

Newsmen put focus on Press freedom

By MATHATHA TSEDU

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ALL political movements in South Africa should declare publicly their views on freedom of the Press and other media, the International Federation of Journalists resolved at the weekend.

In one of two resolutions on South Africa adopted kby the 20th world congress of the IFJ held in Sardinia, Italy, the organisation said it was imperative that Press freedom be central to the agenda of the creation of a new South Africa.

The congress also condemned the continued detention of members and officials of the IFJ-affiliated Media Workers Association of South Africa (MWASA), who have now spent over a month in detention without trial. They include Mwasa general secretary, Mr Sthembele Khala and *Sowetan* sports editor, Mr Horatio Motjuwadi.

The organisation also changed its name into the International Confederation of Journalists and admitted 13 new affiliates. *Sowetan 21/5/90*

A training programme for journalists in developing countries was also approved through which both professional and trade union work is to be enhanced. To this end, a week-long training seminar on trade unionism for African journalists is to be held in Lusaka, Zambia, in September.

Styl... Salvatore -

243 STILL A VICTORY (1985)

The Reeva Forman-Caxton saga has finally been settled after the Appeal Court reduced the damages payable by Caxton to the former Dior model by R700 000. Forman was initially granted R2,125m in 1988 by Mr Justice Curlewis in the Rand Supreme Court; the judge found that Reeva Forman (Pty) and Reeva Success Dynamics (Pty) were libelled by an article which appeared in *Style* magazine in 1985. FIM 2575790
Appealing against the Curlewis judgment were: Caxton; *Style* editor Marilyn Hattingh; the writer of the article, Lin Sampson; CTP Web Printers (Pty); National News Distributors; and the Central News Agency.

The initial award was made up of: R250 000 for loss of goodwill; R1,8bn for loss of profit for Reeva Forman (Pty); and R75 000 for loss of goodwill and profit for Reeva Success Dynamics (Pty). The Appeal Court reduced the amount payable to Reeva Forman (Pty), but dismissed the appeal against the amount awarded to the other company. The reduced amount is still a record damages award.

Chief Justice Corbett, in concurrence with Appeal Court Judges Hoexter and Grosskopf and Acting Appeal Court Judges Friedman and Nienaber, also found that the appellants were entitled to the costs of the appeal, save those of the appellants and Reeva Forman (Pty) for the second day of the appeal. These costs are to be borne by the appellants.

THE WEEKLY MAIL STAFF ANNOUNCE THE BIRTH OF A DAILY EDITION

Beyond Jo'burg, Weekly Mail goes on

WEEKLY MAIL readers and subscribers will continue to receive their newspaper as they do now

It will still be published every Friday and sold in thousands of outlets throughout the country

We will also be able to take advantage of the expanded news and feature-writing team we have gathered for the daily newspaper to offer a bigger and better package every Friday

It will, however, look different. It is being redesigned to match the fresh and elegant look of *The Daily Mail*. From June 20, our Friday package

will contain

● A broadsheet newspaper (the page size of *The Star*, *The Daily News* or *The Cape Times*) with all the news of the day.

● A tabloid (the size of the current *Weekly Mail*), which will contain all the in-depth analysis, comment and features that provide Weekly Mailers with their weekend read.

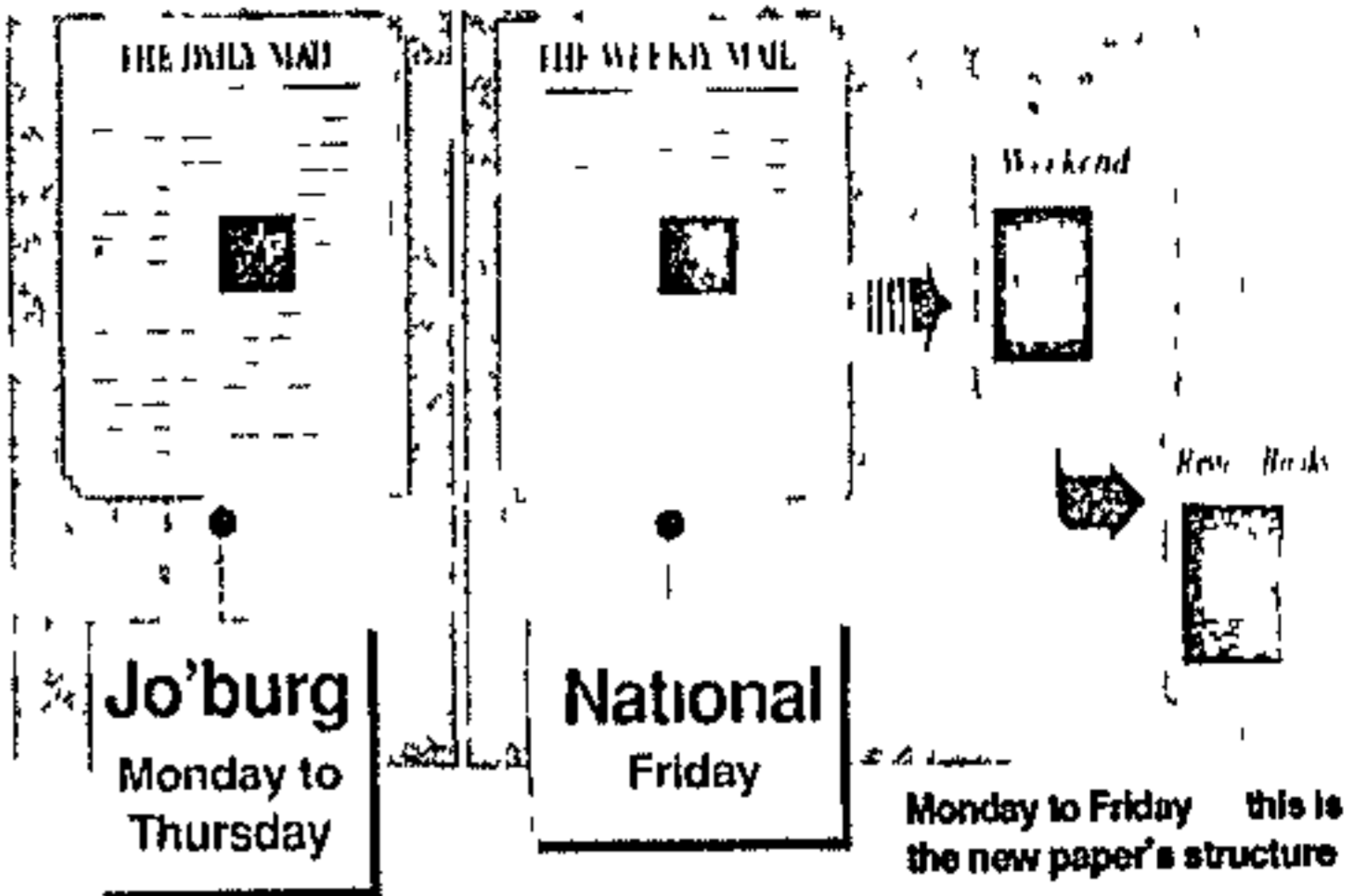
● *The Weekly Mail Review of Books*, which is published every second month, with in-depth coverage of books, writers and literary news

All this extra space means a bigger

Friday package, giving existing *Weekly Mail* readers the benefit of the expansion in the newspaper

Weekly Mail subscribers in the Transvaal will be offered the choice of staying with the weekly or converting their subscription — at extremely favourable rates — and getting the paper from Monday to Friday

Those outside the Transvaal will receive their weekly subscriptions without any change. Postal subscriptions to the daily newspaper will be available



A bold new voice for a bold new era

JOHANNESBURG will wake up to a new morning newspaper on Wednesday, June 20

The Daily Mail, an independent daily newspaper, will be launched on that day by the publishers of *The Weekly Mail*

The Daily Mail will aim to reflect the excitement of the 1990s, the hope that South Africa will become a better, more open and more equitable society, as well as the fears that this process could be derailed

The new paper will be distributed throughout the Transvaal and some neighbouring territories. It will also be available at limited outlets in Cape Town and Durban.

Subscribers throughout most of the PWV will receive hand-delivered copies before dawn. The price will be R1

From Monday to Thursday it will be *The Daily Mail*, an elegant broadsheet newspaper (the page size of *The Star* and *Business Day*)

On Friday, there will be *The Weekly Mail*, published nationally, redesigned to fit the look of the daily, but containing all the in-depth weekend reading currently available in the weekly

Both *The Daily Mail* and *The Weekly Mail* will be put together



A mock-up front page of the new daily newspaper which will hit the streets on June 20

by a team of some of the country's best journalists

Included are those journalists, retrenched from the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Sunday Express* five years ago, who founded *The Weekly Mail* and have continued, despite financial and political pressure, to bring South Africans news and analysis they can find nowhere else

With the country in flux and the political climate changing daily, events seem to be coming full circle

Two years ago, several newspapers — among them *The Weekly Mail* — were suspended briefly

for suggesting that the African National Congress consisted of rational human beings with whom the government could and should negotiate

Today the government that closed those newspapers is talking to the ANC

We believe that now is the time to publish a general-interest daily in tune with our rapidly changing times

Major figures in the newspaper world have come to share our vision and have joined *The Daily Mail*. Businessmen, professionals and a range of investors have put their money into the venture

The Daily Mail will be like no paper this country has seen before. Not only will it have the look and feel of the 1990s, but it will be the only Johannesburg

daily paper controlled by its staff and outside of monopoly control — the city's only truly independent newspaper

It will strive for independent, critical coverage of the full spectrum of political and social activities in a way that is fair and balanced

The paper will stand for the protection of human rights and the

environment; the need to act swiftly to improve education, housing, health and other social services, the recognition of every South African as an equal citizen with full rights and freedom, freedom of speech, dissent and debate, and good relations with our neighbours

The new newspaper will carry far more "general interest" news than the current *Weekly Mail* — not "black" news or "white" news but the information all thinking South Africans want and need

It will be a serious newspaper for serious readers but also lively and entertaining, a paper that stimulates as well as educates, that is informative and honest, accessible and interesting

Nearly a year of research, investigation and planning lie behind this announcement. The publishers have done extensive work on financial models, have consulted marketing and advertising experts and have drawn in new staff

The new paper will be designed to be the kind of daily morning newspaper that we believe *Weekly Mail* readers have long wanted

A daily in the hands of its staff

THE DAILY MAIL will be Johannesburg's only truly independent daily newspaper

It is the only paper in the country controlled by its staff

The paper's holding company, the Mail Publications Group, has been carefully structured to place it outside of monopoly control

The paper is also giving some of its subscribers the opportunity to own a share in the paper

The biggest single shareholder in the Mail Publications Group is a staff share trust. All *Daily Mail* staffers are members of that trust, and they have full control over all matters of editorial policy

It is company policy that no other shareholder can control more than 15 percent of the group, which makes it

impossible for any single investor to manipulate editorial content for his or her own interests

It also means the paper has built up a wide range of individual investors. The largest number of investors are South African.

The Mail Publications Group is also approaching a select list of *Weekly Mail* subscribers asking them if they wish to invest in the new newspaper

It is hoped that supporters who currently subscribe to the paper will make a contribution to the start-up costs — and own a share of the paper

A letter is being sent out to these people, inviting them to become founding shareholders in *The Daily Mail*.

A BIGGER, MORE POWERFUL TEAM

A POWERFUL new team has been formed to publish *The Daily Mail*.

The new paper will draw together the existing *Weekly Mail* team, exiles who have gathered a vast amount of experience and skills overseas, and some of the country's best known and most experienced journalists.

The paper will be edited by the current *Weekly Mail* co-editors, Anton Harber and Irwin Manolm.

Well-known journalists in the team include Arthur Malmann (features editor), Reg Rumney (business editor), Don Matterna (arts editor), Jurgen Schadeberg (pictures editor), Raeford

Daniel (chief theatre critic), Jeff Zerbst (columnist) and Thami Mkhwanazi (columnist)

The paper has also beefed up its management team, with Clive Cope (managing director), Joel Joffe (special consultant), Terry Weldon (marketing director), Mike Martin (financial manager), and Paul Maseko (office manager)

A strong advertising team includes Marilyn Kirkwood (advertising director), Joyce Dube (senior representative), Gordon Muller (special consultant) and Anusanthi Pillay (classified manager).

News for the serious reader

THE DAILY MAIL will have plenty of the general-interest, high-quality news that South Africans need to keep abreast of the rapid change our country is going through

This will range from metropolitan news to national politics, from crime to consumer affairs, from church news to the courts, and the crucial issues of the 1990s: the environment,

labour, education and health

The paper will also feature

● An arts and entertainment section reflecting the emerging new culture and lifestyle of the 1990s

● Extensive world coverage, unusual for a South African paper. *The Daily Mail* has purchased a selection of some of the best syndication services from around the world.

● A distinctive business section, providing the financial, economic and world news of the day, statistical information from the stock exchange and other markets and coverage of the important economic debates

● A large sports section, including some of the best writers in the local sports world. For example, *The Daily Mail* is the only daily paper who will have an accredited journalist at the World Cup

● A special *Daily Mail* investigations team, headed by experienced journalist Eddie Koch

● Humour, an essential ingredient, supplied by such cult heroes as Thomas Equinus and Doonesbury

The Star not a threat — Mail

13/04/90 25/5/90 TIM COHEN

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THE managers of the Weekly Mail, due to go daily on June 20, were "flattered" by The Star's decision to sell a morning edition of the paper in Johannesburg from next Tuesday, co-editor Anton Harber said yesterday.

Speaking at the launch of the Daily Mail, Harber said he did not think many people would be too excited by a ninth edition of The Star.

He said the bulk of the capital for the new publication was raised through a private placing of a share-offer to selected individuals.

Investors included Dick Enthoven of Hollard Insurance, Peter Wrighton of the Premier Group, David Susman of Wooltru, former MP Helen Suzman and advocates Ismail Mohamed and Sydney Kentridge.

There were also a number of prominent British shareholders.

He said if the paper reached its target of 30 000 circulation and 25% advertising, it would make a profit by the end of its second year.

Daily Mail Publications Pty Ltd is wholly owned by the Mail Publications Group Ltd, a newly formed public company.

Great expectations

... but economic realities in a new South Africa may not satisfy a hungry black

SOUTH Africa's first black Government will inherit a country where a white minority lives rather well and a black majority rather badly. Eager to even things up, will it recognise that wealth must be created before it is shared — and that within the black majority some live much worse than others? THE ECONOMIST reports.

LONDON — Pity South Africa's first black ruler. Despite Eastern Europe's revolutions and the disasters of centrally planned economies nearer home, he will be under immense pressure to make the same mistakes

His followers expect the conquest of apartheid to bring more than just the vote. Activists want jobs in the new bureaucracy, unions want a minimum wage

The country's seven million squatters want legal homes, and many even of those whose homes are legal are still waiting for electricity and water

Besides these expectations, the new leader — let's call him Nelson Mandela — will inherit the problems that plague politicians all over Africa, and which helped to undermine South Africa's white regime

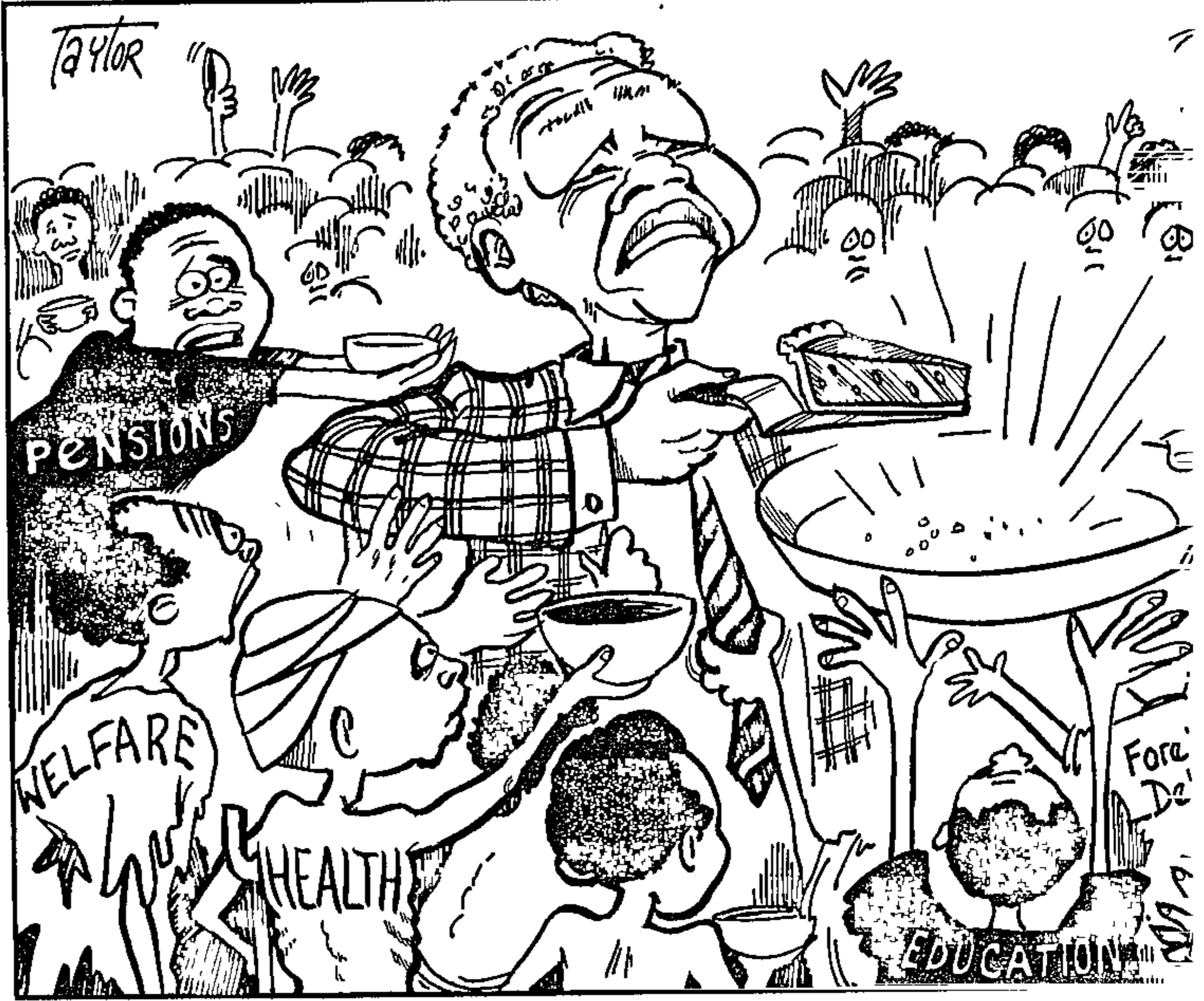
The population is growing at 2.5 percent a year, which means that the need for new houses and schoolrooms will be mushrooming even as he struggles with the backlog

A black president will not be able to tame the tiger of black wretchedness just because he is black. To ensure that the violence of apartheid is not replaced by violence among blacks, President Mandela will have to keep his people's loyalty by providing for their needs. Can he?

Start with social services. A black Government will wipe out inequalities in social spending. Until now the state has lavished five times as much on each white citizen as it has on each black, with Indians and mixed-race people coming in between

Correcting this inequity should appease blacks' sense of injustice, but it will hardly dent black needs. If the 7,400 white classrooms empty in 1987 had been opened to blacks, just a fifth of the shortage in black schools would have disappeared. Equally, a few thousand hospital beds will not make blacks healthy

Next, the bill for housing. The black housing shortage is said to total 1.8 million units. Countrywide, more than four black households in five have no electricity. In 1988 the Government managed to build just 1,300 houses



The demands on the exchequer will be bottomless. On one estimate, it would cost around R55 billion (about a fifth of the country's GDP) to bring black housing, health, education and pensions up to the standards enjoyed by whites. That figure will swell with the growth in population

How much of this bill could President Mandela hope to meet?

He could save a bit by axing apartheid's parallel bureaucracies

But he will be under pressure not to abolish bureaucratic jobs but to create new ones to satisfy his friends. He may also save money by trimming the defence budget

Beyond that, he will have two options. New borrowing or higher taxation

Thanks to a half-decade of sanctions, South Africa is relatively unburdened by foreign debt, though too much borrowing to pay for recurrent social-service spending could soon change that

As to taxes, South Africa's Govern-

ment collects 27 percent of the country's GDP, as against 32 percent in Chile and 42 percent in Britain. That seems to leave room for an increase

But no amount of tax-raising could bring enough into the kitty to meet all the demands that will be made on it. The black Government will therefore have to abandon any hope of making everyone comfortable and concentrate on tackling the basic needs of those who need most

That will mean compromising standards. If it wants its money best spent, the black Government will have to embrace the white Government's site-and-service policy, not try to build everyone a house, to train nurses and village health workers rather than doctors, to make better-off pupils pay school fees, so that the education ministry can afford schooling for all. And so on

The only way out of these compromises is long-term fast economic growth

A black president will not be able to tame the tiger of black wretchedness just because he is black.

Some in the ANC still favour nationalisation. They are unlikely to prevail, if only because foreign governments would try to insist on compensation for shareholders, and — even if that meant only government bonds — the State could not afford it

Moderate ANC advisers therefore talk instead of directing big companies' investment, either through Government appointees in the boardrooms or through control of investment finance

Since the big companies own large stakes in the big banks, the second idea implies forcing them to shed control

The obvious snag is that the ANC's economists are less likely to hit on sound investments than the businessmen whose decisions they would like to direct. If South Africa's giant conglomerates need gingering up, what they need is competitors, not state direction

The ANC could usefully consider imposing tougher anti-monopoly legislation

Equally, South Africa would profit from rules that made it harder to control companies through minority stakes

Far further — Africa is to ensure it should business

How about — Next to directing ANC's fondest — minimum wage the movement the short-term wages and unemployment wages, fewer jobs

In the late 1980s, when pretty well every black leader South Africa — in exile or in jail the unions left to carry torch of black

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Some in the ANC still favour nationalisation They are unlikely to prevail, if only because foreign governments would try to insist on compensation for shareholders, and - even if that meant only government bonds - the State could not afford it. Moderate ANC advisers therefore talk instead of directing big companies' investment, either through Government appointees in the boardrooms or through control of investment finance. Since the big companies own large stakes in the big banks, the second idea implies forcing them to shed control The obvious snag is that the ANC's economists are less likely to hit on sound investments than the businessmen whose decisions they would like to direct If South Africa's giant conglomerates need gingering up, what they need is competitors, not state direction The ANC could usefully consider imposing tougher anti-monopoly legislation Equally, South Africa would profit from rules that made it harder to control companies through minority stakes

Far further down the heap, if South Africa is to encourage black enterprise it should deregulate small business How about sharing the cake out? Next to directing investment, the ANC's fondest wish seems to be a minimum wage In public at least, the movement does not acknowledge the short-term trade-off between wages and unemployment Higher wages, fewer jobs In the late 1980s, when pretty well every black leader in South Africa was in exile or in jail, the unions were left to carry the torch of black pride in South Africa Now the unions' clout is in danger of making the ANC overlook the truly poor The best available estimates suggest that 15 percent of the workforce is completely unemployed and that another 30 percent scratches a living from the unofficial economy A minimum wage, if it were set high enough to change things at all,

No amount of taxing could bring enough into the kitty to meet all the demands made on it.

would change them for the worse Already the higher wages won by the unions have prompted talk of mechanisation from South Africa's big companies, which claim that rising labour costs are blunting their competitive edge The costs of land reform could be huge Yet the ANC is led from cities, and Marxism's emphasis on the proletariat has reinforced its urban bias It will be hard to escape from this If President Mandela has to face disorder among his own people, he will find, like his white predecessors, that it comes from the people in the urban slums So he will be tempted to please articulate town dwellers first, and let the investment needed to make a success of rural reform take second place. Yet if Mr Mandela neglects the country people, they will flock in desperation to the towns Then the tiger would be harder still to tame

Editor gets the sack for Mandela remarks

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THE editor of the SA Air Traffic Controllers' Association's monthly magazine has been fired for publishing comments about ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela. Writing under the pseudonym "Van" last month, ATC training officer Nigel Bridges remarked:

"The utterances of Mr Nelson Mandela and his merry gang certainly cannot fill anybody with hopes of security and serenity for their golden years."

It continued: "The Government seems to have no overall plan to put forward, and remember, there will be no peace or normality until one man, one vote becomes a reality."

He went on to question the future of ATCs under an

By ROGER MAKINGS

ANC government and the effect of inflation on pensions

Mr Bridges has apparently resigned from the association

However, the president of SAATCA, Mr Rob Purkiss, denied that between 15-20 members of his association had resigned because of the dismissal

Refused

"I only know of three, but as long as I'm president, we will conduct ourselves as air traffic controllers and not politicians," he said

"SAATCA aligns itself with the International Federation of Air Traffic Controllers which is apolitical"

Mr Purkiss read the article before its publication and asked Mr Bridges not to publish it. Mr Bridges refused

In an editorial in the latest issue of the magazine, Mr Bridges defends his stance saying "the article is not of a political nature, perhaps somewhat racial, but certainly not political"

"Also, the article preponders the future of air traffic control, which can hardly be related to 'no bearing on ATC matters'"

He added that the purpose of the column, titled Aviation Periscope, was to elicit comment and was supposed to be somewhat contentious

Mr Bridges refused to comment on the matter, saying it was an internal affair



ON THE AGGREY KLAASTE

The media's burden

IT is becoming increasingly necessary, and I daresay fascinating, for people in the media to address the fragile transitional period we are in and visions of a future democratic South Africa.

The burden falls heavily on the media, especially a paper like the *Sowetan* which is the second largest daily in the country.

The trip I took abroad, I had hoped, would teach me the way in which newspapers in "free" societies operate. Most South Africans are rather ignorant of the elements that make "free" or what might be called democratic countries function.

Survival

I am at the moment struggling with understanding what independence is, what it entails, broadly and specifically.

As soon as you begin to think about these matters and, in these days when it becomes almost a matter of survival to declare your commitment, it seems to smack of hypocrisy

to speak of total independence and folly to speak of being "objective".

My trip abroad in a way revitalised my old-fashioned views about the reasons for being a reporter.

The classical view of journalism is that it

is a craft, not a profession.

A craftsman tries to be unique, tries hard not to ape or be a slave to anybody, or interest group.

A craftsman tries to be the best in his field, tries to produce the type of excellence that

will serve humanity for now and perhaps forever.

Newspapers, because they tend to be "instant", because they reflect what happens, today, cannot presume to achieve such hallowed aspirations.

But we must try. We must try especially today when we are in a frontiers-like period.

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Now for the Daily Mail ...

AN independent broadsheet, The Daily Mail, will be launched on June 20 in Johannesburg, co-editors Anton Harber and Irwin Manoim announced at a media launch on Thursday.

On Fridays a redesigned broadsheet Weekly Mail, including a tabloid insert, will be published.

Hope

The Daily Mail will be distributed throughout the Transvaal and some neighbouring areas at a cost of R1 per edition.

The Daily Mail will aim to reflect the excitement of the 1990s, the hope that South Africa will become a better, more open and more equitable society, as well as the fears that this process could be derailed," the co-editors said - Sapa

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Mandela to address media

1/6/90 By Esmaré van der Merwe

ANC deputy president, Nelson Mandela, recuperating from a minor operation, will resume his hectic schedule tomorrow when he will address a press conference after his discharge from a Johannesburg clinic.

The ANC said yesterday that Mr Mandela would address the press conference at a yet unspecified venue and time.

The ANC leader would probably stay in hospital until the weekend, Park Lane Clinic general manager Gordon Cohen said.

Dr Cohen said Mr Mandela was recovering well after the unspecified operation.

Intense media speculation about the extent of the operation has ranged from circumcision to cancer of the colon.

Mr Mandela on Wednesday released a statement, signed by Dr Cohen, denying that he was being treated for cancer.

He is scheduled to leave for an extensive six-week tour of 13 countries on Monday.

Subscribers get the chance to buy a share in the news

Mail 116-716190

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THOUSANDS of supporters of *The Daily Mail*, the newspaper due on Johannesburg streets on June 20, are being given the opportunity to participate in the new venture

This is the first time in many years — since the launch of *Die Burger* more than 50 years ago — that a major daily newspaper is being launched with the participation of readers, subscribers and supporters

In the next fortnight, a letter will be sent to a select list of subscribers and supporters of *The Weekly Mail* who have expressed an interest in the new paper, offering them shares in it

For R100, these people will be able to own a part of the newspaper, be involved in the first launch of a major independent daily newspaper for decades and — hopefully — make some money when the newspaper becomes profitable.

Shares in the Mail Publications Group, a new public company which owns *The Daily Mail* and *The Weekly Mail*, are being sold at R1 each. The minimum subscription is 100 shares

"We want the widest possible range of shareholders. This will enable our supporters and subscribers to get involved in this exciting new venture," managing director Clive Cope said

"It will also allow us to ensure the independence of the newspaper, by putting it in the hands of thousands of

The new Daily Mail launch is only three weeks away and supporters and subscribers are being offered shares in their morning news

ordinary readers, rather than letting any single investor control the company.

"We have raised a substantial amount of money through personal approaches to individuals. However, we still need a modest amount to reach our targets and we hope to get this from our subscribers," Cope said.

The independence of the new paper is being ensured by vesting all editorial control in a staff share trust, the largest single shareholder in the new newspaper. No other single shareholder will control more than 15 per cent of the company.

Meanwhile, plans for the new newspaper are racing ahead. Editorial staff are doing "dummy editions" — producing trial copies to ensure that everything is ready to go on June 20. A powerful new team of journalists is made up of *Weekly Mail* writers, a new band of some of the country's top journalists who are

joining the paper and returning exiles

Advertising staff are making presentations to agencies and their clients across the country. Already, 20 per cent of the first year's target sales has been reached, and bookings for the first edition have been closed

The new newspaper will be a broadsheet (the same size as *The Star*, *The Argus* and *The Daily News*), produced Monday to Thursday and distributed in the Transvaal and surrounding territories. On Friday, *The Weekly Mail* will appear and it will remain a national newspaper

The Weekly Mail will be a bigger package, taking advantage of the expanded new editorial team, and will be redesigned in keeping with the bold, new look of the daily newspaper. Weekly readers will, however, still be receiving all the features they currently receive: the columns, the in-depth analysis and the humour (such as *Doonesbury*)

The Daily Mail will be a complete daily newspaper, containing coverage of general news, business, sports, arts and culture, international news and humour. It will cost R1.

Supporters who have expressed an interest in buying shares, but have not received details in the post, can phone Danielle Myburgh at (011) 331-3321

Grey-haired market

Catering for the growing ranks of SA's aged is becoming a growth industry. Two magazines, *Tomorrow* and *Prime Time*, have been launched for the over-50s market over the past two years.

Mainstream publishers haven't yet entered this market, though *Reader's Digest* does tend to have an older profile. But there's clearly money to be made in this area. *Tomorrow's* circulation is now touching 30 000, while *Prime Time's* tops 20 000. Both publish every two months.

Paola Cassuto-Spinazze, publisher of *Tomorrow*, says she's surprised the market hasn't been better served. "We have an ageing population and many older people have large disposable incomes as their children are off their hands and their houses have been paid for."

"Retirement comes as a shock to most people, but, editorially, we like to show it presents an opportunity rather than a threat" (243) (18)

A *Tomorrow* Club has been launched. Members are entitled to benefits from special promotions, discounts and travel tours. But, while *Tomorrow* aims to be a general interest magazine, with features on gardening, cookery and travel, *Prime Time* specialises more in financial retirement planning. The main advertising support for both magazines comes from financial institutions, with property and travel companies also contributing.

Tomorrow's covers invariably show a greying couple, either in party mood or hugging, or enjoying the great outdoors.

Quips Media Business MD Bryan Gabriel. "The magazine might do better if it had a picture of an old man with a beautiful young girl."

The country's largest magazine publisher, Nasionale, investigated the possibility of

FIM 1/6/90

(243)

(18)

launching into this market but rejected it. Says Nasionale head of research Barbara Ross: "We are an ageing population but there are still many more whites in the 16-50 category than over 50."

She says the 50-60 market of affluent people with high disposable income is only a minority of even the white older population. It consists of 160 000 females and 104 000 males, while the over-60 category of affluents consists of 237 000 females and 217 000 males.

"The older 'actives' are well-served by existing publications. Perhaps a magazine positioned at affluent-active people might make better marketing sense than one that, by its very nature, has intimations of mortality," adds Ross.

But then Nasionale, which publishes *Huisgenoot*, *Fair Lady* and *Sarie*, is notoriously cautious about launching new publications. It could well have missed a lucrative boat.

Union officials claim damage

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. —
Five trade unionists
sued Labour Party
leader the Rev Allan
Hendrickse, Mr Patrick
Cull of the EP Herald,
and SA Associated
Newspapers Ltd (SAAN)
for R250 000 in the Port
Elizabeth Supreme
Court yesterday

The five are Mr Fred-
erick Sauls, Mr John Go-
momo, Mr Elliott Mtwu,
Mr Lesley Kettledas and
Mr Jurie Harris of the
National Automobile
and Allied Workers'
Union (Naawu).

They submitted two
claims for damages
based on defamation
and claimed R25 000
each on each claim

In the first they al-
leged that on February
27, 1985, Mr Hendrickse
told a press conference:
"It has been shown that
office bearers of the
National Automobile
and Allied Workers'
Union were involved be-
hind the scenes in the
unrest and that certain
teachers had also incit-
ed the students."

They pleaded that the
words were defamatory.

The second claim was
against Mr Hendrickse,
Mr Cull and SAAN joint-
ly and separately, and
alleged Mr Cull and
SAAN had maliciously
published the words in
an article the next day

At the start of the
hearing, Mr H J Lieben-
berg, SC, for the union-
ists, informed the court
that the claims against
Mr Cull and SAAN had
been settled. This effec-
tively disposed of the
second claim.

Press 'deliberately ignores PAC'

By GIFT SIPHO SISO

3/1/96

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PAC stalwart Gora Ebrahim has lashed out at newspapers inside South Africa, saying they deliberately ignore his organisation, treating it as though it does not exist.

Ebrahim, PAC shadow Foreign Minister, who was in Botswana to attend a meeting of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) ad hoc

committee's Monitoring Group on Southern Africa, said in an interview there was a deliberate campaign by newspapers at "home" to ignore the views of the PAC.

"Newspapers at home, with the blessings of the apartheid establishment, are all out to suppress the views of the PAC in order to condition public opinion along the lines of certain views they consider compatible with the interests of the newspaper magnates in the country," said Ebrahim, who has been in exile for close to 30 years and is now based at the PAC's headquarters in the Tanzanian capital, Dar-es-Salaam.

However, with the support the PAC was enjoying inside the coun-

try at present, he said, it would no longer be possible for anyone who wanted to seriously talk about the future of South Africa to do so without taking into consideration the existence of the PAC.

He said each time newspapers reported on the PAC they tended to project the image that the PAC was an extremist organisation and he asked, "By whose standards are we being judged extreme?"

Ebrahim cited a number of independent surveys that have been conducted inside South Africa and claimed they had all indicated support for the PAC was growing rapidly.

"We are riding the crest of a wave and if the present momentum at organisational level can

be maintained, we are certain that our party might form the next government in a free, democratic and united Azania

"No-one is going to stop us now - not even the Press can afford to stop the tidal wave. The PAC has never been built by the Press and therefore it goes without saying that they can never destroy us," said a confident Ebrahim

On the proposed consultative conference of the liberation movements and other anti-apartheid bodies, Ebrahim said his movement was and had always been ready to meet or unite with other organisations who thought such a move would help accelerate the pace of revolution

Debate options, advises Viljoen

THE PAC was making a laughing stock of itself when it said there had been no change in the South African political scene, Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen said this week.

Speaking at an impromptu Press conference during his official visit to Umtata, he was commenting on earlier statements by the PAC that the unbanning of political organisations and lifting of certain restrictions were merely taking the country back to where it was in 1960.

"On their own admission there is some form of change. How can they now turn around and say there is no change?" he asked.

Addressing an audience at the South African Embassy in Umtata to mark Republic Day, Viljoen said the creation of the new South Africa would take time and it was important that existing institutions should not be immediately broken down.

On the desire by many Transkeians to rejoin South Africa, he said: "There is much that is uncertain about the new South Africa, much that cannot become clear until the process of discussion, the exchange and refining of ideas through public debate and through the process of negotiation is underway," he said.

He advised Transkeians to discuss the various options in public political debates and academic studies before committing themselves to a future course.

SOWETAN'S daily sales soared to a new peak in May, topping the 200 000 for the first time.

The unaudited average daily sale for the month was 200 221.

This is an increase of 17 percent on May last year.

The average daily sale during last year was 173 000.

