emergency and then to suspend fundamental rights (as has previously happened in a number of our neighbouring countries and this country itself)?

One main player, the ANC, has already put its proposal on the table but it is, firstly, defective and, secondly, unacceptable for press freedom.

It is defective because nothing has yet been said about suspension, it is unacceptable because the restrictions clause is so wide that it gives a future government the power to restrict press freedom over a wide area.

The most obvious traps are: ● It limits the right to information necessary for individuals to make effective use of their rights as citizens or consumers and is clearly a

perpetuation of the totalitarian approach that the state will decide what citizens need to know

● Reference is made to the right to reply, which must be respected by the press, but nowhere is it stated what the basis of this right is, what its ambit is, nor how it is to be exercised and respected.

● The real problem is the criterion that a limitation will be constitutional if it is such "as might be deemed necessary in an open and democratic society"

This method of defining the parameters of limitation is outdated and, in practice, of no use at all. It can even be dangerous and may reduce human rights to the status of a mere instrument of democracy.

In all fairness, it must be said that the SA Law Commission followed a similar approach in its preliminary work on group and human rights in March 1989. However, there were so many objections against it that we quickly abandoned that way of thinking.

What is disturbing is that the ANC did not take cognisance of the objections.

It is obvious, therefore, that in the debate about a new constitution, to be based on a human rights chapter, we — that is, all of us as

citizens, jurists and journalists — must be extraordinarily careful to protect our rights properly.

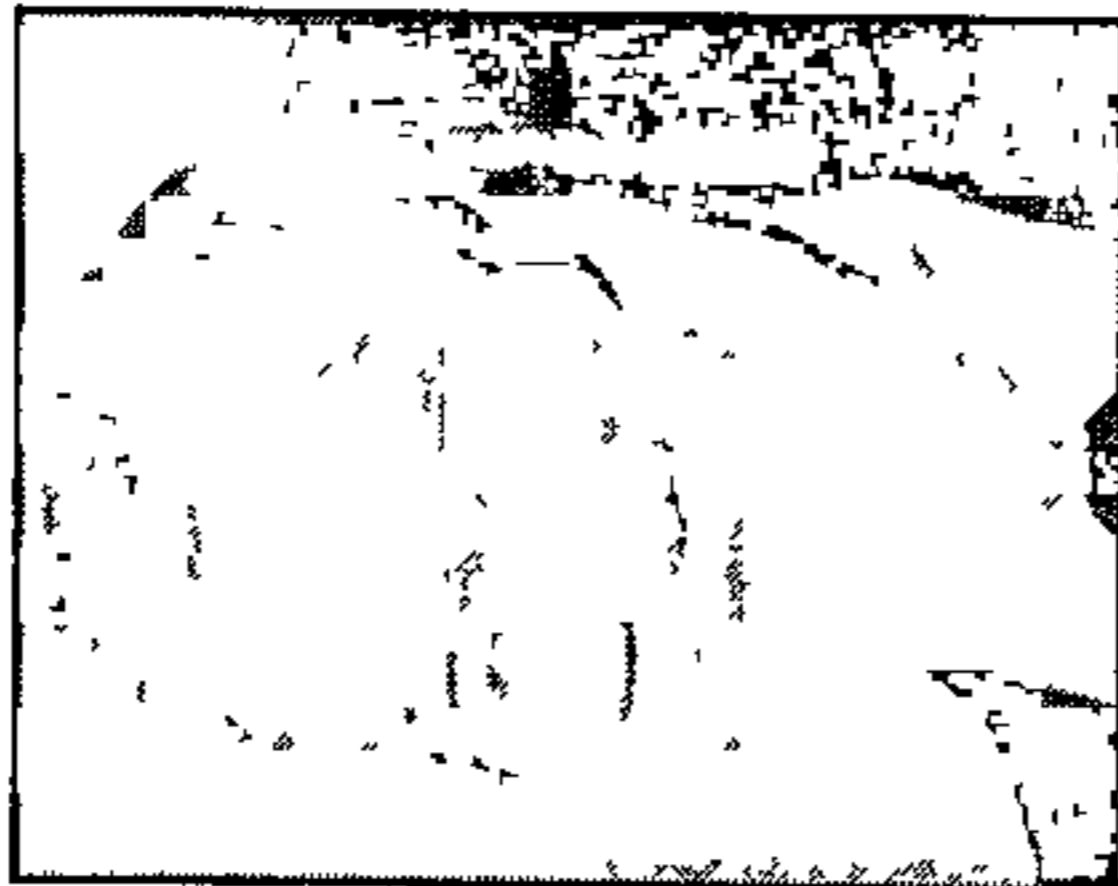
What we must look at is not so much the list of acknowledged rights, but the clauses which deal with the restriction of those rights and their suspension during states of emergency.

We must look at the concepts of all other parties just as critically as we have looked at the ANC's concept bill, and they must be challenged to formulate, explain and debate their proposals with regard to restrictions and suspensions.

Now is the time for the press, as watchdog for democracy and justice, to protect its own rights by means of taking a much more active and informed stance than it has up to now.

I am disappointed by the little critical attention that the newspapers gave to the proposals of both the ANC and the SA Law Commission. No one, other than you, is going to play watchdog over the freedom of speech and the press in the new constitution.

● This is an edited version of a speech delivered by Mr Justice Olivier, a member of the SA Law Commission, at the annual congress of the National Press Union held in the Ciskei. □



Mr Justice Olivier press reaction disappointing

of normal laws and suspension in time of a state of emergency and war would have to be addressed very carefully.

It seems as if all the important political role players in our country, for example the National Party, the ANC, Inkatha, the Democratic Party, the Labour Party, Solidarity, have accepted the idea of a bill of rights as part of a new constitution. That is encouraging.

What is disturbing, is the omission by most of these bodies to



Cape Times, Thursday,

Minimum control of media — govt

PRETORIA — The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, told a delegation of the South African Media Council yesterday that the government's attitude to the media was minimum state control and maximum freedom of expression

This was disclosed at the 17th meeting of the council here by its chairman, Professor Kobus van Rooyen, following the earlier talks with Mr Louw

Prof Van Rooyen described the talks as "very amicable"

In an opening address to the council, Prof Van Rooyen said the question of press freedom would always be debatable

"That is why, in a new South Africa, even with a Bill of Rights, there remains an onerous task on the Media Council. Research into the field plus a meticulous scrutiny of laws limiting freedom of expression and information will remain absolutely necessary."

He proposed that the council should convene a media conference early next year — Sapa

Interdicts remain a powerful weapon for individuals to suppress a report in advance, says Gilbert Marcus

SA media must still publish much at its peril

AMID the plethora of government-enacted laws which inhibit or restrict altogether what may be published in South Africa, it is easy to lose sight of the fact that the common law of defamation also holds great perils for the media

All major democracies recognise that individual reputation is a prized asset which can be gravely impaired by an unwarranted defamatory attack. Where individual reputation is concerned, the press publishes at its peril. When it comes to ordinary individuals who do not hold positions of prominence in public life, most agree that this is as it should be. After all, the press is a powerful medium with the capacity to ruin a person's reputation

But newspapers of quality are not generally in the business of deliberately setting out to ruin reputations. The press has a much more vital role in a democratic society — it is to keep the public

informed on matters which affect their daily lives and to serve as a watch-dog of corruption and lawlessness. The role of the press in exposing the existence of the CCB hit-squads and the spy network in the Johannesburg City Council are two of the more illustrious examples of the vital role the press can play

Exposure of corruption in high places is not the only function of the press. On a less elevated plane, the tribulations of ordinary people at the hands of unscrupulous employers or unconscionable exploitation in the commercial sphere are also matters upon which the public have a right to be informed

Recently there have been a number of attempts to gag the press in *advance* of publication. The object is to prevent publication altogether of matter which is considered to be defamatory. The examples are varied.

16/10/91

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Vito Palazollo sought to silence the press from exposing his past criminal activities; Louis Shull, managing director of Sage Limited, successfully prevented the Financial Mail from revealing confidential information relating to the boardroom dispute between Sage and Allied, and Riaan Coetzee briefly prevented The Star from exposing the manner in which he allegedly conducted his business operations

In all cases resort was made of the procedure by way of interdict, the ultimate purpose of which was to stop the press from doing what it considered to be its public duty.

In all cases, the potential victims claimed that publication of the matter in question would ruin their individual reputations or cause irreparable harm to their businesses. They claimed that these catastrophic consequences could only be prevented by an interdict.

These examples present dilem-

mas for the law. Should the claims of press freedom take precedence over the right of an individual to prevent in advance attacks upon his or her reputation? The answer is probably that neither the individual nor the press have unequalled rights.

But in deciding where to draw the line, the claims of the press in exposing illegality, corruption or high-handed conduct of those in positions of influence and power, deserve priority. The cases of Mr Palazollo and Mr Coetzee are illustrative. Had they succeeded in gagging the press in advance of publication, the public would have felt justifiably aggrieved at not being informed of their activities. The stories might simply never have seen the light of day

The South African law of interdicts in cases of defamation is considered by some critics to be out of step with developments elsewhere. In America, where freedom of expression probably

enjoys the greatest protection, the spectre of any prior restraint on the press is generally regarded as anathema. There, the Supreme Court has ruled that "debate on public issues should be uninhibited, robust and wide open".

Public officials (a term which includes bureaucrats, politicians and judges) cannot even recover damages for defamation unless they are able to prove that the statement was made with actual malice, that is with knowledge that it was false or with reckless disregard for whether it was false or not

In England, it is much more difficult to obtain an injunction against the press than it is in South Africa. There the press need only undertake to prove that the defamatory matter which it intends to publish is substantially true and in the public interest

In South Africa, by contrast, in order to defeat an interdict, the press is required to "set up" a de-

fence. It is not sufficient for the press merely to say that it does have a defence which it can establish should the matter proceed to trial. Quite how far the press is expected to go in setting up a defence is not clear. Our highest court has yet to pronounce on the issue

It is suggested, however, that the English approach has much to commend itself. Once the press undertakes to prove that the matter it proposes to publish is true and in the public interest, it should be free to proceed. If thereafter it cannot justify the defamatory imputation, it will have to pay a price in damages

That the price may be high permits of no doubt. But that is a risk which the press undertakes in order to fulfil its public duties. In the process, mistakes are inevitable. That is the price that society must pay for a vibrant and independent press □

Calling
Sowetan
for the
17/10/91
right to
243
speak
2020

A PRESS seminar will be held at Vista University in Soweto on Saturday as part of the *Sowetan's* "nation building" programme.

Sowetan Editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste says politicians, trade unionists and newsmen will speak on freedom of speech in a changing South Africa.

The date - October 19 - marks the day three publications and several organisations were banned by the Government in 1977.

Unions

The event will be held at the university's conference centre starting at 11am.

SAUJ, Nactu, the United Workers' Union and Mwasa will represent trade unions.

The ANC, PAC, Azapo and Inkatha will put their viewpoints across while delegates from *Vrye Weekblad*, *City Press*, *South Indicator*, *The Star* and *Weekly Mail* will also participate.

Press ownership shake-up needed in democratic SA

South 17/10 - 23/10/91

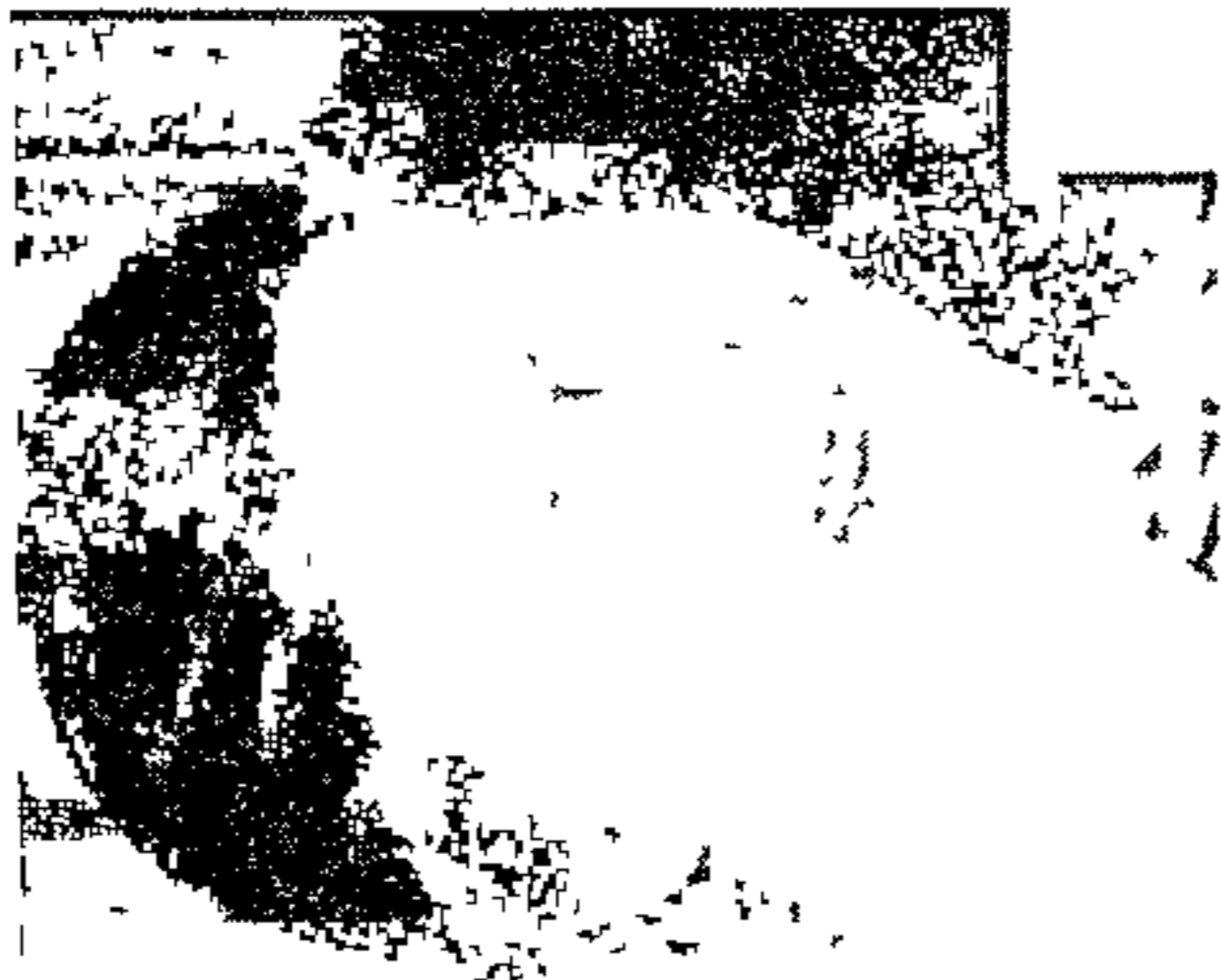
IT IS COMMON CAUSE that the ownership of the media in South Africa is in too few hands. Broadcasting is an effective state monopoly and establishment newspapers are near-monopolies. In private hands

The situation was created in history by the grip the white establishment had on the country and its resources. However understandable, it is untenable when one considers the needs of a new democratic order in South Africa.

It is equally unsatisfactory considering the needs of the run-up period to free and fair elections. Unless something specific is done about the ownership, control and direction of the mainstream media within the next year or so South Africa will hardly be able to say that the elections it subsequently holds are free. It is a national priority, every bit as important as devising a new constitution and electoral procedures and systems.

Without the opening up of the media, millions of South Africans will have been denied access, simply because the main broadcasting and print outlets remain in the hands of the old establishment — even if belated steps are taken to embellish boardrooms with black faces, credible or otherwise.

The hostility and rancour that poor media access will generate among now-unbanned militant black groups, whether they are successful in elections or not, presages a very bumpy



ride ahead for the media. The future prospects will be a sterile choice between opposition by people who feel robbed of victory and who partly blame the media or, on the other hand, pressure for nationalisation or drastic anti-monopoly action by people who have triumphed in elections despite scant support from the media.