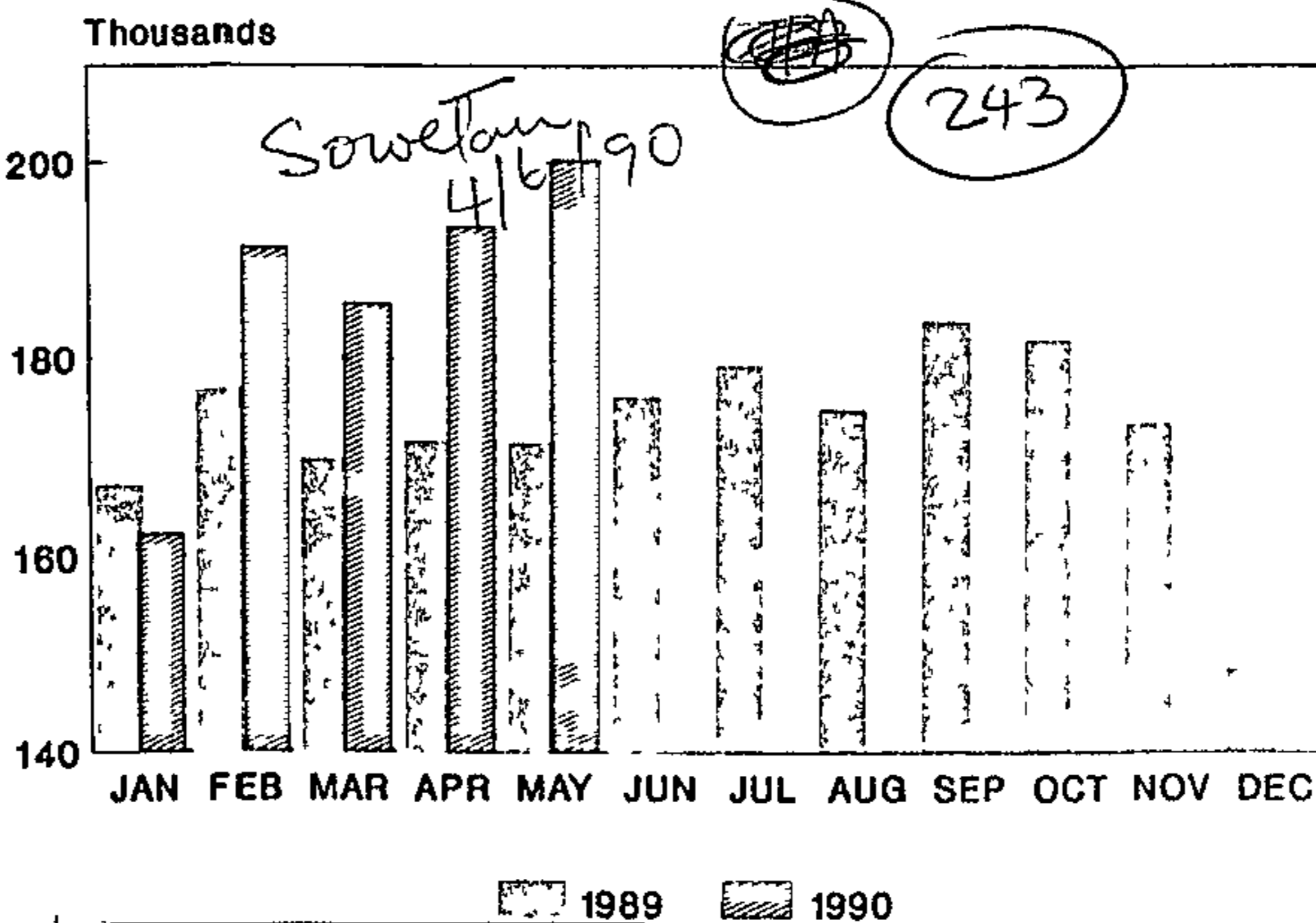
The All Products Media Survey conducted in 1988/89 showed *Sowetan* as having eight readers for every copy of the newspaper sold.

With sales in excess of 200 000, *Sowetan* now has more than 1,6 million readers a day - more than any other newspaper in South Africa.

The Manager of *Sowetan*, Mr Rory Wil-

200 221

Sowetan hits record



Continued on Page 2

Sowetan hits 200 221 copies

From Page 1

son, said last night that this massive increase in readership and circulation was a direct result of teamwork by the entire staff of the newspaper.

"We have a superb editorial team, supported by equally superb sales, circulation, production and administrative staff," Wilson said

"We have the best printers and the best dis-

tributors. It is therefore hardly surprising that *Sowetan* is the fastest-growing newspaper in the country."

Wilson said that many advertisers still had not realised the size of the black consumer market.

He cited two examples: "Research shows that more than four million blacks smoke cigarettes, compared with only 1,3 million whites who smoke; 9,8 million blacks drink cold drinks compared with only 2,8 million whites.

"The pattern is similar in the case of almost all common consumer products, yet many ad-

vertisers are still directing their advertising at whites."

Sowetan has now solidly established itself as the most powerful medium in the black market. It is the only medium that reaches 31 percent of blacks in the PWV, home to almost a quarter of the entire black population of South Africa.

Sowetan's readership profile is especially attractive to advertisers.

More than 65 percent of the newspaper's readers are aged between 25 and 49.

More than 70 percent of all black people in the PWV who have some university education are regular *Sowetan* readers. About 80 percent of *Sowetan* readers are in the A and B income groups.

SEXY THINGS

Nov 5/6/90

(203)

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TML's higher tax burden dampens profit increase

By Ann Crotty

A sharp increase in the tax charge — from 34 percent to 49 percent — means that Times Media Limited (TML) was only able to maintain attributable profit at R25,4 million (R25,1 million), despite a 21 percent hike in operating profit in the 12 months to end-March.

An increase in shares in issue resulted in earnings per share dropping five percent to 119c from 125c.

A final dividend of 36c (30c) a share has been declared, bringing the total for the year to 54c — up 20 percent on the previous year's 45c.

The higher dividend has resulted in a reduction in dividend cover from 2,8 times to 2,2 times.

Higher advertising tariffs and acquisitions helped lift turnover by 31 percent to R237,9 million (R181 million). Operating profit

was up 21 percent to R39,9 million (R33,1 million), reflecting a drop in margins from 18,3 percent to 16,8 percent.

This fall is attributed to the lower-margin businesses acquired. The directors say margins are expected to improve.

Dividend income increased to R2,4 million (R1,8 million), while interest income more than doubled to R8,9 million (R3,9 million).

All this left pre-tax income showing a solid 32 percent advance to R49,7 million (R37,8 million).

But the tax payment was almost double at R24,4 million (R12,7 million).

According to the directors: "The remainder of the tax losses brought forward from previous years was fully utilised during the last financial year.

"The charge for the review

year is at the full corporate tax rate".

The balance sheet shows cash and short-term investments of R57,9 million — up from R42,7 million.

However, approximately R36 million of this is earmarked for the payment of the final dividend, tax and payment for recent acquisitions.

This means the hefty interest income earned in financial 1990 will not be repeated in the current financial year.

The directors expect competition to intensify in financial 1991 because of the low rate of economic growth and the emergence of new competition, particularly in the PWV area.

"However, the company is well positioned to cope with the challenges that lie ahead and to capitalise on any growth potential in the publishing and communications field."

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'Black majority govt in power by end of 90s'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — A black majority government will be in power in South Africa before the end of the decade, according to former Rand Daily Mail editor Allister Sparks.

Speaking at the national launch of his book, "The Mind of South Africa", here last night, Mr Sparks said he was optimistic about the country's future.

He saw the 1990s as a decade of transition and an acceptable, democratic South Africa would emerge at the end.

"It won't happen easily. It is going to be a traumatic, dramatic time but it will definitely take place. Neither of the major combatants in the phase we are entering has a realistic alternative. We are driven forward because neither the ANC nor the

Government has a fall-back position.

"And we are going to end up with a black majority government before this decade is out, possibly even in the mid-1990s."

Mr Sparks said he believed the process of change would take place "faster than any of us realise", as not only did the President not dare to hold another general election under the present constitution, but he was "utterly dependent" on ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela who was in ill health.

Another time constraint was that the present Government knew the longer it delayed, the more time it gave to the ANC to organise and mobilise support.

"The Mind of South Africa" is a broad historical survey dealing with the rise and crisis of apartheid.

ANC wants a free and lively press' — Albie Sachs

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By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

THE African National Congress does not want an official media or even a "tame press"

Instead it wants vigorous, lively and readable newspapers which enjoy writing about controversy, says the movement's constitutional guru, Mr Albie Sachs

He said the ANC wanted a free circulation of ideas and information in a new South Africa

"The people have a right to it. The people are not stupid, they've rejected the lies of apartheid and they don't have to be protected from views, information and ideas"

"We can benefit from the experience of other countries. Basically one draws the line at what's been called fighting talk from developing into incitement"

It was another issue entirely, he said, of who had the means of getting ideas into circulation

"Here one finds that there are two factors one is the enormous concentration of newspaper ownership which many countries with a long history of support for press freedom won't permit because it's unhealthy for democracy if the control of the media is restricted to a few

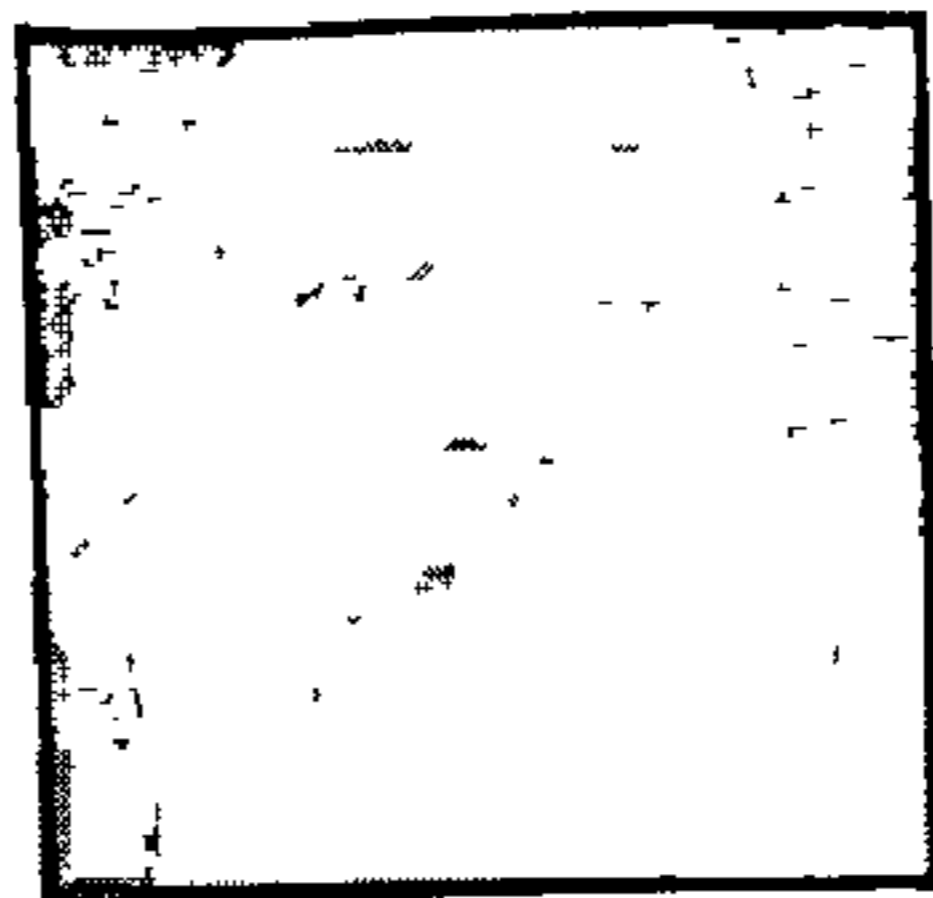
Domination

"I think that this is one of those issues that has to be debated and in which one hopes journalists will play a key role

"We certainly don't want a tame press. Every government has its gazettes and methods of giving out official statements, but we don't want an official press. We want a press that is vigorous, lively, readable and enjoys writing about controversy rather than running away from it"

He said the "white domination of the media" was another problem. The issue was complicated and had to be handled with care

"It's not a question of exchanging white control with black control, it's a question of creating a South African news reporting style which has sensitivity and vigour"



Albie Sachs

The government has scrapped the Separate Amenities Act, an act which Mr Sachs believes is a departure from the official policy

"But it certainly does not mean apartheid has ended. That's going to require an historic effort. It will take quite a long time and will need an enormous investment of money and skills. We are just at the beginning of that. It would be extremely misleading and very dangerous to suggest that scrapping the Separate Amenities Act means ending apartheid"

He said the right-wing was a monster which the government had created

"It's up to them to find out how to deal with it. What complicates things a little is that we are for freedom. We want people to be able to say what's in their hearts, to speak out openly and freely. We're not in favour of cracking down on the dissent all the time, whether it's from the left or right

"Where it becomes different, off course, is when one deals with organised physical resistance to democracy. In this sense the fascists are a tiny minority in the country

"They might generate a fair amount of support among Afrikaners, but they are a small percentage of the total population"

The only positive thing which could emerge from this, according to him, was a very broad agreement that "however much we might disagree on other questions, we all agree on the importance of the process of democracy in South Africa going through and resisting attempts by these fascists to frustrate this process"

He was looking forward to the December 16 ANC conference — to be held in Bloemfontein — because the movement would adopt a new constitution and elect a leadership for the first time in

South Africa since 1960, Mr Sachs said

However, organising the conference was being held up by the government not having given total amnesty to exiled ANC members

He said the SAP would be reconstructed under an ANC government.

"It's absolutely fundamental to have a police force that's respected by the whole community. We've never had that."

A reconstructed police force would consist of present black members of the SAP, honest white policemen, new recruits and members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the movement's armed wing, and ANC security personnel

"I've been assured that there are honest white policemen who want to get on with the job and that have often been frustrated by the way in which the police force has been hijacked to maintain apartheid and persecute opponents of apartheid"

The army and prisons service would be reconstructed in the same manner, said Mr Sachs

Enthusiasm

His impression was that the old South Africa was still in place

"I came back not to one Cape Town, but to three Cape Towns. The divisions are as complete as they ever were. But there is new thinking and new attitudes which I found most encouraging"

He's been in South Africa for about a month, living in Athlone most of the time

"The feeling there is very powerful and that real change is coming in South Africa because the people have fought for their rights. I would say that's the strongest impression of my whole visit

"Coupled with that is that among whites living in the other part of Cape Town, I found a lot of enthusiasm for what's happening and a sense of liberation among many people who had been totally downhearted. They feel they can at last look forward to being proud citizens of a proud country and using their skills for the benefit of the whole country"

He said it was nice to have been home, "to be in a country where you can put on your tackies"

ANC may
CAPL-TIM B. 7/6/90
have daily
newspaper

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THE African National Congress is considering "the possibility of an ANC daily newspaper", ANC Western Cape interim committee member Ms Cheryl Carolus has said.

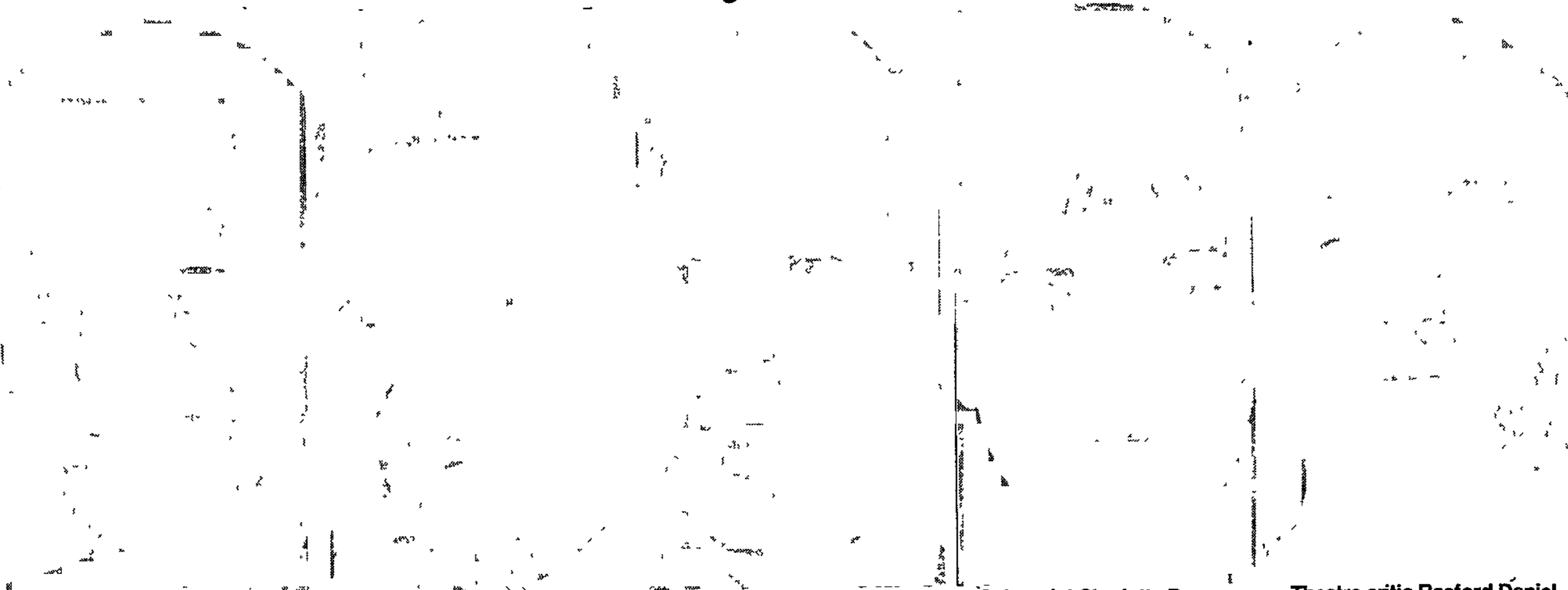
The ANC would also "fight for democratic control of the SABC", she added.

In an interview in the Idasa magazine "Democracy in Action", Ms Carolus called on the government to disarm the white right-wing immediately.

In the absence of firm action against violence, the entire negotiation process could be set back or even wrecked, she said — Sapa

COUNTDOWN JUST TWELVE DAYS TO THE LAUNCH OF THE DAILY MAIL

The team behind your breakfast news



Arts editor Don Mattera

Columnist Thami Mkhwanazi

Business editor Reg Rumney

Columnist Charlotte Bauer

Theatre critic Raeford Daniel

SOME of South Africa's top reporters, photographers and columnists have joined the team being put together for the launch of *The Daily Mail* on June 20

Donald Woods, the former editor of the *Daily Dispatch*, who went into exile after being banned in 1977, will be writing a weekly column from London. He returns later this year

Arthur Maimane, news editor of *Drum* in its 1950s golden era and a television journalist in Britain for almost three decades, has come home from London to be features editor and a regular writer.

Allister Sparks, former editor of the *Rand Daily Mail* and one of the country's most accomplished political writers, will contribute a weekly column of political and social commentary. This week Sparks published a book on South African politics and history, *The Mind of South Africa*.

On the lighter side, this week sees the return of the cult horse-racing tipster and lapsed theologian, Thomas Equinus, who will do battle on the sports pages with *The Daily Mail's* new racing editor, Jeff Zerbst.

Also back is that old *Weekly Mail* favourite, Gus Silber, with a weekly column of offbeat observations of current events.

On the arts and entertainment pages, new arts editor Don Mattera, well-known poet and author, will be writing regularly about a broad range of cultural events and issues. He heads a powerful team, including critic Raeford Daniel and writer Ivor Powell. Features writer Thami "By The Way" Mkhwanazi adds a second weekly column, reviewing exciting new clubs, restaurants and shows.

Dozens of calls about Daily Mail shares

THOUSANDS of *Weekly Mail* subscribers will be receiving information about buying shares in the newspaper's new sister publication, *The Daily Mail*, in the next few days

The Mail Publications Group (MPG), owners of both papers, has had to limit its share offer to a selected list of *Weekly Mail* supporters in order to stay within the law. It cannot sell its shares publicly without a prospectus, which could only be produced at great cost.

MPG is looking for the widest possible range of shareholders in order to raise the rest of the money needed to launch the paper and ensure its independence.

The publishers believe that by having a large number of smaller investors, no single shareholder will have the power to influence the newspaper's policy for his or her own ends.

This is part of a plan to ensure the to-

tal independence of the new paper. The rest includes maintaining control in a staff share trust — which will be the single largest shareholder — and limiting the control any other individual may hold.

Already dozens of people have phoned to inquire about shares and ask for a memorandum. There have been technical delays in posting the information, but it will be sent out within the next few days.

The Daily Mail will be published Monday to Thursday. The *Weekly Mail* will be published on Friday as an expanded package, including the daily broadsheet paper and the weekly tabloid, with in-depth analysis, features and commentary that will provide a substantial weekend read.

●For subscription, advertising or other enquiries, phone 331-3321

A new sports department is headed by Mark Gleeson, formerly of *The Star*, and includes soccer writer John Perlman, now in Italy to cover the World Cup.

A beefed-up business department is headed by experienced all-rounder Reg Rumney, formerly business editor of *Finance Week* and production editor of *Business Day*. His team includes former University of Cape Town economist Alan Hirsch, columnist Hilary Joffe and reporter Mzimkulu Malunga.

The *Weekly Mail's* acerbic-penned televi-

sion writer, Charlotte Bauer, will expand her field to cover personalities in the news, interviews and lifestyle issues.

The Daily Mail has assembled a strong political team to cover developments across the political spectrum. Shaun Johnson will specialise in parliamentary issues and activities in the National Party, the cabinet and other state institutions, veteran reporter Jo-Anne Collinge will cover a wide range of activities, primarily extra-parliamentary, and groups such as the African National Congress. Charles Leonard will be our Pre-

torial correspondent and specialist in right-wing politics.

For pictures editor, we have recruited one of the grand masters of South African press photography, the man responsible for the famous *Drum* photography of the 1950s, Jurgen Schadeberg, photographer, teacher, film-maker and author of several photographic books.

The Daily Mail has also taken the unusual step of hiring a lawyer, Jackie Segal, to cover courts and legal issues, signalling the seriousness with which these matters are being treated.

Labour will be covered by one of Johannesburg's most knowledgeable writers on unions and industrial relations, Drew Forrest, formerly of *The Star*.

A special "greens issues" investigative team will be headed by environment reporter Eddie Koch.

All of this is on top of the package already offered by *The Weekly Mail*, including popular columnists such as Steven Friedman and Krisjan Lemmer.

Bureaux have been set up across the country. *Weekly Mail* stalwarts Carmel Rickard and Gaye Davis will run the Durban and Cape Town offices while veteran foreign correspondent Andrew Meldrum will head up our frontline bureau headquarters in Harare with a team of writers in Mozambique, Angola and Zambia.

The Daily Mail will also have writers in Washington and London. Other international coverage is being syndicated from some of the world's best newspapers, such as *The Guardian* of London, the *Washington Post* and the *Los Angeles Times*.

How a young black journalist survived a thousand days behind bars

PORT ELIZABETH — "When are you bringing him back?" my frightened sister asked a security policeman on June 16 1986 — the day the police detained me under national emergency regulations decreed four days earlier.

"Don't worry, we'll bring him back soon," he said. "Soon" turned out to be nearly three years.

When the police came, no one tried to keep them out. The emergency empowered them to kick in the door anyway.

After hearing of the detention of other journalists, I thought of going into hiding. But after moving from house to house looking for a refuge, I eventually came home. The next night, the security police took me away. I had a jacket, a pair of jeans and a woolen hat.

Algoa Park police station's of-

ices were as busy that night as a black hospital's casualty ward. We sat on the floor of the cold waiting rooms until we were fingerprinted and photographed.

"Ja, Brian, you write a lot in the papers," said one of the cops to me, making me feel like a little boy in a cage.

I was kept with about nine other people in a filthy, tiny cell with blankets full of lice. We slept on the floor. Each day, we got cold porridge in the morning, two thin slices of bread and black coffee, served in a big tin for us to share.

One of the horrible experiences of being in detention is the thought that you are divorced from your family, your colleagues and the world outside.

No one knew where we were. We were denied newspapers, visits, pens and even clothes to change into. I had to use my T-

shirt as a washrag on occasion. My jeans and lumber jacket made perfect pajamas.

A breakthrough came sometime in July when we developed various sorts of ailments — colds, ulcers, backaches. Some of us were admitted to Livingstone Hospital and were able to smuggle letters to our parents and bribe guards with food and money to get visitors.

During that period, a detainee would be called for hours of in-

BRIAN SOKUTU, A 28-YEAR-OLD BLACK JOURNALIST, was detained by security police on June 16 1986 under the State of Emergency. Sokutu was imprisoned for nearly three years without being charged with a crime. When he was freed on March 9 1989 he was issued with restrictions that effectively barred him from practising his profession until last February. He wrote this account for The Associated Press.

terrogation. One young detainee, of about 16, came back sobbing.

"They've beaten me up," he said. He also told of being subjected to electric shocks.

It seems the police were trying to prove that I was a revolutionary journalist who, during the 1985 consumer boycott, took pictures of people who broke the boycott of white businesses. According to police allegations, I took these pictures to "the people's militia".

I went to the Grahamstown Supreme Court to try to prove the police wrong. The case was dismissed, but I still have to pay the costs.

Later, I was transferred to St Albans prison. The difference between the police station and prison was that we were entitled to have money, clothes and visits.

Prison breaks one physically and psychologically, and solitary confinement is a method of torture. I spent three days in a tiny underground cell, which was like being buried alive. You see no car, hear no noise. On occasion a policeman walking on a floor above looks at you through a window.

When you are escorted inside by police, your shoelaces are taken away. When you try to sleep, you are constantly awakened by police who say they

are guarding against you "killing yourself". The strain is tremendous. I suffered from depression and had to be brought back to St Albans.

What kept us going for those years of hardship was collective decision-making, consultation, and a political programme. Ironically, the structures crushed by the State in the African townships were revived in prison. We had an education panel, a political panel and sport. We had to bribe warders and hardened criminals with money to get us newspapers. We even smuggled a small radio to listen to the news.

Numerous struggles for our release were waged inside and outside prison. In February of 1989, there was an 11-day hunger strike. It proved to be instrumental in bringing about our release.



ICTIM: Brian Sokutu entered nearly three years in prison before his release

Argus posts 9,9% growth in bottom-line earnings

ARGUS Holdings' pre-tax profits showed a healthy rise, but a lower share of retained earnings from associated companies limited growth in bottom-line earnings to 9,9% in the year to March.

CE Doug Band said the 22% rise in attributable earnings at the interim stage was not sustained because of softer trading conditions, losses in a division, now sold, and an increased provision for deferred tax

Earnings excluding retained earnings of associates grew 16,2% to 2 195c (1 889c) a share on a slight rise in the weighted average number of issued shares. But earnings including retained earnings of associates were up 8,6% to 2 769c (2 550c) a share

The final dividend of 600c a share increased the total distribution for the year by 17% to 875c (750c) a share

The bulk of Argus's profits was derived from Argus Newspapers, followed by 46%-held CTP and CNA Gallo, in which it has a 33% stake

Band said most Argus Newspapers' publications showed steady advertising demand and circulation growth. An 18,3% rise in sales, coupled with tight expense control and efficient working capital management, saw its contribution to the group's pre-tax in-

ZILLA EFRAT

come improve 28%

But the time was not considered right for a listing

CTP Holdings' static profit growth resulted from losses in its stationery division, which had now been sold, and the raising of deferred tax provisions in the Hortors Group where assessed losses had been eliminated

CNA Gallo's attributable earnings a share grew 26% after it enjoyed a strong Christmas and back-to-school season and a resurgence of sales in the Gallo entertainment division.

Trading

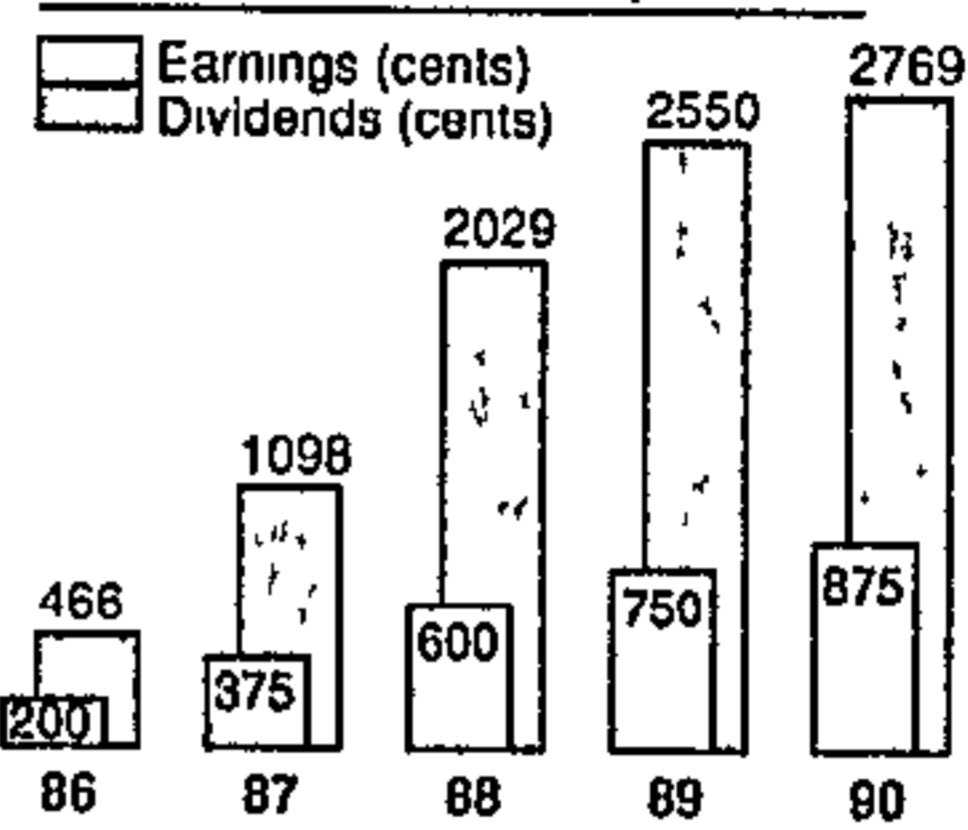
Times Media (TML), of which Argus holds 40,3%, showed a 32% rise in pre-tax profits, but earnings a share fell 5% because it paid the full tax rate after fully utilising its assessed losses the previous year.

Argus's turnover rose 17,6% to R1,6bn, while trading income grew 15,6% to R136,2m.

Following a 15% rise in net interest paid to R7,6m, and a 63% jump in income from investments, pre-tax profits were 19% higher at R142,4m.

Argus Group

Earnings and dividends per share



Graphic: FIONA KRISCH Source: ARGUS GROUP

However, an increased tax rate at 41,9% (39,9%) resulted in a 15% rise in taxed profits to R82,7m

With income attributable to outside shareholders increasing 12%, income before retained earnings of associated companies was 17,6% higher at R44,8m

But a 12% fall in the share of retained earnings from associated companies to R11,7m, led to a 9,9% rise in attributable profits to R56,6m

Band says while group budgets have been set to achieve growth in earnings, this will depend on the stability of the business climate.

Free press
campaign

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa's largest-selling morning daily newspaper, the Sowetan, is to launch a freedom of the press campaign in the next week to bring home to the community the merits of a free and independent media in a new South Africa, the publication's senior assistant editor, Mr Thami Mazwai, said yesterday.

Addressing a joint media-business conference here, Mr Mazwai said: "The battle for control of the media continues. Because the government succeeded in getting sectors of the press as its apologists, it has become commonplace for all organisations to try and do the same. I say the press must stay independent."

— Sapa

Today's debate among journalists, particularly black journalists, is: will we also be expected to be the apologists of government policy in future? Was the struggle not against this?

Black journalists have cause to be worried. They know what harassment is, having suffered it all of their professional lives.

The pressure on us the past four years was from government, elements in the liberation movements and newspaper proprietors. These generated a fourth evil, self censorship.

Government was prepared to enforce self censorship by ruthlessly dealing with first offenders under the media emergency regulations. However ways and means of beating the system were found.

He demands from community organisations were three dimensional, and it is necessary to state that at the time there was fighting among black organisations.

We were expected to ignore news concerning certain organisations while highlighting those of others. We were expected to publish the atrocities of the one and ignore those of the other. This was a period of class boycotts and necklacing. Criticising these acts was taboo.

The Sowetan was not prepared to abdicate its responsibilities as a newspaper. Human dignity is inviolate. Killing political activists is inhuman whether it is done by the CCB or comrades. As we refused to accede, there was a strong anti-Sowetan feeling in certain circles. We were accused of being anti-ANC.

We have never been anti-ANC. Our newspaper has supporters of the ANC, PAC and BCM on its staff. They know a high value is placed on professional integrity, and we see that professional standards are maintained.

Things came to a head when one of our journalists was accused of publishing a story that sowed division. A

Black journalists have reason to fear future pressures

pld on 14/6/90

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THAMI MAZWAL, business editor of The Sowetan

boycott of the paper was announced though the newspaper was not called to any meeting.

It was only after meetings with officials of unions and community organisations that we put our side of the story, but by then the damage had been done.

Anti-Sowetan feelings were whipped up. Trucks carrying our newspaper were barred from one or two townships. City Press suffered similar pressures. Strong sentiments were expressed against the Weekly Mail and New Nation.

We had played right into the hands of government. Stoffel Botha wanted these newspapers closed down, and now his job was being done by black people themselves. There were more serious incidents.

At a funeral in Soweto a group of youngsters, all armed to the teeth and carrying the trusted tyre, came looking for any reporter from Sowetan. At this stage the newspaper was not sending reporters to certain areas, and this included Soweto. In the Northern Transvaal a Sowetan reporter and photographer were

cornered by a group of activists to be necklaced. Fortunately some comrades intervened. Quite a lot of black journalists wanted to leave the media. A few did.

The third type of pressure was from newspaper bosses. Many newspapers took the easy way out and avoided political news like the plague. In general the proprietors of those liberal English language newspapers serving the black community were supportive of the campaign against the Press censorship.

However, the sting in the tail was that the newspaper had to make more use of lawyers. It reached a stage where we told our lawyers that instead of telling us a story could not be published they should tell us how it could be worded for publication. The above three pressures led to self censorship. Newspapers and journalists tended to become more

years been at the forefront of the struggle for human dignity. By being part of the struggle for civil liberties we were part of the struggle for the freedom of the Press.

The black on black violence that made Dinghies a misery in 1986/7 is with us again. The rivalry between political organisations is once more going to be the hand of our lives. We are however heartened by the fact that political organisations are now doing something to bring it under control. Perhaps it has dawned that this violence affects their images inside and outside SA.

However, the battle for control of the media continues. Because government succeeded in getting sectors of the Press as its apologists, all organisations to try to do the same.

This thinking is given credibility by most of Africa, where governments control the media. The reasons given are noble, but the practice is ignominious. Governments manage to get the atrocities they perpetrate ignored.

Idi Amin and Adolf Hitler took control of the media and went on to unleash unheard-of brutality on their people. I am not saying this will happen should an ANC or a PAC government take over, all I am saying is that the Press must stay independent. Freedom of association and press freedom are still at risk.

We believe that by being independent of any political bias we will best serve SA. From that position we will be able to criticise fairly and objectively. Our readers will be the ultimate judges.

Freedom of the Press is indivisible. It does not change from situation to situation, neither is suppression of the media by a black government less severe than that from a white government.

Both abuse my rights as a human being.
This is an excerpt from an address at the conference Winning against Apartheid in Johannesburg yesterday.

Sowetan plans Freedom of Press campaign

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Sowetan 14/6/90

SOWETAN is to launch a 'Freedom of the Press' campaign next week to bring home to the community the merits of a free and independent media in a new South Africa, senior assistant editor, Thami Mazwai, announced yesterday.

Addressing a conference organised by the South African Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg, Mazwai said an upsurge in township violence among black political organisations was once more becoming the bane of journalistic life.

"The battle for control of the media continues. Because the government succeeded in getting sectors of the Press as its apologists, it has become commonplace for all organisations to try and do the same.

"This type of thinking is also given credibility by most of Africa, where governments control the media.

"The reasons given are noble, but the practice itself is ignominious. I say the Press must stay independent," said Mazwai.

With the current inter-organisational violence, freedom of association and of the Press remained at risk.

"Freedom of the Press is indivisible. It does not change from situation to situation, neither is suppression of the media by a black government less severe than that from a white government. Both impinge on rights as a human being. We cannot have our cake and eat it too."

Mazwai traced the history of journalists caught in the violence between 1984/86

He revealed details of how *Sowetan* reporters were almost "necklaced" for writing critical reports about the violence and how newspapers were boycotted in various townships for being critical of mayhem. - Sapa

Journalists are still walking a tightrope

243. sk 16/6/90

DESPITE the lifting of many of the strict emergency restrictions on the media in February this year, life for local journalists is not anything like a bed of roses yet.

According to a recent issue of "Update", the newsletter of the Anti-Censorship Action Group, — in April alone one foreign and two local journalists were shot at by kwaZulu police during disturbances on the Natal South Coast and no fewer than 33 journalists were detained by police while covering demonstrations

On top of which, according to Gilbert Marcus, of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, there are still more than 100 permanent laws on the statute books that restrict the free flow of information in South Africa

□ □ □

THERE is a lot more to my favourite television programme, **Floyd on Food**, than just culinary comic-cuts. It should be used by local TV presenters as a training programme, because the one thing that Keith Floyd manages to achieve is to make himself very much a guest in viewers' lounges. And that is what TV is all about

□ □ □

THE best thing about the new **John Berks Show** on M-Net is that it goes on long enough to give everyone time to have a say. In the past, this has been the biggest problem with televised debates.

There has been no time to get to the nitty-gritty and with participants conscious of time restraints, they tend to speak faster than they can think, which makes it all inconclusive and frustrating for the viewer. Wednesday eve-

Whispers

CHRIS MOERDYK



ning's pilot show on the subject of home security was extremely well-researched and balanced

And, for his TV debut, John Berks did very well to hold the often fiery debate together, in spite of the fact that he did not appear quite at home in front of the cameras.

□ □ □

ADVERTISING talking point of the week has undoubtedly been BMW's new campaign and Mercedes "doing the right thing" by ignoring it all

But one hawk-eyed caller among the many who phoned me during the week to talk about the controversial campaign, picked up something that many others did not.

He said he could not understand why the BMW commercial was being run backwards on TV. It was not, of course. What happened was that a photograph taken from the commercial was printed in reverse on this page last week, giving the impression that the BMW was not only handling the bends beautifully, but doing so at 120 km/h on the wrong side of the road, and in reverse!

Did we do it on purpose, perhaps, as a hint at what Mercedes should do to counter BMW's tongue-in-cheek swipe at its award-winning Chapman's Peak commercial?

A nice thought, but no, it was not intentional — we just goofed.

(243)
C/Press 17/6/90

Let Pressmen do their job, says Mazwai

PRESSURES on black South African journalists during the past four years had been from the government, elements in the liberation movements and newspaper owners, Sowetan business editor Thami Mazwai told the conference.

"These then generated a fourth evil - self-censorship by the media."

Mazwai's spotlight fell on 1986 to early 1989 when, he said, "South Africa's media experienced its worst onslaught in modern times."

Focusing on government pressure, he told of the June 12, 1986 media regulations. These are the laws which effectively controlled South African media's interpretation of the countrywide unrest which had broken out.

Some of these regulations included the prohibition on promoting unlawful organisations; inciting people to take part in any unlawful strike or boycott action and encouraging disinvestment or the application of sanctions or foreign action against South Africa.

Then there was August 28, 1986, when the government published another major set of regulations, Mazwai pointed out.

"These were specifically aimed at the alternative media, although it was later found that they were also aimed at the mainstream media, particularly *The Sowetan* and *City Press*," said Mazwai.

But there was also pressure from black community organisations. This pressure was three-dimensional, he said

23 dead babies: doctor tells of strike crisis

Star 19/6/90
243

Pretoria Correspondent

Documentary evidence substantiating allegations that 23 premature babies died as a direct result of strike action at Ga-Rankuwa Hospital earlier this year has been handed to a Commission of Inquiry investigating the causes and consequences of the eight-day dispute.

The evidence was contained in a letter written by a paediatric consultant, Dr M van Dyk, to the temporary chief medical superintendent, Dr L van Heerden, on April 17 — five days after the strike ended.

"In the neo-natal intensive care unit we had to diagnose and treat critically ill babies without supporting laboratory facilities. We had 23 deaths between April 4 and April 10," wrote Dr van Wyk.

The letter, submitted as evidence yesterday, said no cleaning was done in the neo-natal section during the strike and neither were the bodies of

dead babies collected for removal to the mortuary. The tiny patients' food was delivered late and on April 10 and 11 none of the babies received medication as their nurses had been "intimidated to join the strike".

"I have to state that this was a most unethical way to care for patients. I would appreciate it if you (Dr van Heerden) could let the parties involved in the strike know what the results of their actions were. The responsibility for those patients already dead, as well as those who will die due to poor care, should be placed on the strikers."

The legal representative for the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union, Mr G Josman, said on the first day the Commission of Inquiry sat that he would show the attempted evacuation of patients during the strike had some bearing on the alleged deaths of the infants.

However, Dr van Heerden said yesterday that he was not aware that any of the babies in the neo-natal ward had been evacuated

Development of two new 'Sowetos' planned

243 (2) (21) 20/6/90

By Shirley Woodgate

Plans for two new "Sowetos" have been launched south of Johannesburg, and are aimed at more than doubling the present population of that area by the turn of the century

The chairman of the Central Witwatersrand Regional Service Council, John Griffiths, said two regions have been earmarked for immediate development

The first, of almost 10 000 ha, falls within the 12 450 ha to the west of Soweto which was declared a development area in terms of the Black Communities Development Act of 1989.

This section comprises 640 ha north-west of Dobsonville, where at least 10 000 stands will be made available by four private developers

"But it will be possible to obtain 30 to 40 stands per hectare, which means this area could supply another 20 000 stands," said CWRSC chief executive Len de Wet

Nearly R20 million has been allocated by the CWRSC for bulk water, sewer and electricity services, and the Transvaal Provincial Administration will redesign the intersection of the two major roads in the area, PW5 and K102, to allow better land use

The developers are Township Real-

tors, South African Transport Services, Creation Development Production and FHA Homes

Another 400 erven on the farm Doornkop have been earmarked for development at a future date, and in addition the TPA has acquired about 600 ha north of Dobsonville which will be allocated for black housing

The second area, about 9 000 ha located north-west of Evaton and south of Ennerdale to the east and west of the N1 highway, has been earmarked for balanced residential housing for 700 000 people, including site and service, commercial and industrial development

"Rapid urbanisation has led to estimates that by the year 2000 there will still be a shortfall of 17 000 ha of land in the south-western sector of the Witwatersrand

"Since it has been indicated that only a portion of the original proclaimed area will be available for housing in the short term because of dolomite and mining rights, this area south-west of Soweto has become increasingly important. It is soon likely to be fully incorporated into the CWRSC from the Vaal Triangle region, to become the largest single development undertaken by CWRSC," said Mr de Wet

Some municipal strikers arrested

Cyt
1/20/90
20/6/90

Editor's ⁽²⁴³⁾ trial to be in camera

JOHANNESBURG. — A Regional Court magistrate yesterday ordered an in camera trial of the case against Vrye Weekblad editor Mr Max du Preez, accused under the Protection of Information Act.

The magistrate, Mr H la Grange, found he had to rely on the state's argument that sensitive and secret evidence would be heard.

The trial follows the publication in Vrye Weekblad of a report about alleged ties between the Institute of Soviet Studies of the University of Stellenbosch and National Intelligence.

Publishers Wending Publikasies are also on trial. — Sapa

243
1552

Star
20/6/90

Weekblad trial to be behind closed doors

By Celeste Louw

The trial of Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez on two charges under the Protection of Information Act is to be held in camera, a Johannesburg Regional Court magistrate ruled yesterday.

The magistrate, Mr H la Grange, said he had to rely on the State's argument that sensitive, secret evidence would be heard. If the public and the press were present, the information would become public knowledge, the court found.

The publishers of Vrye Weekblad, Wending Pub-

likasies, and Mr du Preez allegedly contravened the Act by publishing a report on February 2 about alleged ties between the Institute of Soviet Studies at the University of Stellenbosch and the National Intelligence Service.

The report suggested that the institute had approached the NIS to serve as a front to obtain information on the ANC and SA Communist Party.

The State alleges that a document obtained by the newspaper was published unlawfully.

Daily newspaper market in flux

GAVIN STEWART

NEWSPAPERS in capitalist economies serve three constituencies — readers, owners or patrons, and advertisers. Each of our newspapers has to delimit a constituency of readers within a divided society: the most obvious divisions being Afrikaans-English, black-white, conservative-progressive.

Until now Johannesburg has had six daily newspapers and, from today, seven. The newest, the Daily Mail, launches against some powerful currents.

In the first decade of television in SA, daily newspapers lost almost one-third of their share of white readers. In 1975 about 75% of whites claimed to read at least one daily newspaper; in 1985 only 55% made this claim.

The decline levelled out and sales even grew, because of the steady increase in the population of the PWV and because of the continuing increase in black readership.

Until 1982 advertising expenditure increased to accommodate the new medium, then declined sharply in real terms, and far more sharply for print than for any other medium. But the major newspapers now achieve notable profits.

The Star is now safely past 220 000 sales a day and has entered the morning market. With the inspired appointment of Richard Steyn as new editor and a stack of new edi-

tions, it is unlikely to open any major gap for the new paper.

The Sowetan, close to 200 000, is SA's fastest growing daily. The new-comer might touch the top end of this market.

TML's Business Day, with only 32 000, has a natural advertising base around Diagonal Street and provides a level of business coverage not attempted by any other paper. The new paper cannot do better than second or third choice for these readers.

Perskor's Citizen, safely above 125 000, offers a diet of news from Sapa and sees its task as holding white support for the NP.

Perskor's Transvaler, at 50 000, and Nasionale Pers's Beeld, with 85 000, are in a different market.

Against these, the Daily Mail seems not so much a competitor as a new kind of product. It needs to tap off or brew up a 5% share of a saturated market. It clearly hopes to find a niche in the younger, more thoughtful segment of the market.

It is unlikely to be the first-choice newspaper for all its readers. Even if, as reported, there are 25 000 young professionals in Johannesburg read-

ing no morning newspaper, there is little evidence the coming of TV or the closing of the Rand Daily Mail created a class of non-readers poised to buy the new product.

So long as SA lingers in transition, there will probably be funding for alternative views. After transition, survival is as much a matter of state policy as it is of finding readers.

Some foreign funders have already given two years' notice to the alternative Press, and to the rest of the mighty "change industry", that SA will soon have to pay its own way.

This raises the question whether newspapers which represent significant constituencies ought to depend for their survival not on their readers but on the shifting imperatives of advertisers and patrons.

When the RDM was closed down five years ago, it was incorrectly said to have "failed in the marketplace of ideas". With daily sales of around 120 000, the majority to blacks, it failed in the marketplace of advertising.

There is a nasty conundrum here. Any view of democracy must hold that all significant views deserve to be heard. Yet newspapers must depend for their survival upon the buying power of their readers, and therefore on advertisers.

If this was to mean the death of all the newspapers we now call "alternative", it would be a political trage-

dy. And it would greatly strengthen the arm of those who would like the state to control all our media.

The Daily Mail hopes to sidestep this problem by operating with a higher cover price and the real economies of computer publishing. Fewer pages will also save paper, 40% of the costs of a major newspaper. Thereby it reduces its dependence on advertising.

The future of the Press, and broadcasting, have not yet made the top 10 on anyone's political agenda. This may be because none of the competing interests wishes to talk too much about the issue, rather than for its want of importance.

When its newspapers were threatened by rising costs and television, Sweden decided a diversity of political views was too important to be left to advertisers. It created a system of tax incentives to encourage joint printing and distribution agreements, and subsidies to support weaker newspapers and those which speak for large but less-wealthy sections of the population.

The country badly needs a newspaper which will make an intelligent case for social democracy — as the economic alternative to the polar opposition of capitalism and socialism. That nettle must be grasped.

Stewart is professor of journalism and media studies at Rhodes University.

REVIEWS

Journal of Journalism and Mass Communication Studies

Daily newspaper market in flux

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GAVIN STEWART

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REVIEWS

Journal of the South African Institute of Journalism, 1981, p. 243

SABC journalists want union branch

By Helen Grange

Journalists at the SABC in Auckland Park have approached the South African Union of Journalists (SAUJ) to set up a union branch at the corporation.

The union was recently asked to address several SABC employees who wished to join the union, Jeanette Minnie, national organiser of the SAUJ, said yesterday.

Ms Minnie said that discussions would be entered into with SABC staffers over setting up an elected SAUJ branch — which would be followed by negotiations with the SABC management over recognition of the union.

It is understood that several SABC employees are unhappy with their pay packages.

Although the SABC has never prohibited employees from joining unions in work contracts, only one media union, the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) has been established at the SABC.

However, this union has only been recognised at two SABC regional offices — in the northern Transvaal and far northern Transvaal

“We are still talking to Mwasa about recognition elsewhere,” an SABC spokesman said.

The corporation has been heavily criticised by Mwasa in the past for its anti-union stance and its “lack of willingness to talk or enter into proper negotiations”

However, an SABC labour spokesman denied this and said the corporation has “always allowed its workers freedom of association”.

● The SAUJ, formerly known as the Southern African Society of Journalists, is a non-racial trade union which organises editorial workers.

It is represented at most English-language mainstream newspapers and several alternative newspapers and is recruiting members in the Afrikaans press and the electronic media.

Media harassment continues unabated

South 2116-2716190 (243)

AT least 10 incidents of harassment of journalists in the last few weeks are listed in a dossier compiled by the Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ).

They include.

- A brutal assault on a journalist covering the Hiemstra Commission of Inquiry by rightwing elements,

- The sacking of an assistant editor of a university student publication over her satirical column, and

- The court appearance of a newspaper editor for publishing "sensitive material"

This week, the editor of Vrye Weekblad, Mr Max du Preez, appeared in court on two charges under the Protection of Information Act which prohibits the publication of "sensitive material"

The charges relate to information published in the newspaper in February that alleged that the Institute for Soviet Studies at the University of Stellenbosch had offered to act as a front for the National Intelligence Service to obtain information on the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party and the Soviet Union

On May 9, a SABC-TV journalist, Mr Johan Claassen, who covered the Hiemstra Commission of Inquiry into allegations of a spy department in the Johannesburg City Council was attacked by a masked man at his farm near Alberto. The man knocked him unconscious and tied him up

At May 28, the sports editor of the Sowetan, Mr Horatio Motjuwadi, failed to appear in court after falling ill. His

attorney was informed that Motjuwadi, detained the month before for 15 days under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, would be charged under the Explosives Act

In other incidents of harassment, journalists covering the violence in Thabong township in the Orange Free States were caught in the crossfire after battles between township residents, rightwingers and police

The vehicles of at least two journalists were overturned by angry crowds who apparently, mistook their cars for police vehicles

On May 25, police confiscated film from a photographer covering the funeral of a former ANC member exile in Soweto

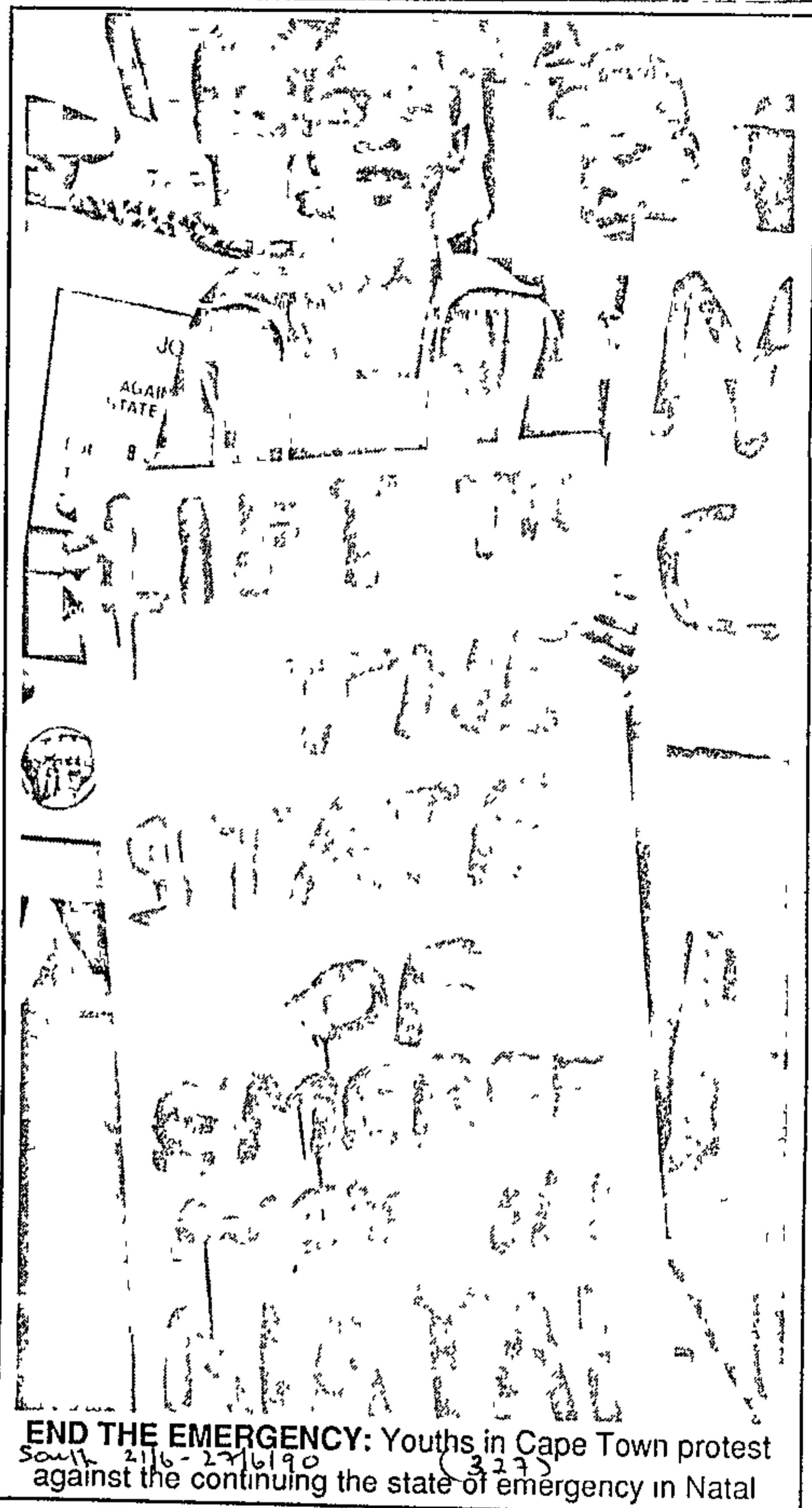
- The staff of an alternative newspaper in Durban say they have faced death threats, police harassment and legal action in their coverage of the Natal violence

The Catholic-owned UmAfrika is the only alternative to Ilanga, a bi-weekly newspaper owned by Inkatha, in the Zulu-language market in Natal

Editor Mr Cyril Madlala received a phone call last week from a man who said a bomb had been rigged under his car. The caller disconnected after Madlala joked he was expert at detonating bombs

An unknown gunman earlier shot at the Umlazi home of news editor, Mr Chris Hlongwa

Hlongwa has been subpoenaed by the defence lawyers for KwaZulu deputy cabinet minister Mr Samuel Jamile, on trial for 15 counts of murder, attempted murder and incitement to murder



END THE EMERGENCY: Youths in Cape Town protest against the continuing the state of emergency in Natal
South 2116-2716190 (327)

SOUTH's Repression Dossier focuses on political trials, detentions, bannings and restrictions — measures used by the state against opponents in South Africa. This dossier has been compiled from information supplied by lawyers and relatives of detainees, and publications produced by the Repression Monitoring Group and the Human Rights Commission.



This focus was made possible by the FOUNDATION FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE

Media 'played positive role role in Harms Commission'

W/Mail 22/6/90

THE media had played a positive role in the Harms Commission investigating political murders, Free State attorney-general Tim McNally, leading evidence for the commission, said yesterday.

Despite some criticism of the press during the 17-week sating of the commission, where certain reports were said to be inaccurate, the media had helped bring the workings of the commission to the attention of the public, Mr McNally told a media briefing in Pretoria.

It was because of this that a number of people who initially thought they had nothing to contribute had come forward with evidence to the commission under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Louis Harms,

During the commission's 50 sessions, the accuracy of reports in the Afrikaans weekly *Vrye Weekblad* were called into question as was a report in *City Press*.

Vrye Weekblad was to a large extent instrumental in the establishment of the commission following an interview in Mauritius with former security police

243
Captain Dirk Coetzee, whose allegations regarding the murder of Durban anti-apartheid lawyer Griffiths Mxenge are being investigated by the commission.

Coetzee's allegations, along with a last minute confession by death row prisoner and former policeman, Almond Butana Nofemela, exposed an alleged hit-squad at the farm that abducted and killed people — as well as stole cars and damaged the property of anti-apartheid activists.

Much of the evidence of serving police officers has focused on denying the allegations of Nofemela and Coetzee as well as another disaffected Vlakplaas member, David "Spyker" Tshikalange. Nofemela made a statement the day before he was to hang for the murder of a Brits farmer not connected with hit squad activities.

Despite the accusation by commission officials that recent media coverage of the commission has focused on the negative, Mr McNally said he was happy with the quality of the coverage of the commission, which is due to wrap up its hearing of oral evidence today. — Sapa

Wk Argus 23/6/90 (243)

NEWS

Former editor of Drum dies

'Staff appreciated high standards'

Weekend Argus Foreign Service

LONDON — British newspapers have paid tribute to Sir Tom Hopkinson, former editor of Drum magazine who died this week, as "one of the most wide-ranging editors of his time".

The Times said in a lengthy obituary that few men had made such a distinctive contribution to photo-journalism as Mr Hopkinson, both as editor of Britain's Picture Post and at Drum

Mr Hopkinson, who died on Wednesday in Oxford aged 85, was born in Manchester

After going to Oxford University he lived for a while by freelancing and copy writing. But he soon developed a taste for photo-journalism and in 1933, his first book, a photo and caption commentary on the government of Ramsay MacDonald, was published.

In 1938 he joined Hulton Press as assistant editor with special responsibility for all the writing in the soon to be launched Picture Post

He later became editor of the publication, but was fired after printing, against his publisher's wishes, a devastating word-and-picture expose of South Korean premier Syngman Ree's atrocious treatment of political prisoners

But his career flourished and in 1957 he was asked by the proprietor of Drum to go to Johannesburg and edit it

He soon imposed a more disciplined format on the magazine and insisted that it must be a picture publication above all.

The Independent recalls in an obituary "His elegant style and immaculate office seemed somewhat at odds with the hurly-burly of the Drum office and its hard-drinking staff, and he had to fire its most brilliant but bibulous editor, Can Themba

"But his staff appreciated his high standards and expertise. Among his visual proteges several, including Ian Berry and Peter Magubane, achieved world class"

Mr Hopkinson resigned after three years as editor

■ PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

Other groups will have to join talks

TOO many people believed negotiations for a new constitution in South Africa would take place only between the government and the ANC, excluding all other groups in the country, *Die Burger* said in an editorial.

"Such an arrangement would be a recipe for disaster and inevitable conflict. Only by including the largest possible number of interest groups who represent the population spectrum, could formulae be worked out with the highest measure of consensus.

"The government realises this very well. Already it has talked to several representative groups. It happened again in Cape Town when the government talked to homeland leaders

"President FW de Klerk invited the chief ministers of the self-governing areas, the administrators of all four provinces, the chairmen of the ministers councils, and the commissioners-general of the self-governing areas for discussions. It was well attended.

"Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen has also stressed that negotiations cannot take place only between the two main actors.

"He said political organisations identified as leading organisations within the present structures have had their places reserved at the negotiation table. At the same time organisations outside the present structures will be included. The only precondition will be a commitment to a peaceful solution.

"Hopefully all who qualify would take hold of it, eagerly and with an open mind," said *Die Burger*.

Voice assistant editor Joe Harker, on a recent visit to South Africa, returns to London with an image he will never forget.

As I leave this sad and beautiful country of South Africa, I am left with one simple but unforgettable image which, for me, encapsulates the inhumanity of apartheid.

It's winter now in the country and, although the days are warm, sunny and cloudless, after sunset, the nights become desperately cold, often dropping well below freezing.

At about three o'clock in the morning, following an enjoyable evening out, I was driving back to my hotel, situated in a wealthy suburb of Johannesburg.

As I entered the car park, my headlights momentarily shone on an old black man, wrapped up in layers of old, worn clothing and huddled up next to a dog.

He wasn't a tramp, as might have been my first impression. In this country, vagrants would be picked up by police the moment they set foot in such an area.

No, he was in fact a hired car park attendant,

An image I'll never forget

paid a pittance to stand outside, all night, in the freezing cold, to ensure that no cars are stolen.

The temperature that night was so severe that he had to use his guard dog for warmth to make his condition that tiny bit more bearable.

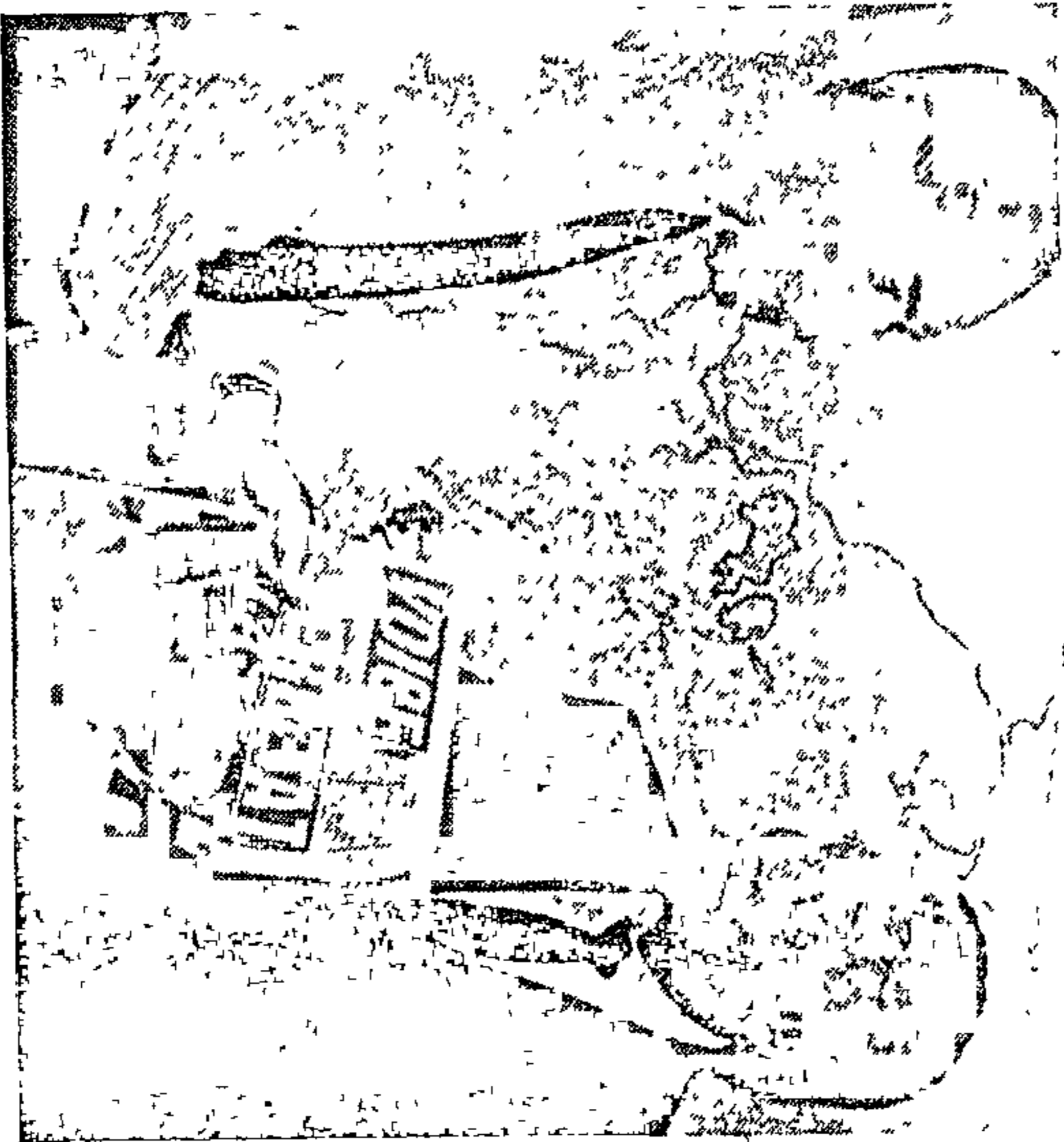
In Britain, of course, similar car parks would be viewed from inside by guards with security cameras.

In the apartheid State, however, black labour is so cheap, due to the poverty and the acute shortage of jobs, that it makes financial sense for bosses to employ someone to do the most worthless, or the most menial type of work.

As I got out of my car and walked towards the hotel entrance, I was met by another man, similarly wrapped up, wearing a heavy cap and balaclava. He was guarding another part of the car park.

Beating one arm against his chest to improve his circulation in a bid to keep the cold from attacking his body, I noticed a tin

On closer inspection, I saw that it contained some hot tea, another pitiful effort to stay warm.



Voice assistant editor Joe Harker presents Nelson Mandela with a copy of his newspaper.

Standing right outside the hotel entrance there was not even a mug available for him to have his hot drink. Inside, the crockery was already laid out for the guests' breakfasts later that morning.

As I entered the hotel, I went to the reception area to pick up my key, where, behind the desk, a middle-aged white man was sitting, with his feet up, watching the television and reading a paper.

Not for him the worries of keeping warm. Not for him the desperation of taking any worthless, appallingly paid job just to be able to eat from one day to another.

To him, in the cosy warmth of his office, the car park and the cold night may as well have been a million miles away.

And, while the day-to-day reality of life for the country's 30-million black people continues to be so distant in the thoughts of whites, as I have repeatedly discovered during my stay, the ignorance and disinterest which feeds apartheid could easily continue to keep it alive for many years to come.

What a Classic Cheek!

So useful 25/6/90

243

I was in Cape Town when the newly launched *Daily Mail* hit the streets of Johannesburg. There was nary a copy of the paper in the Mother City, which is a bit of a shame as Cape Town is considered more "cultured" than Johannesburg.

My scouts in Johannesburg told me, with undisguised delight that the first issue of the *Mail* was a disaster.

I have since come back home I find the greyress a deliberate attempt to give the new paper an intellectually subdued, er... upper class flavour, sans colour, sans screaming heads, suits my old-fashioned taste.

The *Mail* is taking a bit of a chance for I fear those who favour this type of newspaper might not meet the demands of a modern day circulation department. We are living in the age of pictures, colour and short-attention span caused by computer consciousness and the precousness of time.

People want to get on with things, and the leisurely read of a paper even on weekends belongs to the days of Lawrence

Gandar and I daresay Arthur Maimane.

Which brings me to the reason I seem to be giving the opposition, such as it is, a plug: Bra Arthur Maimane as Joe Thlooe and I would call him, is features editor of the paper.

His column on Friday took me back 30 years to the days when writing was as exciting as the sup-and-fly shebeen days.

The *Mail* must be complimented for getting Mr Maimane, first back home, and secondly writing for them.

He comes back like musky breath from the past of swaggering penmanship and heady writing. It reminds me of the first day I walked into the offices of the *Golden City Post* at Samkay House, Troye Street, Johannesburg. Mr Maimane, well, Bra Arthur was news editor as I seem to re-

member. Samkay House, which had its own shebeen on the top floor, was a stone's



throw from the notorious Pass Office in Albert Street. Samkay House was also comfortably nuzzled by the most incredible warren of shebeens in town.

My peers will remember Bra Whitey in Albert Street who helped to stake the parched throats of scores of journalists from *Drum*, *Golden City Post* and the old *Rand Daily Mail* in Main Street

Bra Whitey's shebeen lay at the heart of an illegal colony of booze houses smack under the noses of scores of police who arrested us routinely for the various "dom pass" offences.

On the eastern part

ON THE LINE
Aggrey Klaaste

of Samkay House lay the Classic Dry Cleaners owned by the toughest shebeen king of the day, one Magog, also called by us young journalists, the Guns of Navarone. Advisedly

There was the day that the late Casey Motisi was stalked by the Guns into the newspaper offices and subjected to a silent, sadistic punishment until I saw the blood on part of a sandwich he was having. The same thing happened to another old buddy, Stan Motjuwadi.

We all got some shellacking from the Guns as we tried to duck him on pay day. We drank on what we called "truck", on

credit. We worked like horses, drank like sailors and got very little pay.

There was Nat Nakasa, a rather prim, scholarly reporter who did not fit the mould of the swashbuckling likes of the Casey Motisis, Ronnie Manyosis, Obed Musis, Boy Gunedes and Can Thembas and their younger seedier side-kicks like yours truly. Nat later named a literary magazine after this shebeen Classic.

It was the type of wry humour Nat had to name a serious literary magazine after the most reputable and notorious "joint" in town. It was a nice little touch for the Classic was not only the watering hole of the best writers, but attracted gangsters, beauty queens, musicians of all shades and stripes.

It was also a small part of Sophatown planted smack in the middle of Johannesburg Our children have the right to moan about how hard life is today, but they would not believe the way we

lived. Johannesburg, as Mr Maimane will tell you, was tough as hell, upbeat and swung with the best of them. You could for instance get arrested for almost anything.

The pass and liquor raids around Classic Dry Cleaners and Johannesburg streets were legendary. You could be picked up for infringing a never-ending collection of technical offences like not having the "right" stamp in your pass, like not having a permit for booze, a permit for every damn thing, including for being alive and black.

The culture shock that Bra Arthur writes on Johannesburg and its new look, frequently hits me with total amazement. I am amazed to see the number of blacks who walk around freely and actually live in the city. I am amazed no end by seeing scores of blacks walking around like "free" people in white suburbs as if they owned the land! I am amazed by blacks gadding about like their "betters", drinking

openly, defiantly on streets, in pubs, in hotels and all over Ye Gods! In my day the best place for a bottle of wine or brandy was in your stomach. The safest thing was to get that liquor disappear as fast as you could into you before the heavy hand of the law descended. We called this "sup and fly".

Most people will not believe the story They will not believe the evil humiliation and degrading personal attacks we experienced "Esibayem" at the Albert Street Pass Office. They might not believe that most of Fordsburg was shebeen land, where people got picked up by police vans every other minute, while hundreds casually thronged and drank in the myriad of shebeens.

I wish the *Daily Mail* the best of luck. The birth of a newspaper is good for the craft. To call it the *Daily Mail* with an obvious marketing eye on the fame of the old *Rand Mail* is a bit of a cheek. It is the type of cheek that Nat Nakasa had in calling his magazine after the biggest little shebeen, Classic.

South Africans 'too dependent'

27/6/90 (213)
By Marguerite Moody

Apartheid had ultimately failed because South Africans were too dependent on each other, former editor and freelance journalist Allister Sparks said yesterday.

Addressing a gathering of the monthly Chapter's Literary Luncheon Club in Johannesburg, Mr Sparks said the key difference between the political scenarios in South Africa on the one hand and Israel and the Lebanon on the other was that in the latter two countries, the protagonists were not dependent on each other.

"However, in South Africa we are bound together by forces

that have been there for a long time and this is why apartheid could never work," he said.

The author of the newly published "The Mind of South Africa" said he was optimistic about the country's future despite the difficulties.

"Neither side has a viable alternative open to it but to move towards a post-apartheid, non-racial society."

The only alternative open to the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, was to re-ban the ANC, re-imprison its deputy president, Nelson Mandela, and to revert to the policy of apartheid.

"This would be totally unthinkable and reaction from the

international community would be enormous," Mr Sparks said.

The only alternative open to Mr Mandela was to return to the guerilla struggle which he knew he could not win.

Mr Sparks said the only option for South Africans was to discover their mutual dependence in their hearts, their minds and their economic activities.

"Just as South Africa has long been a symbol of racism and a pariah in the world, it has the tremendous potential of becoming a symbol of national reconciliation, racial harmony and of co-existence between black and white," Mr Sparks said.

Finding a 'no-loser' solution

Star 27/6/90

243

When Neil van Heerden and Chester Crocker introduced the "no losers" formula into the Angola-Namibia peace negotiations in the late '80s, they were bringing something new to Africa

The concept of a dispute being solved on the basis that neither party ends up the loser was, if not new, certainly unusual in Africa, where the tradition has rather been one of the supremacy of the strongest power

African disputes have customarily been settled on a winner-take-all basis. But in the settlement signed in New York in December 1988 neither Angola, Cuba, South Africa nor Swapo emerged as an outright winner, yet none of them was an outright loser, either

Deadlock

The "no losers" idea was introduced by Mr van Heerden, South Africa's Director-General of Foreign Affairs, and Dr Crocker, then United States Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, in an effort to break a deadlock in the talks. It worked

In the resultant settlement no party lost face and each could claim to have furthered its own interests

The New York agreement led in turn to the Namibian independence election where the winner-take-all concept was again negated

A major factor in this was the democratic principles inserted into the independence process by the Western powers. These forced an elective test of the United Nations' arbitrary designation of Swapo as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, a designation disproved by the polls

Although Swapo won most of the votes it did not win enough for an absolute majority. So it had to compromise with other parties in the drafting of a constitution which contains, in the words of Professor Gerhard Erasmus of Stellenbosch University, "a remarkable set of finely tuned checks and balances on the exercise of power"

These would probably not have

been in the constitution had Swapo — or perhaps even some other party — won a big enough majority to have been able to dictate the content of the constitution

The Namibian solution has the potential to have a strong impact — especially in South Africa — if it turns attention to the division of power as a possible means of stabilising societies

This concept seems to be central to the new dispensation being sought in South Africa by Mr de Klerk's Government. In embracing it, the Government is, rather ironically, rejecting the opposite concept — the concentration of power in the hands of a single group or party — which has been the basis of its own policy for 40 years

It might be said, in fact, that the National Party Government has for all these years been doing it the African way

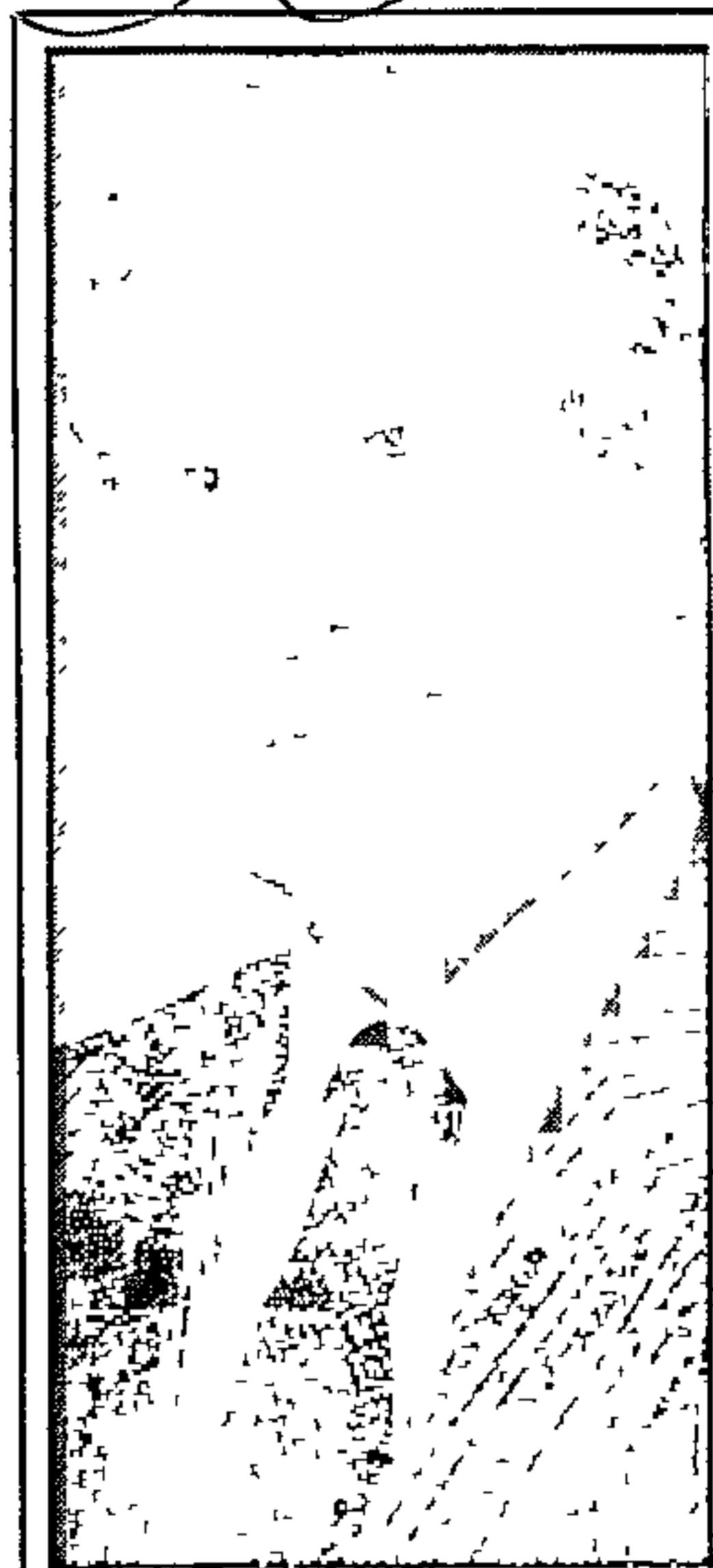
As it prepares to relinquish at least some power it might find justification in the thought that it would be difficult to find anything in Africa's records to suggest that the total power concept has in the long run benefited any country

Africa's post-independence decline has accompanied an obsession with power, manifested frequently in one-party states in which a single group, invariably Marxist, imposed its will on everyone else, usually by cultivating the fiction that it had popular support so massive that it did not need to be tested against other parties through periodic and free elections

Colonialism

Before the arrival of European colonialism, power tended to be exercised absolutely in Africa by chiefs and kings. While this may have brought stability of a sort it seems not to have promoted development, not in the European idiom, at any rate

During their era the colonialists held power almost exclusively in their own hands so that when it was relinquished at independence dom-



Concepts of power are changing radically in Africa and must have a major influence on the search for a solution in South Africa, writes GERALD L'ANGE, Editor of The Star's Africa News Service

estic power struggles erupted among the natives, followed almost inevitably by military coups

In South Africa the concentration of power in the hands of the white minority led to a racial power struggle that threatened to be disastrous, and might still be

But the Government appears now to be accepting that effective and lasting power can only be exercised on behalf of people and with their consent, not in spite of them

And the ANC for its part appears to be accepting that effective power does not, after all, come through the barrel of a gun

Ostensibly, the power-through-the-gun philosophy has been aban-

doned by the Soviet Union, too, for years its main proponent in Southern Africa (and the chief supplier of the necessary hardware)

The ANC says its use of violence was intended not to seize power but to force the Government to negotiate. Since what was to be negotiated was the ending of apartheid some might say this meant in any event that power would pass to the ANC

The organisation's present attitude must, however, have been influenced not only by the change in the Soviet attitude but also by the failure of its armed wing, Ukhonto we Sizwe, to hurt the Government seriously through insurgency

It was not, after all, ANC violence that changed Pretoria's thinking but international political pressure, domestic economic imperatives and the Government's own realisation that apartheid was unworkable in addition to being immoral

Merged

Already a new light has been cast on the concept of undiluted power through the suggestion, from the ANC's side, that Ukhonto we Sizwe be merged with the SADF in the armed forces of the new South Africa

It raises a pertinent question for the architects of the new dispensation: is it desirable, or even possible, in the creation of a coup-proof society, for even the military's power to be divided (assuming there is agreement in the first place that power should and could be divided)?