What is as worrying as the absence of independent ownership is the fact that major unbanned players in the peace and political process, notably the African National Congress, cannot rely on media support worth speaking of in the establishment press. To use a phrase of Ray Swart's in his recent book, "Progressive Odyssey", the ANC lacks 'friendly editors' — which means people who are like-

October 19 marks Press Freedom Day — the anniversary of the banning of The World and The Weekend World in 1977. Today, a new danger to press freedom occupies centre-stage. TONY HEARD, former editor of the Cape Times, calls for a representative task group to investigate how the near-monopoly print media measures up to the demands of democracy:

minded, even if independently so. As night follows day, the ANC will — if it comes to power — be under pressure to break up an unsympathetic press. Look what happened in Zimbabwe. The press, bludgeoned into a pro-Smith posture, had been under the control of the Argus group, and this situation was intolerable to the new government of Robert Mugabe — and he effectively nationalised it.

In Namibia, the pattern has been different because of a healthier diversity of ownership and the fact that at least one well-known paper, The Namibian, showed sympathy for Sam Nujoma's Swapo before independence, thus striking a blow for future press freedom in general.

This is the time for the established newspaper groups to democratise their operations, to throw open their printing plants, distribution avenues and expertise. More importantly, they should consider divesting themselves of some of their titles and allow ownership to pass to other interests who will, unashamedly, be more friendly towards once-banned groups.

If the Argus group could so readily agree to sell Illanga to Chief Buthelezi, why not sell other titles to ANC-oriented interests? The Argus group recently turned down an ANC approach to buy The Sowetan, now ranked with the Star as the country's biggest daily. Will Argus, on principle, refuse to sell ANY titles to friends of the ANC? If so, why?

It is, of course, always possible for the ANC and other formerly banned groups to start a daily paper, but party papers generally fail dismally just because they are party papers. and it could prove cheaper to drill for oil.

I suggest that a properly representative task group is urgently needed for the print media to study the problem — as successive royal commissions have done in Britain. Newspapers, though private concerns which should stay private, are firmly in the public domain, and there is every justification to have their structures, ownership and direction inquired into publicly — as long as this is not part of a government or special-interest vendetta and there is no resulting state interference in the realm of the media.

WHAT ABOUT THE alternative press? The alternative newspapers are performing a most valuable function and managing, even in these days of diminishing public protest, to expose government and other abuse — recent examples being Inkathagate, death squads etc. But their combined weekly circulations do not even match the daily circulation of The Star.

The alternatives need to be supported, notably by the institutional giants. The money spent will be both investment and assurance.

Excerpts from an address to the Western Cape region of the SA Institute of Race Relations

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Defamation: AG to pay

243 CT 17/10/91

JOHANNESBURG. — Witwatersrand Attorney-General Mr Klaus Peter Constantin Otto von Lieres und Wilkau was ordered yesterday to pay between R150 000 and R200 000 to cover all the legal costs in the defamation suit which earned him an award of R5 000 against the Vrye Weekblad.

Vrye Weekblad editor Mr Max du Preez said the case "should serve as a

warning to all public figures and politicians not to run to the Supreme Court with defamation cases when they are being criticised by the media".

The matter arose from a Vrye Weekblad article claiming that Mr Von Lieres was conducting a vendetta against the newspaper. The paper also called the Attorney-General "Herr Otto Dinges". — Sapa

A-G told to pay costs in Weekblad defamation suit

Star 17/10/91
Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus Peter Constantin Otto von Lieres und Wilkau was yesterday ordered to pay between R150 000 and R200 000 to cover all the legal costs in a defamation suit that earned him an award of only R5 000 against Vrye Weekblad

Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez said the case "should serve as a warning to all public figures and politicians not to run to the Supreme Court with defamation cases when they are criticised by the media".

The matter arose from a Vrye Weekblad publication claiming Mr von Lieres was running a vendetta against the newspaper. In the ensuing legal wrangle in the Rand Supreme Court, Vrye Weekblad offered to settle out of court for R15 000 and R5 000 for two defamation claims.

(243)
The Attorney-General accepted the R15 000 but rejected the R5 000 offer and challenged the newspaper in court for more, but was granted the same amount — R5 000

Mr von Lieres then went to court again, asking Mr Justice A P van Coller to order Vrye Weekblad to pay for the legal costs

However, the judge declined in yesterday's ruling, ordering Mr von Lieres to pay not only his own legal costs, but also those incurred by Vrye Weekblad in the hiring of two advocates from the day the newspaper offered to settle out of court

Mr du Preez suggested that officials who felt they had been criticised too severely in the media should seek redress with the Media Council, and not in the Supreme Court — Sapa

POLITICS

Ameen Akhalwaya



From press ban to media charter

W/Mail 18/10 - 24/10/91

TOMORROW is the anniversary of "Black Wednesday", October 19 1977, when the National Party government went on another rampage, banning black consciousness organisations and Beyers Naude, and locking up a whole lot of people. (243) (33)

Unofficially, October 19 is "press freedom day". That's because the then justice and police minister, Jimmy Kruger, also banned a Christian publication, *Pro Veritate*, *The World* and *Weekend World*, and the Union of Black Journalists. He locked up two of *The World's* senior men, editor Percy Qoboza and Aggrey Klaaste.

Now, as part of their campaign for media freedom, black editors of newspapers, magazines and radio and television stations have been holding a series of meetings with major political organisations.

Happily, so far the African National Congress, Azanian People's Organisation and Pan Africanist Congress have endorsed media freedom and condemned the intimidation of journalists.

But there is an interesting side issue to the indabas. Nearly 20 years after the launch of the UBJ, black journalists are finally being promoted to senior positions on white-owned media.

Their progress is not nearly fast enough, but at least a belated start has been made. Their rise in status is reflected in other ways.

When old colleagues met up again at the indabas, we recalled the days of the UBJ when, dressed in worn clothes, we'd hold our meetings in a tiny room, with a rickety table and broken chairs, in Orlando's modest DOCC Centre.

When the Writers' Association of South Africa (Wasa), headed by Zwelakhe Sisulu, was launched in succession to the UBJ, its first annual meeting was at the equally modest President Hotel in Jacobs, Durban.

Some of the members subsequently lost their lives or were forced into exile, but in the intervening years, having survived bannings, detentions and threats, most of The President Hotel's men have come a long way from the DOCC.

Wearing neatly-pressed jackets, pin-stripe suits and ties in the best getting-down-to business tradition, they now hold indabas in posh hotels.

Though they are still concerned about threats they face daily from all quarters, they can look back with pride as their cause outlived the bully-boy tactics of the Nats, and then also of organisations whose fight for democracy they had championed.

Last week, when the *Sowetan* newspaper's "nation building" banquet was broadcast "live" on TV2/3, much-detained and banned journalists such as Klaaste, Joe Thlolo and Thami Mazwai were feted.

The scene called to mind a conversation I had with a senior white colleague during the darkest days of former State President PW Botha's States of Emergency and threats from extra-parliamentary activists.

I told him how depressing, difficult and demoralising it was becoming for black journalists to continue operating honestly.

"Don't worry," he said, "let all these Johnny-come-lately activists have their say. Just hang in there. In politics, the cream will always rise to the top in the end."

He has been proved right as veteran journalists, committed to liberation from apartheid, re-surface to contribute to the vital debate on democracy and democratic structures. They have to look ahead, and as with every sector of our society, have to rise to the challenge of giving substance to the theory of media freedom to which most major political organisations now subscribe.

But no country subscribes to absolute media freedom. When South Africa begins to develop into a democratic society, it will have to work out its own parameters of media freedom, freedom of speech and expression.

One way of doing that would be through an expanded Bill of Rights -- by including a "media charter".

Such a charter makes good sense. After all, labour federations are asking for a workers' charter, educators want a teachers' charter and the ANC's Albie Sachs has proposed something similar for religious groups.

The media charter should not only spell out the rights of journalists and the print and electronic media, but also the public's accessibility to media. It's a challenge worth taking up to give meaning to "press freedom day" in a real democracy.

●Ameen Akhalwaya is editor of *The Indicator*

■ NEXT WEEK: Steven Friedman's *Worm's Eye*

R1-billion scoop

Star 20/10/91

John Spira

IN A DEAL thought to be worth close to R1 billion, South Africa's largest newspaper group has agreed on newsprint terms with the nation's two paper manufacturing giants after several months of intense negotiations.

Believed to be one of the largest contracts negotiated in South Africa this year, the agreement has important implications for at least five major companies — Argus, Times Media, CTP (Caxton), Sappi and Mondi.

While the companies in question are reluctant to spell out the details of the contracts, industry sources believe that they relate to the major part (95 000 tons) of the 140 000 tons a year of newsprint consumed in South Africa.

Until now Argus and TML have, along with other members of the Newspaper Press Union (NPU), negotiated with Sappi and Mondi for price, quality and delivery terms on a united basis.

Earlier this year, Argus and TML broke ranks with the NPU and negotiated its own terms with Anglo's Mondi and Gencor's Sappi. The negotiations took place in a buyer's market characterised by

- The lifting of import control on newsprint
- A global oversupply of newsprint
- Discussions with the Competitions Board which focused on the dismantling of the buying cartel for newsprint (as a result of Argus/TML severing its links with the NPU) and the desirability of breaking up the selling cartel that existed between Mondi and Sappi.

Argus and TML are therefore thought to have clinched highly attractive terms on contracts with the two manufacturers. The

contracts, which are in the process of being finalised, will take effect from the beginning of next year.

Sources suggest the new prices could be as much as 10 percent below those prevailing under the existing contracts — with highly positive implications for Argus's and TML's bottom lines.

Sappi and Mondi will face a period of reduced revenue from their newsprint operations but in view of the depressed state of the world market for newsprint, they must be reasonably happy to have retained what is no doubt a lucrative source of business.

Indeed, it is thought that Argus/TML were seriously con-

sidering importing their newsprint requirements at prices below those currently prevailing — a consideration which no doubt prompted Sappi and Mondi to soften their negotiating stance.

According to industry sources, the new contracts were concluded in separate deals with each of Mondi and Sappi.

Previously, Mondi enjoyed 60 percent of the Argus/CTP/TML offtake, with Sappi supplying the remainder.

From next year, Mondi will supply 50 000 tons for three years and Sappi 45 000 tons for four years, indicating that the latter has gained market share.

It is understood that different

escalations apply to each of the two contracts, though sources weren't able to supply details.

The NPU is currently negotiating with Sappi and Mondi on the remaining 45 000 tons of newsprint that is part of the current contract.

Argus and TML will enjoy a financial windfall when the new prices come into effect at the beginning of next year.

Close to 40 percent of their newspaper production costs are accounted for by newsprint and the reduced prices will have a considerable impact on their profitability.

Peter McLean, managing director of Argus Newspapers,

● To Page 3



A NEW Toyota, to be launched next month, will be available as a comparatively low-cost family station wagon and as an eight-seater corporate vehicle.

This emerged today when the company released further details of its R40 million "concept vehicle" project.

Brand Pretorius, managing director of Toyota SA Marketing, says the one version (in the photo

Double role for 'concept vehicle'

above) will offer a versatile value-for-money package with lots of room for two adults, four children and plenty of luggage. The other will offer a low-cost corporate transport solution for eight adults.

The station wagon will be

priced around R40 000, VAT inclusive, giving it a R14 000 advantage over the next cheapest wagon or minibus.

Mr Pretorius says legal requirements prevent the vehicle competing in the taxi market.

"Our marketing thrust will be aimed specifically at providing affordable transport solutions for the larger family and corporate transport requirements."

"So our readers will enjoy better products at better prices. Additional spending on improving the quality of our newspapers has already begun."

"In addition, the saving will enable us to postpone price increases, since we intend to apply some of the additional margin towards funding newspaper prices in the future."

"It is intended that part of the newsprint saving will be reinvested in the group's newspapers in an effort to increase the company's share of the advertising market and maintain or increase reader support."

and the man believed to have been responsible for clinching the new contracts (though he declines to confirm this, nor to provide specifics of the deal), says readers of the Argus publications will benefit from the windfall.

● From Page 1

R1-billion scoop

Law 'must safeguard free Press'

By PHANGISILE MTSHALI (243)

FREEDOM of speech should be entrenched in the constitution of a democratic South Africa to safeguard a free Press, according to panelists at a *Sowetan* seminar at the weekend.

Panelists drawn from political parties, liberation movements, unions and newspapers expressed their commitment to a free Press and suggested ways to achieve it.

Mr Sven Lunsche, president of the South African Union of Journalists, said: "A greater understanding of Press freedom will undoubtedly be achieved if freedom of speech is entrenched in a constitution under a bill of rights" *Sowetan 21/10/91.*

Panelists also said there was a need to review the Media Council to make it more representative of and open to all sectors of the public.

How to break the monopoly of the media by the "Big Four" - Argus, Times Media Limited, Perskor and Nasionale Pers - was also debated at length by both panelists and the audience.

Mr Barney Desai of the PAC suggested that a limit on the number of newspapers owned by a single company was necessary.

He also called for Government subsidies for small newspapers

But subsidies were rejected by some newspaper people who felt South Africa could not afford them

Mr Strini Moodley, spokesman for the Azapo and a journalist, wanted to know whether, by upholding freedom of speech, South Africans were going to allow the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging "to preach its racist policies openly"

●See pictures on page 10

Journalist 'hotline' ⁽²⁴³⁾ to fight ^{ARG 21/10/91} intimidation

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A "hotline" is to be set up for journalists to report cases of intimidation, a phenomenon which is becoming more prevalent in a changing South Africa.

The "hotline", to be launched by the Media Defence Trust, was adopted by the SA Media Council last week as one of the strategies to guard media freedom against intimidation.

The council also agreed to prepare a charter of principles for a free press in consultation with other media bodies and to encourage news makers to publicise incidents of harassment of their own and other journalists.

The council will also maintain contact with political organisations to keep them abreast of the question of media freedom and detect, in advance, any potential threats to media freedom.

The strategies adopted by the council were based on a report drawn up by a four-man committee headed by The Star's editor-in-chief Mr Richard Steyn.

SA version of Aussie women's magazine

ENOSI publishing is launching international women's magazine New Idea in March, following a year of negotiations between Enosi and one of Rupert Murdoch's Australian publishing companies, Southdown Press.

B 10 cy 22/10/91
Enosi owner and CE
Greg Psillos said the magazine would have a spectacular launch, including "satu-

ration advertising in newspapers, on radio and on television" (243)

Advertising will include special promotions and publicity campaigns in an attempt "to make New Idea as familiar to South Africans as it has become to Australians"

The magazine, which will have an initial print run of 150 000 in SA, has a world-

wide readership of more than 2,6-million.

It features celebrity news, human endeavour stories, big-prize competitions, fashion, cooking and gardening

Psillos said the SA version would be especially tailored and targeted for local women

Enosi also publishes Living, Excellence, Tribute and De Kat

Newspapers are embracing the new technology

B 10/24/91

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SINCE the launch of M-Net five years ago, South Africa's major newspaper groups have been expanding into the electronic media.

Nearly all of SA's newspaper groups have shareholdings in Electronic Media Network Holdings, which controls 78,8% of the JSE-listed M-Net

According to McGregors Online Information, Nasionale Pers (Naspers) holds 32%, Times Media Limited (TML) and the Argus Group 23% each, Perskor 15% and Dispatch Media and the Natal Witness 2,5% each

Since the M-Net launch, newspapers groups have seen themselves as information or communication groups rather than print media groups

TML GM operations Neil Jacobsohn says the international trend is for newspaper groups to have interests in the electronic media, and some groups run a newspaper, a TV station and a radio station out of the same newsroom.

Apart from its involvement with M-Net, TML has formed a partnership with Ivor Jones, Roy & Co to form Intelligent Network (I-Net), which provides a real-time and historical financial information service

It has also formed a partnership with M-Net and TSI to form Trade-Net, which is involved in electronic tendering

Its latest venture is the formation of Call-Net, a premium rate telephone service

"Our interest in technology remains high," he says

TML made a decision that, while newspapers and magazines are its core businesses, it is a vendor of quality information

In line with this philosophy, it will continue to pursue developments in electronic communications

TML also has a shareholding in Radio 702, which was a deliberate investment in terms of the company's mission, he says

Naspers director Her-

man Morkel says his group has been involved in building up electronic data bases

It is also looking at producing an electronic newspaper in which electronic data can be downloaded to a decoder and transmitted through M-Net.