Public discussion about a new constitution turns frequently now to the American constitution's marvelously effective division of powers between the executive presidency, the legislature and the Supreme Court

But even the United States constitution provides no guarantees against a military coup. Since there has never been any threat of a coup in America the issue has, however, remained academic

But it is not going to be academic in the new South Africa

Transition crucial for SA

Star 28/6/90 (243) (SP)

It was one of those memorable moments, making the audience want to chuckle with glee while holding its breath at the same time

It came just after panelists on the platform were introduced to delegates.

Sitting next to the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Leon Wessels, was Jeffrey Radebe, listed on the programme merely as "MDM spokesperson".

Mr Wessels was introduced as a National Party MP and as the former Deputy Minister of Law and Order.

Mr Radebe was introduced as one of the political prisoners released from Robben Island a week ago, having been sentenced in 1986 to 10 years' jail.

Symbolic

As happens at conferences, the sound system was playing up. So Mr Wessels, to the delight of the crowd, took the portable microphone and held it for Mr Radebe.

It was a symbolic gesture of the new South Africa about which everybody talks, yet Idasa's conference was not about symbolic gestures. It was a tentative look at what is likely to happen as South Africa moves through the extremely dangerous waters of transition from autocracy to democracy.

Much of the conference was an attempt to get two sides to listen and understand each other those who can roughly be collected under the label of liberal social democrats and those who are either African National Congress members or supporters.

But the keynote speech was something different

Delivered by an overseas academic, who said he was no expert on South Africa, it was an analytic look at how similar transitions fared in other countries

Professor Phillippe Schmitter of Stanford University's Political Science Department listed countries which have been through this transition since 1974.

He said: "Perhaps an embarrass-

"The most dangerous time for a bad government is when it starts to reform itself" — Alexis de Tocqueville.

PETER SULLIVAN

reports on the "Conference on Transition" held by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) in Port Elizabeth at the weekend

ment at my own inability to foresee a change of such magnitude led me to devote a lot of subsequent attention to the transition problem

"I have become a sort of 'junkie' hooked on transitions, fascinated by that intoxicating mixture of personal liberation in the present, and collective uncertainty about the future."

His paper was complex and academic

He has studied 29 cases of transition from Brazil and Argentina to Spain and Greece. Yet all followed similar patterns. And each preceding one influenced the next

There is a wide variety of ways to get from autocracy to democracy, some are preferable to others in that some are more likely to lead to stable, viable democratic outcomes

Transitions usually start with pacts at the top which are undemocratic and conservative (like between the ANC and NP) and go on to imposition of reform, a founding election, and a revolution — bloodless or otherwise

Complex

His paper is too complex to analyse here (there is a four-volume tome being published on his work), but two points were interesting

● The reasons for launching a transition can be found predominantly in domestic, internal factors

● Once the transition is over and the political actors begin to settle into their respective trenches, the consolidation process is generally strongly influenced by external actors and processes

Professor Andre du Toit, who has worked with Professor Schmitter, tried to put the research into a South African context

He noted that South Africa is in

the phase of pact-forming, with pacts between the right-wing parties, between the ANC and NP, and even between the SADF and Umkhonto we Sizwe.

These pacts were undemocratic, conservative and unilaterally elite — we were moving, he said, to the brink of the next phase, a founding election.

Zimbabwe

For the rest, the conference looked at lessons to be learnt from Zimbabwe and Namibia, transition in education, civil liberties, economic justice, the judicial system, local government, and the media

On the lessons from Zimbabwe, that government sent a most impressive speaker, the Permanent Secretary in the Department of Political Affairs, Dr Stan Mudengo

He made some interesting points, some of which, I suspect, need further checking

A personable man, with a slightly off-beat sense of humour, he took pains to detail all the liberal and free enterprise goals achieved in Zimbabwe in the 10 years since independence

At independence, he said whites were concerned about physical security, living standards, job security, health and education standards

Now whites worry about the price of homes, travel overseas and the rising cost of living. This was a success, he suggested

Over dinner, he said when South Africa achieved full democracy he expected house prices to rocket alarmingly as no settlers would be leaving

At that same late dinner, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert made an interesting observation. He said township youth in South Africa appeared to have

only four role models: crime, sport, entertainment and political resistance

Unless business, writing, professional and teaching models were created, the youth would go downhill

Listening to the rest of the conference...

Ken Owen of Business Day presiding over a workshop on civil liberties in which debate went on interminably about the right to work without debaters realising one lot was talking about the right to seek work and the other about the right to have work.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert listing the reasons for change, external, internal, planned and unplanned

ANC national executive committee member Thozamile Botha, who fled Port Elizabeth 10 years ago and only returned last week, talking on local government and mistaking proportional representation for race-based elections which he railed against

Listening to all these little problems in getting two sides to listen to each other, one thing struck me.

Minorities

The ANC is looking for a constitution that will benefit them when they get into power; social democrats are seeking a constitution that will protect liberal ideals, the National Party is seeking mechanisms to protect minorities

If we really want to design a constitution and a Bill of Rights which will last, we should do it this way

Think of the worst government of your nightmares, be it ANC, AWB or Ayatollah Khomeini. Assume it will take power in South Africa at the first

Then design a constitution which you believe will keep those very people in check

If we can all agree on that kind of constitution, it may last, it may provide real democracy, and, most important of all, it may just protect all people against awful abuse of power by any future government

Blast at Vrye Weekblad

Star 4/2/90
By Guy Jepson and 243
Craig Kotze

An explosion damaged the Johannesburg offices of the Vrye Weekblad newspaper early today, only hours after so-called Wit Wolwe claimed responsibility for several recent blasts in Johannesburg.

A caller identifying himself as "Hennie Martins" told Radio 702 this morning that the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) claimed responsibility for the newspaper blast, but this was vigorously denied by an AWB spokesman.

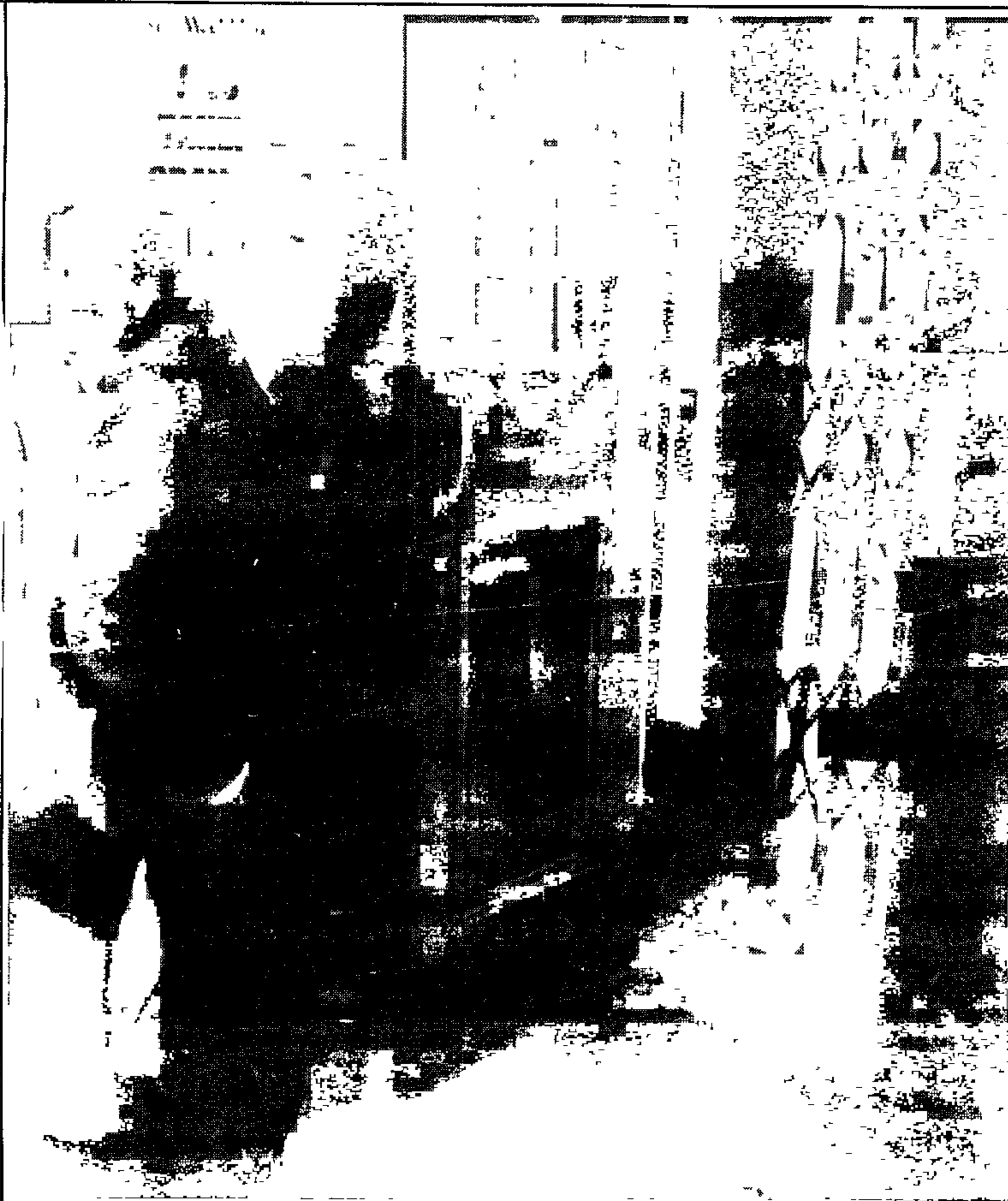
The Vrye Weekblad blast happened at 1 am at the news-

paper's premises near the Market Theatre in Newtown

Damage was not extensive, but the windows of several shops in the vicinity were shattered. No one was injured in the blast on the corner of Bree and Becker streets.

Police had, at the time of going to press, not established the type of explosives used in the device.

An "alternative" publication, Vrye Weekblad published police hit squad allegations by former policeman Dirk Coetzee and details of an alleged plot to assassinate Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk.



Inspecting the damage at the Vrye Weekblad offices

PIC. CECIL SOLS

Threat to editor after blast

From MONO BADELA
JOHANNESBURG — The editor of the Afrikaans weekly, Vrye Weekblad, Mr Max du Preez received a threatening telephone call at his house hours after a bomb blast rocked his newspaper's offices in central Johannesburg

Du Preez said a man with a perfect English accent had telephoned him at home saying the bomb at the offices was only the "beginning".

An explosion rocked the offices at 1.00am on Wednesday hours after so-called Wit Wolwe claimed responsibility for several recent blasts in Johannesburg.

Damage, according to Du Preez, was not extensive. "It could be about R7000. An oak door was blown off"

Noone was injured in the blast. The windows of several shops in the vicinity were shattered

"It is something we have been expecting for a long time. We have had so many threats. In a sense it is a relief that they have not done big damage," Du Preez said

He said the bomb, made up of commercial explosives, was placed outside the main door. The bomb was in a plastic bag

Du Preez said he received a phone call at home at 6am. "The man speaks fluent English. He did not speak Afrikaans nor a mixture of the two languages and he just said this the beginning, I would be the next target, my colleagues after me," Du Preez said

"It is very clear that it

is the rightwing whether they call themselves Wit Wolwe or Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

This group had now become a well organised terrorist movement, said Du Preez. "If they are not going to be stopped early in their tracks they are going to terrorise the society for months, if not years, to come"

Du Preez said he couldn't run around with a bodyguard "I am a journalist. I move around and so it is an occupational hazard. They have been threatening us for months now," he said

"This is not going to intimidate us. If anything our resolve is now much stronger."

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 South 517 - 117790

Death of a killing machine

THE authorities took the right step by disbanding the CCB, *Beeld* said in an editorial this week.

It said the organisation, "like Umkhonto we-Sizwe", was an anachronism from the old South Africa where competing groups thought they could singularly enforce their wills on the whole country by violent means

"The question now is whether all these 'knowing and unknowing agents' are aware they have been de-activated. And if they do, but don't agree, how are they going to be kept in check, given the shortcomings in control from above?"

"We agree there

PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

should be contingency plans in case talks go awry. But what we can least afford is the destruction of the negotiation process . . ."

Vrye Weekblad said in its editorial the uproar over the "red plot" which had South Africa on edge for almost two weeks damaged mutual trust.

It said it failed to believe police, security police and National Intelligence made a bona-fide mistake.

They must have realised Operation Vula was

not an SACP operation, and was nothing new

They must also have realised the Tongaat meeting's "Comrade Joe" could not have been Joe Slovo, as he was in Lusaka at the time.

The newspaper speculates police and NI botched deliberately to foil negotiations

"It is disturbing if one realises President F W De Klerk and his government make critical decisions based on information supplied by these gentlemen," it concluded.

Editor gets death threat

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Owelan
5/7/90

THE editor of the *Vrye Weekblad* newspaper yesterday received a death threat following a blast at the Johannesburg weekly's offices and after "Wit Wolwe" had claimed responsibility for several other recent blasts in Johannesburg.

Mr Max du Preez received the call at his home yesterday morning from a man with "a perfect English accent" who said the latest bombing was "only a beginning" and that the editor would be the next target, followed by his colleagues.

"We've been expecting this for a long time. It's a relief it's finally happened. We hope they'll leave us alone now," he said.

A caller identifying himself as "Hennie Martins" yesterday told Radio 702 that the AWB was claiming responsibility for Tuesday night's blast at the newspaper's offices.

But this was denied by an AWB spokesman.

The *Vrye Weekblad* blast occurred at 1am at the newspaper's premises near the Market Theatre in Newtown.

Damage was not extensive but windows of several nearby shops were shattered.

No one was injured in the blast, on the corner of Bree and Becker streets.

Police had at the time of going to press not established the type of explosives used.

The device had been sent for forensic tests.

brake vesting

LESLEY LAMBERT

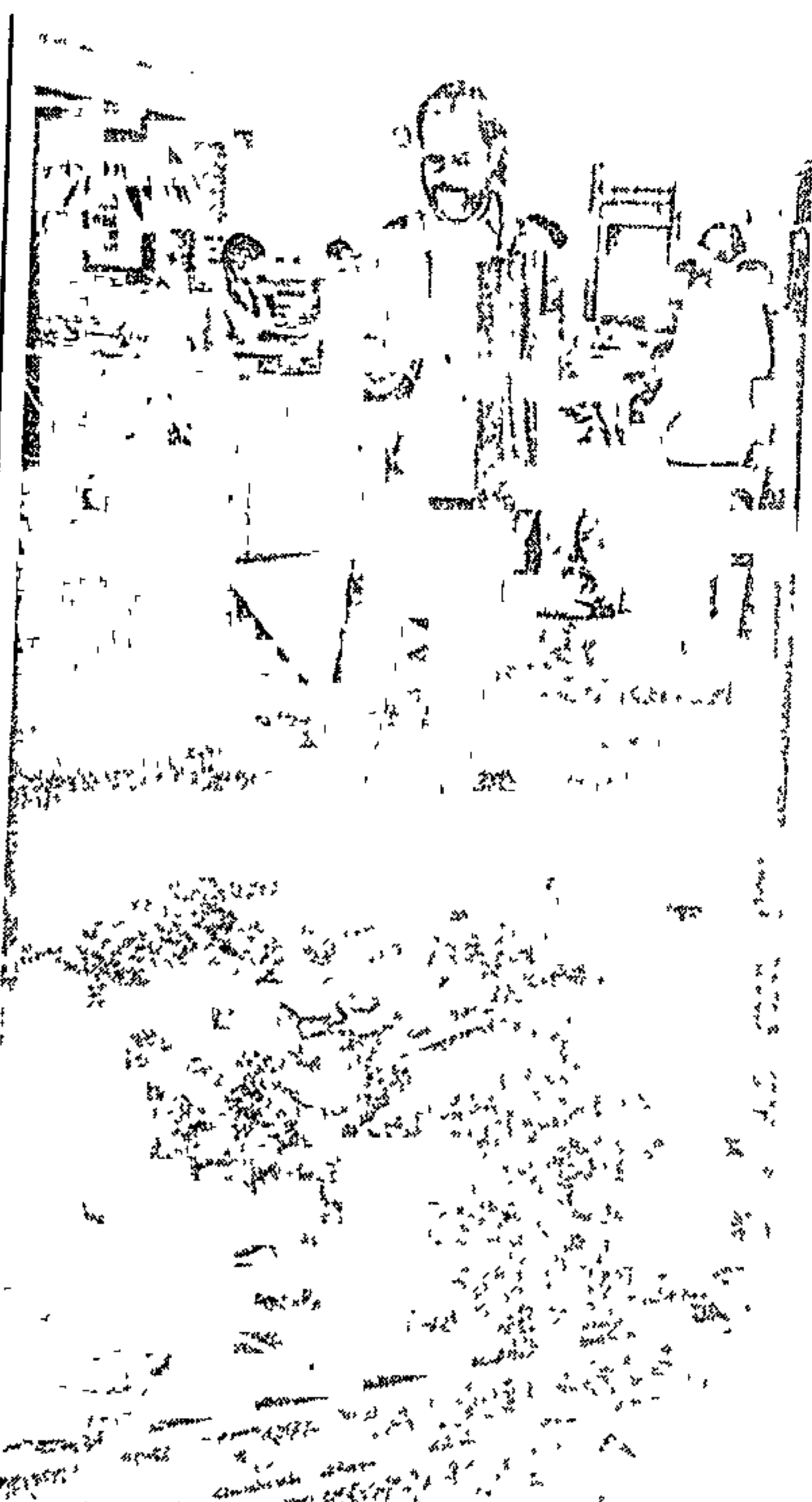
in political circles appears to timing of the decision was bad government may have to back regardless of supportive scientific to avoid adverse publicity at a SA is making headway with its al relations

he said yesterday that his deci- stpone the harvesting did not ould be shelved and he denied s being forced to back down ing to Kotze's announcement, an Trawling chairman Jack yesterday that the seal popula- d to be curbed because of the us amount" of fish it consumed, KARIEM reports.

ng seals as rodents, he said the ation had increased beyond all recent years

favour of the culling of seals as ot an endangered species," he s instance a conflict of interest where seals were competing and for food

id although the issue was "trau- ling was no less pleasant than er of other animals at abattoirs elagic Fish Private Boat Own- said it supported the "calculat- rolled" culling of seals on SA's n a statement yesterday it said ing of 2,5% of the calculated ation would be of enormous val- A-Namibian fishing industry



Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez inspects the damage done to the newspaper's Johannesburg offices by a blast early yesterday

Picture ROBERT BOTHA

SAP probe threats made to Vrye Weekblad editor

LINDEN BIRNS and PETER DELMAR

POLICE were investigating threats made to Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez shortly after the offices of the "alternative" Afrikaans newspaper were bombed in Johannesburg yesterday morning, an SAP spokesman said

He said police were aware of a phone call made to Du Preez. He added that they were trying to establish the type of explosive device used

Du Preez said he had received a call from an unidentified person speaking with "a perfect English accent" who said "You are the next target this is only the beginning, and after you, we will target your colleagues."

"It's obviously linked to our expose on the 'beercan revolution' a couple of weeks ago," said Du Preez.

Last month, Vrye Weekblad published details of alleged AWB plans to assassinate politicians and public figures seen to be on the political "left"

Radio 702 yesterday received a phone call from a man calling himself Henne Martins, who said he was an AWB member and claimed responsibility for the blast

A spokesman for the station said the man did not speak with a strong Afrikaans accent and he suspected the caller was an English speaker

The AWB yesterday denied having any knowledge or record of a Henne Martins

in its ranks

The blast smashed windows and an antique oak door in the building housing the Vrye Weekblad, as well as windows in of a First National branch across the road

"The bomb wasn't near any equipment, so our production will still be on schedule," Du Preez said

Yesterday's bombing was the fifth in Johannesburg in five days

Police said they were also investigating a phone call from a man who said he was a member of the Wit Wolwe and claimed responsibility for the four other explosions

ANC spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe said the spate of bombings was a matter for "serious concern" "It shows these people are trying to resist the process of change"

Netshitenzhe said as far as he knew the ANC had not received any threats

Meanwhile, Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder told a public meeting in Fochville yesterday that a mixed referendum on a new constitution would release the SAP and SADF from their vows of allegiance to government

The security forces, he said, could only be subject to a legal authority and not a government which had lost its legality through political "con tricks" for which it had no mandate

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Media must not be intimidated - academic

5/7/98 By Stan Hlophe

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The free press was a fundamental institution which was essential to promote open and free public discussion, the dean of the American University's communications school in Washington said last night.

Sanford J Ungar, a former journalist, was speaking in Johannesburg to a group of media representatives on the "Role of the media in strengthening democracy, protecting freedom of expression during a period of political transition".

Mr Ungar said South Africa was experiencing a transitional period and a number of forces,

mainly the Government and African National Congress, were trying to influence the public in subtle and intimidatory ways

He said free and open media should not be intimidated in their role to inform and shape public thinking and free discussion.

Serious trend

There was a serious trend towards the control of free expression in the name of high principles, he said.

The SABC control and freedom of the press should be on the agenda on the negotiating table before it was too late to

avoid control by a new government, Mr Ungar warned

"Once the free press starts operating, it should take responsibility on several issues in the country."

Mr Ungar highlighted the role played by the American media in exposing the Vietnam War, which, he said, helped a great deal in giving an alternative view to the government which had attempted to mislead the public

He said that the South African Government had done its best to suppress information regarding the Angolan and Namibian conflicts.

Mabe slaying shocks the nation

By MATSHUBE MFOLOE

ORGANISATIONS and people yesterday expressed shock at the murder of Sowetan assistant editor Sam Mabe, who was shot in Soweto on Wednesday night.

If Mabe's death were to serve a purpose, it should be to focus anew on the need to dedicate South Africans to the defence of individual and Press freedom, for which he had strived, the chairman of the South African Media Council, Mr Jan Steyn, said.

Steyn's was one of many tributes to Mabe received by Sowetan yesterday.

Mabe (39), was shot by unknown assailants in Jabulani.

His death has shocked the newspaper world, leading political figures, organisations and other sectors of the community.

The Newspaper Marketing Bureau said "We express our shock and dismay at the news of



MURPHY MOROBE

Mabe's death and offer our deepest condolences to all at Sowetan and Mabe's family."

From the Pretoria News "We regret to hear of the death of Mr Sam Mabe. Please convey our condolences to his family."

The editor of Business Day, Mr Ken Owen, said he was appalled by the shooting. "If it was a political assassination, then this country's future is looking bleak."

"I think Mabe was a decent man who tried his utmost best for an acceptable future for us all. It is a complete tragedy," he said.

Acting editor of New Nation, Mr Gabu Tug-

wana said the killing brought a great loss to the media industry.

We have really lost a person who contributed and was still to contribute a lot in this new era of transformation.

Whether you agreed or disagreed with him, you had to accept the fact that he could defend his position and he held his esteem very high."

From Cosmopolitan "The entire staff of both Cosmopolitan and Fenna magazines extend their sympathy to the Sowetan."

Editor of Weekly Mail and Daily Mail, Mr Anton Harber, who worked with Mabe on the Sunday Post said he was "absolutely" shocked.

"I cannot imagine a person like him becoming a victim of that kind of tragedy."

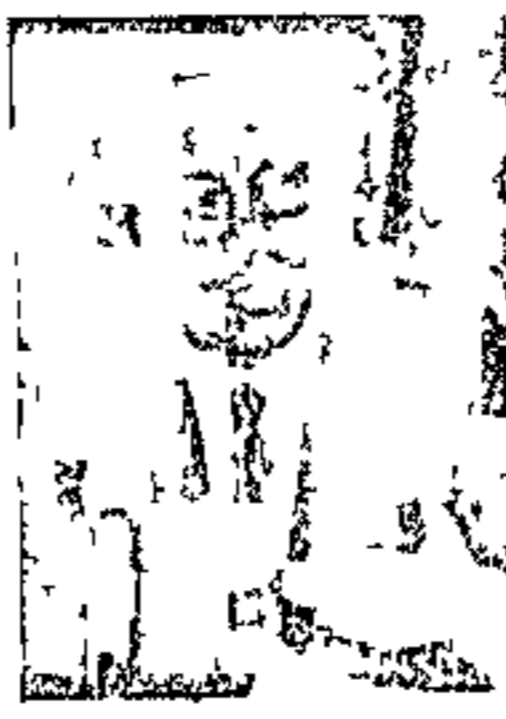
The ANC UDF and Cosatu also expressed outrage at the slaying.

His death has filled us with a deep sense of shock and we wish to convey our condolences through the media," UDF spokesman Mr Murphy Morobe said.

The president of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa Mrs Sandra Nafgaal, said she was "shocked beyond words."

Comrade Mabe was a courageous trade unionist and journalist who always strived to assist black workers and the black community in general," she said.

Other tributes and condolences yesterday came from



GABY MOGOMOLA

The Medical Research Council "Please accept our sincere condolences on the tragic death of your colleague Sam Mabe. We wish Mabe's family and the staff of the Sowetan strength and courage in this time of sorrow."

Chairman of the South African Institute of International Affairs, Mr Brian Gibson "Sam appears to have been sacrificed on the altar of intolerance. We pray that the numbing shock of his death will force us all to re-affirm our commitment to a truly free open society."

Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Mr Enos Mabuza "I have great respect for you, your senior journalists as well as for the independent, objective and constructive reporting of your paper."

I therefore share the deep sense of loss caused by the untimely and tragic death of such a young and gifted journalist."

Chairman of the Foundation For African Business and Consumer Services Mr Gaby Magomola "I was rattled by the news of the murder. The nation must stand up and shout 'Enough is enough'."

Chief executive officer of the national Soccer League Mr Cyril Kobus "The management committee, clubs and staff of the NSL wish to convey their heart felt sympathies at the loss of Mabe."

Directorate Public Relations of the South African Defence Force, Colonel J Beyers "On behalf of all members I offer our sincerest condolences."

Mabe's death leaves a gap in South African journalism that will be difficult, if not impossible to fill.

British Embassy "We were appalled to learn that Mabe had been killed. One senseless act of violence has robbed us all of a gifted man, an original thinker who has contributed enormously to black journalism in South Africa."

Deputy Minister of Education and of Development Aid, Mr PG Marais "Please accept my sincere condolences at the sad and tragic loss of Sam Mabe."

South African Broadcasting Corporation "We are all saddened by the shocking news about the tragic death of Mabe. We share in your loss. Mabe was known to us all as a man of honesty and integrity. He will be sorely missed."

Nonhlanhla Mbatha, editor of Drive On "We are not building the nation when we kill the like's of Mabe. If anyone differed with him to kill will not change his beliefs."

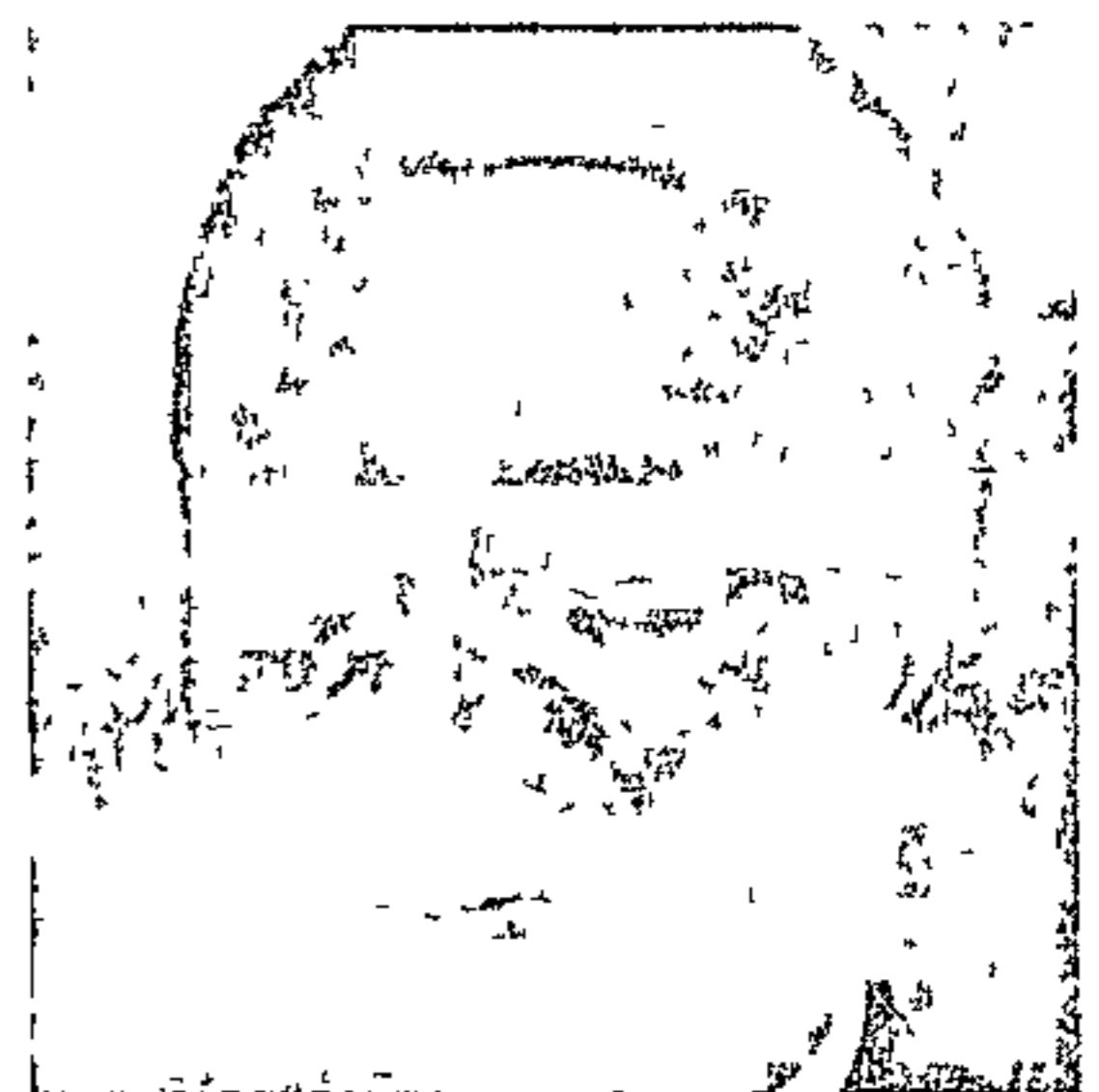
Radio Botswana "We would like to express our sadness and shock at the untimely death of Sam Mabe."

Paul Jenkins of Webber Wentzel "Sam was a great journalist and his public spiritedness was an example to all."

He will be sadly missed and we are sure that the sight of his empty desk will bring home the reality of the violent society in which we live."

James Maphiri, freelance sports journalist for Topspot "My sincere condolences to the Mabe family and everybody at the Sowetan. This will not deter the Sowetan Nation Building process."

Anne Starcke of Starcke Associates "I am asking myself whether a society that permits the deliberate slaughter on one of its most constructive and gentle of activists is actually worth fighting for."



ENOS MABUZA

"This is a note of grief, of a proud feeling of loss and of helpless rage at the cowardly assassination of Mabe."

Mrs Eunice Sibuya of National Beverage Services (Pty) Ltd "The management offer their condolences to the Sowetan and the Mabe family. We believe his sudden departure is not only a loss to the Sowetan and his family, but to the whole South African nation."

Tiger Oats Limited "The Board of Directors of Tiger Oats and staff express their deepest sympathy with the Sowetan and the Mabe family."

Mr Peter Mbolekwa of CCP Records "Death has not just left you less one member of staff. Mabe's untimely death is a great disservice to the black community."

BP management and staff "Please convey our sincere sympathies to Mrs Mabe and their children. His contribution will be greatly missed."

Get Ahead Foundation "Kindly convey our sympathy to the Mabe family. We have lost a leader."

From Lios Smuts Community Officer Woodmead School "The Sowetan and South Africa have lost a man of integrity."

Southern African Society of Journalists "Sam's death is not only a great loss to our profession but also to the country."

Richmond Public Relations Group (Pty) Ltd "Please convey our deepest condolences to Sam's family on his tragic and untimely death."

Phuroshaw Camay of Co-operative for Research and Education "To all his colleagues and friends and especially his family we say be brave in this moment but make sure that his work and his memory does not pass in vain."

Sipho Maseko of Azasam "From those of us who knew him it is more than a blow. We have lost not only a fine journalist but also a personal friend who could relate to all of us with humility."

He was a lover of justice and humanity. We believe the loss of his life and that of Muntu Myeza should spur the oppressed people to keep up their appointment with their own liberation."

Other messages were received from

Department of Education and Training, United Municipalities of South Africa, Embassy of Israel, Southern African Forum, Anglo American Corporation, South African Chamber of Business Institute for Non Formal Education of Southern Africa, South African Chemical Workers' Union, Gencor Pace Magazine, Drum City Press.

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Birth pangs

The Daily Mail, disappointing to some and a breath of fresh air to others, has survived its first two weeks

Media planners agree there was a gap in the market for a newspaper for professionals who don't necessarily need saturation business coverage, but it remains to be seen, as they say, if there's a market in the gap. The newcomer brings to four the number of morning papers published in Johannesburg

Grey Advertising media director Mark Anderson says the content is slightly heavier than he expected, with SA political and legal news and international news accounting for more than half of the news content

In the *FM's* view, its range of general news does not match that of *The Citizen* nor *The Star*, its business news content is far below that of *Business Day* and its polemic and feature articles have been neither original nor especially perceptive

Coverage lacking

The in-depth coverage of black and township politics — which established newspapers are said to have been intimidated into ignoring — is conspicuous by its absence.

The plain fact is that the new paper adds little more to what is already available. Indeed, there are those who believe its main virtue is that it makes *The Star* look less stuffy

Mail advertising manager, Marilyn Kirkwood, says that while there were good sales in the first couple of weeks from advertisers' ad hoc budgets, she expects bookings for July and August to be much tougher. Ads comprised only 20% of the pages in the July 2 issue, below the 25% level the paper says it needs to break even. Even a 25% break-even point is much lower than the 50% that most newspapers require.

"From mid-September we'll be on normal media schedules because they're planned three months in advance, so we're expecting things to improve," Kirkwood says.

The newspaper claims it is selling out at some outlets in the northern suburbs and Soweto but isn't making much of an impact elsewhere on the Reef

It is following the circulation pattern of the defunct *Rand Daily Mail* by combining affluent white and black readers but, Kirkwood says, that in these days of multiracial advertising such a mix is a lot more acceptable than it was in the early Eighties

Nationally circulated, *The Weekly Mail* sells, it says, 16 000 copies in Johannesburg and an equal number elsewhere.

The Daily Mail, as the Monday-to-Thursday edition is called, says it is selling around 30 000 copies (though on some days it has sold fewer than 15 000). Almost all have been in Johannesburg

The paper's first audited circulation figures will be available in February but will it still be available then? ■

Killing of Mabe stuns townships

By Montshiwa Moroka

Sam Mabe (39), assistant editor of the Sowetan and deputy president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa), who was shot dead in his car in Jabulani, Soweto, on Wednesday night, died a painful and bloody death.

Mr Mabe, a former assistant news editor on The Star, was shot by two unknown gunmen at about 10 pm, outside a friend's home, witnesses said yesterday.

News of his death sent shockwaves through the townships.

Luvuyo Mfobo, outside whose home the incident took place, said he and other members of the family were in the living room when they heard two shots outside.

"We rushed out and were met by Mr Mabe. He was bleeding from the neck and nose. Neighbours helped us to take him to the hospital while we called the police emergency number," Mr Mfobo said.

● Mwasa has postponed its national congress, which was to have been held in Cape Town next weekend, because of the killing.

Couple said to have robbed and wounded minibus driver

By BERENG MTIMKULU

A COUPLE who hired a taxi driver to bring them to Johannesburg from Natal shot and robbed him when he demanded payment, it was alleged in the Johannesburg Regional Court this week.

Willie Mntambo, 41, and his common-law wife Sinah Modise, 39, both of Alexandra township, appeared before magistrate JJB Esterhuizen on charges of armed robbery, attempted murder and possession of an unlicensed firearm and rounds of ammunition.

They pleaded not guilty to all counts. They were not represented.

The court heard the couple hired Amos Buthelezi to transport them to Alexandra township on November 20 last year. There was no discussion about the fare.

When they reached Lombardy East, near Alexandra, Mntambo told the driver they had reached their destination. Buthelezi stopped the minibus and Mntambo got out to offload their luggage. Buthelezi approached him for a R150 fare. Instead, Mntambo pointed a firearm at him and demanded money.

A fight broke out and Buthelezi was shot in the stomach and robbed of R530 cash. Later, he was taken to the Johannesburg Hospital where he was treated and discharged.