Naspers was responsible for the development of editorial programme Mentor following the disinvestment from SA of Atex

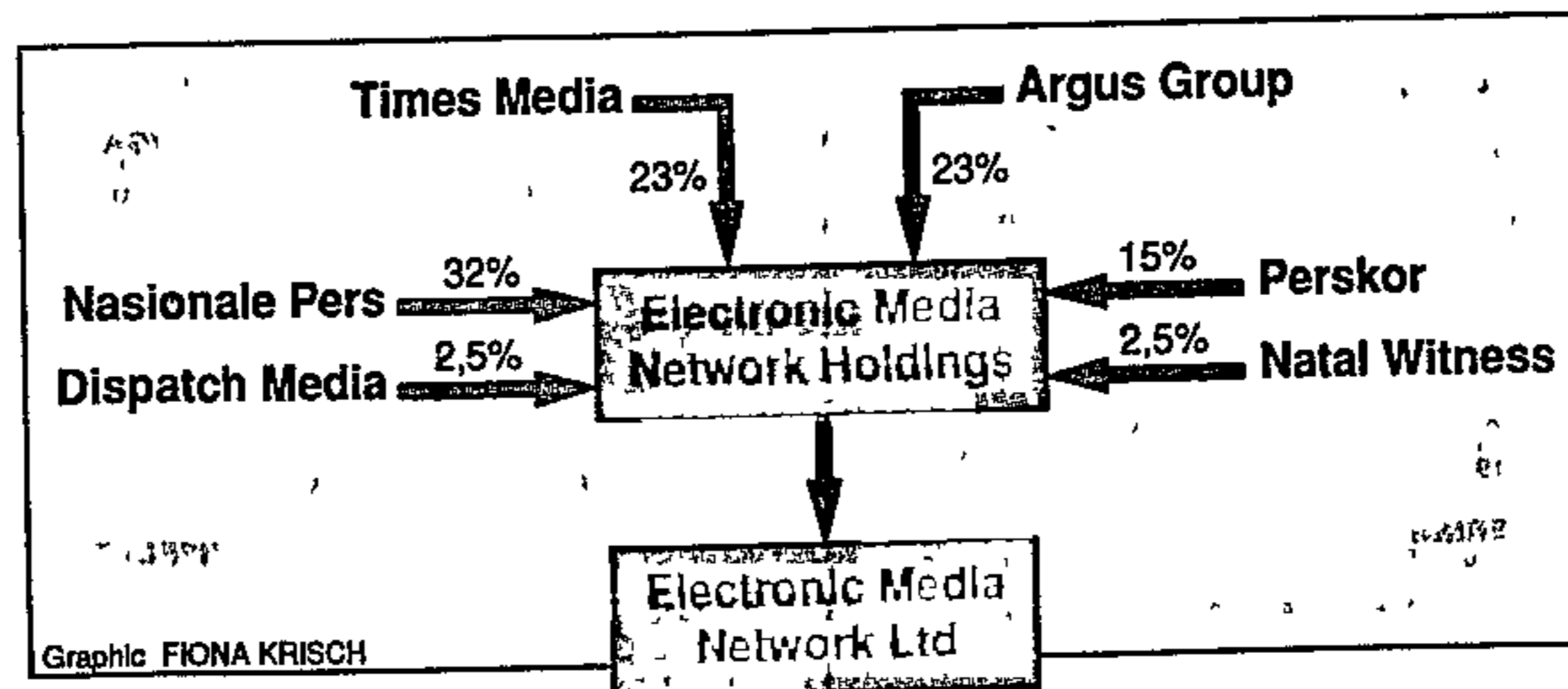
It is also jointly involved with the Argus group in Parrott publications, which is involved in premium rate telephone services

Argus CE Doug Band says the thrust of Argus' involvement is its 23% shareholding in M-Net

It is also involved in Parrott, in the audiotex market and in competition with Call-Net.

Band says "We see ourselves not as a newspaper, but as a media group"

The group's involvement in the electronic media is substantial, especially in terms of M-Net



Who goes bust

FM 25/10/91
 International Business Contacts (IBC), the overseas-funded company which publishes a business and industrial "who's who" and which landed major advertising contracts with SA organisations, is under provisional liquidation. At the same time, one of the partners of IBC's firm of attorneys who had been a director of the publishing company, has ceased to act for the company.

The *FM* reported last year that according to files at the Registrar of Companies, a senior SABC official, communications manager Theo Vorster, had been a director of IBC at the time the SABC concluded an R80 000 advertising contract with IBC. Vorster denied this but admitted that IBC had paid him certain fees and footed the bill of his American Express card. He also admitted opening an overseas bank account for future IBC payments.

Transnet also concluded a R100 000 contract and had already paid for the ads to appear in IBC's next issue of *Southern African Trade Business and Industry Who's Who*. The next edition was due in July this year but publication has been postponed to next year.

The provisional liquidation of IBC came before a PR company recently obtained summary judgment against IBC for R1 500. In a letter to the PR company, the IBC attorneys advised that IBC had been placed under provisional liquidation.

Mervyn Cirola, one of the IBC attorneys, confirmed this to the *FM* on Tuesday. Cirola, who had been a director of both IBC and its affiliate, International Who's Who (Pty), said that he had resigned from both boards last year.

IBC MD Arno Ofenheimer told the *FM* this week that IBC's clients need not fear that the business *Who's Who* will not be published. "With the new SA emerging, we decided to go back to our old established name of *International Who's Who*," said Ofenheimer. "IBC had, in effect, only been an agent for the overseas company, IBC AG. All contracts and payments for ads had been concluded with the overseas company. Our clients will not lose out."

Ofenheimer says that IBC has stopped trading and has been placed under provisional liquidation after an application by Trust-Bank. "We are opposing the matter and the return date is October 27. We made Trust-Bank an offer which they did not accept." Ofenheimer says an amount of R100 000 is involved.

He says all the material for the next edition has now been approved by IBC's various

CURRENT AFFAIRS FM 25/10/91

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 clients and will be sent overseas by courier next week to be printed.

On June 1, Ofenheimer wrote to Transnet's Kim Rowland, saying that Transnet could expect its copy of the *Who's Who* by early 1992. Ofenheimer's letter followed a telephone conversation on May 30 between Rowland and IBC employee Trish Nicholls, who had indicated that Rowland was "concerned about our forthcoming publication."

In response to *FM* questions earlier this year, a SABC spokesman said on September 10 that IBC's date of publication had been the second half of 1991, with December 31 as deadline, "whereafter we will take steps if necessary." The spokesman said the corporation had already paid R40 000 (in Swiss francs) for the advertisement. The balance of R40 000 is due 30 days after publication. "This followed after negotiations arising from a summons which IBC had served on the SABC."

Eddie Botha

THE MEDIA

James McClurg

DOES South Africa need a media charter? This question may seem of minimal concern to the general public at a time when so many critical matters are in the melting-pot. But, if there is to be freedom of information in the new South Africa, the foundations of that freedom will have to be laid now.

Weekly Mail columnist Ameen Akhalwaya points out that "when South Africa begins to develop into a democratic society" it will have to work out its own parameters of media freedom, freedom of speech and expression.

One way of doing that, he suggests, would be through an expanded Bill of Rights — by including a "media charter".

I imagine few would quarrel with that statement as a goal. The difficulty is how to ensure that what finally emerges is not mere hot air or even worse.

Mr Justice Pierre Olivier, a member of the Law Commission, has pointed to the hidden trap in, for instance, the ANC's impressive proposals in this field. This trap is a clause sanctioning any limitation on constitutional rights "if it is such as might be deemed necessary in an open and democratic society".

This, he says, is "in practice, no use at all" and could even be dangerous.

Those are wise words. For myself, I am a shade suspicious of "charters" cosying up to politicians in the hope of winning what they regard as privileges is a dangerous game.

However, given these cautions, there is everything to be said for action now to secure the future.

Spleen in succession?

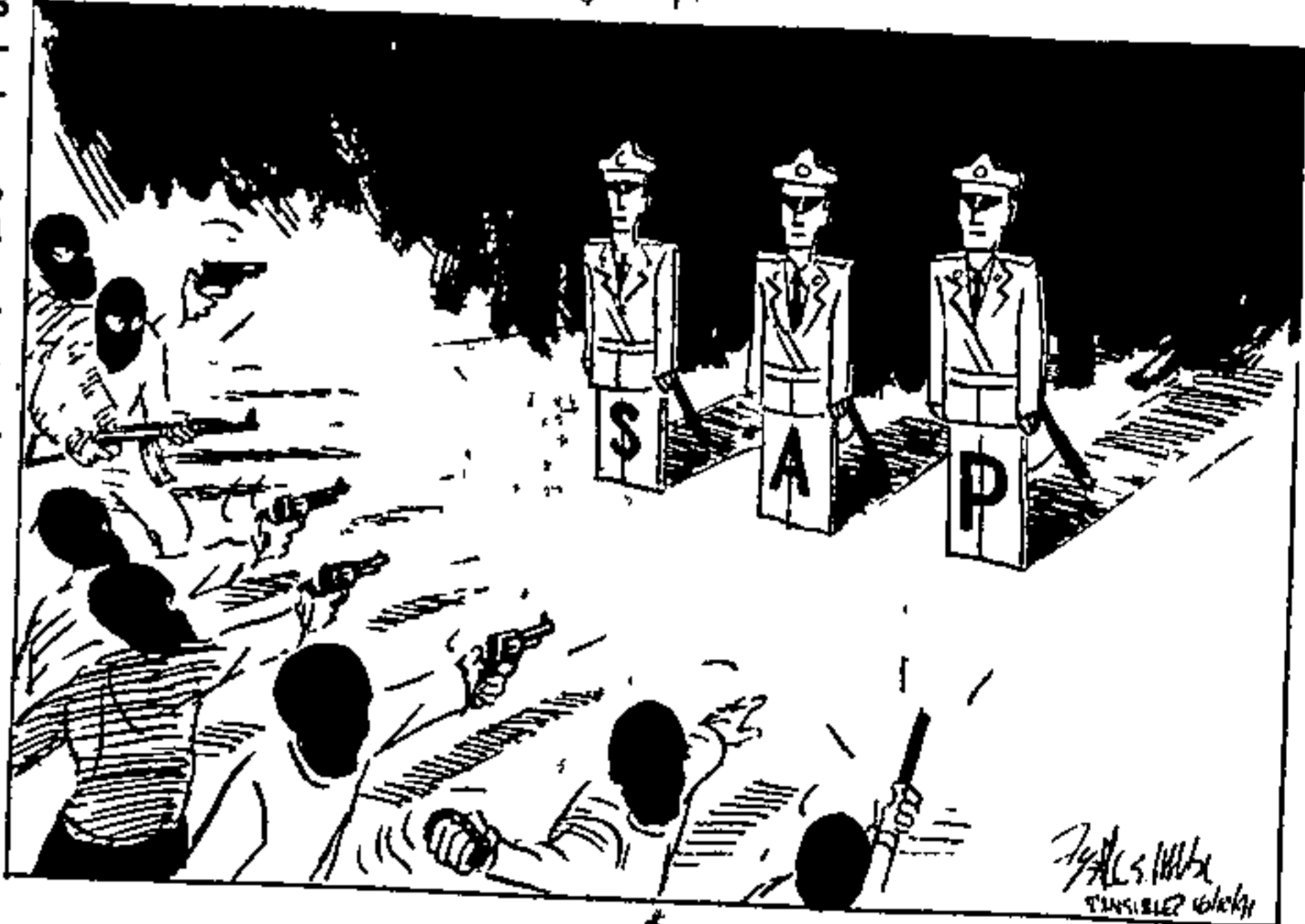
THE bad old days when the editors of Government-supporting newspapers had to endure the successive spleen of John Vorster and P W Botha are now little more than a painful memory.

There is evidence, nevertheless, that President De Klerk, for all his suavity, also keeps a sharp eye on Press commentators, friendly or otherwise.

Dawie, political columnist of the Nasionale group, ventured to opine that the Government was, "unfortunately", mainly responsible for the impression that top-level politics was being conducted only by the Government and the ANC.

Not so, said Mr De Klerk in a speech at Hartswater in the Northern Cape. The blame was in fact on the media, because his negotiations with Mr Mandela were always fully reported while those with Inkatha received little attention.

Media
Charter²⁴³
might not
be what
it seems



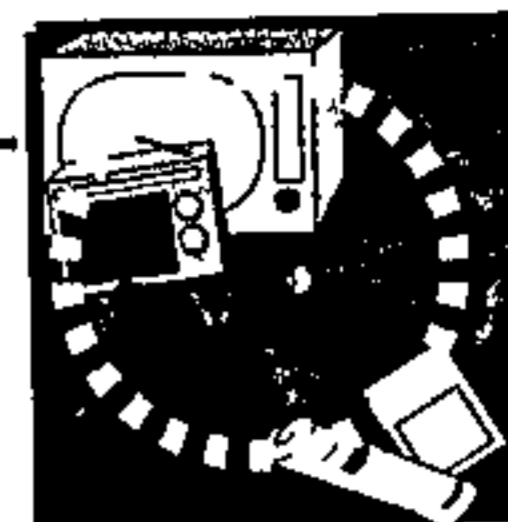
— By F Esterhuyse of Transvaler

Sayings of the Week

□ South Africans will have to pull up their socks when they talk to the Land of the Rising Sun. — Nasionale group columnist Dawie.

□ □ □

□ There is nothing revolutionary, communistic or alien about asking that the injustices and imbalances of the apartheid era be rectified. — Max du Preez, editor of *Vrye Weekblad*.



MAGAZINE PUBLISHING

FM 25/10/91

(243)

Now something for the Sheilas

Entry into the SA market of Rupert Murdoch's Southdown Press, in a joint venture with local publisher Enosi Publishing, will cause a flutter in the magazine dovecotes

The first venture by a major overseas publisher in SA for more than a decade is a mass-market woman's magazine with lowest-common-denominator appeal. *New Idea*, a weekly mag claiming to have the highest per capita circulation in the world, sells more than 1m copies every week. Read by a third of Australian women, it has no direct equivalent in SA, though it's roughly a blend of *You*, *Personality* and *Woman's Value*.

Southdown's choice of Enosi as its partner, after an exploratory trip to SA, is a bit of a surprise. Enosi operates on the fringe of mainstream publishing in SA, with such titles as the suburban giveaway-turned-paid magazine *Living*, the hotel give-away *Excellence*, the upmarket black magazine *Tribute* and a recent acquisition, *21* magazine.

But Enosi MD Greg Psillos says Southdown did not want to get into bed with a publisher already in the same market segment. "I think they liked our enthusiasm. They went through our operation very carefully." The *New Idea* formula is unvarying: 40-or-so pages of gossipy news about royalty, showbiz celebrities and human interest stories (always including a sex crime story) and 70-80 pages of homemaker features with recipes, knitting patterns, crosswords and a serialised novel.

There's an obsession with royalty, always including Princess Diana. A typical issue contains four articles on the British royal family and 6-14 snippets recording, it seems, every breaking of wind by the princely toddlers. The editorial, strongly influenced by the needs of the TV generation, is characterised by an abundance of photographs, accompanied by editorial "thought bites" of

seldom more than 600 words.

The local version, out next March, will be modelled on the Australian formula, flying over litho positives of all the international material and supplementing those with a one-third diet of local celebs and Josephine Bloggses. Initial print order will be 150 000.

Successful though *New Idea* may be in Australia, is there room in the SA market for yet another woman's magazine? Magazine

purchases have been declining in response to economic stringencies. Urban white adult women have cut their regular purchases from 3,4 titles to 2,3 in two years

will obviously step up our promotions during this period, but I am not too worried about *New Idea*. Its positioning is very unclear" ■



New Idea and competitors: is there enough room?

third purchases are the ones that will suffer. We are not concerned about the number of titles available. There is very little that has the freshness and track record that this magazine has."

Fortunately for local publishers, they have plenty of warning. Both *Nasionale Tydskrifte* (*You* and *Woman's Value*) and *Republican Press* (*Personality* and *Your Family*) are under attack. "I don't see room in the market," says *Nasionale* GM Barbara Ross. "They have a huge job ahead of them. We

Assassins prowled 'in the heart of the whore'

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JACQUES Pauw, who played a pivotal role in newspaper reports exposing the existence of the police "counter-insurgency units" or "death squads" at Vlakplaas, has now meticulously chronicled the role of assassins in defence of apartheid.

His book opens dramatically with descriptions of three assassinations, those of two captured ANC prisoners, Vuyani Mavuso and Peter Dlamini in late 1981, the pro-ANC lawyer, Griffiths Mxenge in November 1981, and, four years later, of Mxenge's wife, Victoria.

It sets the scene for an introduction to the man who shocked South Africa when he admitted, in an interview with Pauw in November 1989, to co-responsibility for the murders of Mavuso and Dlamini (they were executed at the same time — Mavuso for re-

calcitrance and Dlamini for timidity) and of Griffiths Mxenge.

The man is, of course, Dirk Coetzee, commander of a Vlakplaas death squad, as a policeman Coetzee resided, in his own metaphorical image, "in the heart of the whore"

Pauw's book contains many new details, some small, some big and nearly all fascinating.

One aspect which emerges is the close co-operation between Vrye Weekblad and the ANC in the period immediately before and after Vrye Weekblad's publication of the sensational interview with Coetzee.

Pauw records that the ANC was consulted before publication and that its co-operation was critical to Coetzee's decision to grant the interview. Without the ANC's guarantee that it would do its best to protect Coetzee, it is doubtful

BOOK OF THE WEEK

In the Heart of the Whore: The story of apartheid's death squads by Jacques Pauw (Southern)
Reviewed by PATRICK LAURENCE

Star 28/10/91

newspaper to exclude the allegations against Neethling, Pauw recalls that du Preez decided the issue by tossing a coin.

The allegations, we now know, were included on the advice of the coin. The decision led, Pauw recounts, to Neethling's R1 million defamation case against Vrye Weekblad.

But, as Pauw shows, what initially looked liked being a disastrous decision for Vrye Weekblad turned out to be to its advantage and, arguably, to South Africa's. Mr Justice Johan Kriegler found that, on the balance of probabilities, Neethling had supplied poison to Coetzee and that Coetzee, unlike Neethling, was basically a

whether the ex-policeman would have gone ahead.

The ANC, Pauw discloses, provided R20 000 to make possible Coetzee's escape and sanctuary abroad. "The ANC's chief of intelligence, Jacob Zuma, took personal charge of the project," he reports.

Another interesting disclosure concerns the decision of Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez to include Coetzee's allegation that he was supplied with poison to kill some of his victims by Lothar Neethling, the police forensic expert and South Africa third ranking police officer.

Vrye Weekblad's lawyer, Lauren Jacobson, advised the

truthful witnesses

The implications were, and are, immense the rejection of Coetzee's testimony by the Harms Commission was itself refuted by Mr Justice Kriegler's finding and the issue of death squads, and the police role in the them, was thereby again placed on the agenda

Pauw provides a succinct summary of the evidence which helped swing the case in Vrye Weekblad's favour, including Coetzee's police notebook which contained one of Neethling's highly confidential telephone numbers — and his remarkably accurate description of Neethling's house

As Pauw concludes, the notebook helped establish Coetzee's avowal that Neethling had given him the telephone number at the time of the poisonings and that he had visited Neethling at his home, despite denials on both counts by

Neethling

Pauw describes the courtroom drama graphically

"We know that Coetzee spoke the truth and we had a right and duty to publish, but could we possibly win against a person as powerful as Lothar Neethling? .. In the end, after more than 20 days in court, Kriegler delivered his 240 page judgment, destroying Neethling's and reinstating Coetzee's credibility"

Pauw's book includes an excellent account of the activities of Leslie Lesia, a former military agent. It is strengthened by a good selection of photographs, including one from the files of the dreaded Civil Co-operation Bureau, and an appendix listing the victims of assassination since 1974

It should be prescribed reading for South Africans of all political persuasions □

Sowetan credibility is tops with readers

THE credibility of the *Sowetan* among its readers remains high.

In a survey conducted by Marketing and Media Research (MMR) among readers between August 22 and October 2 this year, the majority said they believed that what was written in the paper was the truth.

The 78 percent was slightly less than last

year's 79,5 percent.

Our credibility was reinforced by the fact that 74 percent of those polled said they believed the *Sowetan* does not favour any political organisation.

● To page 2

Credibility rating is still high

From page 1

Of the 24 percent who believed that we support a particular political organisation, 88 percent said we favour the ANC, 10 percent said the PAC, four percent, Azapo, four percent, Azapo; and five percent said we favour other organisations.

Last year 72 percent believed that we are politically independent.

The *Sowetan* Track was started last year to track the changes in the attitudes of our readers.

In August/October last year, MMR interviewed 435 readers, this year it interviewed 433.

"The readers are very carefully selected in order to include the correct proportions of all types of frequent as well as infrequent readers," says MMR managing director Mrs Jocelyn Kuper.

"In this way the sample is representative of frequent as well as infrequent readers, all age groups, both sexes, and readers from all over the PWV."

The interviews were face to face and lasted 20 to 30 minutes. There was also a 60 percent back check on the interviews.

The *Sowetan* Tracking reader attitudes so that we can respond quickly to your needs. That we find you have confidence in us and trust us as your newspaper is an added bonus.

● See page 10

Vertical text on the right margin, likely a page number or reference.

Sowetan 31/10/91. (243)

(243)

Executive magazine defends article on Sasol

THE Executive magazine has defended its article on Sasol which the oil-and-chemical company has referred to the Media Council on the basis that it is "distorted and malicious". *Blom 8/11/91*

In a statement yesterday, Executive editor-in-chief Nigel Bruce said the Executive had taken great care to convey not only its interpretation of the "highly regulated" procurement, refining and distribution of petrol in SA, but also that of Sasol and the National Energy Council

Sasol, however, had made some claims of the article in a statements issued yesterday and on Wednesday which were not true, Bruce said.

"For instance, nowhere does the article question Sasol's financial viability, either overtly or by implication. The Executive believes that Sa-

LESLEY LAMBERT

sol executives have shown exceptional technical and operating skills and the use of its financial resources are not questioned

"Where the Executive differs is over the extent to which Sasol's resources have been inflated in secrecy to the detriment of the fiscus for political reasons *(243)*

"It has no quarrel with Sasol or its executives. The criticism is of government," he said.

Bruce also said that certain "allegations" highlighted in Sasol's statement needed to be "placed in reasonable context"

"Sasol claims that it agreed to pay R2,9bn for Sasol III and not the R50m claimed by the Executive.

"That claim is reported in the arti-

cle and the NEC's Lourens van den Berg is quoted as saying so," Bruce said

"But another interpretation, also in the article, is that the bulk of the R2,9bn could be financed from the annual subsidy flows which are an impost on the fiscus," he said

"Sasol claims it receives nothing from the taxpayer. But that is its own interpretation which, too, is quoted at length in the article," he said

In reaching its point of view, Bruce said the Executive had sought advice from specialists in the international oil industry. However, it did not wish to reveal these sources because of the restrictive clauses of the Petroleum Products Act and because "in a regulated industry the commercial interest of informants could be prejudiced by a resentful administration"

THE Press is regarded as so important to democracy in Scandinavia that extensive tax rebates and incentives have been instituted to promote the diversity of opinion

The governments of Denmark, Norway and Sweden have introduced these measures to encourage as many newspapers as possible to give every segment of their societies an outlet for their views

Many Western countries pay lip-service to the libertarian ideal of newspapers serving as a market place for ideas but in Scandinavian practical steps have been taken to ensure that this ideal is in fact a reality

On top of that, comprehensive guidelines have been provided in all three countries for the freedom of the Press, in some cases enforced by law

Monopolies

The journalists in these countries have organised themselves into powerful unions or lobbies, representing more than 90% of working journalists, to protect their members and to ensure that the democratic rights that have been won are not eroded by the state, the business community or anyone else

This has resulted in Norway, with a population of 4,5 million, people being served by 140 newspapers, 80 of them dailies, and Sweden, with 8,5 million people, having 170 daily papers representing a wide cross-section of popular opinion

"We want newspapers and we want competition," Anita Wahlberg, the international secretary of the Swedish Union of Journalists, said

"Democracy could not

Scandinavian Press is an exercise in freedom

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK, who recently visited Scandinavia.

function without a free Press and without diversity"

She believes that, had the incentives not been introduced, local and regional monopolies would have been inevitable

Political

Mr Alf Skjeseth, president of the Norwegian Union of Journalists, said "The system of direct subsidies has managed to maintain a varied pattern of the Press

"We have national newspapers representing the Christian Party, the left-wing movement, farmers, business and the Social Democrats"

In fact, all the major political parties in Norway have their own daily newspapers

This has resulted in a remarkable cross-section of opinion and lively debate about the issues of the day

The governments of both Norway and Sweden budget for direct production subsidies and in all three countries there are distribution subsidies for newspapers, including reduced postage rates

In Sweden, the only zero-rated item in their 26% VAT is newsprint, while in Norway, where VAT is 20%, and in Denmark, where VAT is 22,25%, newspapers are exempt from VAT

In Norway, the government and other authori-

ties are obliged to place official advertisements in all papers and it has a programme of assistance to smaller newspapers to ensure that second, third and even fourth newspapers in various towns and regions are encouraged to survive

In Sweden, production subsidies have been used to help smaller newspapers acquire the expensive hi-tech equipment that is now essential in the newspaper industry

Hi-tech

Mr Lennart Winblad, a Swedish TV reporter, also pointed out that careful consideration had been given by the government to limiting advertisements on Swedish TV so that newspapers would not be robbed of one of their prime sources of income

Although Danish newspapers do not enjoy the same level of support from their government, the VAT exemption and preferential postal rates have helped ensure a vibrant Press in that country

These incentives are in sharp contrast to South Africa where no

subsidy or incentive of any kind is offered by the state — and where media monopolies are the order of the day.

Were the type of incentives that operate in Scandinavian countries to apply in South Africa, the "alternative" newspapers would not be under threat of closure for financial reasons and newspapers that have been closed down in recent years, such as the Rand Daily Mail and the Sunday Express, may well have survived

Ethics' code

Clearly newspapers should be financially viable but, because they are so important to democracy, Scandinavians believe their survival cannot merely depend on normal market forces

Newspapers, many newspapers, are essential for any democratic process and South Africa would do well to follow the Nordic example by taking practical steps to encourage them to exist.

The freedom of the Press, in real terms, is also, essential for any democratic process and South Africa would again do well to follow the Nordic example

The Norwegian Press Association's code of

ethics says: "Freedom of Speech and Freedom of the Press are basic elements of a democracy. A free, independent Press is among the most important institutions in a democratic society

"As a social institution, the Press looks after important tasks in that it carries information, debates and critical comment on society. The Press, therefore, is particularly responsible for allowing different views to be expressed

"The Press shall protect the freedom of speech and the freedom of the Press. It cannot yield to any pressure from anybody who might want to prevent the free flow of information, free access to sources and open debate on any matter of importance to society as a whole"

The Freedom of the Press Act in Sweden begins "The freedom of the Press means the right of every Swedish subject, without prior hindrance by a central administrative authority or other public body, to publish any written matter, and not be prosecuted thereafter on the grounds of the content of such matter other than before a court of law, or to be punished therefore in any case other than a case in which the content is in contravention of an express provision of law, enacted to preserve public order without suppressing information to the public."

LETTERS

Box 11 CAPE TOWN 8000

From CLIFFORD SHEARING, University of Western Cape (Bellville).

We need a new

Political Reporter ~~for~~ 18/11/91

The ongoing controversy over the replacement of the anthem and flag for next year's Olympic Games gained new momentum yesterday when two national-wide newspapers published opinion polls showing that their readers had given the new "neutral" emblem and anthem a resounding thumbs-down.
The Sunday Times found that a majority of the 9 000 readers canvassed during a telephone

Thumbs-down for 'neutral' flag, anthem

poll last week had voted to stay out of the Barcelona Games rather than compete under the National Olympic Committee's emblem and anthem.
A total of 7 452 readers (82,8 percent) voted to withdraw from the Games and 1 553 voted to compete under the Nocsa emblem and Beethoven's "Ode to Joy".
The Afrikaans newspaper

Rapport said 79 percent of "thousands" of readers who had phoned in were opposed to the new emblem and wanted South African athletes to return to international sports wearing the Springbok. And 74 percent of readers preferred the South African flag to Nocsa's.
A total of 77 percent of Rapport readers wanted the national anthem to be played at the

Games.
The Star's sister newspaper the Sowetan responded quickly to the surveys by pointing out in an unusual front-page editorial today that these SA symbols had excited far greater emotion in white hearts than in black

"In fact, the very purpose of apartheid was to exclude blacks from these 'national symbols'.

Nobody can now expect blacks to stand and weep as these symbols are removed."

The Sowetan urged whites to accept that change could not come while "things somehow stay the same".

The Sowetan said Nocsa leader Sam Ramsamy had not asked the South African team to travel to Barcelona under the flag of one of the liberation movements or under the anthem Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika

243

Settlement reached over Saturday Star article ⁽²⁴³⁾

Star 21/11/91

The Argus Group yesterday reached an out-of-court settlement with Johan Dempers for an article published in the Saturday Star last year which described him as "the leader of the racist and violent Order of Death and Penta".

Peter Reynolds, legal representative for the Argus Group, confirmed that Mr Dempers had originally sued the newspaper group for R50 000, but that he had agreed to settle out of court "for considerably less".

The article, written by former Saturday Star reporter Dawn Barkhuizen, was pub-

lished on August 18 last year.

Mr Dempers was given political indemnity by the state president in March this year after he was jailed in 1990 for trying to arrange the escape from police detention of Gene Taylor, a friend of AWB secretary-general Piet Rudolph.

Mr Dempers said in a media statement yesterday that the allegations contained in the Saturday Star article had been totally untrue.

He had decided to drop the charges against the newspaper group after reaching the out-of-court settlement. — Sapa.

Fm 22/11/91

ducted in 1989-90, has been done by the Sandton ad agency BSB/Bates

The most astonishing figure is that for television, where the black audience grew by 25%, while that of non-blacks increased only 3,4% This rate of growth has only to continue for one more year and black viewership of TV will be bigger than that of non-blacks

Of course, a bigger *percentage* of whites, coloureds and Asians watch TV than do blacks (74% compared with 27%), but in absolute numbers blacks will probably be dominant by next year. If current trends continue, by then there will be 5,5m black viewers of TV, against 5,1m other viewers

Much the same situation prevails among daily newspaper readers, where blacks are slightly behind non-blacks in total readership at present, but likely to forge ahead of them within two years

But blacks are already dominant in weekly, mainly Sunday newspaper, readership and in radio listenership, where they outnumber the others by two to one and are still increasing They also read more magazines than whites, though in this category, black numbers declined while the other groups showed marginal growth.

Lack of black readership is clearly a problem for Afrikaans newspapers Though their readership is rising almost as rapidly as that of the English-language papers, very little of it is among blacks Only 46 000 blacks read any Afrikaans daily, whereas 2,3m read an English daily.