Mntambo said Buthelezi had demanded a R150 fare but he could afford only R90. He said Buthelezi tried to fight him as the taxi driver could not understand his financial problem.

Buthelezi also wanted to confiscate his luggage for the remaining R30.

"In a fit of anger I decided to take the money I had given him and fired a warning shot as he tried to apprehend me for a fight," said Mntambo.

Under cross-examination Mntambo said he did not know he had wounded Buthelezi and it had not been his intention to wound or kill him.

The hearing continues. No bail has been fixed for the accused.

Bigger the cake, Bigger the slices

BY DAVID CARL

WITH five cumbersome syllables, "productivity" narrowly beats "infrastucture" as the most boring word in the English language. Yet few words in economics are more important and Johan Visser of the National Productivity Institute has spent the better part of his career trying to make South Africans enthusiastic about productivity.

Graduates

Basically, it means extracting through greater efficiency more goods and services from every unit of labour, capital or raw material used in production. The bottom line is that we could be as rich as the West Germans — if we could attain that country's prodigious productivity.

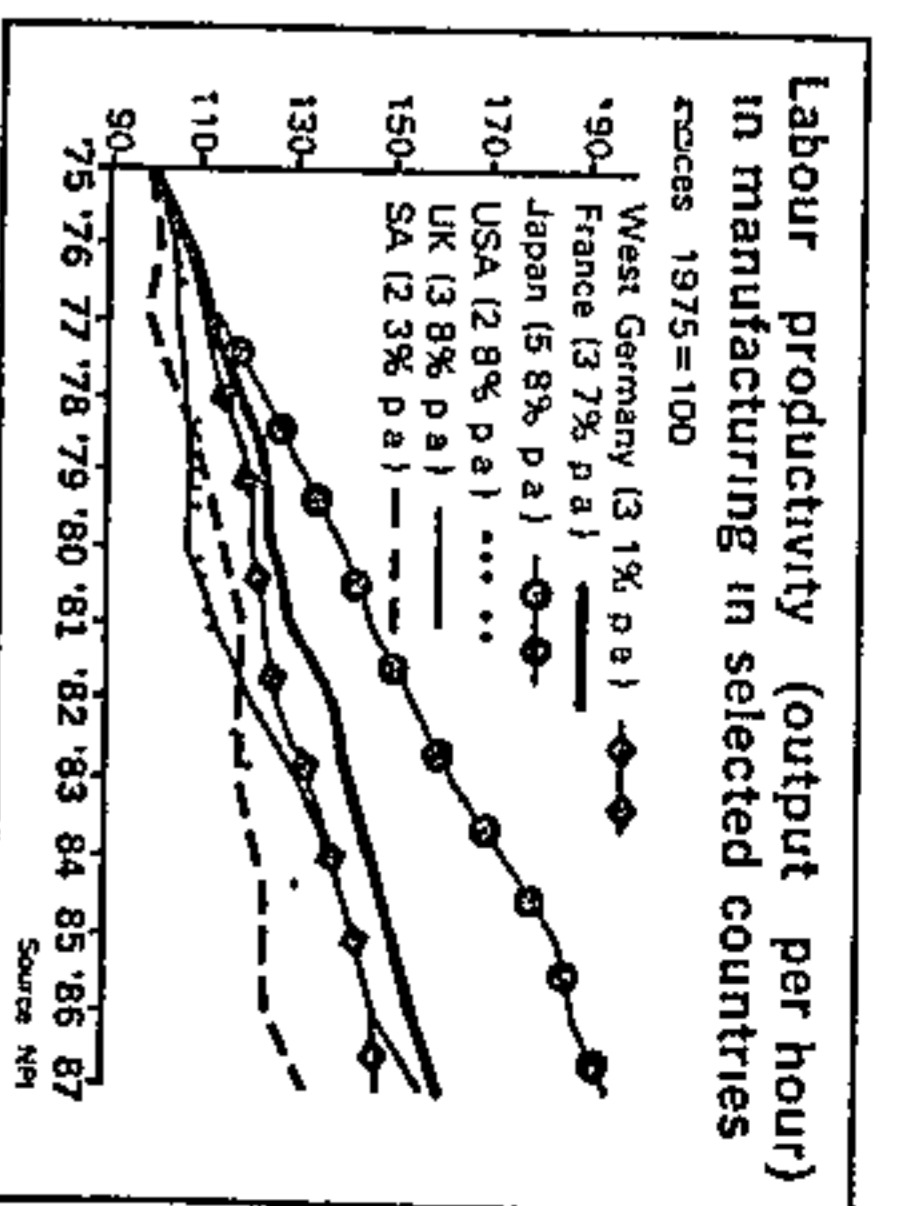
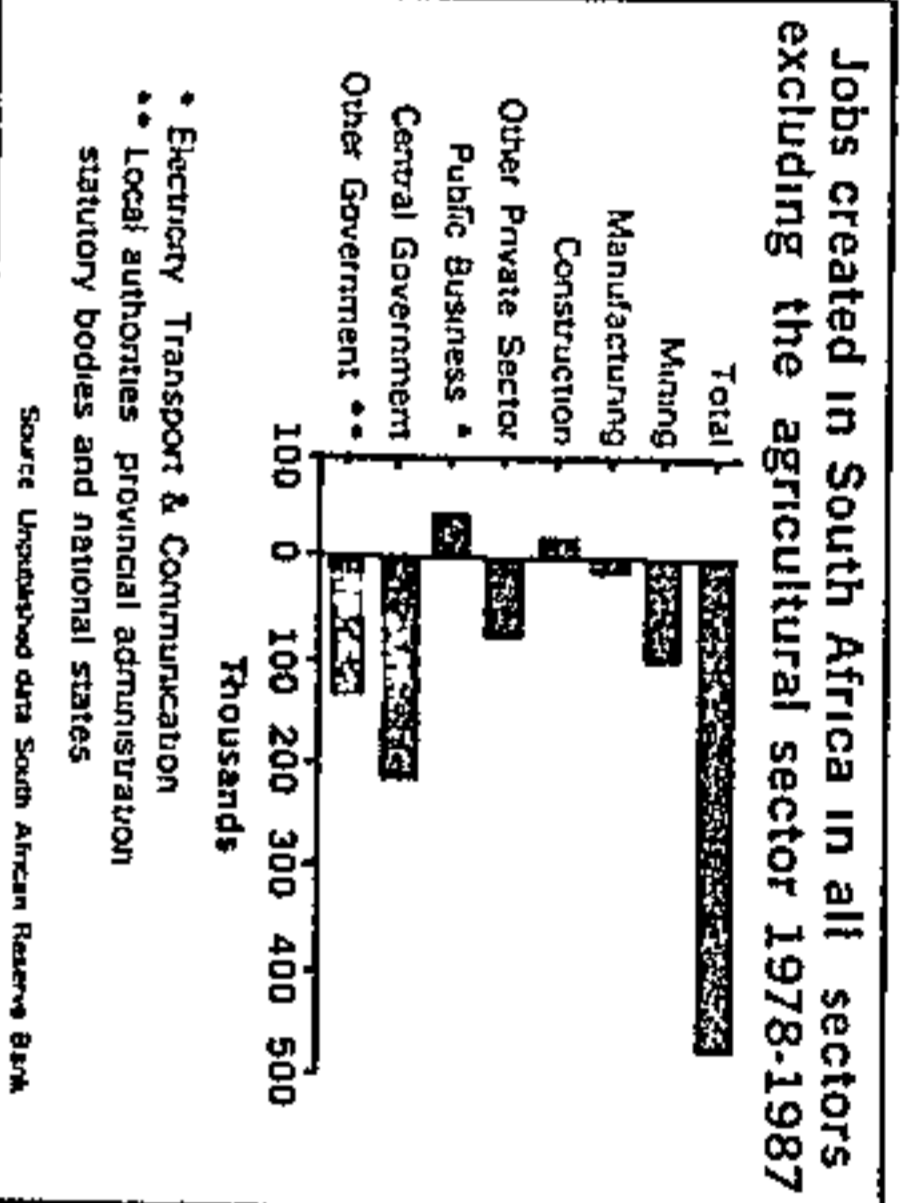
The number employed in SA rose by only 160 000 between 1976 and 1988. Employment in manufacturing and construction was stagnant and there were small rises in jobs offered in mining and commerce. Worryingly, it was in government that most jobs were generated. As a result of depressed job generation, millions have had

wages paid and profits ploughed back. Only a tiny fraction of wealth generated goes to shareholders. Abner Naanyane is one of several articulate black trainers. He instructs trainees from companies on the rudiments of business. Lecturers use model banks offices, factories, workers and managers to get the point across in five minutes of two hours each. Companies that have used the system swear by it. Mr Naanyane says, "Some unions objected to the course

Exposure

Because fees are a bit high, most of the NPI's advice is given to large organisations, which produce 80% of SA's gross domestic product. The NPI's latest project, dubbed 6M, is to teach illiterate the basics of economics and business.

Employees in more than 1 000 companies have received the vital message that money in the till is not a profit that the idle managers in Mercedes Benzes take home for their life of comfort and ease. Workers are told that stocks have to be replaced,



on the grounds that it was brainwashing. To demonstrate that it is nothing of the kind, we have done presentations to shop stewards. They benefited and asked for other union members to be exposed to 6M. "We found that once labour forces know more about business and competition, they are more co-operative." Two happy NPI clients are

Productivity award winners, Con Roux Construction and Middelburg Steel & Alloys. Con Roux contracts director Jan Potgieter says, "The NPI team evaluated us thoroughly and advised us to switch from an autocratic system to a participative one. "We conducted a lot of training, mostly designed to change attitudes and to encourage greater tolerance between blacks and whites. The results are dramatic. The order book has filled up. We pay better wages, we employ more people and we have lifted profits by 113%." Middelburg Steel's Heinrich Kammeier says, "We found the NPI great facilitators. They got us talking and thinking about productivity and were particularly good on people-related topics. We found 6M invaluable. We had to effect improvement ourselves, but the NPI acted as our conscience in productivity." Dr Visser says the company that sets out to make money and to share the welfare generated by the company whose management communicates its objectives and listens to its undertakings has the edge on competitors.

Conversely a firm concerned only with the owners, arrogantly giving orders, not listening and hiring and firing on whim, is heading for trouble. We have a community divided by race, language, religion and many other factors. My dream is that our fractions people should have a super-ordinate goal — the creation and equitable sharing of wealth.

Sunday Star is affected by strike.

Str 9/7/90
A strike by casual workers, which resulted in some copies of the Sunday Star not having all the usual sections inserted into the main body of the paper, will be discussed at a meeting to be held between the workers and management of The Newspaper Printing Company, printers of The Star, today.

The workers are demanding a reduction of the workload, an increase in wages and permanent staff status. Some of them have been casual workers since 1983.

Accountability the key

Warning on SA's 'secrecy culture'

Cape Times

10/7/90

243

Political Correspondent

THE new South Africa would inherit a "deeply troubled" media situation, Daily Mail editor Mr Anton Harber said yesterday.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club, he said the media was currently weighed down by a culture of secrecy "across the borders of our society" and a major cultural shift was going to have to take place if SA was to have a freer and more open society.

South Africa needed to move from a culture of secrecy to a culture of accountability.

One of the tragedies was that this "secrecy culture" was fairly evenly spread.

As the ANC began returning home, there was still a great deal of adaptation to be done "to reach a more open and freer flow of information there."

When a UDF leader had recently questioned the wisdom of a stayaway to deal with violence in Natal, his peers had "shut him up."

"The National Party, the ANC and the business community must recognise the value of a free and independent press," he said.

Mr Harber also maintained that the current monopolistic control of the South African press created a situation that was "ripe for nationalisation".

He said the Zimbabwean experience had demonstrated "how easy it is to take control of the press if power is vested in one or two hands."

"Take-over becomes very easy," he said.

South Africans were generally aware of the right-wing threat to the press and extent of monopolistic control over the electronic media.

But the question of the extent of monopoly control within the print media should also be addressed.

He said the ownership structure of the Daily Mail was designed to ensure that the staff working on the publications were the biggest single shareholders "rather than an outsider who can manipulate policy."

Boost for business journalism

A programme to assist black journalists to evaluate critically events and trends about business and economic matters was launched at a luncheon in Johannesburg on Friday.

The year-long programme was devised by the Centre for Developing Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand and is funded by the Australian government.

Programme co-ordinator Raymond Louw said it was vital that arguments about the redistribution of wealth to redress the wrongs of apartheid were presented to black people by knowledgeable black journalists.

Biggest

Mr Louw said in a statement that a lack of business skills was the biggest single deficiency in black journalism.

The course is described as the equivalent of a university first year business diploma course with a bias towards financial journalism.

It consists of lectures and other business-related activities scheduled for two days a week at the centre.

For the rest of the week the 24 trainees on the scheme will engage in practical business journalism or administration at their publications.

These include The Star, Sowetan, New Nation, Daily Mail, Sunday Times, Business Day, African Business, Work in Progress, Vrye Weekblad and Indicator.

243

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STC

10/7/90

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243

Defamation: Dhlomo wins

JOHANNESBURG. — Dr Oscar Dhlomo, who in his capacity as the then secretary-general of Inkatha sued the Argus Printing and Publishing Company and the former editor of the Sowetan, Mr Joe Latakomo, was yesterday awarded R7 000 damages arising from reports published in April, 1986.

Mr Justice M S Stegmann handed down his judgment in the Rand Supreme Court. — Sapa

Dhlomo gets R7 000 for defamation

243

Sowetan 117190

Sowetan
Correspondent

DR Oscar Dhlomo, who in his capacity as the then secretary-general of Inkatha, sued the Argus Printing and Publishing Company and the former editor of *Sowetan*, Mr Joe Latakomo, was yesterday awarded R7 000 damages arising from reports published in April 1986.

Mr Justice MS Stegmann handed down his judgment in the Rand Supreme Court

The judge was asked to rule on whether an organisation which is, or resembles, a political



OSCAR DHLOMO

party, could sue for defamation.

Stegmann said there was no consideration of legal or public policy to prevent it.

"By publishing the words complained of, the defendants conveyed the implication that Inkatha had been guilty of criminal conduct by incit-

ing its members, or alleged members, and the Amabutho impi, to assault the National Education Crisis Committee organisers and delegates at the Pioneer Hall in March 1986," the judge said.

The reports, published after the weekend conference in Durban, were defamatory, the judge ruled.

The sum of R7 000 was agreed to by the parties before judgment was handed down

A claim by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was settled before the trial

The Argus Printing and Publishing Company and Latakomo were ordered to pay the costs.

Photo man axed over ANC links

South 127-187190
A ROW has broken out over the dismissal of a prominent Cape Town photographer by an international news agency allegedly because of his involvement in the ANC. Last month, Agence France Presse (AFP) informed Mr Rashid Lombard that his services were being terminated because it was not AFP policy to employ people who "simultaneously carried out official duties for a political organisation."

CAPE TOWN

But Lombard said this was the first he had heard about this ruling.

"I have never been informed of any AFP policy regarding employment. I am a member of the ANC but do not hold an official position."

He said he surmised that his axing was motivated by a statement by the ANC's Mr Thabo Mbeki at a Cape Town Press Club lunch earlier this year where Mbeki introduced him as part of the ANC delegation.

AFP bureau chief in Johannesburg, Mr Marc Hutten, confirmed that the agency had fired Lombard on the basis of Mbeki's statement.

Hutten said that while any AFP employee was free to belong to a political party, it was standard practice that journalists did not hold official posts in such organisations.

TML sees tight conditions ahead

Own Times 12/7/90 243

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Tight business conditions would place margins at communications group Times Media Limited (TML) under pressure this year, chairman Pat Retief said in the annual report.

The slowing economy was expected to have "particularly severe effects on staff vacancy advertising which is an important part of our revenue base," said Retief.

However, he stressed every effort would be made to counteract reduced advertising revenue.

To this end TML was diversifying its revenue base (currently heavily reliant on Sunday Times and Financial Mail), increasing sales efforts in the survey's markets and improving management focus, he said.

By spreading the revenue base, TML could reduce its vulnerability to the cyclical trends of the advertising industry, said Retief.

Generator

The group had substantial cash resources so was well placed to make acquisitions when opportunities arose.

Reviewing the year's operations, Retief said the margin at major revenue generator Sunday Times fell in real terms — although this publica-

tion remained by far the largest profit generator in the group.

Second biggest earner, Financial Mail, achieved real growth. Good results were also recorded by other publications, including Business Day, he said.

The niche publishing field also performed well, and along with electronic products, offered substantial growth potential he said.

TML has an effective 21% stake in M-Net. The pay-TV operation paid its maiden dividend during the year under review, and is to obtain a JSE listing in August.

After the listing TML's stake in M-Net will fall to 18%.

Reduced

A higher tax charge and an increased number of shares on issue reduced TML's earnings to 119c (125c) a share during the year under review.

However, healthy cash balances enabled the group to increase the dividend by 20% to 54c (45c) a share.

At the end of March, capital employed of R81,3m comprised only R6,4m in long-term liabilities.

Current assets of R90,9m (including R57,9m in cash) comfortably covered current liabilities of R76,9m.

TML shares trade at about 725c on the JSE, a substantial premium to net asset value of 349c a share.

41

Mwasa general secretary granted bail of R25 000

By Celeste Louw

13/7/90 (243)

The general secretary of the Media Workers' Association of SA (Mwasa), Sihembe Khala, was granted bail of R25 000 by a Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday after being arrested on seven charges, including bank robbery.

Mr Khala (32) of Jabulani, Soweto was arrested in May this year following an armed robbery at the Fox Street branch of Nedbank on March 28

Mr Khala and a co-accused, Mckgwati Diseko (24) of Sharpeville, are alleged to have robbed

the bank of R102 000 and attempted to murder three policemen by shooting at them. The two men allegedly also robbed a certain Carlyle Raphelo of his watch

Mr Khala has pleaded not guilty to all the charges.

The magistrate, I Erasmus found that Mr Khala had not attempted to escape from the Hillbrow hospital where he had undergone treatment. He was allegedly shot in the leg by police.

The case was postponed to September 13.

2 dissidents accuse Sisulu

Sowetan 13/7/90

243

TWO ANC dissidents yesterday accused the movement's internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, of having a monopoly of the media and misrepresenting the dissidents in Press reports.

Mr Mwezi Twala and Mr Nicholas Dyasop told a news conference in Johannesburg they dissociated themselves with

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

recent reports, allegedly by Sisulu, indicating the dissidents had reconciled with the ANC.

The reports were contrary to an agreement between a group of dissidents and ANC official Mr Wilton Mkwayi reached at a meeting in Soweto in June, the dissidents said.

They also called for

the withdrawal of a statement, allegedly by Sisulu, that the dissidents were enemy agents

Part of the agreement was that violence which had culminated in the recent killing in Transkei of an ANC dissident, Mr Siphso Phungulwa, was to be curbed, said the dissidents

"With regard to the killing of Phungulwa, we are convinced the Transkeian police are busy with a massive cover-up"

It was agreed a joint statement would be issued on the following

* The question of the so-called ANC dissidents being attended to internally,

* The cadres will resume their tasks like all ANC members,

* Accusations and counter-accusations by the two parties will no longer be reported to the media;

Inquiry

* The Press will only be contacted for a joint statement after the parties had resolved their differences, and

* After the joint statement no party will go to the Press without the other.

They called for a judicial inquiry into alleged atrocities by the ANC - Sapa.

Tributes for
Sowetan official

APL 7/198 16/7/90
The Sowetan's editor, Mr Aggrey Klaaste, described Mr Mabe as a giant among black journalists. — Sapa 243

**SACP loses
GDR support**

South 1717-2517190

LONDON. — The South African Communist Party journal, "The African Communist", has shifted publication to London after 21 years of being printed in and distributed from East Germany (243)

Plans are being made to publish inside South Africa next year.

The latest edition of the publication explains that the removal of communists from power in the German Democratic Republic has forced it to move house.

Daily Mail faces R780 000 shortfall

MAIL Publications Group faced a possible R780 000 shortfall after the Reserve Bank's "interim" refusal to allow it offshore investment through the finrand, MD-Clive Cope confirmed last night (243)

The newly formed group, owner of the month-old Daily Mail and the Weekly Mail, had also revised its three-year profit and loss projections, he said.

Cope was commenting on a letter the group sent this week to selected subscribers, inviting them to take up shares.

In the letter, Cope said capital structure figures listed in the group's memorandum were based on the assumption R2,5m would be available "via the financial rand mechanism". B 12/24 1979

"The application for the financial rand has not been approved by the SA Reserve Bank and we are at present making representations to the appropriate authorities for approval. If these representations are

SYLVIA DU PLESSIS

unsuccessful, then the effect of this would be to reduce the total cash raised of R4,78m to R4m and this shortfall of R780 000 would have to be raised to make the venture viable."

Last night, Cope said the Bank had refused the application "pending further information", but the group's directors hoped a final decision would be reached "within a month".

"If the Reserve Bank still refuses the application and our share offer is oversubscribed, we'll use the overflow to make up for the shortfall."

In a separate move, the group has revised its forecast of a R2,64m loss for 1991 to a R2,47m loss. It has also restated its 1992 taxed profit projection to R26 000 from R634 000 and its 1993 profit projection to R609 000 from R1,24m.

ANC editor's 'yes, but' to a free press

243

South 19/7 - 25/7/90

THE ANC would support an independent and critical press in a future South Africa, while discouraging media which propagated racism, the editor of Sechaba, Francis Meli, said last weekend.

Interviewed after addressing the Border's regional congress of the Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ), Meli said the ANC "wouldn't be against the nationalisation of some papers, but I wouldn't say this should be a whole-sale policy."

"There needs to be a press that is independent. But of course we would not encourage a press which would encourage racist ideas, exploitation of man by man, bantu education and such unnecessary divisions of the community."

Argumentative

"But we definitely would encourage a free, critical and argumentative press which would promote progress, and a press which would be free from external influences," he said.

Meli, who has edited the 23-year-old Sechaba since 1977, said the publication's future looked "pretty dark".

Political changes in East Germany — where Sechaba's publication and distri-

oped their level of professionalism and increased their impact rather than simply being prepared to "muddle along". Kruger argued that journalists should remain independent "even of popular organisations" and avoid the danger of sliding into a situation when the press became "sycophantic".

Broadcast

It was also important for journalists to take part in, develop and perhaps even lead the debate around future media policy, he said.

Highlighting the enormous power and influence of the broadcast media, Kruger challenged journalists working at radio stations in Ciskei and Transkei to use the space afforded by the authorities in those homelands — ECNA

Sechaba editor, Francis Meli, says the ANC would approve of a free press - as long as it does not promote racism, he told the Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ) last weekend. PATRICK GOODENOUGH reports:

group editor of the independent East Cape News Agency, Franz Kruger, said journalists had to make a clear commitment to use their skills to help build a news society.

For journalists, "taking sides" meant actively challenging the news values of the mainstream press whose pages still failed to reflect the reality of South African society.

Journalists working for the "alternative press" had to ensure they devel-

an internal ANC newspaper soon. He criticised the news agency, Agence France Presse, for dismissing a photographer, Rashid Lombard, reportedly because of his involvement with the ANC.

"I see a stage in South Africa where perhaps 60 or 70 percent of the people belong to the ANC. If these attitudes remain, who will be employed?" he asked.

Also addressing the congress, the

bution are handled — had resulted in reluctance about using public funds there to support the ANC.

The editorship had been given until next January to continue producing Sechaba in East Germany.

It was unclear what would happen after that, Meli said.

It could become a publication produced within South Africa, perhaps with a change in format, appearance or name. Meli said there was an urgent need for

Meli said there was an urgent need for

Call for advocates to aid poor

PORT ELIZABETH — Delegates to the 45th AGM of the General Council of the Bar of SA at the weekend recommended that individual Bars create structures to enable advocates to voluntarily represent poor defendants free of charge.

A Bar council spokesman said this would ensure that the indigent were not deprived of specialised legal representation.

The council agreed to "seek an assurance from government that proper legal aid, or at least pro deo defence, will be provided to poor persons".

The council announced its support for the introduction of "a system of independent public defenders to provide legal representation to indigent accused persons in criminal cases in the lower courts".

Delegates expressed concern that accused persons who could be tried for murder in the Regional Courts and sentenced to imprisonment for up to 10 years, might not be afforded legal representation as the pro deo system operated only in the Supreme Court.

The council also resolved to identify

with the ideals, aspirations and challenges of a new democratic SA.

The meeting committed the Bar to the maintenance of an independent judiciary and to ensuring that the Bar was representative of all sections of the population.

Delegates from Johannesburg, Cape Town, Pretoria, Natal, Eastern Cape, Free State, northern Cape, Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei attended the AGM.

Delays

The AGM resolved to consider methods of combatting delays in civil litigation and will make "various concrete proposals" to Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and the Rules Board for reforms in this regard.

Cape Bar SC Milton Seligson was re-elected chairman of the general council. Pretoria Bar SC William de Vries was elected vice-chairman.

Chief Justice Mr Justice Corbett was again elected honorary president. — Sapa.

ANC is set to launch newspaper

THEO RAWANA

A NEW local newspaper sympathetic to the ANC was in the pipeline as a result of the uncertain future of Sechaba, the organisation's overseas publication, ANC spokesman Joel Netshitenge said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Netshitenge said that unlike Sechaba, the organisation's official organ abroad, the new newspaper would not be a specifically ANC publication.

"It will be an independent newspaper 'gravitating' towards the broader democratic movement. The newspaper is being discussed in the ANC's information department and in the movement in general," he said. No launching date had been set.

But the ANC was in the process of compiling its own journal — to be called Mayibuye, which would be launched in 10 days' time. It would be a continuation of the external publication Mayibuye.

The New Nation reported last week that Sechaba editor Francis Meli told an Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ) meeting that the future of the East German-produced Sechaba looked "pretty dark".

"Far-reaching changes saw the (East German) authorities reluctant to use public funds to support the ANC," Meli said.

He said the ANC had been given a year, from January 1990, to continue producing the paper there.

Hospital escaper eluding us, say police

FRAUD suspect Ernest Hewitt, who escaped from the Johannesburg Hospital on Saturday, was still at large yesterday and police had no leads to follow, said police spokesman Capt Pieter van Deventer.

In an interview Van Deventer said Hewitt, who would have stood trial this week on charges of foreign currency fraud involving about R7m, continued to "elude" the Pretoria commercial crime unit.

Van Deventer added that police had not yet identified the three black men who

OWEN MAUBANE

helped Hewitt escape.

Hewitt was admitted to the Johannesburg Hospital from Diepkloof Prison with a heart ailment but managed to escape when three armed men wounded one of the two constables guarding him.

A Johannesburg Hospital spokesman said yesterday that Const SA Masinga, shot in the stomach and shoulder, remained in a "stable" condition.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



For some time now, media people have been thinking about communications in a post-apartheid society.

There have been moves to hold a media summit and, more recently, a conference on the subject urged by the South African Union of Journalists and a media policy workshop to be held by the Department of Journalism at Rhodes University.

The delay in getting these initiatives off the ground may be not only organisational but also conceptual thinking post-apartheid media is an extremely complex business.

There is much more to it than demanding freedom of speech and hoping socialism or the free market will do the rest.

At the risk of sticking my neck out in quill-infested waters, it may be useful to begin laying down guidelines for a future media policy — even before the talking begins.

Prerequisite

Freedom of information — and more specifically the right to seek, receive and impart information — should be a fundamental human right.

This freedom is a prerequisite for many others. The inherent nature of communication means its fullest possible exercise and potential depend on the surrounding political, social and economic conditions — the most vital of these being democracy.

It is essential to develop national communication policies linked to overall social, cultural and economic development objectives.

Such policies should come from interdisciplinary consultations with broad public participation. The development of communication policies can no longer be left to chance.

Media policy issues can usefully be considered under several headings. The commonly-held idea of media at the moment is that it should disseminate information to people, preferably large numbers of them.

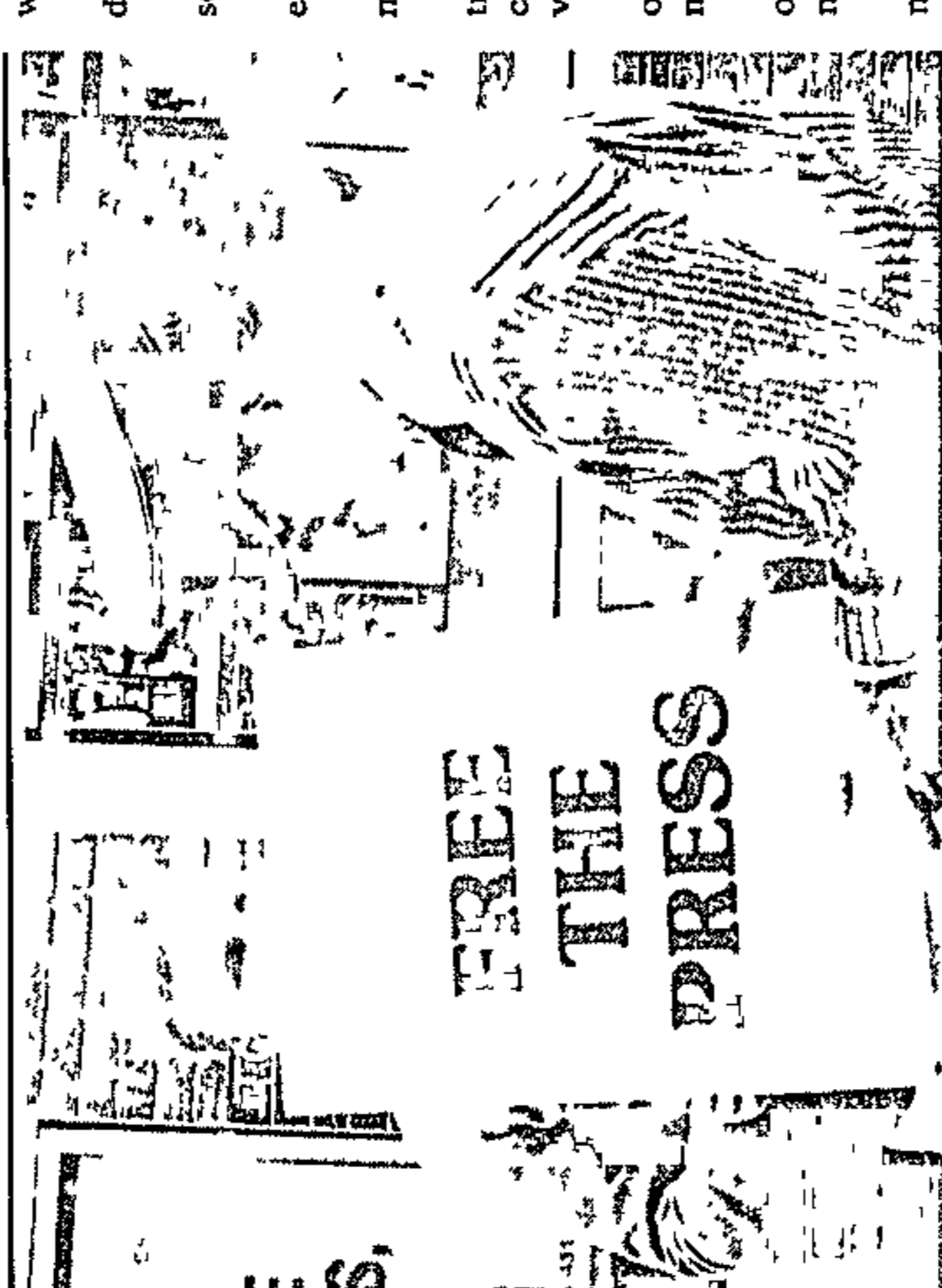
For too long now, the mass media have also been more concerned with the variety and quantity of consumer goods than the quality of life.

Sean MacBride, in his book "Many Voices, One World", defines this process as one in which

Tomorrow's Media Guidelines

(243)
South Africa 11/18/90

A new South Africa must have a new order regarding media, freedom of information and responsibilities of journalists to serve the interests of the public. DON PINNOCK traces some of these issues:



FLASHBACK: A Journalist in Cape Town standing up for freedom of the press

- the individual becomes an active partner and not a mere object of communication,
- the variety of messages exchanged increases, and
- quality public participation and representation in media is encouraged and developed.

We should work towards policies which

- serve to marshal national resources
- strengthen and coordinate existing infrastructures to serve new ends,
- help satisfy needs of the most disadvantaged and eliminate the most glaring imbalances,
- emphasise universal and continuing education and
- promote national reconciliation

In a new South Africa, the media should help to ensure people's involvement in the nation's affairs, while attempting to eliminate illiteracy, extend cultural horizons and enlarge each citizen's freedom of expression. Communication policies and development strategies should be designed

The formulation of communication policies is usually based on national legislation. Some parts of this policy are generally contained in a Constitution or Bill of Rights — issues such as freedom of speech, belief and expression, as well as related freedoms such as assembly, the right to hold processions, to travel and to correspond.

In some countries, professional regulations such as journalists' codes of conduct and media council regulations also form part of the legal framework.

However freedom of information is, in practice, not without limits. It is a political and professional ideal limited by social contingencies, and policymakers should not succumb to undue idealism in this regard.

Freedoms are often infringed by information monopolies and the establishment of an information technocracy. At minimum, however, a legal framework should

- abolish censorship except in closely-defined areas,
- encourage pluralism of media sources,
- promote measures that strengthen editorial independence,
- limit media concentration and monopolisation,
- circumscribe the action of multinational companies by requiring them to comply with specific national and developmental requirements,
- reduce the influence of advertising on editorial policy and broadcast planning, and
- protect the public from the misuse of data banks and sophisticated information technology (informatics).

Mass communication depends on technologies and systems which are generally out of reach of most people.

This promotes elitism, gigantism, and top-down information flows. The situation is challenged by a philosophy which sees communication as the right of every individual.

Philosophy

To counter top-heavy media systems, we need to develop group and community media combining traditional means and products with advanced technology to produce media on a human scale. Communication policies need to take account of interpersonal communication at all levels as well as community information systems and practices. This is not to suggest that professional journalists be downgraded. It is simply that we need to strike a balance between professionalisation and democratisation.

Indeed, we must train communicators and media production people as a matter of priority.

To be treated as professionals, journalists need broad educational preparation and specific professional training. New courses and in-service training must expand nationally and regionally. Several other points need consideration.

- the need for a strong national news service to act as the core of the country's news collection and distribution system,
- the consideration of all mass communication systems as integral parts of education and development (with educational components being given equal weight to entertainment),
- the lowering of all transmission and communication charges,
- the expansion of non-commercial media forms.

The right to seek and give information and the right to express opinions should be enjoyed by everyone. But journalists need to exercise these rights as a basic condition of doing their job effectively, and they are particularly vulnerable to constraints by authority. They are often placed, whether they wish it or not, among those who find themselves in the front line of the defence of freedom.

Dissent

The democratic right of the public to know is the essence of media freedom — of which the professional journalists are only the custodians. The right of inquiry and expression — including dissent — is essential to establish a more completed truth which people and nations need in a complex and diverse world.

The right to communicate is dependent, in the final analysis, on the provision of adequate safeguards for those engaged in the gathering and dissemination of information to the public. These are some of the issues which need to be considered in the formulation of a media policy for South Africa. A failure to address communication policy issues will leave us ill-equipped to deal with the hopelessly imbalanced media system we have — which means we will have it with us for a very long time to come.

(Don Pinnock is a lecturer in the Department of Journalism at Rhodes University.)

Fine words (243)

If the three guest speakers at the recent opening of the Association of Democratic Journalists' regional congress in Durban are to be believed, the media in a future SA will not be much different from the media of today.

With a few distinctions, of course. For one, all three speakers — the ANC's Patrick Lekota, former Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo and former *Rand Daily Mail* editor Allister Sparks — agreed that a free and unfettered press is vital to the new SA and consequently that all restrictions on the media should be removed. Except, argued Lekota, for laws prohibiting the promotion of discrimination.

The ANC's view of the media in future, as represented by Lekota, is so idealistically liberal that journalists could find their jobs relatively boring. He said criticism of the ANC would be acceptable, there would be a free flow of information and all political parties would have the right to set up their own newspapers — though he urged a policy of social responsibility.

Of course, to some of Lekota's ANC colleagues, "responsibility" appears to mean promoting the ANC line.

What Lekota was not too keen on was the "current monopoly" of the press, something Sparks had raised earlier. Rounding mainly on Anglo American, Sparks said the present set-up would be "so manifestly unacceptable to an incoming (ANC) government that it will amount to an invitation to it to intervene," citing Zimbabwe as an example.

Sparks suggested that a press trust be established, "carefully structured and done ahead of time so that it is not done under any government duress."

The most conciliatory views came from Dhlomo, now a newspaper columnist since his "state of unemployment" after resigning from the KwaZulu government. Praising the media for their efforts in the face of State repression and censorship, he said one new role of the media would be to act as midwives during the birth of the new democratic SA, helping to shed the inter-group conflicts of the apartheid era and helping to re-focus attitudes in the direction of national reconciliation and mutual trust. ■

Reports on unions inadequate at best

Cape Times 27/7/90

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From **EBRAHIM PATEL**,
National Education Secretary,
SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (Salt River):

The Cape Times carried a one-paragraph report on July 17, announcing the granting of municipal and magisterial permission for the human chain demonstration and a four-paragraph report on July 18, setting out employer concerns about the human chain

Your newspaper has failed to carry any articles setting out the reasons for this demonstration, as conveyed in the Press releases issued by our office.

More seriously, the Cape Times has failed to seek the trade union view on employer concerns about the human chain and has accordingly reflected only one view on the matter

We write to you, though, not merely because of limited coverage of our activities but because we have noticed a pattern of distorted or limited coverage of trade union activities

Wide coverage is given to strikes, and particularly violence and arrests during strikes — the media then reflects as news only such activities, and in consequence the public view of trade unions is one of strikes, disruption and violence.

Trade unions however, engage in a wide range of activities

ignored by the newspapers. One such activity is the campaign to draft a charter of workers' rights. The campaign, coordinated by Cosatu, seeks to determine from workers the rights which they wish to include in the laws and constitution of a post-apartheid South Africa

Such rights will include organisational rights (to belong to trade unions, strike, picket, bargain with employers), industrial democratic rights (partake in the management of enterprise, joint appointment of judges to industrial courts) and the right to trade union independence (from the state, political parties and employers).