But one of the "blackest" newspapers is *The Citizen*, a strongly right-wing publication owned by Afrikaans publishing house Perskor Some 60% of its readers are black, compared with only 56% for *The Star* Among so-called "white" newspapers, only the *Daily Dispatch* is blacker, with 68% black readership

Tony Koenderman

Black power

Fm 22/11/91

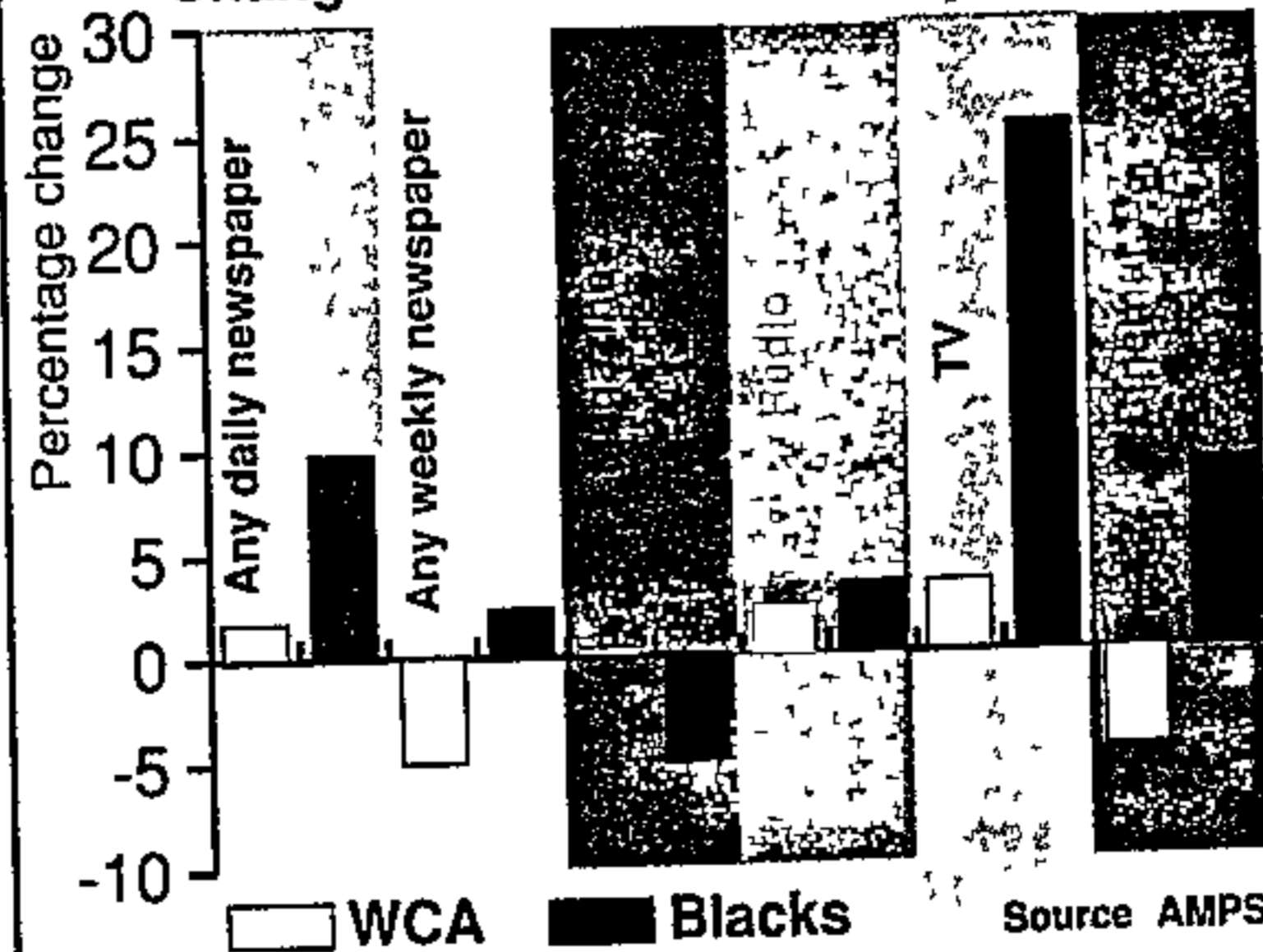
The growing power of blacks in the SA economy is reflected in the latest All Media & Product Survey (Amps) Despite tight economic conditions, black consumption of media is increasing much faster than that of whites, coloureds and Asians. Already blacks are the leading consumers of magazines, weekly newspapers and radio Within two years at the most, they will be dominant in every other major category as well.

Except for the magazine category, black readership, listenership and viewership is outpacing that of other race groups to an impressive degree, outdating the notion that blacks cut back when they can't afford to buy newspapers In fact, it is the wealthier race groups that seem to be most affected by economic stringencies

An analysis of the figures which compares the 1990-91 Amps research with that con-

Ebony and ivory

Changes in audience size, 1991 on 1990



W/mand 29/11/ - 5/12/91

A free press is key to democracy

(243)

"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." — Article 19 of the International Declaration of Human Rights

Without press freedom, democracy is doomed to fail.

To secure a free press we need to guarantee the free flow of information. This includes the right of journalists to report and publish without fear of penalty or state intervention, the right of access to official documents, and the right to protect sources of information.

Freedom is indivisible. Every encroachment on freedom of speech takes more power away from the people and gives it to the government.

**SA Union of Journalists —
Fighting for a Free Press
in a Non-Racial and Democratic
South Africa**

Inkathagate: 'More damning evidence'

THE *Weekly Mail* yesterday said it would publish new evidence of police funding of Inkatha Freedom Party, contradicting President FW de Klerk's claim that he had revealed all details of political funding and that it had stopped. *Sowetan 29/11/91*

The newspaper's editor, Mr Anton Harber, said the newspaper would also give details in its edition today of how money was paid to IFP through a front institute and the role played by Major Louis Botha, the policeman at the centre of the Inkathagate scandal - *Sapa*

What rights do we want in the 'New' South Africa?

Exposing the myth of free speech in a free market

With monopolies controlling the media in South Africa, can the two proposed Bills of Rights adequately ensure freedom of speech? By MARK GEVISSER

w/mcut 29/11 - 5/12/91
 IN the old days, if you had something to say, you set up your soap-box in the village square and said it. And if you wanted to hear what someone else had to say, then you positioned yourself beneath the soapbox and listened. Simple.

But the days of soap-box oratory are long gone now that we live in a web of electronic communication, with satellites and frequencies and multi-million rand printing presses defining what we know and how we know it, the basic imperative, that "everyone has the right to freedom of speech" has become as quaint and as archaic as Speakers' Corner, a well-meant, but quite ineffectual symbol.

In South Africa, there seems to be consensus that freedom of speech should be constitutionally entrenched, that constraints on publishing — like the Publications Act — and on reporting (the Police Act) should be scrapped.

With the history of censorship in our country, this is exciting news: a freedom of speech clause in a Bill of Rights would make censorship unconstitutional, and people would be allowed to say what they like, as long as their free speech didn't in any way encroach on the freedom or well-being of others.

"But," asks Michael Markowitz of the Film and Allied Workers' Organisation, "what good is it if we guarantee people the right to speak but don't give them access to the technology that will allow them to be heard?"

Even if a state gives everyone the right to speak, it can still make sure that only a few get heard by giving some airspace or broadcasting licences and turning down others.

And even though advocates of an unrestrained free market hold free speech as one of their most cherished values, the principles of a free market make sure that only a few get heard — the few who can afford broadcasting technology or printing presses.

In the two draft Bills of Rights circulating South Africa at present — that of the African National Congress and that of the government-appointed Law Commission, freedom



of speech is covered.

The ANC says "there shall be freedom of thought, speech, expression and opinion, including a free press which shall respect the right to reply", and the Law Commission says "everyone has the right to freedom of speech and to other forms of expression and to obtain and disseminate information".

A third draft Bill of Rights, that proposed by the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba, says "Everyone shall be entitled to freedom of expression, which includes the freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas".

With the phrases "freedom to obtain and disseminate information" and "freedom to seek, receive and impart information" the Law Commission and the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba do allude to rights of access. But Markowitz feels that if freedom of speech is to be more than a noble ideal, then the language in the constitution should be more specific, as it is in the American and European Conventions on Human Rights.

The language Fawo has proposed, based on these conventions, is the following: "The right of expression shall not be restricted by indirect methods or means such as the abuse of government or private controls over

newsprint, radio, TV broadcasting and frequencies, or by any other means."

Such a clause would render the SABC unconstitutional. The newspaper monopoly could also be found to be unconstitutional, as could a printing company or a paper supplier that has a monopoly.

If a radio broadcaster was denied a licence or if a political party was denied fair airtime, they could take the matter to a constitutional court.

Perhaps the language of the Law Commission covers this. But, given the fact that the media is controlled almost exclusively by the government and a couple of corporations and, given the fact that the recently-published Task Group on Broadcasting gives the SABC and M-Net the right to broadcast into a new dispensation for at least seven years without having to reapply for a license, there is a strong argument for explicit constitutional checks to be written in to a Bill of Rights.

When a new constitution is negotiated, the parties sitting round the table could all blithely nod in agreement about freedom of speech and then move on to more thorny issues.

Or they could acknowledge that there cannot even be free and fair elections until there is guaranteed equal access.

Inkathagate back in the spotlight with new claims

1243
STAR 30/11/91

DURBAN — "Inkathagate" reared its head again yesterday with claims by the Weekly Mail that police continued funding the organisation this year in spite of assurances by President de Klerk it had been stopped early in 1990.

Both the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Inkatha Institute's Dr Gavin Woods — who the newspaper said was unable to refute its evidence on the funding of a rally in January — have flatly denied the report

Misleading

Dr Woods said yesterday he was "conferring with senior legal opinion on how one deals with this type of journalism"

He alleged that quotes attributed to him were used out of context and in such a way as to create a misleading impression

Weekly Mail editor

CHRIS WHITFIELD

Anton Harber said last night the newspaper had taped its full conversation with Dr Woods and was "happy to make it available".

He said attacks on the newspaper were attempts to obscure the real issue, which was police funding of the IFP and when this happened

The evidence on which the story was based was extremely sound and revelations so far had only been "the tip of the iceberg", said Mr Harber

The report in yesterday's Weekly Mail said a senior IFP source had given the newspaper evidence that security police funded an Inkatha Youth Brigade rally at Mzumbane on the Natal South Coast on January 26

This contradicted President de Klerk's claim that funding to the IFP had been stopped by

March 1990, said the report

"Money for the rally, according to the evidence, was paid into an account of the Inkatha Institute," it said

"Gavin Woods, the director of the institute, then paid for transport and other logistical back-up for the rally with cheques bearing his signature."

The evidence suggested Major Louis Botha — "the man who funded two rallies which led to the Inkathagate scandal" — paid for the South Coast rally

Dr Woods was quoted as having said he suspected the policeman was funding Inkatha but stressed that he never had any proof of this

However, Dr Woods said he had told the newspaper that it was "highly improbable" The claim that the money was paid into an Inkatha Institute

account was "totally untrue", he said "Our auditors will have no problem proving that"

The IFP central committee's executive committee yesterday released a statement charging that the Weekly Mail was mounting a "vicious propaganda campaign" against it and claimed the story was timed to coincide with the preparatory meeting for the multi-party talks

Saturday Star's attempts yesterday to elicit reaction from both the police and the Ministry of Law and Order were unsuccessful

Lieutenant-Colonel Johan Mostert of the SAP's public relations division in Pretoria would only say Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe had ordered an investigation into the allegations, and that a statement would be released in due course

Hannes spot on the target

HATS off to Hannes Human who forecast two months ago that the JSE would boom when many predicted an equity-market slump.

In this month's newsletter from stockbroker J Bosman, Professor Human still holds bullish views.

He says that in spite of the spate of rights issues and more to come, all the JSE indices maintained their strong undertone.

"It remains highly doubtful that we will see any significant downwards adjustments during 1991 as forecast by some analysts.

"The fact that we will see institutions such as the PIC, Spoornet and the Post Office coming to the market as net buyers should rather add to the existing bullish sentiments on quality industrial shares."

But the newsletter warns that tax incentives, such as a lower company tax, will be required if an economic upswing is to be achieved.

Institutional cash flows will dictate share prices. There is a captive market in high-quality industrials and it is neither possible nor feasible for the institutions to turn into large net sellers. The search for so-called second- and third-line stocks will intensify.

Professor Human says the strong performance of the financial rand indicates improvement in the sentiment of

foreigners. But it poses the question of how sentiment will be affected by the rumoured formation of an interim government next year.

A technical improvement in the dollar is sure to reduce the discount of the financial and commercial rand, currently 6% to 10%.

For the sake of economic expediency — scrapping the financial appears to be a precondition to obtaining IMF loans — the authorities might decide to abolish the two-tier system, possibly early next year.

If it is, the commercial rand will retreat to about 200c-plus to the dollar. Increased imports will also lead to a weaker rand.

Professor Human believes the gold price will move closer to \$400 before the end of 1991 on the grounds of a supply shortage of 10% and because of uncertainty about Russian and Eastern European sales.

The fall in the weighting of the food component in the new 1990-base consumer price index should help to brake the rate of inflation. But it will remain at higher than 14% for the next three months.

There is not much room for downside on interest rates either.

Professor Human says it is inopportune to invest in other avenues, such as property and gilts, and recommends holding on to good scrip. High-quality second liners can be bought to top up portfolios as can low-cost gold producers. Liquidity should still be 20%.

FROM humble beginnings seven years ago with only five clients, news clippings service Stock Press has a customer base running into the hundreds.

Owner-manager Chris Fisher used to be a fund manager in London and Johannesburg and well knows the frustrations of trying to carry out company or sector research without a disciplined library service.

He nursed the idea of establishing a commercial service for several years while doing some homework on how the system would work.

Stock Press was launched in October 1984, offering a financial, economic and socio-political service. The format copies the listing order of equities and sectors on the JSE.

Now, the flourishing business employs 18, covers more than 350 publications and offers 20 broad services ranging from the full 1 300 headings covered to published material about individual companies.

It handles sectoral preferences and even undertakes research on behalf of customers.

The library is open to members of the public who can either subscribe for everyday use or pay ad hoc. There are 60 regular users.

Stock Press is economical with space — seven years of research takes a surprisingly small area against a wall.

The system works on updated entry sheets. When new printed material appears on a topic, it is added to the existing last page of the file and carried over on to a new page.

Customers file the new sheets and discard the previous last pages.

DIAGONAL STREET by Julie Walker

Stock Press on the ball

Mr Fisher found himself becoming a motor-cycle fleet manager.

A daily delivery service takes a clerk fewer than two hours to file and a weekly one about three hours.

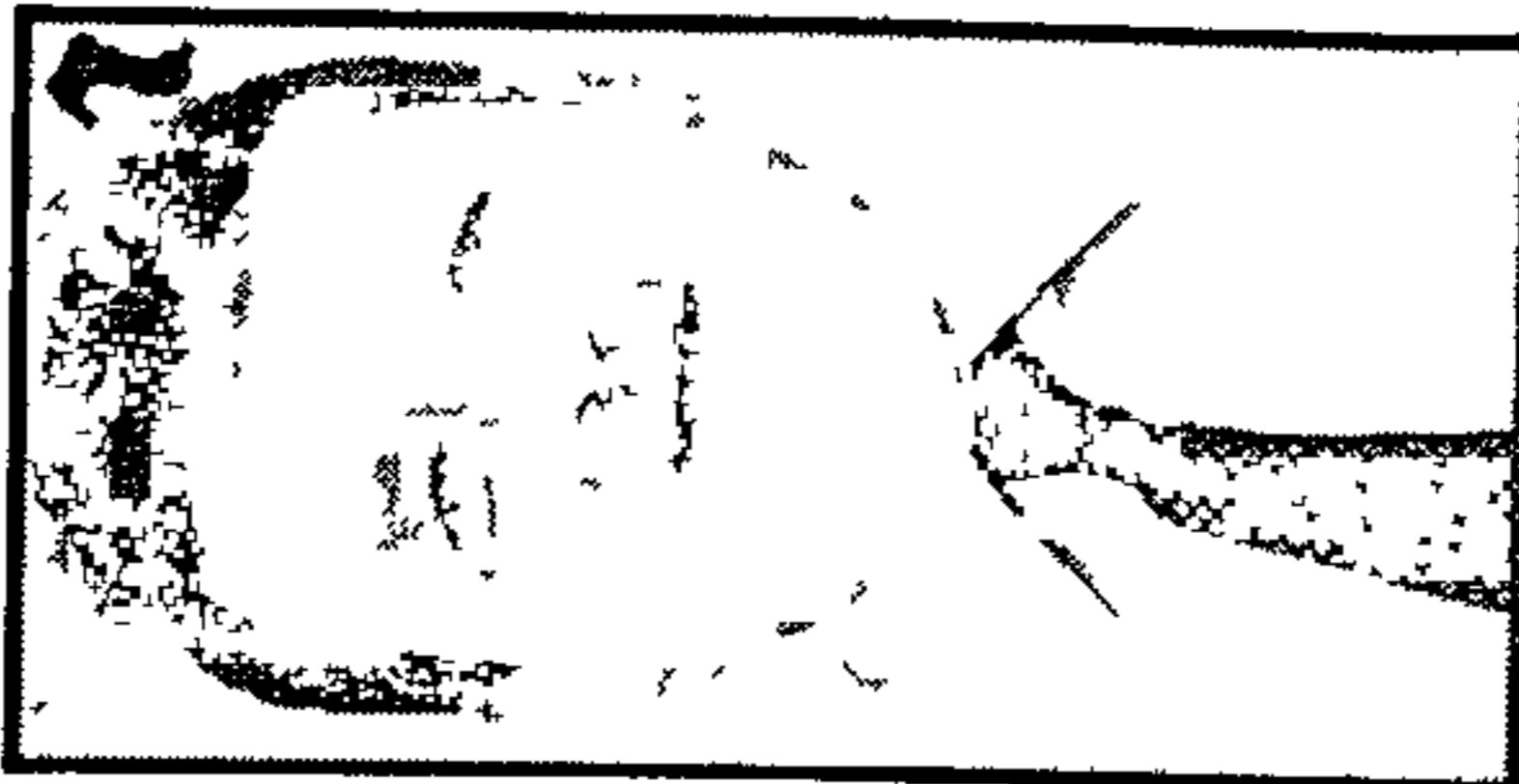
The cost of the most comprehensive service is less than the salary of a clerk.