That one million organised workers (Cosatu's membership) are involved in such a major and important activity is newsworthy

That Cape Town's biggest union, representing 68 000 workers locally, at 500 Cape factories, plans to hold a human chain to show worker support for the charter of worker rights, is newsworthy

Surely the Cape Times ought to have given more coverage to the planned protest?

WHEN writing to the Editor please be brief, double-space, use only one side of the sheet, sign your name and give your full address. Letters are liable to be shortened and edited.

Funding threat to alternative paper

South 28/6 - 4/7/90 (243) S.A.

BRUSSELS. — The fate of the Durban paper, New African, is likely to be sealed here this week as its European Community (EC) funders discuss its future.

A meeting of a committee of "experts" from each of the 12 EC member states is due to meet on Friday to discuss funded projects New African and some other "alternative" papers in South Africa are included on their list.

Complaints

New African has taken a line consistently hostile to Inkatha's leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, and it is common knowledge here that this has incurred the hostility of several member states represented on the committees of the EC.

In addition to this political dimension, the EC has taken a decision to move out of funding media projects in

South Africa. It is now asking existing media projects it supports to diversify sources of funding and to adopt a more commercial approach.

The experts' meeting is the first since the visit to Natal in April of a troika of EC officials, who met Buthelezi and heard his complaints against the newspaper.

Whether this signals the end of New African depends in a large measure on the strategy of the Kagiso Trust, one of the organisations which funnel EC aid to projects in South Africa.

If the Kagiso Trust appeals against a negative decision on Friday, a decision may be delayed again, say sources here.

However, funds are limited and about 60 percent of the funds now on the table have already been earmarked, for instance, for supplying the needs of returnees and for basic rural development.

Some magazines facing hard times

Reports by
SYLVIA DU PLESSIS

CONSUMER magazines are not attracting their fair share of an expanding advertising expenditure cake, according to The Media Business MD Bryan Gabriel.

This meant some publishers might be forced to "close their doors or trim their more unprofitable publications", he said.

Gabriel was commenting on the latest Adindex figures for the year to end-May, released by Market Research Africa on Friday. These showed this category's share of total adspend fell to 12,7% from 14,2% a year before.

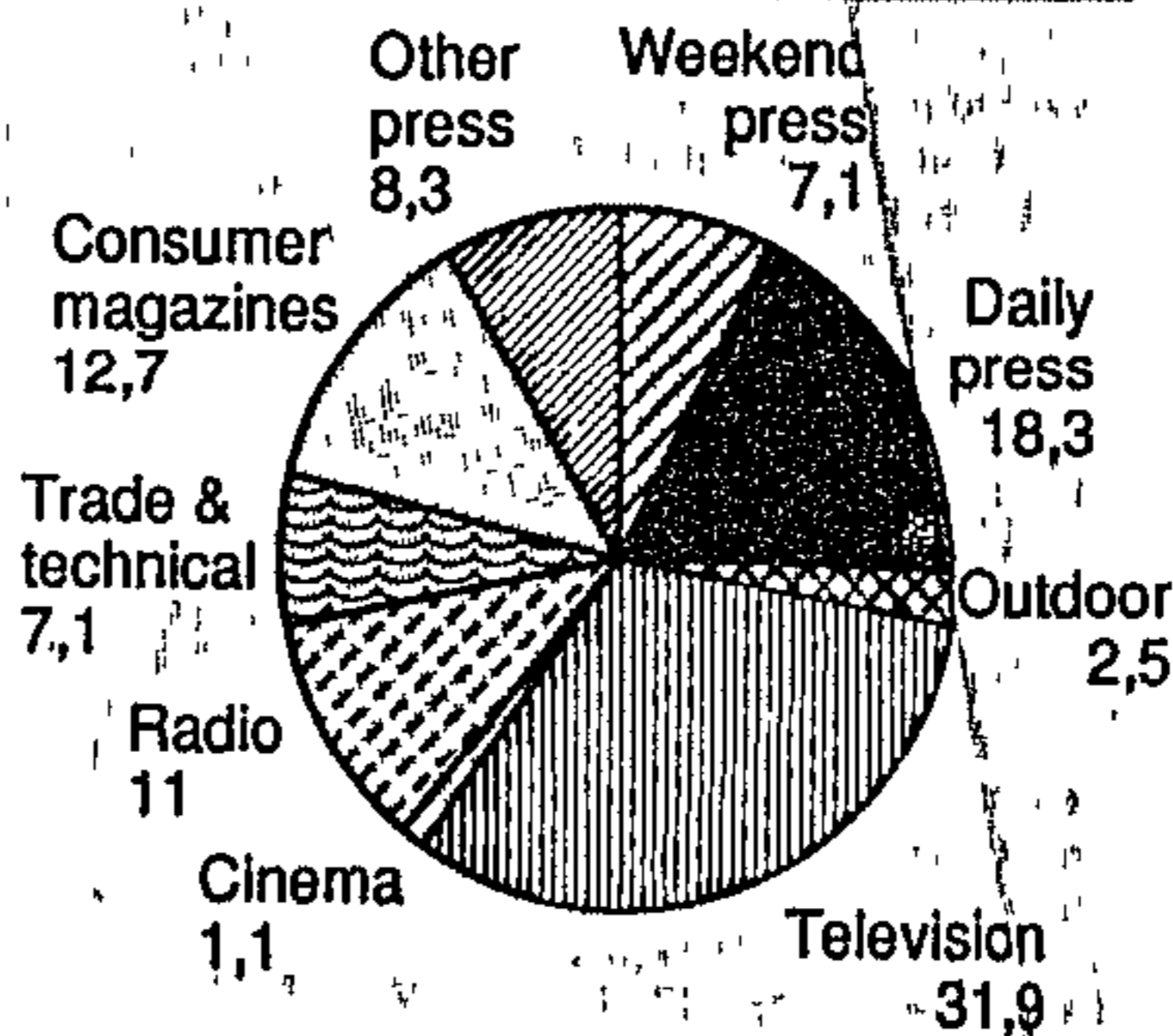
Adspend during this period climbed to R1,66bn from R1,38bn — an increase of about 20% — but consumer magazines' share grew only 7,2%. If this trend continued, it could precipitate the demise of some titles, Gabriel said.

"Most magazines rely on advertising to pay the bills, but they are attracting a declining share of advertising in an expanding market. If this carries on, some publishers could find themselves in financial trouble.

"To reverse this trend,

Advertising expenditure

June '89 to May '90 -%



Total expenditure: R1 659 264 789

Source MRA/ADINDEX/ANALYSIS BY MEDIA BUSINESS
Graphic FIONA KRISCH

the consumer magazine industry should have a serious look at how it positions itself in the overall communications spectrum, and having established that, look at how it sells its space.

"There are too many media owners who make no apparent effort to get advertising, and they suffer because of it"

The figures showed that radio income grew only 10,9% to end-May — negative real growth of about 9% — indicating that radio's share was also declining.

Gabriel said when TV was launched in SA, radio's share of adspend declined, but the radio industry managed to

change that pattern by actively promoting the medium

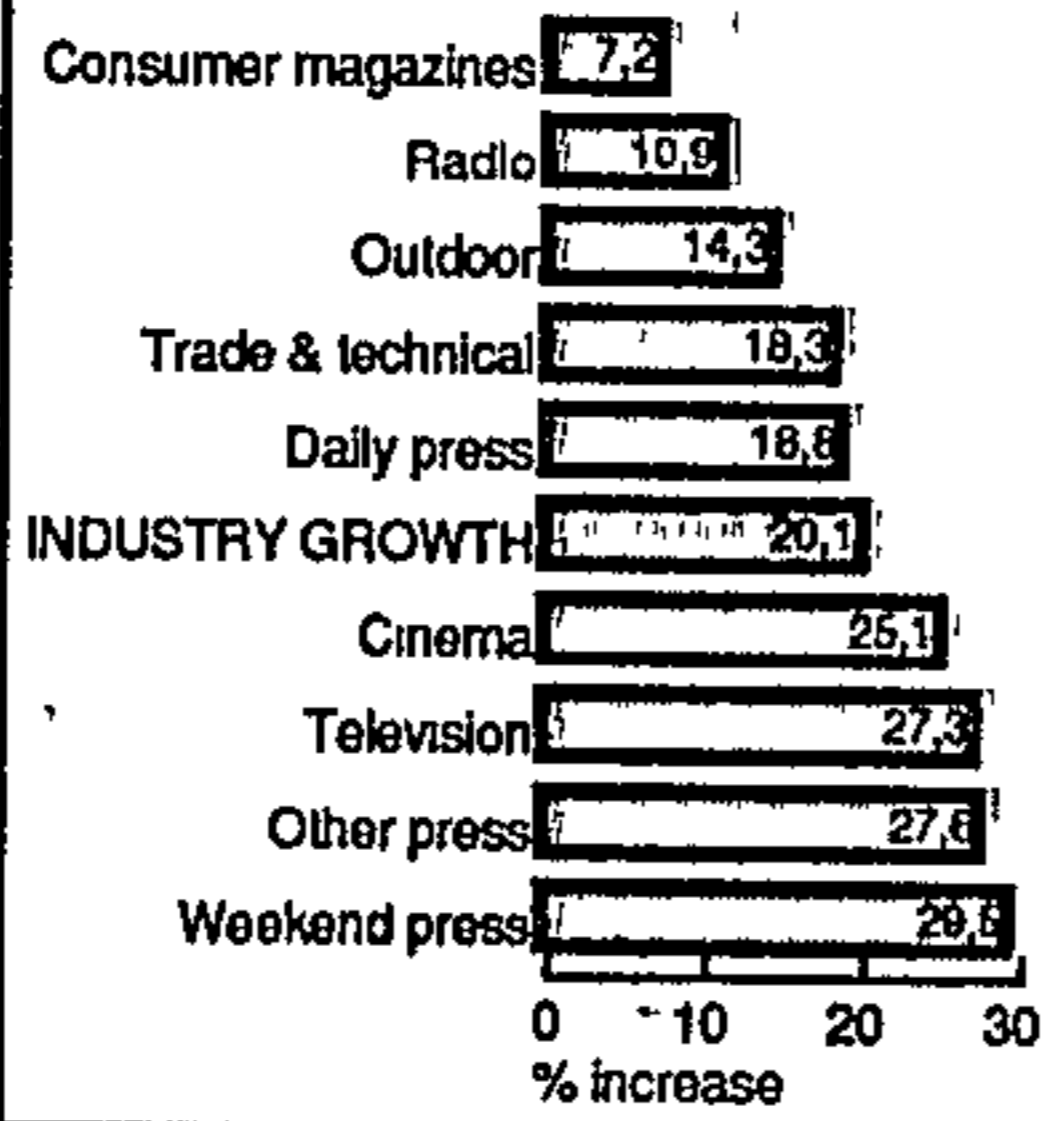
"It seems that recently, this pressure on agencies and advertisers has been reduced, resulting in radio once again becoming a bit unfashionable."

Categories which showed growth in excess of the 20,1% industry growth included Weekend Press (29,5%), other Press — including country and community newspapers (27,6%) — TV (27,3%) and cinema (25,1%).

The Adindex figures indicated that sports equipment expenditure was 80% higher and men's clothing expenditure 16% lower during the 12 months, although these changes were off low bases

Chain stores and retail remained the biggest single category, accounting for more than one-fifth of all advertising expenditure to end-May.

Growth by media category



Source MRA/ADINDEX/ANALYSIS BY MEDIA BUSINESS
Graphic FIONA KRISCH

Intimidation cuts Ilanga circulation

TIM COHEN

DURBAN — Ilanga newspaper has been weathering a storm of intimidation during which its sellers have been threatened and the newspaper's circulation has dipped by more than 20 000 copies, MD Arthur Konigkramer said yesterday.

Shops where the newspaper was sold were set alight, distribution trucks held up, staff members threatened and readers intimidated as part of a "well orchestrated campaign", Konigkramer said in an interview.

Konigkramer said he had received numerous death threats and had been forced to employ an armed guard to patrol his home. *31/7/90*

He said that prior to the sale of the bi-weekly newspaper to Inkatha in 1987, its circulation had shown a consistent downward trend from an average of 121 045 copies per edition in April 1984 to 105 289 in 1987.

The newspaper had confounded its critics who said it would become a "party-political rag" and its circulation rose 11% in 1987 and 18% the following year. Sales peaked in September last year when an average

of 147 854 copies were sold. This peak was almost reached again in February this year when an average of 147 764 copies were sold.

But since then the number of copies sold has dropped steadily from 133 104 in March to 120 232 last month compared with 138 632 in June last year. Konigkramer said the figures for July would probably show a reversal of this trend.

Publishers Natal Newspapers reported that in April alone this year 10 outlets in Umlazi, two in KwaMashu and three in Edendale had refused to carry the publication because of intimidation, he said.

Gangs of "faceless people" had entered shops where Ilanga was sold and threatened the owners that their shops would be burnt if they continued to sell the publication, Konigkramer said.

He denied that the drop in sales might be due to a change in reader attitude after the unbanning of the ANC and changing political circumstances.

"At every single outlet where there was a drop-off in sales, the shopkeepers had been intimidated. We checked," he said.

As a consequence, readers were buying their copies in the city, but street-sellers were intimidated, he said.

Incidents where readers had been followed and threatened after buying copies of Ilanga from street-sellers had been reported to the police, he said.



CMT Ting 4/8/96 P43

Attorney general sues newspaper



DU PREEZ

JOHANNESBURG. — Witwatersrand attorney general Mr K P C O von Lieres is suing the Afrikaans weekly Vrye Weekblad for damages amounting to R35 000 following reports in the January 19 and February 23 editions of the newspaper.

These reports were "untrue, unjustified and defamatory", said a letter from the state prosecutor to the newspaper.

The editor of Vrye Weekblad, Mr Max du Preez, said they would "definitely" not be paying the amount, nor would they apologise. — Sapa

Jo'burg tops with six daily newspapers

By CHARMAIN NAIDOO

JOHANNESBURG with six morning titles a day and eight on Thursdays may have more newspapers per capita than any city in the world.

But newspaper bosses say there is room for all, adding that keen competition keeps the quality of each product high.

Earlier this year the Star, traditionally an afternoon newspaper, turned into a 24-hour operation. Then the Weekly Mail became the Daily Mail and was added to the list of Business Day, Beeld, Sowetan and Citizen.

Has overcrowding in the morning market meant a smaller slice of market share for all?

"We have not noticed any crowding," says Business Day editor Ken Owen.

Record

"In fact, we have set a record. Our January to June average daily sales were 33 582."

Mr Owen attributes the financial daily's success to the fact that it provides a specialised service.

Sowetan manager Rory Wilson says the newspaper's growth has been consistent. Its daily sales average is 185 892.

"When a newspaper comes on the market it sharpens us editorially. The Sowetan has not lost circulation."

"We have an extremely high readership — at least eight people read one copy of the Sowetan, giving us about 1.5-million readers."

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517 lines
518190

Richard Steyn, new editor-in-chief of the Star, says the move to the morning market has resulted in a slight increase in circulation.

ABC figures exclusively for the morning market are unavailable as yet. Total average daily sales of the Star are 235 128 copies.

Mr Steyn says: "We are moderately satisfied, but there is room for improvement. It has become a highly competitive market. Time will tell if the current economic climate can accommodate so many titles."

Daily Mail editor Anton Harber does not have audited figures yet, so cannot comment.

Mr Harber says: "There is a niche for special interest publications in the morning market, but not that much more room for mass circulation papers."

Confident

"We are in a niche. Although we are in for a tough fight against the monopolies, we are confident."

Beeld editor Salie de Swardt says circulation (103 011) has not dropped since the beginning of the year.

"We didn't expect to be in the battle since we are the only Afrikaans morning paper."

"I think there are too many newspapers in Johannesburg — from an economic point of view. Can our economy sustain them all?"

"Politically, it is good to have many voices in a country hoping to become a democracy."

Knock

Citizen editor Johnny Johnson says his newspaper is entrenched — as indicated by daily sales of 140 435 copies.

"We don't regard the Daily Mail as competition and we don't expect the morning Star to knock us."

"What the Star might pick up in the morning, it will lose in the afternoon. We can certainly have more than one newspaper in the morning. Each has its own special readership."

Two morning weeklys are published each Thursday — Vrye Weekblad (it does not subscribe to ABC) and New Nation, with a circulation of 70 539.

The Transvaler is published every afternoon.

Triple

The right to freedom of speech and opinions

Sowetan 6/8/90 243

ARTICLE 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 is very clear "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"

In fact, the preamble to the declaration puts freedom of speech on a particularly high pedestal "the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people"

These are important words as South Africa is struggling out of the apartheid system and is working on a new constitution

Butchered

They are important today when people are butchered in our streets simply because they are supporters of Inkatha, the ANC, Black Consciousness Movement or PAC

They are important today when people are trying to define the freedom they are fighting for

Can South Africa take the leap into the ideal world that the international community has defined?

A quick glance at the May issue, or any other issue for that matter, of the authoritative *Index on Censorship* indicates that it will not be easy

The back cover carries the story of a Sri Lankan journalist, Richard de Zoysa. He was only 35 when he died in February

In the early hours of Sunday, February 25, gunmen suspected to be members of the security forces burst into his house and dragged him away

Gunshot

On Monday his body with gunshot wounds was washed ashore

Sri Lankan Foreign Minister Ranjan Wijeratne dismissed the murder as an attempt to discredit his government at a time when the United Nations Human Rights Commission was meeting in Geneva

In an obituary the magazine *Lankan Guardian* said "Never was a people so terrorised and society so paralysed as in 1989, particularly in its last six months. Not even the most terroristic regime had produced a people so shamelessly cowed and petrified"

"Richard the TV announcer had stood up to that Terror and counter-terror State and anti State had paralysed the popular will and stifled a nation's conscience"

In another seven pages of close type, pages 34 to 41, the Index lists events in more than 50 countries around the world, mostly violations of Article 19. A few of the entries, however, are celebrations of victories for freedom of speech

The list starts with Albania and concludes with an entry from Zaire

The birthplace of the Westminster parliamentary system, Britain, does not escape scrutiny. A Northamptonshire police report published in February noted that some police officers had sought to frustrate members of the media by "obstruction or violence" and that

AS South Africa is grappling with the last vestiges of apartheid and is trying to transform itself, it is becoming increasingly clear that the tradition of intolerance is not dying

As a contribution to the creation of a democracy in our part of the world, *Sowetan* today starts a campaign to make readers aware that democracy starts with free speech and an independent media giving the public a full range of opinions and information

This campaign is part of our Nation Building programme this year and the climax will be a conference on freedom of speech during the Nation Building Festival in October

THE Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948

"The advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people"

"Article 19 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"



Freedom of the Press is under attack in all corners of the globe



The right to freedom of speech and expression is inalienable and universal

photographers had been particularly singled out by both police and demonstrators" during the 1987 Wapping demonstrations in London

Another entry on Britain "On February 27 the Court of Appeal dismissed fines of 50 000 pounds imposed on the *Independent* and *Sunday Times* newspapers as a result of their publication of extracts from the book *Spycatcher*. The papers are still, however held to have been in contempt of court, having published while injunctions were in force against other papers

There is a one line entry on the last country, Zaire "International PEN records journalist Kyanzita el Busi is still in prison"

Obviously a lot of space is devoted to South Africa. Restrictions on former UDF deputy president Dr Sam Saloojee lifted on January 23 police used teargas and water cannon to break up a march by children in Cape Town, two people shot dead and several wounded after police used birdshot on crowds outside Khut-song Stadium near Carltonville, rightwingers attacked a photographer and reporter covering anti-

apartheid demonstrations at Boksburg Lake

A new organisation aimed at working towards free and uncensored media, the Campaign for Open Media, was launched in Johannesburg on January 30 etc

Tomorrow we continue our scan of the media around the world before we zoom in on our own situation with an article by one of the world's leading champions of a free Press Sanford J Ungar, dean of the School of Communications at American University

Business Day adds another 1 337 to its circulation ²⁴³

CHARLOTTE MATHEWS

BUSINESS DAY attracted another 1 337 readers in the period January to June compared with the previous six months, increasing its circulation to 33 582

However, in the much more general Johannesburg English daily newspaper market, The Star's Monday to Friday edition made the biggest numerical gain of 14 714 readers. According to figures released by the Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC) last week, The Star's circulation for the six months ending June was 235 128.

This compares with 185 892 for the Sowetan and 140 435 for The Citizen. The Sowetan was third in the race on actual figures with an additional 11 849 readers. *BIDay 6/8/90* The biggest percentage gain in circulation was made by The Citizen, which gained 11%, or 13 873 readers, in the first half of 1990 compared with the previous six months.

The Sowetan and The Star were second and third with a 6,8% and 6,7% gain respectively in this period. Business Day gained 4%.

Circulation director Graham Bird attributed The Star's circulation to two factors — the group's expansion into the early morning market in early June and the high news value surrounding the political events in February. If this news value held, he expected a continuing trend.

8/8/90

2 Cape Times, We

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Important curbs on press to be removed

Political Staff

SOME of the most contentious aspects of the Internal Security Act, notably detention without trial, have not been affected by the government's commitment in the Pretoria Minute to scrap some clauses of the controversial law.

But the four provisions, to which the government said it would give "immediate consideration", will remove some of the major restrictions on the freedom of the press.

These include the provisions for banning the furthering of the aims of communism, listing people so that they could not be quoted, the banning of statements or publications in terms of security legislation and the imposition of deposits before newspapers could be registered.

The government and the ANC did say in the Minute: "In view of the new circumstances now emerging there will be an ongoing review of security legislation."

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, would issue a statement in this connection which would call for comments and proposals.

● Interested parties may submit comments or proposals regarding security legislation in writing, to reach the Director-General Justice, Private Bag X655, Pretoria, by not later than September 15, 1990.

THE examples we have looked at up to now as we looked at the media internationally give the impression that government is the only key to Press freedom.

It appears as if governments are always violating Article 19: locking up journalists who refuse to toe the line, sending in troops to shoot at unarmed demonstrators, closing down newspapers

But government is only one side of the coin. The other is the general public, which independently of the government can silence voices that are different. Families can wake up to find themselves engulfed in the flames after a petrol bomb is hurled through their window.

But the same public can defend freedom of speech against tyrants and other anti-democratic forces.

Free speech, the right to express oneself without fear, is best protected when the man in the street guards it jealously.

The African National Congress acknowledges the two sides of free speech. In an interview published in the *Index on Censorship* in April this year, Albie Sachs, a member of the ANC's Constitutional and Legal Department, spoke of protecting freedom of expression in a new constitution.

"From a technical point of view it is not difficult. We envisage having an entrenched Bill of Rights in a constitution which declares certain fundamental rights and freedoms and establishes an independent judiciary to ensure they are maintained. We could have something similar to the First Amendment. Then, if Parliament were to adopt any law, or if there were some executive act, which abridged the freedom of speech in any unconstitutional way, a citizen could go to the courts and have the Bill or Act struck down."

Here Sachs was looking at government responsibility. But later in the interview he refers in passing to the responsibility of the general public: "The question of freedom of speech has raised sharp debate. For many people, the idea of allowing 'reactionaries' to make their crude propaganda is hurtful and very difficult. And we say that it is better that they spout their rubbish than that they go underground."

"People ask if all the other splinter groups in the black movement are going to be allowed to speak as well. And we say yes, of course, that is what freedom of speech means."

The implications are that even with the best of laws protecting freedom of speech, it is the man in the street who must defend it.

We need to develop a culture of freedom of speech as we emerge from an authoritarian era that did not allow the free flow of ideas.

Anything less will make a mockery of the struggle for liberation that has been fought for all these years.

Albie Sachs continues "It is not simply a matter of freedom of speech but the right to information. The whole colonial racist system meant that to a large extent knowledge and information was monopolised not just by a ruling

clique but by a racist caste.


Part of the struggle against apartheid is to destroy the monopolisation of information and to ensure that information circulates."

President FW de Klerk's Government appears to be moving in the same direction after decades of eroding freedom of speech.

Since the National Party came into power many political parties have been outlawed, newspapers have been closed down; journalists have been locked up in jail as have been opponents of the Government.

Slowly De Klerk is shedding this past.

He has now asked the Media Council to investigate all existing



Who is ultimately responsible for freedom of speech in a society? The Government? The man in the street?

This is the third article in our series on freedom of speech and the need for independent media.

Who safeguards our free speech?

Sowetan 9/1/90

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legislative restrictions on the media and to make recommendations on the removal or relaxation of all those it considers unnecessary and detrimental to the public interest.

Media lawyers have often said that there are more than 100 laws in the Statute Book that interfere with the free flow of information in this country.

The Government side seems to be on the mend. It is the second side, the people's side, that needs immediate attention particularly now in the face of inter-organisational violence as the organisations fight for hegemony.

* Tomorrow: Press freedom and the man in the street.

"The advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people ...

"Article 19: 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."

Speak is no ordinary mag

By CHIARA CARTER

THE term "women's magazine" conjures up the image of one of those glossy publications with a model smiling seductively from the front cover that are sold in corner shops and newsagents.

But "Speak" is a different kind of women's magazine

Run by an all-woman collective, "Speak" aims at raising awareness among men and women of the battle to win basic human rights for women.

The name comes from the magazine's intention to provide a forum for women to speak and be heard.

Shamim Meer, a founder member of the collective said, "Speak' gives women a chance to speak without interruption and men have to listen. It starts getting people to take women more seriously."

Karen Hurt, another member of the collective, is more emphatic "Sometimes I want to call it 'Shout Out'"

The first issue of "Speak" appeared as a four-page newsletter in Durban in 1982 and arose directly out of a

workshop of women.

From volunteers working from home, the magazine moved towards employing a fulltime editorial staff

Today, the "Speak collective", which meets every six weeks, includes two full-time employees in Durban and three in Johannesburg.

The magazine, which appears six times a year, has a distribution of 10 000 — primarily in Natal and Johannesburg.

The magazine is written in a conversational tone and the articles are short, with extensive use of quotes.

"Even if someone is illiterate, we hope the images of strong fighting women on the cover and inside will stay with them," Hurt said.

"Using slogans means that, even if someone does not open the magazine, the message is still heard," said Meer

Over the years, the magazine has become closely linked with the trade union movement in input and distribution

Unexpectedly, the magazine has a high

male readership. In fact, more men than women buy "Speak" — a cause for some concern to the collective

"Speak" sees itself as aimed at both men and women. This is because the collective defines the oppression of women as a "people's problem", not just a women's issue

"Men must be part of the discussion. Women need to build confidence and strength. Therefore they need women's forums. But men must accept that this is a people's problem," Meer said.

However, the collective is made up of women only as the editorial feels men don't bring the same understanding to the project and because the project is committed to developing women's skills

The magazine covers health, interviews with women leaders, developments in the struggle in South Africa and moves by women to organise.

It also often covers issues that many regard as "sensitive"

These have included topics closely tied to attitudes, culture and tradition such as rape in marriage, wife beating and lobola

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South 978-1518/90

PUBLISHING FIM 10/8/90

War of words (185)

Nothing sells newspapers like lots of news. Most newspapers took full advantage of the events of the first half of the year and sold more copies, according to Audit Bureau of Circulation figures released this week.

Nearly all English newspapers increased their circulations, both from the same period last year and the second half of 1989.

The three biggest increases over the second half of last year were recorded by *The Citizen*, the *Daily Dispatch* and the *Pretoria News*.

Of the Afrikaans newspapers, *Beeld* and

FIM 10/8/90.

Volksblad gained circulation over the second half of 1989 but declined over the same period last year (243) (185).

In the weekend market, the *Sunday Star* jumped the 100 000-copies barrier for the first time since 1988.

The biggest single newspaper circulation increase was for the *Weekly Mail*, which sold 19,1% more copies than in the same period last year.

Its Afrikaans equivalent, *Vrye Weekblad*, which isn't measured yet by ABC, claims a circulation of 12 450, up 7,5% from last year's average of 11 584.

Since the *Daily Mail* was sold only in the last 10 days of the reporting period, no figures are yet available.

A newspaper must be independent

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Sowetan
13/8/90

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

Firstly, 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. In simple 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, a newspaper would not make a profit and survive as a business.

Now consider what 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.

Interference

Once a newspaper accepts such support from any quarter, it lays itself open to interference. After all, if you lent 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.

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 the 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 or about my

business." But imagine what would happen if the newspaper gave special treatment to every person who advertised in it.

The abuse of power by people, all kinds of wrongdoing and unethical behaviour would go unreported simply because certain people were advertisers.

Another issue is also at stake. Would you believe any newspaper that reported only good things about their 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 the newspaper 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.



In this, the fifth article in our series on freedom of speech and the need for independent media, Rory Wilson, the manager of Sowetan, explains the relationship between the commercial and the editorial side of the newspaper business and why these have to be kept apart if the Press has to have any credibility.



The editorial and business side of a newspaper must be mutually supportive to ensure the paper's independence.

So without credibility you have no readers. Without readers you have no advertisers. Without either readers or advertisers you have no newspaper.

All this explains why the managers of newspapers never interfere in the editorial running of a newspaper and why the editor is regarded as independent from the commercial side of the newspaper business.

Stalemate

Indeed, the mission statement of the Argus Company - *Sowetan* is part of this 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 may write and report what he likes.

He must produce an interesting, newsy and entertaining newspaper. It 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.

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.

Tomorrow, the editor of the *Sowetan*, Aggrey Klaaste, explains why his newspaper is an independent voice, always trying to be free from outside commercial and political influences.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948:

"The advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people. . .

"Article 19: 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."

TML wins
its appeal in
Gwala case

Court Reporter

Times Media Ltd, the Sunday Times' editor Tertius Myburgh and reporter Mandla Tyala yesterday won their appeal against a conviction and sentence which arose from an article which was published on December 11 1988.

The article was an interview with ANC activist Harry Gwala, who had been released from Robben Island on that particular month.

Yesterday it was found the State had not proved that the Harry Gwala quoted in the newspaper report was the same person as T H Gwala, mentioned in the consolidated list of people who may not be quoted.

Judge S W McCreath, with Acting Justice D S Levy concurring, handed down judgement of the case in the Rand Supreme Court.

TML wins appeal over quoting Gwala

SUSAN RUSSELL

TIMES Media Ltd yesterday won an appeal against its conviction and sentence of a R2 000 fine for quoting ANC member Harry Gwala in a Sunday Times article in December 1988. *Monday 14/5/90*

Mr Justice McCreath with Mr Justice Levy concurring set aside both the conviction and sentence in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

The judges found the State had not proved that the Gwala quoted in the article and the T H Gwala mentioned in the consolidated list of prohibited persons distributed by Sapa were the same.

Magistrate S P Janse van Rensburg convicted TML on August 31 last year of contravening the Internal Security Act by quoting a listed person, and imposed a fine of R2 000.

Sunday Times editor Tertius Myburgh and reporter Mandla Tyala were both

acquitted on the same charge.

Tyala's article reflected an interview with Gwala two weeks after the ANC member's release from Robben Island.

At the trial, the magistrate acquitted Myburgh after finding he could not have stopped publication of the article because he was on holiday at the time.

The magistrate acquitted Tyala, who had filed his report from Port Elizabeth, on the grounds that he was not responsible for the final decision to publish.

TML was convicted after the magistrate found it had acted negligently in relying on the Sapa list and not checking the Government Gazette list.

It was argued on TML's behalf that the contravention of the Act was not intentional.

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Prosperity will follow free exchange of ideas

Sowetan 14/8/90

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IN 1937 US Supreme Court Justice Benjamin Cardozo said: "Freedom of expression is the matrix, the indispensable condition, of nearly every other form of freedom."

He was expressing a view that has been held for years and is still being argued today

Last year the American Supreme Court took up this old issue in the case of *Texas vs Johnson*, which involved the burning of the American flag by Gregory Lee Johnson as a political protest on August 22 1984

Johnson was sentenced to one year's jail and fined 2 000 dollars after being charged under a Texas law forbidding the "desecration of a venerated object", which is defined to include the American flag.

This was only one of many such cases heard in America's long history since the American Founding Fathers drew up its constitution in the 18th century.

Freedoms

The constitution had a Bill of Rights and several Amendments that guaranteed the sovereignty of the individual. Among these was the First Amendment that states:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the Press, or the right of people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

While American and other democratic countries have attempted to uphold the inalienable rights of the individual, it is extremely difficult to do the same in countries that are unfree.

It is even more difficult for those who have lived for up to half a century under a closed system to appreciate the value of an independent Press, and free speech.

The difficulty is confounded by the fact that closed systems force people to react with predictable anger and hostility to state action.

Oppressed and disadvantaged



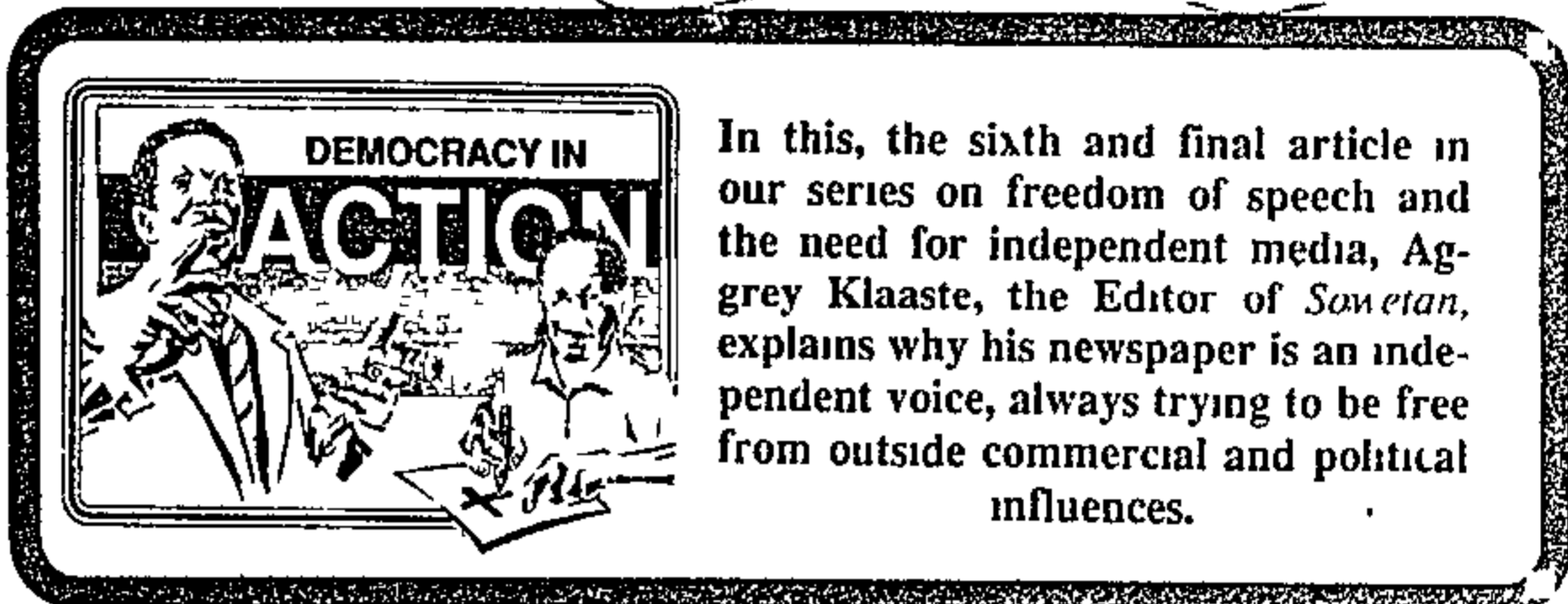
people are used to exercising the extreme option of dissent, as in strikes, boycotts and sometimes violence. They have been conditioned by oppression to react that way

Abstracts like political tolerance and the respect for different viewpoints are unknown to people who have not lived under democratic systems

Sowetan has been an opposition paper. It has fought apartheid and oppression with courage and commitment

Sowetan staff, who have worked on *The World* and *Post*, have been constantly put under pressure by the Government. They have been harassed, intimidated, attacked and jailed.

Because of its readership profile and healthy circulation the



In this, the sixth and final article in our series on freedom of speech and the need for independent media, Aggrey Klaaste, the Editor of *Sowetan*, explains why his newspaper is an independent voice, always trying to be free from outside commercial and political influences.

newspaper has also been seen as a threat by both the Government and other political organisations

Oppressed people do not have the luxury to appreciate such abstracts as independent newspapers

Their natural response is to demand and expect a common front against the oppressive system

Ironically, however, the forces that have been fighting the apartheid system are not united. The clamour to have one voice and one political thrust becomes even more urgent under such conditions

Media

In colonised countries, liberation groups expect the media and various pressure groups to help in the struggle to unseat the colonisers.

After independence the media is asked to help the fledgling government to develop the country.

Our readers believe that the *Sowetan* is their newspaper. It has to reflect their aspirations. But in a country where the people have been divided by the Government, leading to disagreement, hate and violence among them, it is well-nigh impossible to reflect such aspirations to everybody's satisfaction

We try to uphold the sacred values of good journalism - objectivity, expressing all sides of an issue, being unbiased and without prejudice

Our commitment to balance and fairness is reinforced by the fact that we are ourselves products

of the market we serve. We live, suffer and die with our readers

We are expected to react like our communities to shared problems. It is a joy to do this, even if ideological divisions make the job almost impossible

Through years of constant pressure from all sides, we have become disciplined to the demands of unbiased journalism

We have to fight for the removal of apartheid, to fight to remove intolerance and violence

We have to fight demagogues of all parties, oppose the privileged, and defend the poor. We should remain drastically independent if we have to succeed

On the *Sowetan* we believe that everybody has the right to have his say without fear of interference, even if we disagree with him

We believe that it is out of the free exchange of ideas and information that we can create a prosperous country

"The advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people. . .
"Article 19: 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."

Editor, reporter win appeal

Cvt. Tent
14/8/90
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JOHANNESBURG
Sunday Times editor Mr Albert Tertius Myburgh, reporter Mr Mandla Tyala and Times Media Ltd, which owns the newspaper, yesterday won an appeal against a conviction and sentence which arose from an article published on December 11, 1988

The article was an interview with ANC activist Mr Harry Gwala, who had been released from Robben Island that month.

Yesterday it was found the state had not proved the Harry Gwala quoted in the newspaper report was the same person as T H Gwala, mentioned in the list of people who may not be quoted.