Its comprehensive coverage and cost effectiveness have earned Stock Press an enviable subscriber list. Almost every bank, insurer and financial institution in SA gets the service as well as do more than half the stock-brokers.

Auditors, leading companies, government bodies, publishers, public relations consultants, business schools and universities also number among the customers.

Stock Press has several foreign clients and has an associate in London through which contacts can be established.

Mr Fisher is looking at ways of transmitting the service electronically. The technology is available abroad.



CHRIS FISHER Winning idea

Business Day newspaper is used as the benchmark and certain editorial discretion is used where, for example, a news release has been run in its entirety by several publications.

Daily or weekly deliveries were sub-contracted when

ANC's plan for the press

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

AN ANC media charter, which the organisation hopes will form part a future constitution and bill of rights, is being considered by the ANC's national executive committee

According to the draft charter, everyone would have the right to freely publish, broadcast and disseminate information and opinion. People would also have the right of free access to information and opinion.

All legislation and institutions restricting the free flow of information or imposing censorship over the media would be forbidden.

But the citizen's right to privacy and any other freedoms entrenched in the bill of rights would not be violated on account of the free

flow of information. The charter states. *(S) Times 1/12/91 (243)*

A declaration of media freedoms on its own is not enough, the draft charter says. It must be underpinned by an equitable distribution of media resources, enforcement mechanisms and developmental programmes.

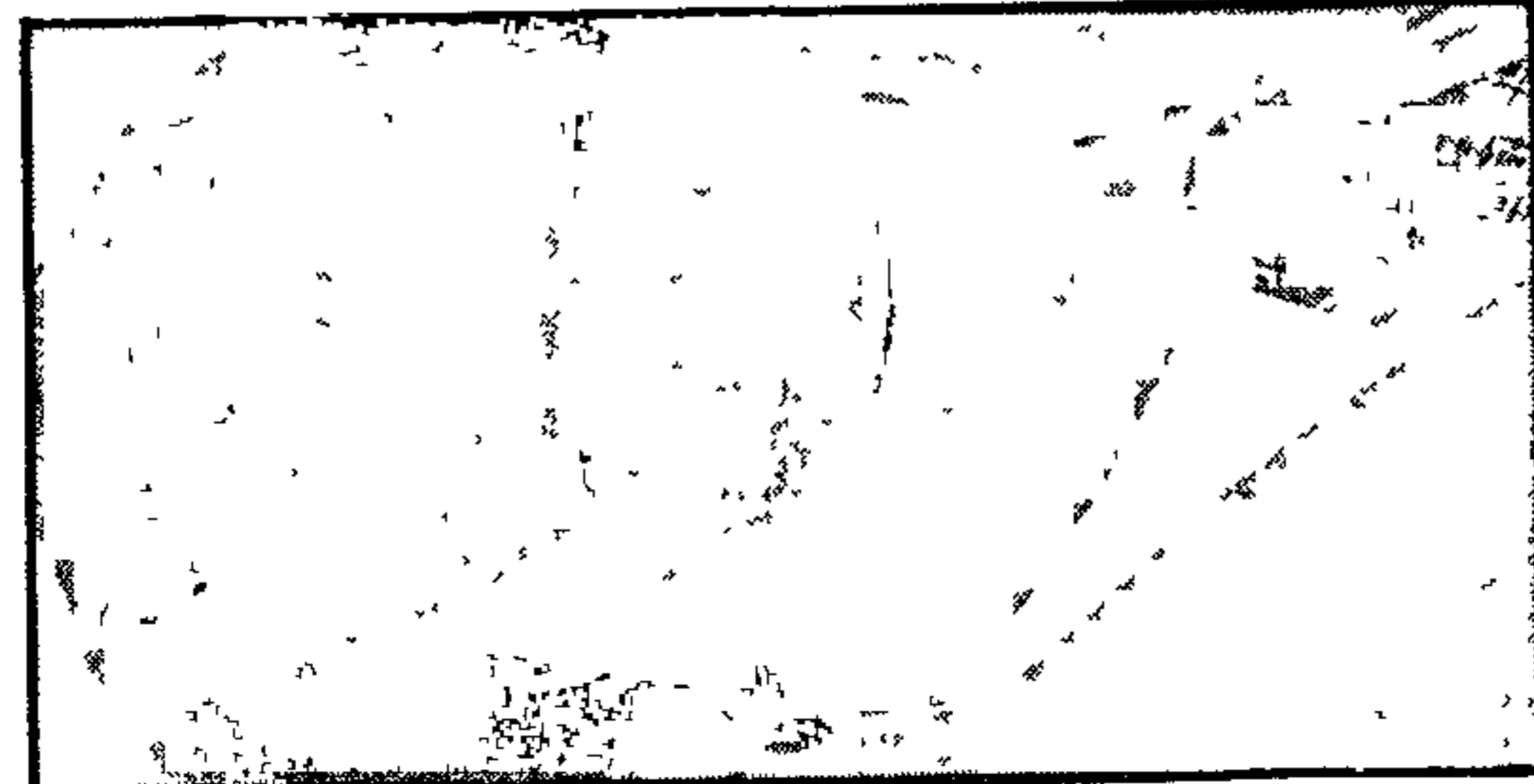
Therefore, steps would be taken to ensure that all communities had access to skills like reading and

writing and the technical means for the receipt and dissemination of information, including electricity and telecommunications. Diversity of ownership of media production and distribution facilities would be assured and affirmative action would be taken to provide financial, technical and other resources to deprived sectors of society, the charter states.

Reporter supreme who thrived on the glory days

Biden 3/12/91

(243)



□ KATZIN

KITT Katzin died too early, too young. Officially, he died of cancer at 51, in fact, he ran himself to death.

Sitting in hospital several months ago, his face grey and drawn after the surgery that delivered a death sentence, he remarked with an air of faint bewilderment, "Hell, Ken, I think I just worked too hard."

That was the truth, and the remark covered me briefly with guilt. In the three years from 1982 to 1985 he worked for me at the Sunday Express, he broke more stories of major significance than any other reporter I have known: Marino Chiavelli's criminal background, a scandal in Eskom that took him on a murderously exhausting trip to Australia, details of the court action — still secret — in which Taki Xenopoulos won an immense settlement from Chiavelli, and many others.

As we sat in hospital, looking back on those years, he reeled off one "scoop" after another. Those, he said, were the days, the glory days, when his name went up in lights, week after week, and when the prizes for excellent journalism came rolling, almost year after year.

As I listened to him, my own guilt receded. He worked as he did, might

world was a place of wondrous stories, and people were the means of getting to them, regardless of race, creed or gender.

In other ways, he was as South African as the veld and, for reasons I did not really understand, insatiably insecure. Enough was never enough. The grand prizes of journalism offered by the Stellenbosch Farmers' Winery became for him an obsession; his quest for next year's prize was ceaseless. Each quest began the day after the last year's award.

Victory made him redouble his efforts, defeat threw him into utter despair, and despair drove him harder even than victory. He was full of excuses and explanations for any failure, real or imagined, but underneath lay a will of steel. He simply tried harder than the others, and then harder still.

Some reporters, the very best, work as methodically as detectives, they go from one minor informant to another, in ever-narrowing circles, others, inspired but unsteady, make great leaps of imagination and then look for the evidence to support "what must have happened."

Kitt Katzin looked for a source. For every story, he believed, there

was a person who had the facts, the trick was to find that person and negotiate. And it was in negotiating that Katzin proved matchless. He wheedled, he threatened, he traded, he never gave up. He shuffled between editor and "source" like a marriage broker, cajoling and pleading until he found a way to break the story.

That achieved, he was relentless and skilled in follow-up, and tireless in exploiting the tiniest gap, the slenderest lead. He was a racehorse who needed infinite care and attention, and he demanded infinite patience from his editors. That is why, I think, he flourished best on a small newspaper.

Towards the end of his life, as he fought his illness with the same dogged courage, he was beginning to wonder whether the achievement was worth the effort. He had, quite literally I believe, sacrificed his life to journalism, to the hunt, and journalism had not given him or his family much in the way of reward.

At the end of it, we can only say Kitt Katzin served his country and his craft better than most people realised, that in his time he was matchless, that he ran himself to death, and died too young.



Sabta may take over Sandton bus service

BLACK taxi organisation Sabta might take over the running of Sandton's municipal bus service when the local authority cancels its contract with a private company in June

THEO RAWANA

A Sandton Town Council meeting decided last week that the agreement with Comuta Services should be cancelled because the bus service was uneconomical and under-utilised

The meeting had also been told that "excessive tariffs" paid by the bus service's commuters may have been responsible for the lack of support it was receiving

The council decided to investigate whether Sabta could provide a regular minibus service within the municipal boundaries of Sandton

The council will also investigate whether the Johannesburg Transport Department will consider extending its proposed bus routes in Sandton to cover a wider

area
Council spokesman Daleen van Wyk said yesterday the council was investigating an offer from Sabta, but this was among other options open to it

It would be clear by next April what passenger transport service was acceptable to Sandton

Sabta national media manager Fanyana Shiburi said the taxi organisation had been running a taxi service between the Johannesburg CBD and Sandton for the past eight months

Sabta was talking to Sandton and the route agreed upon would be handled by drivers trained through its Project Spear training system "There will be tighter security on this route, with two trained guards manning each taxi," Shiburi added

Pik pays tribute to Info-busting Katzin

THE funeral of top investigative reporter and Sunday Star assistant editor Kitt Katzin — who died yesterday of cancer — will be held tomorrow

DAVE LOURENS

Colleagues — and Foreign Minister Pik Botha — paid tribute to the man responsible for leading the

exposure of the Info scandal which brought down John Vorster's government.

Sunday Express editor at the time of the scandal, Rex Gibson, said four qualities particularly distinguished Katzin, 51. They were his unflagging enthusiasm, his doggedness, his total commitment to the notion that the public had to be told the truth, and his courage

Botha said that despite differences the two agreed on fundamental issues, such as the moral necessity to remove racially discriminatory legislation

He described Katzin as "always dynamic, imaginative and resourceful"

SA Union of Journalists president Sven Lünsche said Katzin had set an example to journalists through his commitment to pursuing the truth.

"I worked with him during the momentous days of the Info scandal. His life and his family were threatened as he probed the biggest political scandal of the decade. Not one word he ever wrote about the Info episode has ever been seriously challenged. For a consummate professional there can be no higher tribute"

The union's bestowal earlier this year of its Pringle Award on Katzin was a great tribute, as it had been made by his colleagues

Head of the Rand Daily Mail investigative team into the "Info" scandal, Chris Day, said Katzin had inspired all journalists

● See Page 8

BUSINESSMEN
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SOMETHING big is afoot in the English language press. A reasonable guess is that it could be a hectic Christmas for some key players — leading, before long, to a restructuring of ownership.

Moves, so far, have been secretive. But rumours abound. We could wake up one day and find it all decided — possibly to the disadvantage of the long-term public interest. Even the process of democratisation taking place in South Africa could be compromised.

It is common cause that the ownership of major newspapers is over-concentrated.

In the English-language press, one newspaper company, Argus Holdings, dominates the operating scene. One mining/financial conglomerate, Anglo American and associates, is the ultimate owner of both major groups (Argus and Times Media Ltd).

At Anglo, the crown rests uneasily on the head of an empire with diverse and delicate ramifications. As Anglo knows too well, owning newspapers can be a thankless liability — in both the old and the coming South Africa.

There is, understandably, talk of an unscrambling of the much-criticised press monopoly — which would obviously be prudent if done voluntarily by Anglo before a new government arrives to tackle the job in drastic and unpredictable ways.

Senior newspaper executives have hinted at some degree of unbundling. A financial publication has speculated about the possibility of Argus selling its 37 percent stake in "its most controversial investment", TML, adding that if controlling shareholder JCI did this it would not necessarily be welcomed by Argus management. Indeed, the record shows that Argus has always jealously guarded its easy wicket.

A question is whether Argus has an effective veto over change of control of TML — similar to the muscle of Max Borkum's Advowson Trust, formed to thwart Louis Luyt's scandalous bid to use taxpayers' money to deliver TML's predecessor to the Rhodie follies. If such vetoes exist, they should be publicly discussed.

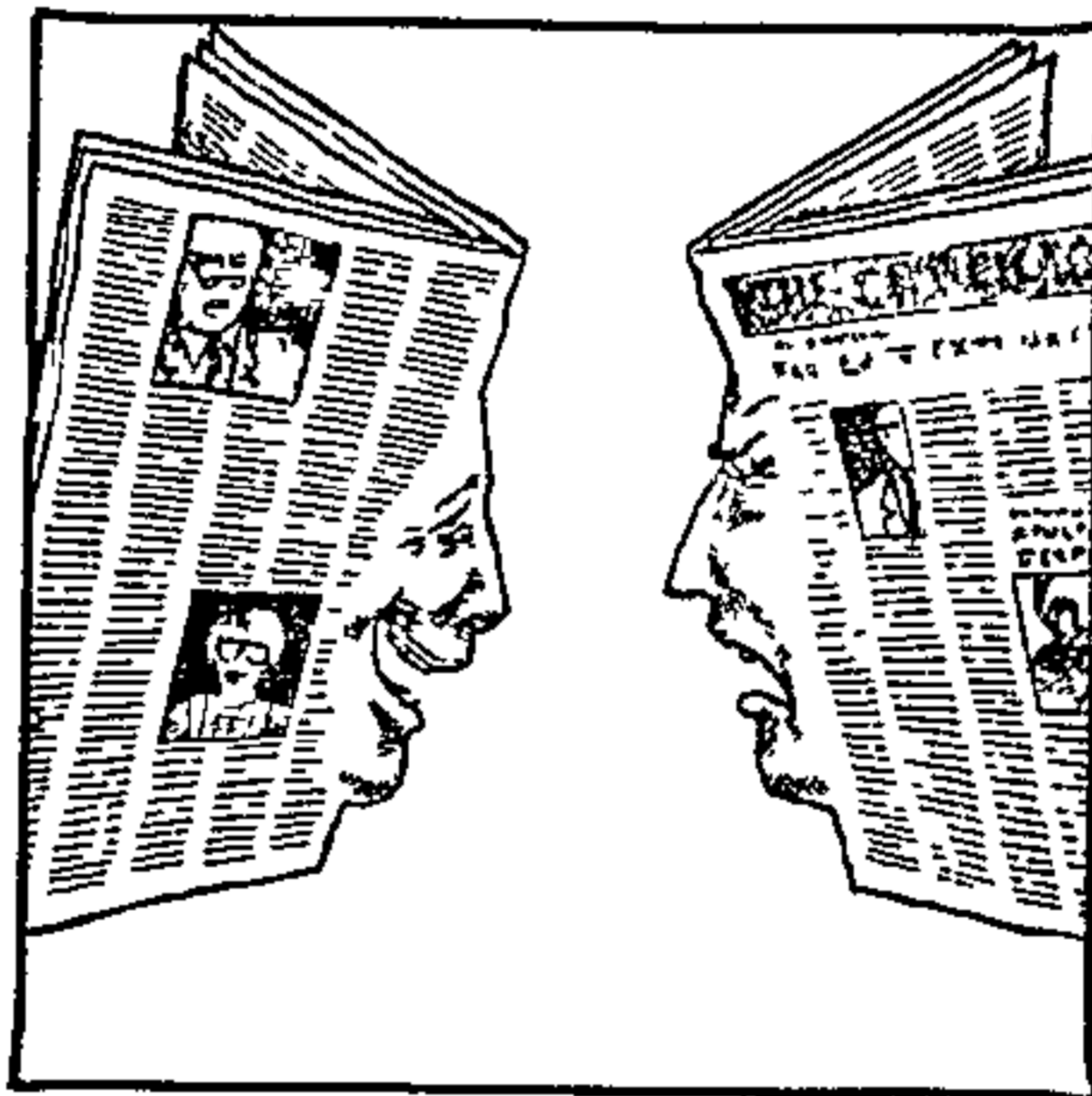
Unbundling seems inevitable. The question is in which direction the bundles will go. That is the point which those sensitive to the public interest, and concerned about the establishment of a more democratic media, should grasp.

In this context, interesting reports have appeared in a Toronto newspaper in the past week. The media reporter of the *Globe and Mail* said that press tycoon Conrad Black is after a stake in TML. Black, the owner of the *Daily Telegraph* among other titles internationally, hails from Toronto.

Feeding the press to the far- right

W/Mail 6/12 - 12/12/91

Newspaper executives have hinted that the press monopoly may be unscrambled. **ANTHONY HEARD** warns that the press could well fall into the wrong hands.



The report noted that Anglo is under considerable pressure to sell some of its extensive media holdings voluntarily, rather than face forced divestiture in the future.

Black is embroiled in a bruising attempt to take over the ailing Australian newspaper publisher John Fairfax Group Pty Ltd. Yet he confirmed to the Toronto newspaper his interest in South Africa. He speaks of the possibility of "substantive" talks with Anglo early this year. He says he has discussed the matter with President FW de Klerk and Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and "they are not opposed to us". That's hardly a surprise, since Black would be a sharp and straight arrow in the quiver of a conservative South African alliance.

Black says he will have talks with the

ANC if discussions with Anglo become serious enough to warrant it. He need hardly bother, for the immediate response to the Toronto report was a broadside from Victor Moché of the ANC in Ottawa.

"Conrad Black has not been a friend of our freedom, he has not been a friend of our cause," he told the *Globe and Mail*. Moché added that the ANC's problem would not be so much with Mr Black's doing business in South Africa as with "having a rightwing ideologue buying up instruments of massive influence in South Africa".

Even if Black is given only a minority stake — for instance, to help a local management (or some other type of) buy-outs of a newspaper company — many South Africans would object.

This is particularly so in view of Black's brand of conservatism (he even writes letters to the editor in his own journals to lambaste his journalists for not being nice enough to President George Bush). Such an entry into a South Africa with the ANC prominent in government would be bizarre — like the arrival of a pork chop at a halaal braai.

As things stand, the ANC is disenchanted — with good reason — by the attitude of most of the mainstream press toward its activities. Enter Black, and that situation could worsen.

If the ultimate owners of the English-language press are characteristically prudent, they will discuss any such unbundling with opposition groups like the ANC before things reach a decisive stage. Those consulted will have strong ideas on what is best for South Africa. If the print media ends up in rampant conservative or fringe free-market hands, or both, it could become a theatre of major conflict in a future order.

In recent years, the government has had the cheek to attempt making long-term disposition over, say, privatisation, VAT and broadcasting, in arrogant disregard of the feelings of groups like the ANC. This has led to protests, strikes. Unilateral restructuring of newspapers could bring similar upheaval, particularly among journalists.

It can be argued that newspapers are private assets and can be disposed of as owners wish. But they operate very much in the public domain — and should operate in the public interest. Moreover, the owners built up their monopoly on the back of an unfair and discredited old order. They owe something to the new order. Levelling the political playing field must include the press.

And it means more than feeding newspapers to the Great Whites of the world.

● Anthony Heard is former editor of the *Cape Times*.

Envoy to address black pressmen

THE German Ambassador to South Africa, Dr Immo Strabreit, will be the guest speaker at the second annual banquet of the Pretoria Press Club at the Burgerspark Hotel in Pretoria on Friday.

The club was formed in 1989 by black reporters in Pretoria to enable them to meet and discuss issues which affect them and it is the only known successful and viable club for black reporters in South Africa. *C/Pnes 8/12/91 (243)*

A spokesman for the club, Josiah Charle, said several guests have been invited, including several foreign government officials in South Africa and prominent local people.

FA GROUP of racists decided to buy a radio station and broadcast racial slurs, should there be laws prohibiting them? This once-academic question could become reality when the imminent deregulation of radio broadcasting grants free expression on the airwaves to anyone who can afford it.

Legislation against inciting discrimination is a debate gaining momentum in academic and political circles. The concept of "hate speech" has appeared as a buzz-word that refers to advocating national, racial or religious hatred and involves incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence.

Earlier this year Mr Joe Slovo, then secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, reportedly said in a debate that freedom of speech would not be absolute under an African National Congress government. Racial slurs and derogatory references should be forbidden by law, Slovo suggested.

The late Dr Francis Meli, then editor of ANC publication Sechaba, said last year the ANC supported a free and independent press, but would discourage a press which propagated racism. Progressive organisations, including the ANC, the Film and Allied

Hate speech: to ban or not to ban?

Southside 12/12 - 18/12/91

243



With the deregulation of radio broadcasting, debates are emerging over free expression as opposed to the suppression of racist ideas.

KAREN WILLIAMS reports:



Workers' Organisation (FAWO) and even the Anti-Censorship Action Group (ACAG) have steered clear of taking any definite policy decisions on the matter.

Mr Wilhe Currie of FAWO said he was totally against censorship. Measures against "hate speech" should not affect ownership of media, he said, but

such provisions should rather fall under common law. What this means is publications could be taken to court over allegations of incitement or defamation.

Ms Gilhan Caldwell, an American intern at the Legal Resources Centre, agreed with the idea of instituting civil claims for injuria. She added it was

difficult defining "hate speech" specifically and therefore it would be equally difficult to legislate against it. The First Amendment to the Constitution regulated "hate speech" in the United States, she said.

Lawyer Ms Bridgette Mabandla raised the concern that banning the expression of racist ideas might drive racism underground.

Mabandla disagreed "hate speech" had to be outlawed but felt instead a culture of tolerance had to be promoted through education and the media.

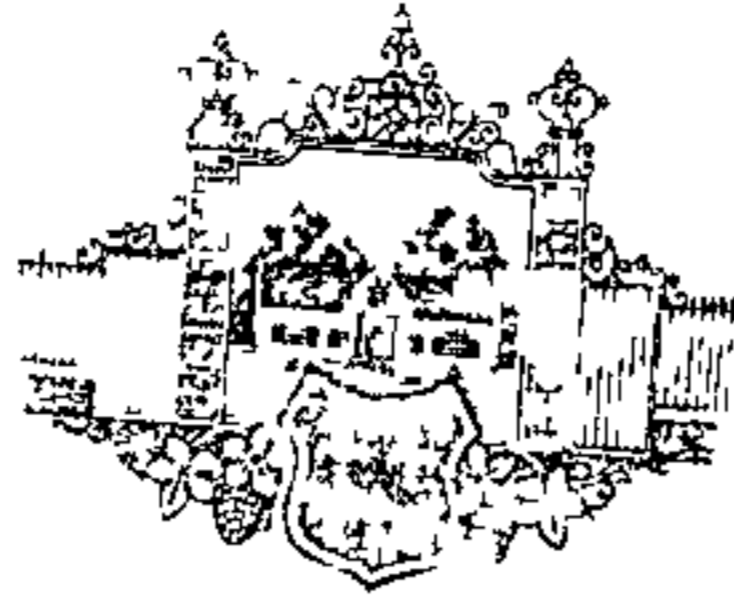
"You have to guard against limiting freedom of expression and freedom of speech," she said. "You can't legislate against things that need to be corrected socially."

Mr Don Pimock of the Journalism Department at Rhodes University, agreed legislation would be ineffective unless there was a culture of tolerance.

"We need to build a culture and social awareness which understands these things are unacceptable. You could legislate against discriminatory language but you cannot legislate against things like nuances which could have discriminatory implications" □

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LTE 019E

Call for rally ban rejected

Wilson Zwane

A CALL by The Sowetan newspaper for a ban on political rallies has been rejected by a number of organisations.

The newspaper argued this week that rallies should not be tolerated in what was an emergency situation because of the loss of life associated with them.

The call was made after 17 people were killed and at least 13 injured after an Inkatha rally in Soweto on Sunday. ²⁴³ ~~12/12/91~~

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the call for a ban on political rallies, until township violence had been contained, would militate against free political expression.

She said people attending rallies should be disarmed.

Inkatha central committee member Musa Myeni said attacks on Inkatha supporters made the carrying of traditional weapons more necessary than ever.

Azapo described the call as naive.

Lawyers for Human Rights national director Brian Currin said imposing a ban on rallies would be addressing a symptom and not the causes of violence.

SAP takes issue with City Press report

THE public relations department of the South African Police has taken issue with a report carried in last week's City Press headlined "Police backed the impis, cop claims", concerning a massacre in the Natal Midlands.

The police dispute an allegation by an unnamed policeman published in City Press, saying, "My colleagues, including Sergeant Fourie, looked on nonchalantly from a few metres away as rampaging Inkatha impis unleashed their fury on the area known as White City."

The police say Sergeant Fourie was not called out on the morning of December 4 during the second attack in Bruntville near Mooi River.

He was at home with his family. The allegation is "unfounded and totally untrue".

The SAP said only 31 houses were damaged in the attack, eight of which were burnt. City Press reported that residents said 100 houses were damaged or destroyed.

City Press reported that a policeman's wife, Lindiwe Zuma, was adamant she saw hostel dwellers and police firing wildly at houses.

The SAP said the police fired back in self-defence because they were under fire from an AK-47 rifle at the time.

The SAP said an allegation that the charge of police personnel received a report of events at about 10 am on the Tuesday was unfounded.

According to the report in City Press roughly 300 armed hostel dwellers were turned back by residents when they attempted to march on a local school about 15 minutes later, hunted by Capt Henry Budhram of the SAP.

City Press must further point out that two reporters dealt with Capt Budhram. We carried seven paragraphs of police comment, including denials Budhram faxed his response to City Press. When he was asked to fax his document again because parts were unclear, he did not comply.

15/12/91
243



Woods's litigation threat 'skirts issue'

LINDEN BIRNS (243)

TALK of litigation by Inkatha Institute director Gavin Woods against The Weekly Mail was intended to hide the fact that Woods, the Institute and Inkatha had not challenged the main thrust of reports about the party's government links, the newspaper's editor Anton Harber said yesterday.

He was reacting to Woods's remarks this week that he was taking legal advice on how to deal with the newspaper which named him as a Security Police informer

"It was not us that named Mr Woods as a police informer. It was the police themselves," said Harber in a statement sent to Business Day (BDA) 18/12/91

He said Durban-based SAP officer Maj Louis Botha, "a man whom Woods himself acknowledged he knows well", had written in an SAP document that Woods was an informer

He added that the authenticity of that SAP document had been proven

The newspaper also published Woods's denials that he was an informer

Botha subsequently released an affidavit saying he "had not quite meant exactly what he said" in describing Woods as an informer, said Harber

"Mr Woods, however, should also explain how and why he wrote an official report that covered up the secret funding of Uwusa. Mr Woods conducted a long and expensive investigation into the organisation and wrote a detailed report without once asking where the organisation was getting millions of rands to throw away," he said

Harber said he could prove the accuracy of comments which the newspaper attributed to Woods, and which Woods alleged the newspaper had fabricated

These dealt with whether Woods actually confirmed that he knew the SAP was funding Inkatha

"Mr Woods knows that we taped the conversation which he says we 'fabricated'. We would be happy to play this tape to a judge if that is the path Mr Woods wishes to take," said Harber

A 993

NEWS IN BRIEF

Man's body unearthed

THE arrest of two men in connection with the murder of American tourist Edward Perlmutter has led to the discovery of a man's body which was buried in a river bed near Giant's Castle in Natal

Police are investigating whether the suspects, a 30-year-old man and a teenager, were also connected with the death of Pretoria man Jacob Joubert and the attempted murder of Port Elizabeth businessman Clive Newman

The men are expected to appear in court in Knysna today in connection with Perlmutter's death

Govt studies weapons ban

THE Ministry of Law and Order has called for a copy of the Durban Supreme Court judgment which effectively bans the carrying of traditional weapons by Zulus

Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said the recent judgment could affect the conduct of the SAP in unrest-related incidents

The ruling by Mr Justice Diddcott in the Durban Supreme Court set aside regulations promulgated by the State President whereby the carrying of traditional weapons was permitted

But policemen on the ground are reluctant to enforce the ban because of great personal danger in disarming large crowds

Support for bombed school

KLERKSDORP residents have rallied to the support of the private multiracial school which was destroyed by a bomb blast on Monday

Pastor Andre de Kock said the Klerksdorp Christian Academy had suffered about R1,2m in damage, most of which was covered by insurance. He said one woman had donated her last R5 towards rebuilding

West Rand police said they had not ruled out right-wing involvement

REPORTS Sapa Business Day Reporter Own Correspondent
BDA 18/12/91

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'Harassment of press on rise'

243 ET 18/12/91

Own Correspondent
LONDON — There are growing fears that "judicial censorship" is on the increase in South Africa, the International Press Institute (IPI) says in its annual World Press Freedom Review.

The IPI says "the use of formal court procedures to harass newspapers has been stepped up in the past year".

It cites several cases of this, including the unsuccessful libel action brought against Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail by

Lieutenant-General Lotha Neethling, head of the police forensic laboratories, which is now on appeal.

"Neethling's costs are being paid for by the government, but Vrye Weekblad would have gone out of business had it not defended the action and found the R1 million to finance it."

In another case, Star editor Mr Richard Steyn successfully defended himself against a Supreme Court judge who demanded he give reasons why he should not be cited for contempt of court for publishing

the statement of a litigant that "he had not received justice" (from the judge).

The IPI says the paper was later sued for defamation by another judge for publishing a criticism of a judgment by the secretary of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Brian Currin.

"This case is proceeding but the Star has had to fund both defences at considerable cost to itself. The state is paying the costs of the judges."

The IPI also notes that "on several occasions this year, people obtained Supreme

Court interdicts preventing newspapers from publishing stories about their activities".

"There is concern in media and legal circles that this form of 'judicial censorship' is on the increase

"The latter view arose after an interdict preventing publication had been granted preventing the Cape Times from publishing a story about a policeman — with the additional order that the paper was not to publish the fact that the bar had been applied. The Cape Times is appealing."

least its 600 from the 1992 tax year
The LIDA has also asked Revenue
to extend the age at which RA annu-
ity contributions must terminate
from 70 to 75 years.

5/Dec 18/12/91
**'SA newspaper
quits Botswana**

JONATHAN REES (243)

PRETORIA — The management of a Botswana newspaper allegedly operating as a regional propaganda organ of the SA government closed down and tried to remove all its equipment back to SA at the weekend without paying staff or creditors, according to informed sources in Botswana.

The relocation and closure of Newlink Africa and its printing arm Magnum Press were delayed after intervention by Botswana police and the Botswana Labour Commissioner.

It is understood that Newlink and Magnum have a substantial overdraft with Barclays Bank Botswana and owe money to several printing concerns and others.

SA technicians dismantled printing presses last week on the pretext of taking them across the border for a service, a source said.

Staff were advised to return to work next year, but a factory manager became suspicious when SA trucks began removing not only the presses but other newsroom equipment and furniture.

SADF spokesman Maj Charl de Klerk declined to comment on allegations that the newspaper might have been linked to Military Intelligence.

Front newspaper for South Africa in Botswana closes

243

Sowetan

18/12/91

GABORONE - A Botswana-based newspaper which was exposed recently as a front for the South African Government was closed at the weekend and all its equipment spirited out of the country in three huge trucks

Newslink Africa, together with its printing arm, Magnum Press, was closed on Saturday morning. Its expensive printing presses and furniture were transported to South Africa in huge trucks

But the trucks were stopped at the Tlokweng border post by Botswana immigration officials at the instruction of the commissioner of labour. They were only allowed to leave after all employees had been paid

Newslink was exposed recently by a former SADF officer, Major Nico Basson, as an ambitious project by South African military intelligence to influence Southern African countries

All the editorial decisions were

taken in Pretoria by the SA Troop Information Unit, of the SADF

Basson said "Newslink is a front paper for the South African Government with the aim of destabilising Botswana."