Mr Justice S W McCreath, with Mr Acting Justice D S Levy concurring, handed down judgment in the Rand Supreme Court. — Sapa

Newspapers seek Coetzee's testimony

AN APPLICATION by Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail to have evidence taken from former policeman Capt Dirk Coetzee by commission in London was postponed in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

The newspapers requested that Coetzee's evidence be taken for the purpose of defending defamation claims of R1,5m brought against them by Lt-Gen Lothar Paul Neethling of the SAP. *B10ay 15/8/90*
Mr Justice Goldstein postponed the ap-

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SUSAN RUSSELL

plication until next Tuesday as he had not read the court papers, which were not in order when the matter came before him yesterday. However, the judge granted Neethling's application to have the Weekly Mail and Vrye Weekblad claims consolidated for trial purposes

□ To Page 2

Newspapers

B10ay 15/8/90
Neethling is suing Vrye Weekblad for R1m over two articles linking him to alleged police "hit squad" activities, and the Weekly Mail for R500 000 over a third article on the same topic.

The general claims the articles defamed him by alleging he was the leader of an illicit criminal organisation and that he had prepared and supplied poisons to murder and attempt to murder individuals.

Both papers have asked the Supreme Court for an order appointing a commissioner to hear evidence from Coetzee.

Attorney David Hoffe, who is acting for the newspapers, said in an affidavit his clients were defending the action on the basis of truth and public benefit.

"The source of the allegations which are in issue in this matter was a certain ex-

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police captain Dirk Coetzee, a self-confessed ex-member of an alleged death squad. He is presently in exile. To sustain the defence of truth and public benefit, which is the defence raised by the defendants in this matter, it will be necessary to obtain Coetzee's evidence."

Hoffe said Coetzee was apparently unwilling to return to SA as there was a chance he would be arrested because of aspects of his evidence. In the circumstances, Coetzee's evidence would have to be led in London as this was the most convenient place for all concerned.

Hoffe said the Judge President had set down the trial for November 12. Both parties agreed that the most suitable time for Coetzee's evidence to be heard was the week beginning October 8.

Media Council testing 'all press legislation'

Political Staff

ALL legislation affecting the press is being tested by the Media Council, says council chairman Mr Jan Steyn

Just over a hundred laws affected the press in some way, he said in an interview in Leadership

A working group, representing the white, black and independent press, had been established to examine these restrictions and it had identified several major laws which affected the press

"The Internal Security Act is top of the list

"There are the Newspaper Registration, Public Safety, National Key Points, Protection of Information, the Defence, the Police and Prisons acts, the Criminal Procedure Act, the Petroleum Act

Mr Steyn said the working group took as its departure point that South

Africa would have a bill of rights, and that one of its fundamental provisions would be the guarantee of free speech, including the free flow of information.

"I cannot believe that in the future South Africa you would not have that freedom enshrined

"I don't believe we would be protected from authoritarianism, no matter where it comes from, without it

"A free press is no guarantee of freedom in society, but without that (press) freedom, authoritarianism is inevitable

"All countries have some protection of secrecy and it is in that area that one struggles to find the delineation which balances the right of the public to know against the right of the state to protect its secrets, or information which is genuinely essential to the security and integrity of the state"

Coetzee's testimony wanted in R1,5m case

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COAL TILES 15/8/90

JOHANNESBURG. — An application by Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail to have evidence from former policeman Captain Dirk Coetzee on commission in London in defence of a R1,5-million defamation claim against them by Lieutenant-General Lothar Paul Neethling, was postponed in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Justice E L Goldstein postponed the application until Tuesday because he had not read the court papers, which were not in order when the matter came before him yesterday.

However, he granted an application by General Neethling to have the two claims consolidated into one for trial purposes.

General Neethling is suing the papers for two articles which appeared in Vrye Weekblad on November 17 and December 1 last year and one which appeared in Week-

ly Mail on November 24 linking him to alleged police "hit squad" activities.

He claims the articles defamed him by alleging he was the leader of an illicit criminal organisation and that he had prepared and supplied poisons to murder and attempt to murder various individuals.

Both newspapers have asked the court for an order appointing a commissioner to hear evidence from Mr Coetzee for their defence.

In an affidavit, attorney Mr David Hoffe, for the newspapers, said his clients were defending the action on the basis of truth and public benefit and it would be necessary to obtain Mr Coetzee's evidence.

Mr Hoffe said the parties involved had arranged for an early hearing of the trial itself and the Judge President had set it down for November 12 this year.

French lesson

"In accordance with the Pretoria Minute, please give us back our R29 990!" That is the essence of letters from *Vrye Weekblad* editor Max du Preez to Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw (185) (243)

Du Preez's letter followed the historic agreement reached between Pretoria and the ANC last week, when government undertook to consider repealing all provisions of the Internal Security Act — including that "for an amount to be deposited before a newspaper may be registered"

When it was first published almost two years ago, *Vrye Weekblad* was instructed by Coetsee to deposit R30 000 as a registration fee. Normally newspapers are expected to pay R10 as a deposit for registration, at the time it was alleged in government circles that *Vrye Weekblad* would serve the interests of banned organisations

"Since then, of course, all organisations have been unbanned *Vrye Weekblad*, therefore, poses no threat to government," says Du Preez (He's quite happy to pay a R10 fee like other newspapers — hence the claim for the return on R29 990)

Du Preez admits that his newspaper desperately needs the money. It now looks as if

the French government has reneged on a promise of R1m for *Vrye Weekblad*'s possible legal costs. The paper is facing a R1m libel claim by SA Police forensic expert Lothar Neethling, following allegations about attempts to poison ANC members.

The French pledge came during a Paris meeting last December, when prominent South Africans met ANC members under the auspices of Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the French President. Details of the Neethling claim became known at the conference.

"The writer André Brink got up during a meeting at the French parliament and appealed for all present to assist the newspaper," says Du Preez. "I was then personally assured by the French foreign minister that his government would guarantee our legal costs," says Du Preez (185) (243)

This week, however, *Vrye Weekblad* has learnt of a French claim that the assurances were merely of moral support. "They now indicate that it could have been a misunderstanding," Du Preez agrees that the atmosphere has changed drastically in SA since that Paris meeting and that this might have influenced the French.

In legal circles it is expected that the costs of the case, which has been put down for November 11, could amount to R500 000. □ Lothar Neethling has sued *Vrye Weekblad* in his personal capacity and not as a member of the SAP. Eddie Botha

Paper loses appeal 243

THE Appeal Court in Bloemfontein has refused an application by WM Publications (Pty) Ltd - publishers of the *Weekly Mail* - for condonation of late filing of an application for leave to appeal. *Sapa*

17/8/90

It had wished to appeal against a judgment of Mr Justice H C J Flemming on August 16, 1988, in the Witwatersrand Local Supreme Court, which dismissed, with costs, its application against the Commissioner of the South African Police that an order to seize the issue of the *Weekly Mail* of August 15, 1988 was unauthorised. - *Sapa*

Weekblad's aid hopes crash

Star 17/8/90

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By Carina le Grange

A misunderstanding between the independent Afrikaans newspaper, Vrye Weekblad, and the French government over money had caused the newspaper financial embarrassment as a R1 million suit loomed, editor Max du Preez said yesterday.

The chief of the forensic laboratories of the SA Police, Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling, has sued the newspaper for damages amounting to R1 million. The claim arose from the exposé in November last year in Vrye Weekblad of police hit squads. The case will be heard in the Supreme Court on November 12. The newspaper has to deposit security of R500 000 to secure counsel.

Mr du Preez said yesterday that the amount in excess of R1 million, which the French indicated at a conference in Paris last December that they would supply to his newspaper, seemed to have been a "misunderstanding"

"The French government now states that they meant moral support

Guarantee

"They did indicate, however, that they would propose that the EC gets involved in supplying the guarantee," he said. "The money would be used to pay legal fees only."

In the "process of gathering enough funds to secure legal counsel", Mr du Preez this week

sent an urgent letter to Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw requesting him to pay back the deposit of R30 000 the newspaper had to pay on registration.

Mr du Preez said in the letter that the reasons given by Mr Louw's department for the big deposit — instead of a sum of R10 — was that suspicion existed that the newspaper would promote banned organisations' interests

"We would like to put it to you that since February 2 this year banned organisations no longer exist," the letter said

Mr du Preez also referred to the Pretoria Minute which mentioned the deposits payable by newspapers for registration as an aspect which could be revoked.

Publishers of Weekly Mail lose their case ²³

BLOEMFONTEIN. The Appeal Court has refused an application by WM Publications — publishers of *The Weekly Mail* — for condonation of late filing of an application for leave to appeal.

It had wished to appeal against a judgment of Mr Justice HCJ Flemming on August 16, 1988, in the Witwatersrand Local Supreme Court, which dismissed, with costs its application against the commissioner of the South African Police that an order to seize the issue of *The Weekly Mail* of August 5, 1988 was unauthorised. W/M 17/8 - 19/8/90

The Appeal Court, when it dismissed the application for condonation, ordered that WM Publications should pay costs, including those of the commissioner which related to the application for leave to appeal — Sapa

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Nice to be back, says ^{Mr Woods} Woods

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Donald Woods, the former newspaper editor who escaped from South Africa in 1977 after being banned, returned from exile yesterday

"I was determined I would never come back here unless I could do so freely," he told journalists.

"I feel terrific. What a nice welcome."

A former colleague thrust yesterday's edition of the East London Daily Dispatch into his hands as he walked into the arrivals hall

Mr Woods was the editor of the Daily Dispatch when he escaped in disguise on New Year's Eve 12 years ago.

Mr Woods said he was here for a six-week "journey of rediscovery" to see friends and family, to work on a book and a television documentary and to write newspaper articles.

He described the current violence as the "problems of recovery" rather than the "problems of decline" which he said caused the 1970s unrest. — Sapa-AP

SA press is plum, ripe for nationalisation plucking, says editor

By CARMEL RICKARD
17/8/90 - 17/8/90

SOUTH Africa's mainstream press has become a "plum ripe for the plucking" by pro-nationalisation politicians, according to the editor of the Natal-based *Sunday Tribune*, Jonathan Hobday.

Speaking at a "communication breakfast" in Durban yesterday, Hobday said there were three serious challenges facing the press grants: how to contain and control economic pressures while still "(producing) excellent newspapers at a profit", how to compete, commercially and editorially, in a highly competitive market place and "how as a 'media monopoly' we can escape the disaster of nationalisation".

Hobday said that rationalisation resulting in two huge press groupings, one English language and one Afrikaans, was forced on the industry as the only means to cope with inflation.

"It has created the perception, and perhaps the reality, of media monopolies. Far from being the saving grace . . . these perceived monopolies have become a liability . . . For hanging over newspapers, given the advent of the new South Africa, is the threat of nationalisation . . . It is a rich irony that, in rationalising and merging

and re-arranging its structures (to cope with economic difficulties), the English language press has managed to create a ripe media plum ready for the picking by any government not committed to democracy.

"To avoid this disaster . . . is the greatest challenge facing newspapers in the 1990's."

Hobday, who described this decade as the "Nervous Nineties", said during the "Engulfing Eighties", the newspaper industry went through a painful process of economic adjustment and other "traumatic changes".

These difficulties were partly caused by economic forces — "the twin horrors of costs that rose too quickly and revenues that rose too slowly" — and partly by government harassment and repressive legislation.

Hobday said the effects of official harassment played an important role in "undermining the credibility and integrity of the . . . English-language press."

"It has alienated us from our readers, involved us in great legal costs, diverted editors and managers from the complex business of producing newspapers."

Dealing with responses to the three main challenges facing the industry, he said newspapers would have to find ways to create more editorial space while main-

taining the capacity to make good profits.

He predicted more changes in structures, more mergers and 24-hour-a-day, seven-day-a-week publications, and said it was important to find ways of allowing the re-use of newsprint to "save trees and costs".

To maintain excellence — the second challenge — he said papers would continue to change their look with better technology.

On the political challenge he said since State President F W de Klerk took up office the situation had improved with a more democratic approach to newspapers, while "brutal efforts to control or cow the press" have largely eased.

"But a new threat has emerged . . . the threat of nationalisation . . . We have been told that one of the first targets will be the Argus Newspapers."

"The most effective mechanism (to counter this, threat) is clearly a constitution that will make such economic plunder impossible, one would hope a Bill of Rights would be sufficiently entrenched, checks and balances of the new dispensation so effective and the commitment to democracy so firm that nationalisation would bother a lot of people."

JOURNALISTS could have sworn they were back in the days of the national State of Emergency yesterday when they were ordered away from a scene of unrest near Jabulani hostel, Soweto.

According to a *Weekly Mail* photographer, Kevin Carter, several media people were recording an incident where police were teargassing residents who had erected burning barricades.

"Actually we only stopped because we had a puncture," he said.

Several policemen approached them and told to leave the scene immediately as their lives were in danger. Finally a Captain Paxton was called to the scene

Blast from the past as press group is ordered from unrest

w/ Mail 1718 - 19/8/90

informing them he had been instructed by his senior, Colonel Tienie Halgryn, to order the journalists to vacate the area in 20 minutes.

"We have good reason to believe, and we have photos of this, that you people, or some of you people, are accused of the reason that these riots are happening here," he said.

The journalists duly left. When Halgryn was contacted later he indicated he

had not given the specific order but said there was evidence that the journalists had incited people, and police therefore had the right to remove them under a section of the Internal Security Act.

"A colonel and a major saw this with their own eyes. At a certain railway station a television camera was set up and straight afterwards people started throwing stones at the line."

A *Weekly Mail* lawyer said yesterday

section 50 of the ISA involved an entirely subjective discretion as to whether an individual's presence constituted incitement and it was difficult for police to prove this. "Before, (under the Emergency) if police believed an unrest situation existed they could justify the ordering away of journalists."

Police did not need proof to make this decision.

"It seems this is going to be the new section used against them in the absence of the Emergency. Journalists must familiarise themselves with this legislation. They must be aware that this involves a subjective discretion. This does not mean a fabrication," she said.

Govt must drop race laws

THE government should remove all instances of "statutory violence", *Rapport* said in an editorial last week.

The paper lauded the ANC's dropping of the armed struggle as an "enormous concession", saying the government should now drop the emergency restrictions and laws which for years have suppressed black aspirations.

It added the ANC should also honour the spirit of the Pretoria Minute by making peace with all opponents like Inkatha.

Mandela and Buthelezi should get together and talk "before much hap-

■ PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

pens that would make it very difficult", said *Beeld* political columnist Willie Kuhn. (243)

This should be followed up by the two getting together with FW de Klerk to form a triangle of power, said Kuhn. (128)

Vrye Weekblad, in its latest edition, said the blame for the East Rand violence lay with all leaders: the government, the ANC, Inkatha and the churches.

But "there is little doubt it is Chief Mango-

suthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement which is primarily behind the violence". C/Prevo 19/8/90

The paper said Buthelezi had long maintained he was a man of peace, but had also added the rider he had the ability to cause a lot of bloodshed.

"We can only pray that what is happening now is not this strategy put into practice," it said.

Beeld columnist Lood said the NP would probably decide this year whether to open their membership to all races.

'Crucified' former columnist threatens to sue SA papers

Sowetan 21/8/90

243

FORMER *Sunday Times* columnist Jani Allen made it clear in an interview on M-Net's *Carte Blanche* magazine programme on Sunday night she would not tolerate further "scurrilous" reports linking her romantically to AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche.

The British *Evening Standard* newspaper is to pay her a "substantial" amount after she sued the publication for saying she had a "liaison" with the "neo-Nazi" leader.

She was discussing taking legal action in South Africa as well, she said.

Local newspapers should reflect on the size of the damages she had obtained and adopt a "softly, softly" approach, she warned.

Speaking guardedly from her London home, a

Sowetan Correspondent

gaunt-looking Ms Allen said she had been "crucified" for saying in public what many others had said in private - that the right wing leader had a magnetic personality.

The resultant innuendos of a romantic link with Mr Terre'Blanche was just "part of being a woman", she said.

She denied saying the Paardekraal incident, where she was found at night in the company of Terre'Blanche was a set up but said it was difficult to believe that the circumstances could be anything less.

LINDSAY SMITH

Union acts over dismissed teachers

THE Mamelodi Teachers Union is to seek an urgent meeting with the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, following the dismissal of 10 temporary teachers in Mamelodi.

This was announced yesterday by Mr Vincent Monene, Matu's vice-president. He said five of the dismissed teachers were from the same

By ALINAH DUBE

school

Mr Tshepo Makitla, president of Matu, is also one of those affected.

Monene said the DET had refused to renew the teachers' contracts when schools reopened on July 10. Matu's attempts to resolve the issue had not been successful.

Among issues to be addressed with Van der Merwe will be the withholding of teachers' salaries, reinstatements and the DET's refusal to grant permanent posts.

A DET spokesman confirmed yesterday that contracts of teachers appointed temporarily were not being renewed. He said there was no effective teaching taking place at schools and the

department could not afford to keep people "who are doing nothing".

"The department will have to ascertain that work is being done if inspectors have access to schools and principals are able to make class visits before temporary posts are utilised.

"The appointment of temporary teachers is a costly exercise," said the spokesman.

206.2/8/90 (243) 243

Newspaper gears up for libel case

By Carina le Grange

Vrye Weekblad yesterday secured the services of senior lawyers to represent it in the case in which the chief of forensic laboratories of the South African Police is suing the newspaper for R1 million for defamation.

General Lothar Neethling's claim arose from the exposé in the weekly newspaper in November last year of alleged police hit squads and poisoning of political opponents.

Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez said yesterday Bobby Levine, SC, and Frans Rautenbach, instructed by Bell, Dewar and Hall, will represent his newspaper.

In the process of gathering funds to secure legal counsel, Mr du Preez last week sent a letter to Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw asking him to pay back the deposit of R30 000 the newspaper had to pay on registration.

The case will be heard in the Rand Supreme Court on November 12.

Hit squads case to hear evidence

THE Rand Supreme Court yesterday granted an application by *Viye Weekblad* and the *Weekly Mail* for a commissioner to be appointed to hear evidence from rebel former policeman Dirk Coetzee in London

This concerns allegations about the role of SAP forensic expert Lt-Gen Lothar Neethling in alleged hit squad activities. *Dowelan 22/8/90*

Neethling is currently suing both newspapers for R500 000 each following the publication of Coetzee's allegations that the forensic expert provided poison to kill the dogs of Durban attorney Mr Griffiths Mxenge shortly before he was assassinated.

Evidence has been tentatively scheduled to be heard on October 8.

Mr Justice F Roos presided - *Sapa*

The long reach of Business Times

Business Times Reporter
BUSINESS TIMES is the business paper with the longest reach in South Africa by far.

Market research undertaken by Marknor in June found that Business Times reaches many more high-income decision makers than any competitive publication. In its biannual SA Business Research Evaluation (Sabre) survey, Marknor interviewed 2,000 urban business people of all races with a household income of R5 000 a month and more.

Marknor established that 172 000 South Africans fall into this category. By extrapolation, nearly half of these high earners read Business Times.

The next best penetration is that of the Financial Mail, which reaches 28%. The Star ranks third, with less than half the reach of Business Times. Time magazine and Sake Rapport are joint fourth.

Although most top earners are avid readers and take more than one publication, none has as many exclusive readers as Business Times.

Influence

For example, 40% of Sake Rapport readers read Business Times, but only 15% of Business Times readers read Sake Rapport. No less than 72% of Sunday Star Finance readers read Business Times Finance, but only 25% of Business Times Finance readers read Sunday Star Finance.

Advertisers in Business Times thus reach many readers of other publications. But few reach comparably. The Sabre survey established that 76% of the defined group were male and 24% female, 67% English speaking and 31% Afrikaans, 29% were aged 25-34, 51% 35-49 and 20% over 50.

Business Times reaches 51% of those in the sample who have authority or influence in the purchase of machinery up to R50 000. The Financial Mail is next best with 23% of such readers.

Business Times reaches 56% of those who have authority over international business air travel. Business Times' reach to those influencing staff hiring, computer and office furniture buying, and leasing decisions is also strong.

We reach 59% of those whose companies have budgeted for a copier, 58% of those in the market for a word processor, and 62% of those wanting a printer. Second-best Financial Mail's figures are 42%, 40% and

Protesters march on SABC, urge impartiality

CM-71-1

27/8/90

JOHANNESBURG — About 800 people marched to the South African Broadcasting Corporation's Auckland Park head office on Saturday morning to present the SABC with a memorandum protesting against planned restructuring and privatisation of the corporation

The march, organised by the Campaign for Open Media, was supported by members of various media associations, the Black Sash and the ANC

At the SABC's Piet Meyer Building, former Rand Daily Mail editor Mr Raymond Louw presented the memorandum to SABC Corporate Communications manager Mr Theo Vorster. He asked that the memorandum be conveyed to SABC chairman Professor Christo Viljoen and that an answer to demands be given within one week.

The memorandum deplored the appointment in March this year of a broadcasting task force chaired by Professor Viljoen and made up of "Broederbonders and securocrats who represent the interest of minority rule".

It called for the task force's disbandment and the establishment of an independent board of directors to ensure impartiality of the corporation.

Mr Vorster told reporters the size of the protest indicated that the majority of the 17 million viewers and listeners "must be relatively satisfied". — Sapa, UPI

Press cries: Where's Mandela?

By Esmaré van der Merwe
and Star Bureau

Nelson Mandela was the subject of severe media criticism yesterday, both locally and abroad, for leaving the country at a time of bitter township conflict.

The ANC deputy president left the country on Saturday for Norway, where he will today address a conference on "The Anatomy of Hate", and follow up with visits to Libya and Algeria.

While most British commentators have concentrated their fire on Inkatha's role in the conflict, there have been increased doubts raised about Mr Mandela's own response.

The (London) Sunday Times yesterday said that by boarding a plane for Norway, "Mr Mandela was virtually admitting his inability to halt the killing".

The newspaper's South African correspondent, Ross Dunn, wrote that Mr Mandela's dream of bringing peace to the country "lay in tatters".

In Johannesburg, City Press editor Khulu Sibya said the ANC should have advised Mr Mandela to postpone his trip until the situation at home had been normalised.

Magic wand

Under the headline "Mandela must stay", he wrote: "We know Mandela alone cannot wave a magic wand and normalise things in the townships.

"However, it is foolhardy for a leader of Mandela's stature to leave his country when it is on fire. One would have thought the ANC had a better understanding of what it means to look towards leadership in times of crisis."

He compared Mr Mandela to Archbishop Desmond Tutu who recently cut short an overseas trip to help stop the bloody conflict in the townships and personally visited trouble spots in an effort to bring calm.

Durban's Sunday Tribune described Mr Mandela's decision to go overseas again — only weeks after returning from a six-week international tour — as "mystifying".

It commented "Mr Mandela should be standing right here, shoulder to shoulder with Mr F W de Klerk and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, putting an end to the hate that is convulsing the townships of the Transvaal and Natal."

In London's Sunday Telegraph, columnist Christopher Booker said the violence was destroying the "fairytales version" about South Africa's recovery.

"More than ever, South Africa has been shown up as what it has always been a loose confederation of warring tribes, some black, some white, some neither."

Fairytales

He suggested that the only solution would be co-operation between all groups, but said that "if there is one group which now seems more determined than any other to disqualify itself from helping to bring about such a solution, it is the ANC — behind its decent but weak front-man, Nelson Mandela. The fairytales is being stood on its head."

In an editorial examining the township violence and efforts to curb it, the Sunday Star made a passing remark about Mr Mandela's latest overseas trip.

Criticising the ANC leader for refusing to meet Chief Buthelezi to resolve the civil war between the rival groups, it said Mr Mandela had left at a time when his "backyard is burning".

On departure from Johannesburg on Saturday, Mr Mandela told journalists that he was not concerned about leaving the country at such a critical moment.

He said pressing matters such as the violence were being addressed by the ANC as an organisation and not individuals.

He had important engagements to fulfil overseas and had cancelled his holiday last week to personally deal with the violence.

ANC spokesmen could not be reached last night to comment on the criticism.

community projects played a major part in the development of the public image of the company, primarily for marketing purposes"

processes tend to focus on natural preservation projects in order to alleviate the negative effects on the company's image and markets. Similarly companies which sell products with neg-

Star's a pioneer of social projects

The Star newspaper has long been at the forefront of corporate involvement in the community and in some projects has shown itself to be a pioneer in the field.

Some of the newspaper's more spectacular successes — often done using only editorial campaigns — have been the restoration of the Braamfontein Spruit, the proclamation of the Magaliesburg mountains as a nature conservation area and saving part of the much-loved Kruger National Park from expropriation for mining.

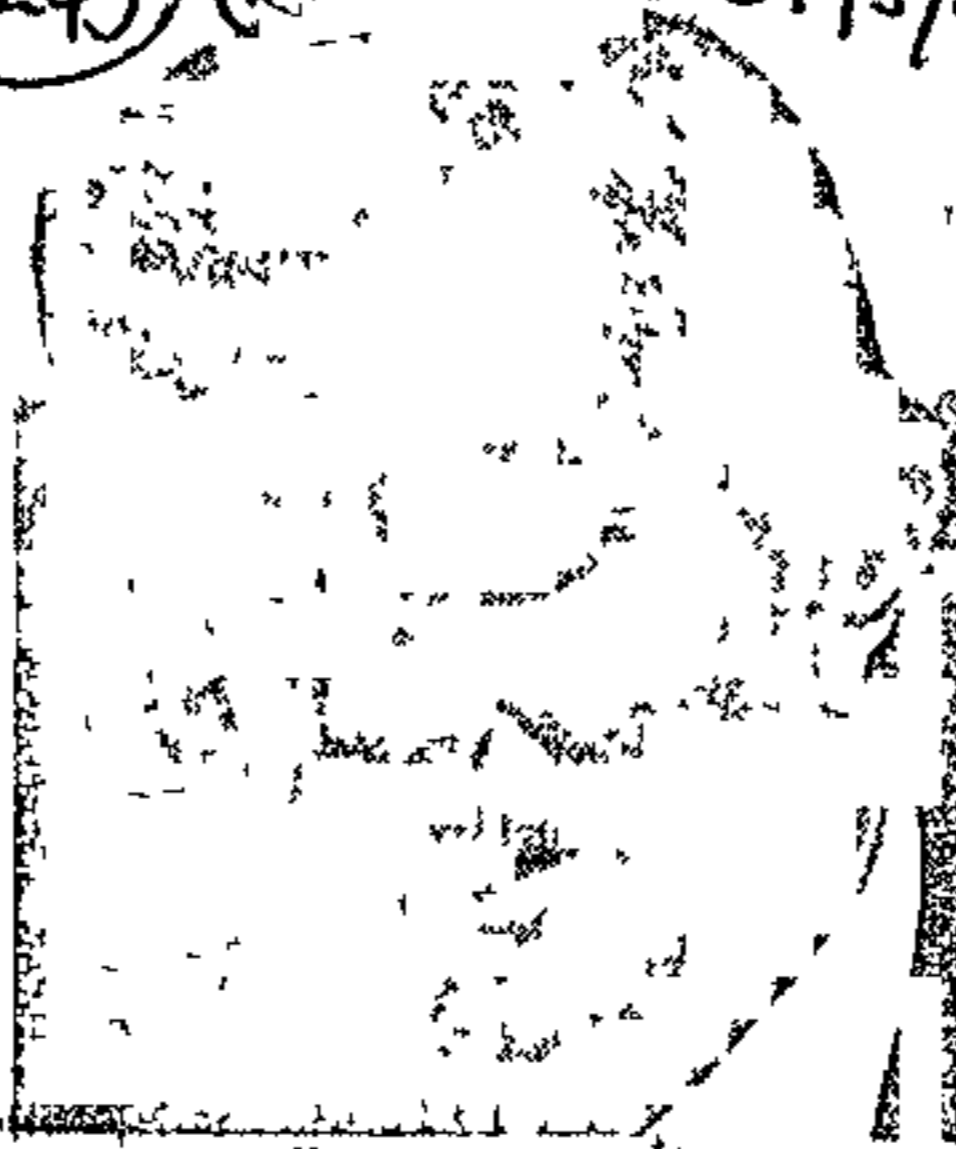
It has scored many successes on the education front with one of its most spectacular projects being the new R14 million ACE technical centre in Alexandra.

The newspaper's direct access to the public coupled with the fact that it is alert to developing needs has made it well-placed to deal with the issues of the day.

"The Star can really get in at the beginning and help to focus thinking, attitudes and generate support," said general manager Jolyon Nuttall.

Mr Nuttall said the Star had prioritised education and the environment as CSI needs almost two decades ago — two areas of community involvement which are still vital today.

"In the 1970s the Star took its whole social responsibility programme forward in two giant leaps.



The Star general manager Jolyon Nuttall.

"First we established the Teach (Teach Every African Child) fund in 1971 and here The Star itself put money up front as well as encouraging individuals to donate money. So we would have a situation where we acted as a catalyst between children in Std 3 at Parkview Primary and those in Std 3 at say Pimville Primary.

"We encouraged companies to donate the costs of an entire school. Today the Teach Fund has built the equivalent of 45 schools in Soweto and Alexandra."

The second major project, also established in 1971, was the Care campaign, an environmental campaign run by James Clarke. This was done long before "greening" had become fashionable.

The Star begun its CSI activi-

ties as early as 1917 when it launched the Star Seaside Fund. Today more than 100 000 underprivileged children have been given the opportunity to visit the sea as a result of this fund.

"This was our first example of our newspaper encouraging those more privileged to give to the have-nots — something that continues to this day."

Mr Nuttall said The Star was also committed to help entrench the printed word. "If people can't read, the newspaper will die."

"Therefore we have a vested interest in encouraging literacy. Apart from the fact that it is a social responsibility, it is also an investment in the future."

With this in mind The Star recently launched an educational programme to run in various editions of the newspaper. "Sam, the newspaperman", guides and teaches on anything from science to life skills.

Mr Nuttall said that The Star's CSI activities were widespread and ranged from charity ventures such as Operation Snowball and the Christmas Hamper Fund to campaigns to deal with critical problems facing society.

Through the years The Star has learnt, however, that chequebook donations seldom work. "When you become involved in education as we have, you learn that you have to stay involved in order to be effective," he said.

Sunday Star report 'true and objective'

By Norman Chandler

The deputy editor-in-chief of The Star, Rex Gibson, told the SA Media Council yesterday that a report about a million-are hotel owner was "substantially true, accurate and objective". It had also been published in the public interest.

He said Alexander Kavouras, owner of the Park Lane and Quirinale hotels in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, had been "let off lightly" by the report which appeared in the newspaper on February 25 this year.

The Sunday Star had reported the Quirinale Hotel to be a "sex and drug den" and that the Park Lane Hotel had been used as a meeting place by the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB).

Mr Gibson said: "We are ready to deal point by point with each item of the complaint but we believe it is also necessary to explore the nature of investigative reporting."

He said investigative journalism was "not a licence to publish without being damned. It is not exempt from the council's code of conduct nor from the ordinary laws of the land. But it is very different from ordinary reporting."

He said the report conformed to the definition of investigative journalism.

"Mr Kavouras claims he was denied an opportunity to have his say. We say he denied it to himself. Miss (Janine) Lazarus will tell this council she telephoned to seek his comments

on all that we proposed to publish. Mr Kavouras cut her short, and refused to listen to further questions," Mr Gibson said.

He said that twice Mr Kavouras tried to put a stop to the Sunday Star's investigations.

"Once he threatened an indictment and summonses for defamation. Nothing happened. Then he complained to the Media Council, also threatening future action through the courts. We submit that that, too, was intended to have a gagging function."

Mr Gibson said the complainant had sought to "weave a web of half-truths in an attempt to create the impression that he is an innocent person who has been wronged by a dishonest and self-seeking newspaper."

"By doing so, he launched an attack not only on this newspaper but also the two journalists to whom he makes reference."

Mr Gibson told inquiry chairman Mr Justice G P C Kotze there were four facts which linked the essence of the report.

These, he said, were that "the complainant is a shadowy figure of dubious reputation, he hired Staal Burger (regional manager of the CCB's Sector 6) as general manager of a hotel even though Mr Burger had no experience of the hotel business; the exposure of Mr Burger as leader of a CCB cell, and meetings at odd hours between Mr Burger and other men subsequently identified as CCB agents".

Hotelier denies report on 'sex, drug den'

By Norman Chandler

A Johannesburg hotelier yesterday denied he had ever been deported from Zambia or that one of his hotels had been used as a "sex and drug den"

Greek millionaire Alexander Kavouras told a South African Media Council inquiry in Johannesburg that he had been defamed by the Sunday Star. He also denied that the SA Defence Force's covert Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) had used his hotel for secret "funny meetings".

Breach of code

The Sunday Star has denied Mr Kavouras's claims. Mr Kavouras, who owns the Quirine and Park Lane hotels in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, brought the complaint on the grounds that a report in the Sunday Star edition of February 25 was a breach of the Media Council's code of conduct.

He claimed the report was "not truthful, accurate and objective", it was not balanced, the facts were untrue, no attempts had been made to verify the correctness of what had been published, and the newspaper had "refused to rectify the matter spontaneously and without reservation or delay".

The inquiry, which has been adjourned until October 19, is being heard by Mr Justice G P C Kotze, assisted by a panel consisting of Professor S A S Straus of Unisa, Sapa editor Edwyn Lungitlon, Professor Arrie de Beer of Potchefstroom University, and Potchefstroom newspaper editor S Hoogenboom.

The hearing was attended by the Star's deputy editor-in-chief Rex Gibson and Sunday Star editor John Hildyard. Mr Levin told Mr Justice Kotze that as his client had had no formal education in English, it was necessary for him to assist Mr Kavouras in analysing the article which had allegedly defamed his client. Mr Kavouras told the inquiry he had never met the reporter who had written the article, Jyane Lazarus. Miss Lazarus had, however, telephoned him to ask whether he knew a man named Staal Burger, a retired police colonel and a former commander of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad. Mr Burger was, according to evidence led before the Harms Commission, regional manager of Sector 6 of the CCB and, according to evidence led before the Media Council, was general manager of the Park Lane Hotel. "Nothing that appeared in the Sunday Star article was ever discussed with me," said Mr Kavouras. Questioned by Mr Levin on his links with Zambia, Mr Kavouras denied he had ever been deported from that country.

Ordered out

The inquiry heard that the Sunday Star had contacted Zambian lawyers and on July 23 this year had heard that Mr Kavouras had in fact been served with a deportation order in December 1985.

Mr Kavouras again denied he had ever been deported from Zambia or been involved in drug activities. He conceded, however, that he had left Zambia in December 1986 after his temporary residence permit had expired.



Greek millionaire Alexander Kavouras (left) consults with his attorney, Allan Levin of Allan Levin and Associates, at a South African Media Council inquiry yesterday into a report published in the Sunday Star

Lack of money may close Daily Mail

JOHANNESBURG — The Daily Mail, launched just over 2½ months ago as an independent newcomer to the heavily traded morning newspaper market, will revert to publishing the Weekly Mail by the end of the month if money to reach break even point is not obtained, the Mail Publications Group said last night.

Co-editor Mr Anton Harber said in a statement that after more than 2½ months of publishing the Daily Mail stood at a crossroads — "either we have to raise substantially more investment, or we have to reconsider the future of the paper."

He said the position had arisen as a result of a number of developments — "It is clear that it will take much longer than expected — particularly in the light of economic recession and the tough competition in the morning newspaper market — for the paper to break even."

The 115 Daily Mail staffers had "broken their backs" over the past three months "in pursuit of their ideal of a quality, independent daily newspaper."

But he noted that newspapers always took a great deal of time to break even. He gave as examples the Independent of London, the Citizen, Business Day and Beeld.

"All of these newspapers took at least two years to reach their targets," Mr Harber said. "Sadly, we do not have the resources to see through this period of time. At the moment, we are exploring every possible option to raise the necessary money. This is an extremely difficult task, given the current climate, but it is one which we are determined to pursue."

"However, unless we are able to do this by the end of the month, we will revert to the publication of the Weekly Mail alone."

With June audited sales of more than 37 000, "this remains a strong base for the company", Mr Harber contended.

He added "The Weekly Mail is a highly regarded national publication with circulation that has grown healthily since the launch of the daily newspaper and which has substantial advertising support."

The purpose of reverting to publishing the Weekly Mail alone would be to "retreat to base, to enable us to build our flagship publication and ensure that this country as a strong, outspoken and independent voice."

— Sapa



FRST EDITION Co-editor Anton Harber displays a copy of the first edition of The Daily Mail, which rolled off the presses on June 20

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TIM COHEN

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A personal column insert told the man who was to deliver the money — supposedly one of the firm's staff but, in fact, a policeman — to go for instructions to the reception desk of a Durban hotel

After receiving the instructions, the policeman drove to a variety of destinations, where further instructions were left

Ultimately the package, which contained only shredded paper, was dropped into an excavation near the accused's Berg Street home.

At this point the police's carefully organised plan miscarried, the judge said.

The police waited at an incorrect location, which looked similar to the place where the package was dropped, and apprehended an innocent man whose car had broken down nearby.

Bran was arrested after a policeman said he recognised his voice from the tape-recording made earlier. Judgment continues today.

Tutu considers action on reports

243 Business Day Reporter

THE Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu is considering legal action against two Perskor newspapers after they yesterday incorrectly attributed militant comments to him

The Citizen and Die Transvaler, in front page articles, quoted Tutu telling a Soweto funeral for unrest victims the ANC would seize power and take the struggle into white areas.

The remarks attributed to Tutu were in fact made by SA Youth Congress leader Peter Mokaba.

The Archbishop's lawyers had approached The Citizen about an apology and correction and the question of further action was being considered, Tutu's spokesman John Allen said. Citizen editor Johnny Johnson had no comment, his secretary said yesterday. *8/Day 29/8/90*

Die Transvaler's Johannesburg editor Gerhard Burger said the newspaper took The Citizen's report "as a genuine report as we would have done with any reputable newspaper".

He expected Die Transvaler to carry a correction and apology in its first edition today

Railnet realises 'need for efficiency'

MARCIA KLEIN

RAILNET has employed Quality Management Associates (QMA) in a multi-million rand "total quality management" programme to help it become efficient, professional and "customer needs driven", a spokesman said yesterday

The management consultancy, whose clients include AECL, Liberty Life, Old Mutual and Sasol, is to teach Railnet's top management to be "competitive in a free market system and customer responsive", QMA director Peter Gilbert said yesterday.

Railnet had realised the necessity of becoming a commercial enterprise which was efficient in the marketplace.

Railnet CE Barry Lessing said it would take four years and several million rands to train Railnet's 113 000 employees.

Material changes would be reduced costs, improved customer services and commercialisation.