Newslink, a weekly, used to sell at 50 thebe (about 37c), but after its South African connection was exposed, it was given away free of charge - *Sowetan Africa News Service*

SA closes paper in Gaborone

STARZ 18/12/71
GABORONE — A Botswana-based newspaper which was recently exposed as a front for the South African Government was closed at the weekend and all its equipment transported to South Africa in three huge trucks.

Newslink Africa, together with its printing arm, Magnum Press, was closed on Saturday

morning
But the trucks were stopped at the Tlokweng border post by Botswana immigration officials and only permitted to pass after all employees had been paid.

Newslink was recently exposed as a project by South African military intelligence to influence southern African countries — Star Africa Service

Papers succeed where Codesa fails

Sowetan 20/12/91 (243) [initials]

WHERE Codesa has failed, the *Sowetan/Vrye Weekblad State of the Nation* report has succeeded.

The summer edition of the quarterly report has been able to bring together disparate groups like the CP, Afrikaner Volkswag and Azapo and the PAC to express their views on negotiations.

Its table of contents, based on the theme "Negotiating the Future", cut across the political spectrum.

Former leader of the Opposition in Parliament, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, espouses the meaning of democracy and the likelihood that in South Africa "in its first few years go through turbulence and uncertainty".

The report tackles two of the key actors in the negotiation process through in-depth question-and-answer interviews with the ANC's Mohammed Valli Moosa and the National Party's general secretary, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

Moosa expects major areas of conflict in the negotiation process, especially in areas like an elected constituent assembly and a

timeframe for an interim government.

Van der Merwe gives the assurance that in spite of eroding white support, the NP is committed to seeing "the negotiation process to its logical conclusion".

Soulmate

In an interesting encounter, *Sowetan* Editor Aggrey Klaaste and a colleague attempt to "beard" the Lion of the Waterberg, Dr Andries Treurnicht in his den.

The interview results in a trip in a time machine back to the Verwoerdian years. Treurnicht promises to turn back the clock and reintroduce apartheid measures like the Group Areas Act.

His soulmate on the Right, Professor Carel Boshoff, articulates an erudite and convincing argument for a separate state for Afrikaners, albeit removed from world realities.

Boshoff promises that whites will not automatically become citizens of his "Volkstaat" and blacks will not automatically be excluded.

Chopping at Codesa from the left is Azapo's Strini Moodley, who warns

organisations like the ANC that participation in the convention is like "going to duel with an unloaded gun".

Moodley avers that the only victor in the negotiations up to now has been the Government.

Other contributors to the report are *Sowetan's* Themba Molefe who looks at the clouded future of the Patriotic Front, Raymond Suttner on the ANC's constitutional proposals, Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Inkatha's vision for the future, editor of *Die Patriot* ZB du Toit who calls on Codesa to disband and Barney Desai who outlines the PAC's constitutional ideas.

On a different note, Professor Adrio König of Unisa says groups other than politicians should be part of shaping South Africa's political destiny.

Seshi Chonco of the Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy looks at the proposals of all the parties and concludes that coalition politics is here to stay.

The *State of the Nation* report is posted to 10 000 of South Africa's senior leaders at all levels of society.

'Policemen's conspiracy'

13/10/91 20/12/91
AN ALLEGED conspiracy
by two policemen to abduct
and murder a civic associ-
ation leader has been re-
ferred to the Transvaal at-
torney-general by the
Goldstone Commission of
Inquiry into Violence and
Intimidation. (243)

Earlier this month the
New Nation newspaper fur-
nished sworn statements to
the commission implicat-
ing two members of the
SAP at Schweizer-Reneke.

In a statement yesterday
inquiry chairman Mr Jus-
tice Goldstone said the
commission received tape
recordings made by an in-
formant of the New Nation
which were alleged to con-
tain conversations with the
two policemen.

The commission exam-
ined the police and the New
Nation informant. — Sapa

Van with copies featuring exposé hijacked en route to Botswana

SADF 'front' rival paper vanishes

Star 21/12/91

A PRINT-RUN of a Botswana newspaper carrying an exposé of links between the SADF and a failed rival newspaper disappeared after the van carrying them was hijacked this week.

It was alleged in the Reporter/Mmegi that rival publication Newslink Africa was a front company for the SADF and was part of its "dirty tricks" campaign.

The panel van transporting the copies of Reporter/Mmegi from Pretoria to Gaborone was stolen from a house in Thabani near Rustenburg on Wednesday.

The front-page story of the hijacked edition of Reporter/Mmegi carried the story of the closure of Newslink.

The alleged SADF front's closure has left 80 people unemployed.

Mmegi carried pictures and the story of the removal of machinery and office equipment from Newslink's premises in Gaborone.

The van, loaded with 15,000 copies of the weekly, printed by Saturday Star sister paper the Pretoria News, left Pretoria on Wednesday evening for Gaborone.

Botswana journalist Methuense Leepile said that soon after the two van drivers left Pretoria they noticed they were being followed by two vehicles, a maroon BMW and a white 1400 Nissan Bakkie.

He said the drivers were followed to a Rustenburg petrol station.

Fearing they were going to be attacked, they decided to stay the night at a friend's house in Thabani.

Mr Leepile said the BMW and the bakkie disappeared when their drivers drove to Thabani.

The theft was discovered the next morning.

"Fortunately the Pretoria News had the original plates and was able to print another load. Through a chartered aircraft, we were able to distribute Mmegi on Thursday afternoon," he said.

"I'm unable to tell if our papers were hijacked or if it was just ordinary theft."

"The drivers said the two vehicles following them were quite persistent."

"Whenever they reduced speed, the tailers did the same," Mr Leepile said.

A western Transvaal police spokesman said he was not aware of the incident.

Cover blown

Mr Leepile said the theft had been reported to the Thabani police. He gave the case number as CR 123/12/91.

The controversy surrounding Newslink started in August, soon after the Inkathagata scandal broke.

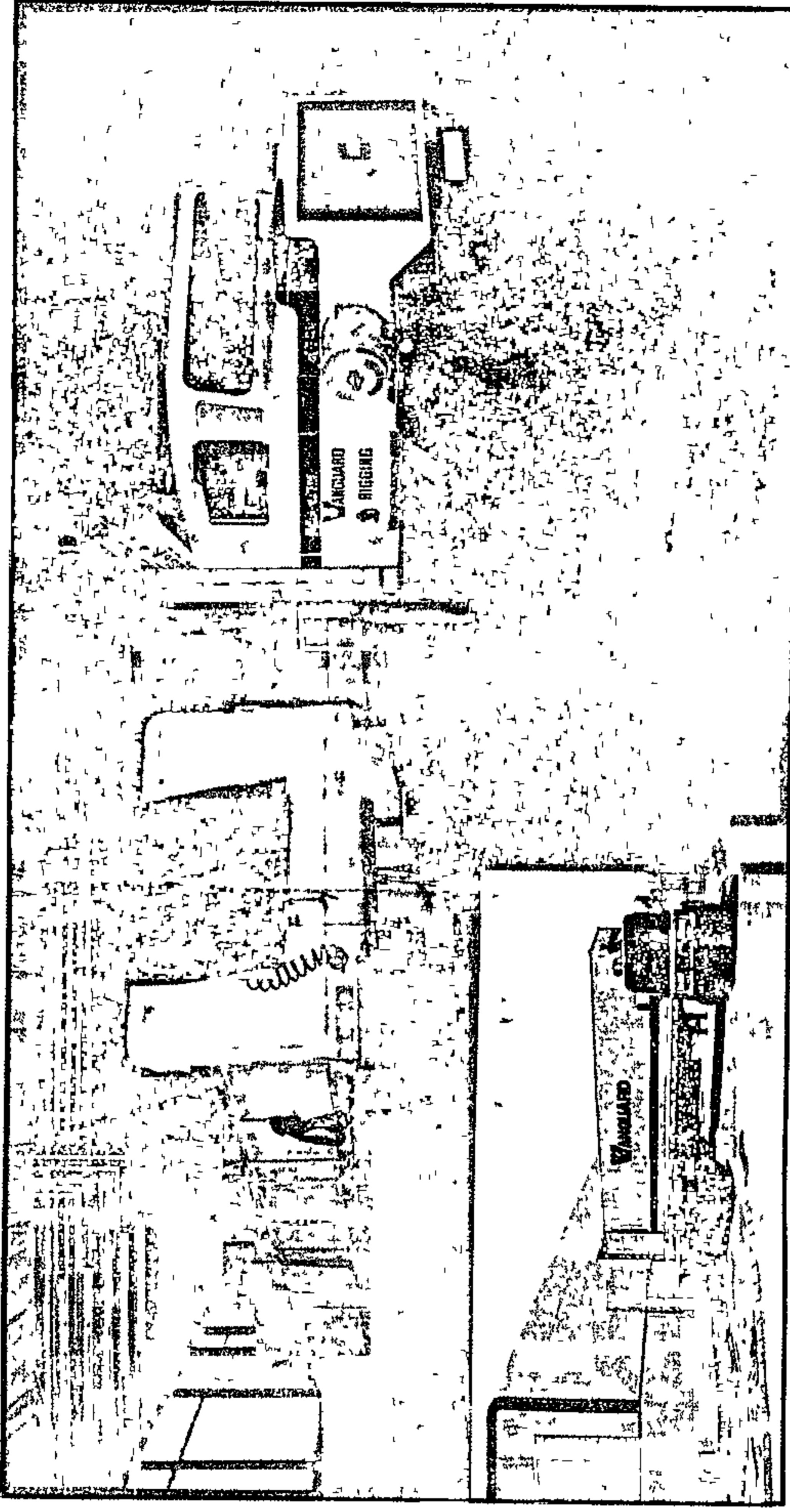
It was alleged that Newslink was a front for SADF propaganda.

According to Mr Leepile, soon after Newslink's cover was "blown", the paper's circulation began to drop rapidly from 15,000 a week to about 4,000 a week.

During its final days it was distributed free of charge.

One of the companies mentioned in the Mmegi exposé was Verwoerdburg-based Dixon Soule Associates.

Mr Soule said, however, that his company merely acted as consultants to Magnum Press and Newslink in a "pre-print-



A joint investigation by AL AMEEN KAFAR of the Saturday Star and IVOR POWELL of the Sunday Star

ing' capacity.

He said his company was engaged to help Magnum expand to the point where it could run Newslink Africa on its own.

It provided technical expertise but did not influence the paper's policy in any way.

Mr Soule said his company

was not a front for the SADF or anyone else."

He challenged anyone to provide proof to the contrary.

Mr Leepile said Magnum Press had had to pay hard cash to paper suppliers during the past few weeks.

A Botswana bank was be-

coming edgy about Magnum's overdraft — approximately R70,000, he said.

"To give the impression that all was well, Newslink decided on a public relations exercise to win back public confidence."

The first thing it did was placate fears that its em-

ployees were in fact spies parading as printers and journalists.

"By threatening to take legal action against Mmegi, Newslink also hoped to win public sympathy, and most importantly, buy time — to at least deter Mmegi and other local papers

from publishing any new information on them."

He said no threats were made against the Weekly Mail and New Nation which had also published stories about the connection between the SADF and Dixon Soule Associates and Newslink.

Dirty tricks alleged

A truck being loaded with machinery in the Magnum Press warehouse at the start of the pull-out of Newslink Africa. This week a vehicle loaded with 15,000 Botswana newspapers carrying an exposé of links between the SA Defence Force and a failed rival paper was allegedly hijacked — and the papers are missing.

The Reporter/Mmegi claims that rival publication Newslink Africa was a front company for the SADF, and was part of its "dirty tricks" campaign.

Inset: the truck leaving the warehouse Photographs: The Reporter/Mmegi

An SADF spokesman last night referred the Saturday Star to President de Klerk's national press conference.

Mr de Klerk told reporter he would appoint an independent committee from the private sector to advise him on existing special secret projects. The SADF spokesman said she was not aware that the newspapers had been stolen.

Levelling the slant of the Press

Argus Africa News Service
in Lusaka

AFTER years of reading grim, grey, thin and slanted government-controlled papers in their one-party state, Zambians had never seen anything like it

Three months ago the first issue of a new independent newspaper hit the streets with the kind of story local journalists had not before dared to publish

"Coppergate", blared the headline above a story on how executives of the country's biggest industrial concern, Zambian Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM), and South African businessmen had allegedly set up a shipping brokerage company, above a squash court in Johannesburg, which milked the state-owned company of more than 40-million dollars and put the cash into accounts in Belgium.

The disclosures by the Weekly Post were sensational because the top managers of ZCCM were senior members of the country's ruling party, the United National Independence Party (Unip), which for more than 20 years had been the only legally permitted political organisation

They were also personal appointees and close colleagues of Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda. Until the Weekly Post came along, this kind of story never saw the light of day

"Only 'constructive criticism' was allowed," said Fred M'membe, the Weekly Post's managing director. "That was a euphemism for flattery, agreement, praise"

"Coppergate" ensured that the entire 30 000 print run of the inaugural edition of the Weekly Post sold out rapidly. Fifteen issues later, sales have climbed to 40 000, several other major scandals have been uncovered, and a free press, as represented by the Weekly Post, seems rooted in Zambia for some time to come

The Weekly Post also revealed that a Zambian bank, whose top directors were leading members of the then opposition, but now ruling, Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), had collapsed BCCI-style. Thousands of small depositors with Capital Bank lost their savings as a result of heavy

and apparently irrecoverable internal lending to directors, shareholders and senior officers of the bank. MMD men linked to Capital Bank warned the Weekly Post journalists who researched the story that they would "get them"

The newspaper, brightly written and cleanly designed by computer, has the motto "They bury, we dig" beneath its masthead. In one bit of digging the Weekly Post unburied a Unip scam worked out for the party by a firm of British insurance brokers Overseas companies whose funds in Zambia had been blocked for many years by the central bank got half their money immediately in foreign exchange on agreement that the other half be "donated" to Unip in local kwacha currency towards the construction of a new party headquarters. Up to September 1989, Unip had profited from the deal by the equivalent of some 1.4-million pounds

While the small team of journalists keep the Establishment nervous each week with scoop after scoop, Fred M'membe, a 31-year-old accountant, masterminds the administration, forward planning and finances that are scary in a ruined economy reeling under hyper-inflation of some ten percent a month

M'membe was one of four people who, when the MMD was legalised late last year, saw the need for a new newspaper in the liberalised political climate

"The existing papers were entirely government-controlled," he said

"It was very frustrating to see how news of our democratic developments was being suppressed or bent to favour Unip"

M'membe and three young fellow directors raised 12.5-million kwacha from businessmen, who included both Unip and MMD politicians. M'membe first commissioned a survey which showed that 70 percent of readers of the government-owned Zambia Daily Mail and Times of Zambia were dissatisfied by the papers' poor news content and political bias

Dr Kaunda's government refused to allow state-controlled industries to place adverts with the new newspaper. "But Coppergate established us immediately," said M'membe

New Nation to retrench 3 workers

Sowetan 27/12/91

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By ISAAC MOLEDI

THREE employees of the *New Nation* weekly newspaper are likely to lose their jobs unless a viable alternative is found between January 9 and January 15 next year.

The three - V Skosana, B Mtshali and M Mnintshana - were given notices of retrenchment last week and told not to fulfil any of their duties or report to work except when consulting with the management to examine any viable alternative to their retrenchment.

According to *New Nation* editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu the three have been retrenched because the company is facing funding problems and can no longer run

departments which are not essential to the running of the paper

Sisulu said as the funders of the paper had "practically" withdrawn their financial support, the exercise of retrenching the three staffers were "an attempt to ensure the continued existence of the paper"

He said the retrenchment of the three, who are in non-essential positions, could help the paper solve of its problems and afford management the opportunity and time to avoid large-scale retrenchments and "possibly even the closure of the company"

BY MO
Sowetan

Papers face cash snags

THE *New Nation* newspaper and several other "alternative" publications would have to go through a rationalisation process through which some employees were likely to be retrenched

This emerged during an interview with *New Nation* editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu. He said the newspaper's European financial backers had committed them-

selves to cease all newspaper funding in South Africa, a move which would adversely affect certain staff

Reports this week suggest *New Nation* was likely to lay off at least three "non-essential" employees

Asked if more of the 27-strong personnel were likely to be affected, Sisulu said he would not want to go as far as saying that.

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