The programme has started in East London and up to 300 Railnet Spoornet employees are being trained

Lessing said Railnet was on the way to becoming "a zero defect organisation", with quality improvement already producing results

Gold

selling hasn't been big but nobody feels the need to buy. The concern about an immediate war has receded and people prefer to wait to see what emerges from the talks between De Cuellar and the Iraqis"

Back on the JSE, SAB, AVI, Barlows and Amic all registered some of the largest gains of the day. However, dealers were pessimistic that the relatively positive mood would last over the long term.

Dealers on the JSE said it appeared that investors were hanging on, despite earlier

losses, and taking their leads from abroad.

"The market, however, is extremely difficult to read at the moment with institutions not showing much interest.

"Technically gold and platinum shares should be under immense pressure as both precious metals come off — but it hasn't happened. Generally there is an air of confusion abounding and we expect anything to happen," one dealer said.

See Page 17

From Page 1

Daily Mail may close due to lack of funds

THE Daily Mail will close at the end of September unless it receives a huge capital injection in the next two days, the newspaper's co-editor Anton Harber said yesterday. *8/Day 29/8/90*

Harber said in a statement last night that the newspaper, launched just over two-and-a-half months ago, would revert to publishing weekly if money to reach break-even point was not obtained.

The statement was issued on behalf of the Board of Directors of the Mail Publications Group

TIM COHEN

Harber said last night the staff was discussing a variety of options they could take if the newspaper closed. *(243)*

It employs 115 people.

Informed sources said several of the newspaper's original backers had pulled out. Harber declined to comment on this.

He said the Weekly Mail, with audited sales of more than 37 000 in June, would remain a strong base for the company.

Tutu may take action over Press reports

243
Sowetan 29/8/90

ANGLICAN Archbishop Desmond Tutu is outraged over militant statements incorrectly attributed to him in two Johannesburg morning newspapers

The contentious statements - about "seizing power" and "taking the struggle into white areas" - were attributed to the archbishop in both *The Citizen* and the *Transvaal*

In fact, these were excerpts from a fiery address by SA Youth Congress president Peter Mokaba at a mass funeral in Soweto on Monday

Tutu's office said yesterday that the church would demand an unconditional retraction and apology from *The Citizen* and would refer the matter to lawyers for "discussion of further steps"

"The address was apparently given after the Archbishop had left the funeral and it does not reflect his sentiments, the archbishop's office said.

At the funeral, Mokaba said the ANC was a government in waiting and was going to "seize power". He said the struggle was only going to be won if it was organised on the ground and taken into white areas

Based on the erroneous attribution of these remarks to Tutu in *The Citizen*, the *Transvaal* - in its front page lead story - expanded on the report to explore the significance of these statements

The story said that Archbishop's statements had caused an uproar this morning - and speculated that the speech would possibly provoke reaction from the Government

Star 29/8/96 (242) (243)
Tutu irate at reporting slip in papers

By Helen Grange

Archbishop Desmond Tutu is outraged over statements incorrectly attributed to him in two Johannesburg newspapers.

The statements — on “seizing power” and “taking the struggle into white areas” — were attributed to the archbishop in the Citizen and Transvaler.

In fact, these were excerpts from a fiery address by South African Youth Congress president Peter Mokaba at a mass funeral in Soweto on Monday.

Archbishop Tutu's office yesterday said the Anglican Church would demand an unconditional retraction and apology from the Citizen and would refer the matter to lawyers for “discussion of further steps”.

Cash-strapped Daily Mail may close

By Jullienne du Toit

243

The recently launched Johannesburg newspaper, The Daily Mail, may close unless enough funding is found by Friday, editor Anton Harber said last night.

If The Daily Mail did close, it would revert to its former weekly edition, which Mr Harber said had grown healthily since the launch of the daily paper in June, and had substantial advertising support.

"The purpose would be a re-

great to base, to enable us to build up our flagship publication and ensure that this country has a strong, outspoken and independent voice," he said.

He ascribed the Mail's problems in breaking even to tough competition in the morning newspaper market and the current economic recession.

Informed sources at the newspaper said that if the daily edition closed, the paper would try to retain as many employees as possible.

Journalists are told to be honest in criticism

JOURNALISTS with particular political affiliations must have the honesty to publicly criticise their party if it is deserved, South African Communist Party Press officer Essop Pahad said yesterday. 243

Speaking at a conference hosted by the Association of Democratic Journalists, Pahad welcomed the need, expressed by some reporters present, to represent the feelings of particular communities

Having spent 10 years in Prague and some time in the Soviet Union, Pahad said one lesson to be learned from the Eastern Bloc was that the people saw their media as purveyors of propaganda and had thus become sceptical of anything it said.

"The media should be primarily independent and objective as far as that is possible. Any attempts at official control holds very grave dangers. Any attempt to manipulate the media is totally counter-productive and totally wrong," he said Sowetan 30/8/90

Woods set to work in SA

Cape Town 30/8/90 (243)

By BARRY STREEK

THE once-banned and exiled former editor of the East London Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, wants to return home to South Africa and work as a journalist in "an unfettered society" by starting a radio station or a television programme

He said he had received a warm welcome locally "These are wonderful times".

In his first public speech in South Africa since he was banned in 1977, Mr Woods told the Cape Town Press Club he had the former Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, who served banning orders on him, to thank for having converted him from "a small-town editor to someone people wanted to listen to"

The total alienation of young black people in townships and the role of the police were two major problems, he said. He added that there could not be a workable democracy in South Africa unless there was "a totally unfettered media"

He said an independent judiciary also constituted a vital part of democracy

"Only out of that can we have that watchdog element," Mr Woods said

He said current problems were "the troubles of recovery, not of decline"

Mr Woods said that during his travels over the last 12 years he had been "moved by the scope, and sweep of exiles abroad. South Africans are everywhere and many have learned new skills".

He believed many exiles would come home

World

30/8/90
wants

SA - (243)

Woods

CAPE TOWN — There cannot be a workable democracy in South Africa if there is not a totally unfettered media, former Daily Dispatch editor and author Donald Woods said in Cape Town yesterday.

Speaking at a luncheon of the Cape Town Press Club in his first public speech since returning to South Africa recently after 12 years in exile, Mr Woods spoke broadly on the view of South Africa from the outside world and the implications of that view.

The outside world's continuing interest in South Africa had been underestimated over the years, and in fact people could "not hear enough about South Africa", he said.

He said there was "massive deception" over the lifestyle of exiles, and he had "often heard rubbish such as that the ANC and PAC have been living off the fat of the land while in exile".

That was simply not true, and he hoped the new South Africa would debunk "the old South African capacity for delusion".

"We have been subjected to iniquitous propaganda for 38 years. It seeps into the pores of the skin and the result is some extraordinary misrepresentation," he said.



Donald Woods. Call for unfettered media.

Exiles who were not able to answer back "could be freely slandered" and this was often done "quite calculatedly", he added.

Mr Woods said he and others had been convinced that if South Africa "did not have sanctions, our conviction was that many more thousands would have died".

South Africa's present problems were the troubles of recovery, not of decline.

"It may not be bad if the gold runs out. Then we will learn to use our real resources, such as manufacturing and skills. We have for too long depended on such bonuses," he said.

He identified two major problems in South African society. The "total alienation of young blacks in the townships who will not listen to Mandela nor anyone else," and "the kind of policing that goes on here".

There were also problems with issues such as housing and education which would need massive state aid.

He wanted to return "to work as a journalist in an unfettered society", and in the new South Africa he would "like to start a radio station or TV channel", he said.

Mr Woods stressed several times he was hesitant to commit himself to firm statements on the South African scenario until he had been in the country for a few more weeks, but said he was still "developing views" of the situation.

He is in South Africa for six weeks, and is working on five journalistic commissions, for the BBC and Time Magazine among others.

Mr Woods said he had former Minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger to thank for having converted him from "a small-town editor to someone people wanted to listen to" — Sapa.

'A free Press vital'

THERE could not be a workable democracy in South Africa if the media was not totally unfettered, former *Daily Dispatch* editor and author Mr Donald Woods said in Cape Town yesterday.

Speaking at a luncheon of the Cape Town Press Club, in his first public speech since returning to South Africa after 12 years in exile, Woods spoke broadly on the view of South Africa from the outside world and the implications of that view.

Sowetan 30/8/90

Exiles

The 'outside world's continuing interest in South Africa had been underestimated over the years and, in fact, people could 'not hear enough about South Africa', he said.

He said there was 'massive deception' over the lifestyle of exiles and he had 'often heard rubbish such as, for instance, that the ANC and PAC have been living off the fat of the land while in exile'.

Hope

That was simply not true, and he hoped the new South Africa would debunk 'the old South African capacity for delusion'.

The 'soul of South African journalism', however, was alive and well and he was hopeful for the future of the country. - Sapa.

ANC approached to buy Daily Mail

Sowetan 30/8/90

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THE ANC has been approached to buy the Johannesburg-based Daily Mail, which faces closure because of lack of funds less than three months after its launch.

The head of the ANC's department of information and publicity, Mr Pallo Jordan, confirmed yesterday that the ANC had been approached by newspaper staff to inform them that they were in trouble and needed bailing out.

The suggestion had been made that the ANC buy the paper, he said, adding that that was one of

several options being considered by the ANC, which had been looking into the possibility of launching its own newspaper.

In a statement on Tuesday *Daily Mail* co-editor Anton Harber said the paper would close if additional finance was not raised by the end of the week. The older, national *Weekly Mail* would still be published.

Yesterday the *Daily Mail* was inundated with offers of assistance and enquiries, Harber said.

"There's been an enormous response, including some cheques. But it is not enough to make a real difference

We will have to watch to see if it builds up over the next few weeks."

Asked if the ANC had been approached to buy the paper, Harber said. "We are exploring every possible option to save the paper and people's jobs and to ensure the continuation of the ideals embodied in the newspaper.

"We are making no

choice at this stage between the options. We are duty bound to explore every possible way."

Confessing that the ANC had no money to launch its own publication, Jordan said other options considered by the organisation were an English national weekly and a multi-lingual national weekly.

ANC asked to consider bailing out cash-strapped Daily Mail

Special Reporters

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nance was not raised by the end of the week. Yesterday the Daily Mail was inundated with offers of assistance and inquiries, Mr Harber told The Star.

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ference. We will have to watch to see if it builds up over the next few weeks."

The money received is to be kept in a trust fund. It was decided yesterday to continue to publish the daily edition until at least Friday September 7.



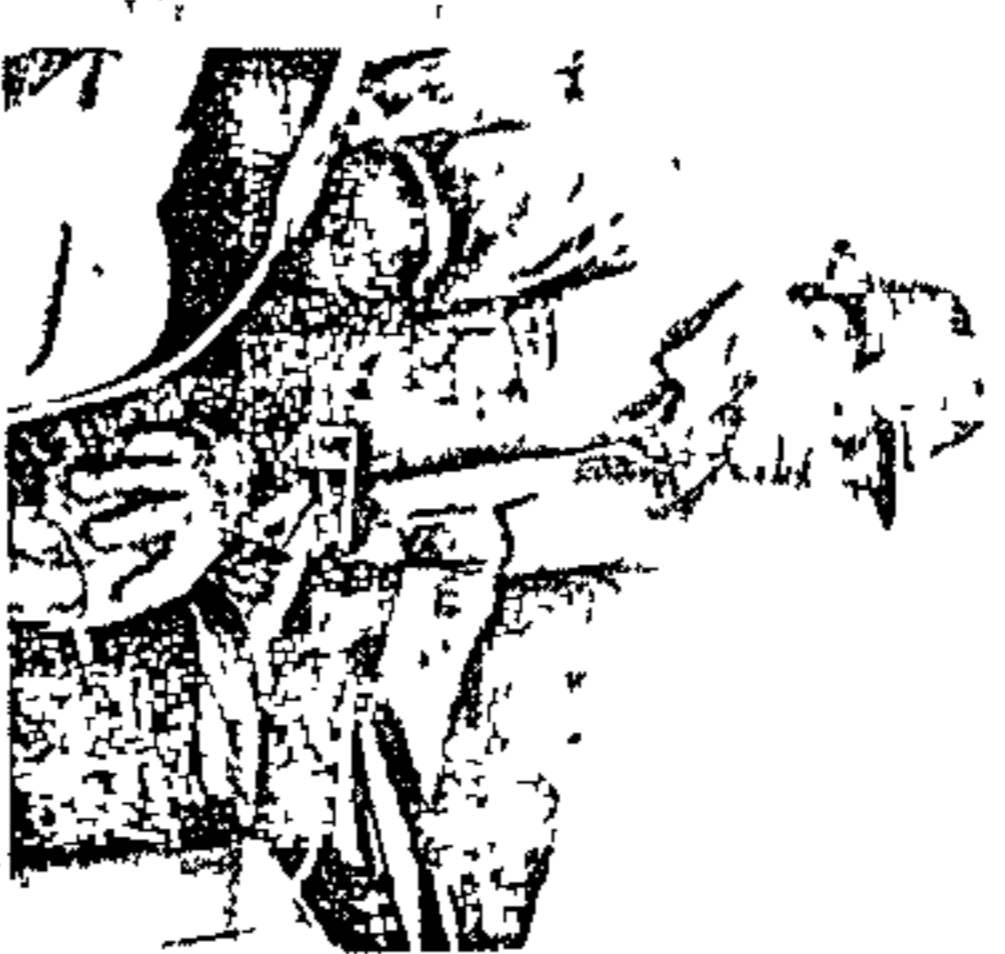
Question

Mr. D. J. ... Full text of provisional copy

Fiery clash over official language



Isolation in sport is ending, says M. Bacher



House full ... to up ... in the (HD)

White-only suburbs ... can't be guaranteed

Minister ... in ... mixed ... marriage

Beats all the way for David

Eleven good reasons to send your child to Campton School in Athens, Greece

Black racing area respects benefits of R.I.M.

Property price plunge never came about

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Isolation in sport is ending, says M. Bacher

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Property price plunge never came about

Massive cash injection for black communities ends housing backlog

The property price plunge never came about because of the massive cash injection for black communities, which has ended the housing backlog.

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Our crystal ball wasn't too clouded

A view from 1985...

By JACQUELINE MYBURGH

Five years ago, The Star told it like it could have been — today

On August 28 1985, the paper published a mock front and second page — dated August 28 1990 — describing what the editors thought South Africa would look like today

And they were not too far wrong. Some of what they imagined, and described in their futuristic news reports, has in fact happened.

● Nelson Mandela is a free man, although not yet taking part in the constituent assembly described in the make-believe front-page lead story

● P.W. Botha is in retirement in the Wilderness, but the fictitious quote that he regrets "dragging his feet in 1985" may not be all that accurate.

● South Africa's isolation in sport does appear to be ending, as suggested in a story which quoted M. Bacher as saying: "Less and less are we having to resort to touring by substitute

and trying to put together rebel teams."

Other stories which could have been quite plausible in today's (real) paper were of overcrowding in Johannesburg's central business district, a Cabinet Minister's son marrying a former detainee, the leader of the Conservative Party criticising the Government's refusal to guarantee the survival of "whites only" suburbs, and a massive cash injection for black communities ending the

housing backlog.

A story headed "Soweto residents told pay your rates, or no services" was remarkably similar to current news.

Writers of the pages were not to know that South Africa was to undergo breathtaking changes in 1990, so some stories are guaranteed to raise some laughs today — especially the one about P.W. de Klerk (after a big row with P.W. in 1986) being consul general in New Orleans!

The gold price has increased in recent weeks — thanks to the

crisis in the Persian Gulf — but it hasn't been anywhere near the \$2 000 (R5 200) that was optimistically predicted in 1985.

The writers refrained from nominating a president for South Africa, although Chief Mangosuthu Buthe, Nelson Mandela and Chief Kaiser Mafema — then of Transkei — feature in the story about the constituent assembly. Helen Suzman is cast as the Speaker.

Also amusing was the photograph of Alfonso Gurnade, South Africa's "first" black

motor-racing star." According to the editors, the former Puto bus driver turned Formula One driver had rejected the offer of a two-year contract to drive for the Tyrrell-Brahham team with the Tyrrell-Brahham team.

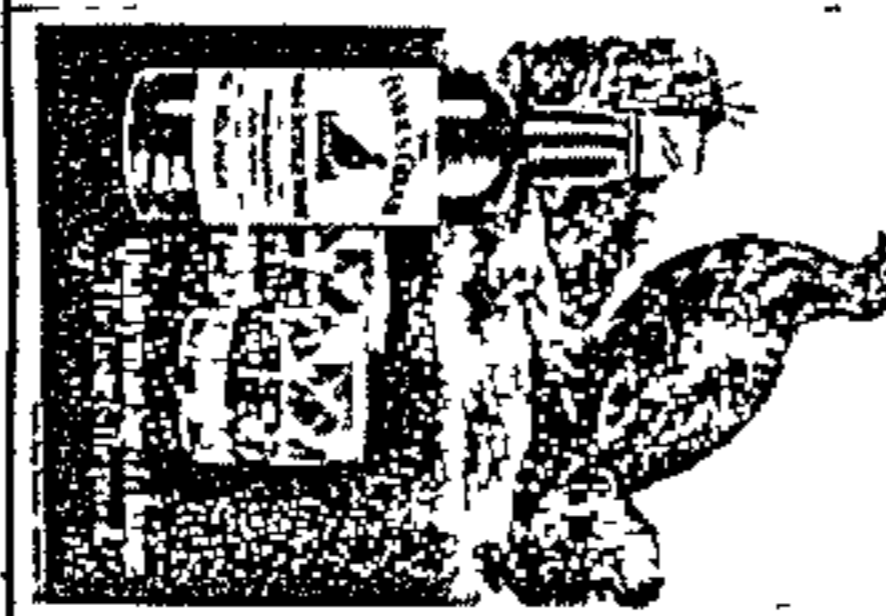
South Africa is still out of the Formula One circuit, but — as an advertisement on the mock front page states — it will only be a matter of time before Murray Makeba is performing nightly at The Back of the Moon — "Soweto's biggest and most popular shabbeen"

The Star's "back to the future" exercise in 1985 was a sequel to a similar bit of crystal-ball gazing in August 1980. Ten years ago this week, we produced two news pages bearing a date five years forward on the theme of "South Africa without apartheid" (The make-believe front page is reproduced on this page.)

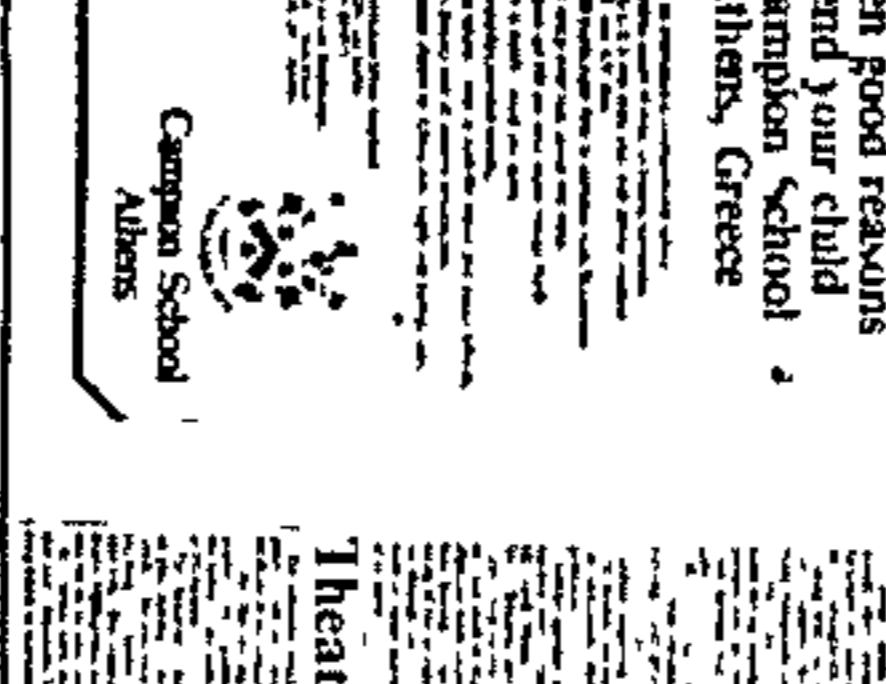
Many of the news items conjured in 1980 were on the right lines, but in turbulent 1985 they turned out a little over-optimistic. Among them, the recently freed Nelson Mandela

had arrived to a hero's welcome in independent Namibia for an OAU conference, and a US delegate at the United Nations urged that South Africa should be given due credit for current political changes.

"Constat", or the Confederation of SA Trade Unions — and this was five years before the real Cosatu was formed — was calling for retraining programmes for the thousands of civil servants made jobless by the repeal of Group Areas and other apartheid laws. And a revival of "Oh Calcutta!" had flopped badly at the Market Theatre.



Eleven good reasons to send your child to Campton School in Athens, Greece



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No more white elections,

C/Pres 2/9/90 *(243)*

says Viljoen

NOW that we have had talks about talks, what can we expect next?

The last section of the Pretoria Minute, relating to negotiations about a new constitution, depends on putting deed to word. With the high level of violence, there is concern that that part has to receive special attention.

You will recall it was agreed to set up a special working committee to deal with the practical implementation or implications of the suspension of armed activities.

That matter is receiving attention, and the committee is expected to report back by September 15.

The speed by which we can move to the exploratory talks will depend on the success of the committee. But I feel positive about it.

The violence you are talking about here, is it the so-called black-on-black violence, or are you also talking about the rightwing?

All forms of violence are cause for concern.

I was rather surprised (to read) the other morning that Piet "Skiet" Rudolph (the fugitive deputy leader of the Boerestaat Party) is on a sort of a Damascus road to conversion, that he was having serious problems with his conscience.

I am not sure if he is serious or this is just a gimmick - but it would appear they, too, want to reconsider their position with regard to violence.

I think basically all people who are in really responsible leadership positions have come to realise, from practical experience, that violence is not the solution.

Fundamentally, if you go back to the stage where the ANC and the government decided on a converging route rather than on a conflicting route, it was because both sides realised they were not going to solve the problem by violence or by force of arms of the state.

There must be a political solution which must be peacefully negotiated. In this regard Nelson Mandela, even from prison, exerted a considerable influence.

But it is clear he is experiencing difficulties even from within his own organisation, with elements who are not easy to reach with the new message and the new political education - and those who, in spite of receiving the message, still prefer the use of violence.

These aspects will have to be dealt with very thoroughly and carefully.

The rightwing believes negotiations are capitulation, and there are those who believe the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, could not even start tackling the SADF. Why did you decide to negotiate; did you just have a change of heart?

I think it was the result of practical political experience, with the failure of the former policy.

This matter has to be followed from 1983, after the referendum on the tricameral parliament. At that

Constitutional Development Minister GERRIT VILJOEN does not believe South Africa will have another whites-only education. Viljoen, a former cabinet minister, and in the government's negotiation team, told CHARLES MOGALE that the government had accepted a minority would not rule over a majority.

stage already, (former) President PW Botha appointed a Cabinet committee, saying we must also start providing for power-sharing with black people, who were excluded at that time.

Looking back we now realise introducing a new constitution excluding blacks was one of the biggest mistakes we made.

Although black people viewed the introduction of the tricameral system almost as a slap in the face, PW Botha acknowledged immediately after that referendum the need to take the next step - to bring black people in. He set up a Cabinet committee to work on it. It worked for three years.

Then he recommended the NP change its policy and accept the permanence of all South Africans - including blacks - and accept solutions could not be found in geographic partition, in other words - accept grand apartheid had not worked.

In 1986 a federal congress of the NP accepted unanimously this reversal of policy.

Our (white) voters, although a limited part of the total population, gave us a democratic mandate.

We got a more than 60 percent majority in the 1987 elections. In the 1989 elections that mandate was repeated.

So the change of heart is something that grew in the light of practical political experience.

Do you have a time schedule for the completion of negotiations, and who is going to sit around that table?

It is difficult and dangerous to forecast a time schedule, because you could pick up problems.

The present government has been elected to serve five years, and I cannot see that another election excluding blacks taking place.

This does not mean the new constitution (to be negotiated) will have to wait five years to be implemented. We are likely to start real negotiations early next year, and I think a two-year period of negotiating would not be unreasonable.

All political organisations, with a proven support base, who are willing to commit themselves to a peaceful process should participate. This would include parliamentary and extra-parliamentary organisations.

Does your government accept the concept of one person, one vote, and would it be willing to step down for a popularly elected government with a black president?

The way in which a government is elected is vital in the negotiations.

You will recall President (FW) De Klerk said the government is not in favour of an unqualified, simplistic majority rule.

He accepts one man, one vote. Everybody should have the vote, there must be universal franchise, and the majority should be able to express its will.

But it should be balanced within the realities of South Africa, with the protection of political rights for minorities.

We accept a minority cannot govern, but we believe that in power-sharing, minorities should be meaningfully represented.

Restrictions should be built into the constitution both by way of a bill of rights and safeguarding the provisions such as a two-thirds majority, or consensus (before passing laws).

But the minorities cannot weaken the fact there is a majority.

We accept one nation in South Africa, building national unity, but ignoring minorities will not help this goal. It will increase the conflict.

There have been problems with the definition of minorities. How else do you define minorities except by race? By way of culture, language, or even by way of ethnicity.

We made it clear in our last election manifesto that the present definition of minorities, or groups, being purely racist, based on colour, cannot survive in a new constitution.

We would therefore argue that in the new constitution, guidelines should be set for minorities as to how to constitute themselves, but it should be on a non-racial basis, and also on a non-prescriptive basis.

There must be freedom of association, so people who don't want to function politically through a minority group under which they fall can simply say we just want to be South African citizens. Full stop.

The present Cabinet has been acclaimed for pushing through a number of reforms within a short space of time. What other reforms can we expect?

The president has made it clear the Group Areas Act must go in the next session of Parliament.

There are certain supplementary measures that will be required, for example, to combat slum-forming.

But the Act has got the death sentence.

The second area anticipated to come up is the Land Acts - to remove all racial requirements for the acquisition of land.

But it could be argued that since black people have been excluded from the possibility of purchasing land, therefore in financial assistance schemes like the Land Bank, the Agricultural Credit Boards, special increased provision will have to be made for those people who have not had the opportunity in the past.

There will obviously be a large number of such people, so financial assistance will have to go beyond the present schemes.

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Gerrit Viljoen . . . we are likely to start real negotiations early next year.

■ Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

The dawn of a national force

FRIDAY'S incisive decision by the National Party in Natal to open up its membership to all races, could cause an upheaval in South African politics. Should the other provincial divisions of the party follow suit, the doors would be open for the creation of a new national force with interests superceding all colour boundaries, said *Beeld* in an editorial.

A dispensation would then be entered into in which every South African can apply for membership for what has been an influential white political party for 75 years and in government for 42 years.

If this does not serve as proof of the party's genuine desire for power sharing, then this word has no meaning. What had become the overriding political theme of the NP on a macro level, has now found expression within its own ranks.

In fact, it had become unavoidable. It would not have been possible to oppose discrimination on every possible level while remaining a party for whites only.

This is exactly what it needs to become. a national movement superceding the colour bar. Because we believe it has the ability and duty to do exactly

■ PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

this, *Beeld* pleaded for the opening of the National Party on June 11.

This was done because it became clearer after the result in the Umlazi by-election that the National Party had become the main proponent of the values which have brought progress and true democracy all over the world.

Its biggest competitor now is the ANC, a movement which is still trying to find its feet, but due to its alliance with the SACP and as a result of its own radical economic views, it is no torch bearer for true democracy.

It has been a long road since the National Party was founded in Natal on August 15, 1915. State President FW de Klerk must have been very aware of the political risks which he had taken. Nevertheless, he and the party leadership did not hesitate to act courageously and persistently. May they be successful with what has become the NP's most important historic calling: the creation of a new constitution for a truly free South Africa.

For all the people

2/19/90

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Apologise, ANC tells editor

THE ANC has demanded an apology from a newspaper editor after a "rightwing" pamphlet was distributed through his newspaper.

The move, which raised eyebrows in Press circles, followed the insertion of a pamphlet in Maritzburg's *The Natal Witness* on Friday. The pamphlet was issued by the pro-conscription Veterans For Victory Organisation from Houghton, Johannesburg.

Headlined "South Africa must come first", the pamphlet criticised the ANC and MDM for "inciting masses to bloodshed and total seizure of power", yet demanding that SADF troops should be in the frontline to maintain law and order in Natal.

"One wonders what would have happened to the lives of many, many civilians in the townships, should the 'Troops Out' campaign have succeeded," the pamphlet said.

"Veterans For Victory made a plea to South Africans to allow our 'troopies' to do their duty and so bring an end to this needless killing, in particular in Natal, so

that negotiations may continue in the spirit of friendship and reconciliation."

In a strongly worded statement the Midlands regional convenor of the ANC, Harry Gwala, called on the *Witness's* editor to "explain to the public what his own stand on the matter is - and whether he is going to allow the newspaper to carry such distorted, alienating and shoddy rightwing material in the future".

The statement said: "We demand that the editor issue a public apology to all who have been subjected to this distasteful, abhorrent as well as totally unsolicited media assault."

He accused Veterans for Victory for having operated in support of military fascism.

"We are astonished and astounded that *The Natal Witness* has allowed such a dubious organisation to publicise its message of hate through its deliveries and sales."

The editor was not available for comment yesterday.

Bombs explode near Afrikaans newspaper office

By Guy Jepson

Two bombs exploded within seconds of each other outside the Johannesburg offices of the Afrikaans morning newspaper Beeld last night.

The explosions caused considerable damage but no injuries. The first bomb, believed to have been made up of commercial explosives, was placed under a blue Volkswagen Citi Golf near the building's entrance in Miller Street, Doornfontein.

It detonated at about 11 05, wrecking the car, which is owned by Willem Pretorius, editor of the newspaper's arts supplement, Kalendar. Several windows in the newspaper building were shattered.

A second device, apparently placed near a delivery truck in First Street, detonated seconds later, shattering more windows. The explosion caused employees in Beeld's dispatch section, metres

away, to flee the premises.

Mr Pretorius, the owner of the wrecked Golf, said: "We heard a helluva bang just after 11 pm and then I looked out of the window and saw it was my car. It happened just on deadline and then the other one went off."

"We just told everyone to stay in the office in case there was another one."

Mr Pretorius said he believed the

explosions, coming in the wake of the recent blast at the offices of the Afrikaans weekly Vrye Weekblad, could be part of a pattern of attacks against the media.

Tyronne Caswell (17), an employee of a security firm, had just walked past the Golf to the security office in the Beeld building when the bomb went off.

"I missed it by about 20 seconds. It felt like an earthquake," he said.



Police inspect the bomb-damaged car outside Beeld's offices

ing 53 recently launched ANC branches, also endorsed the ANC's

paid to the question of the recent violence," the ANC report-back said.

in service to the community in a totally impartial way."

Open SA the aim - media council

IT WAS the task of the SA Media Council, in addition to mediation and conflict resolution, to be vigilant in protecting and promoting a free and open South Africa, council chairman Mr Jan Steyn said in Cape Town yesterday. (243)

Speaking at the 14th meeting of the council, he said the organisation would debate how to give further and "hopefully permanent content to the process

through which a more open society can be secured". Sowetan 4/9/90

He said the principles on which such a society was based had been systematically eroded over the years.

"We will be seeking to produce a carefully considered and balanced input to the Government to have all unnecessary constraints on media freedom removed," Steyn said - Sapa

LOA considers social upliftment schemes

B/Dm 5/9/90



A DELEGATION from the Life Office's Association (LOA) met adviser to the Finance Minister, Japie Jacobs, last week to discuss ways in which life companies could invest in social upliftment programmes

The LOA has appointed a subcommittee to look into the issue, which has become one of concern to the assurance industry, particularly in the light of the investigation by the Jacobs committee into the flow of funds between life offices, building societies and banks.

In the past, the industry has felt constrained from investing in risky, low return social upliftment programmes by the need to uphold the trustee principle and to achieve the highest returns for policyholders

LOA executive director Dick Geary-Cooke said the delegation expressed to

LINDA ENSOR

Jacobs the LOA's willingness to help with such investments, stressing the need for suitable instruments for such investments to be devised

While the LOA subcommittee's work was at an exploratory stage, LOA participation in the securitisation of mortgage bonds by building societies was being looked into

LOA director Jurie Wessels said it was difficult to respond to views that life assurers should invest in venture capital projects "because we do not know what exactly people are expecting of the industry

"Life Offices do not really have the skills to identify and monitor high risk investments. They also do not feel that it is in the interest of policyholders that their retirement and insurance savings should be exposed to high risks"

FM, Sage accord stops printing of report

AN AGREEMENT was reached late on Monday between Sage Holdings and the Financial Mail (FM), averting a move by Sage Holdings to obtain an urgent court interdict yesterday against the weekly magazine

FM editor Nigel Bruce said the FM intended to publish an article on Sage Holdings in today's edition, parts of which Sage had said were incorrect.

Sage would not specify which parts

EDYTH BULBRING

of the article were wrong, and threatened to bring an interdict to stop publication

Bruce said the parties had reached agreement late on Monday. He could not elaborate, but part of it was that the FM would not publish the article

A Sage spokesman said yesterday "I am not commenting at all, except to say there is no interdict."

243

40 journalists retrenched as paper closes

243

THE closing of the independent *Daily Mail* on Tuesday was a very sad and difficult moment for the newspaper's journalists and management, co-editor Anton Harber said. *Sowetan* 6/9/90

About 40 journalists of a total of 115 were retrenched in the closure, he said.

Sowetan Correspondent

"At this point, our sole concern is to continue with the *Weekly Mail* as a major voice in South Africa," he said.

The *Daily Mail* battled for two months and 13 days to produce an independent newspaper, but was

eventually forced to close due to financial difficulties.

Reporters only heard on Monday who was going to be retrenched and there were tearful scenes in the newsroom when the final orders came through.

Harber was reluctant to delve

too deeply into the exact terms of retrenchment, but said a fund had been established to assist any journalists who found themselves in extreme difficulties

Management had worked closely with staff and union representatives

New masters, old dangers?

A black South African journalist asked recently whether "the suppression of news is not an African disease".

Much the same thought pervaded a conference in Benin last month of the West African Journalists' Association when it called for support of journalists who had been victimised, for continued pressure on West African governments to end official and unofficial censorship and their "tutoring" role over the media, and for an end to the ignoring of human rights violations, especially torture

There is a coming of age among black journalists on the continent. More and more of them feel there is no longer any need — if there ever was one — to put political causes before their calling as newsmen.

In Zimbabwe, where there has not been much freedom of the press under Mr Mugabe, the recent role of the Financial Gazette in revealing the internal debates within Zanu PF's politburo is testing the limits of a rediscovered free press.

Yet, in South Africa, poised to discover the wonders of democracy, the ANC is sending unmistakable signals that it will control the press if it ever gets its hands on power.

Dateline
London
Stanley
Uys



It repudiated the UDF's Western Cape president Christmas Tinto, who had told newspapermen: "We expect the majority of you to be card-carrying members of the ANC," but it uses the same terminology National Party politicians employed so ominously.

Alarm bells

When a politician declares he welcomes a "free" press, but it must be a "responsible" press and its reporting must be "factual" and not "malicious" (I am quoting the ANC's Aziz Pahad), then beware — the alarm bells are ringing.

These warnings presuppose that the press is subject to two separate disciplines: criminal and civil law, and whatever authoritarian idea might fit through the mind of a politician at any particular moment. Attacks on press "monopolies" and on Government control of the

SABC are ambiguous, too. Is the intention genuinely to liberate the media or simply to substitute one control for another?

When I close my eyes, I can hear the language of Afrikaner Cabinet Ministers over almost four decades. Most Afrikaner journalists in that period believed their first loyalty was to Afrikaner nationalism and only secondly to journalism.

The price Afrikaner journalists paid for this surrender of their independence was that they became simply party hacks.

When a later generation of black journalists (not the rugged individualists of the Drum era) argued the same point — cause before calling — they were simply treading the path cleared for them by Afrikaner nationalist newspapermen.

I am not saying we on the English-language press were blameless. I recall with no great pride our uncritical support of the United Party. But at least when the time came we were the ones to send the UP to its last resting place.

Criticising one's own side is the real test of independence. John Dugard has made the point that nearly 40 years of struggle taught liberals to withstand the racism and repres-

sion of the radical Right, but "the threat from the radical Left is more insidious. Liberals must therefore resist the intolerance of the Left."

If press freedom survives in South Africa, probably it will be because of the efforts of black journalists themselves. When newsmen like Thami Mazwai can say suppression of the media by a black government will be no less an abuse than censorship by a white government, black politicians should take notice.

Necklacing

It is much more difficult for a black journalist to take up an independent position than it ever was for an Afrikaner journalist. As Nomavenda Mathiane explains: "If a black journalist writes a story interpreted as against the movement, then anything from ostracisation or the gutting of the journalist's house to necklacing is possible."

Nevertheless, hope for the freedom of the press lies mainly with black journalists in South Africa.

No politician likes an independent press, but they have to be taught to learn to live with it.

Media clampdown. Back to the Emergency?

Mail 719 - 1317190 (243)

RESTRICTIONS unleashed on the media this week amidst the turbulence in Vaal and East Rand townships mirror grimly the State of Emergency lifted in June.

Police confirmed this week that they were again barring the press from certain areas of unrest in terms of the "Unrest Regulations 1990" declared in 19 magisterial districts a fortnight ago because people in unrest areas were inclined to "give a show for journalists".

This came despite assurances from Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and police commissioner, General Johan van der Merwe, when the regulation was promulgated that it would not be used against journalists.

The restrictions are already in force. Yesterday, in Soweto near the Merafe hostel, police threatened to arrest journalists if they did not vacate the area but backed down when the press contingent

grew bigger

Worldwide Television News (WTN) sound recorder Brian Greene was arrested in Vosloorus on the East Rand on Tuesday

WTN bureau chief Vincent Francis said the news crew had been ordered to leave the area by police. Apparently, Greene was arrested when he was spotted by a policeman who had ordered him to leave five minutes earlier

Francis reported that Greene had phoned the WTN offices during his arrest screaming: "I'm being hit."

Greene appeared in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court on Wednesday on charges of contravening the new regulations and resisting arrest

His case was postponed to October 23

Renewed harassment of journalists and regulations allowing for their removal from scenes of unrest are reminiscent of Emergency rule.

CASSANDRA MOODLEY reports

and he was granted an emergency bail application of R 5 000 on Tuesday night.

Media lawyer David Dison said the Unrest Regulations are a duplication of the State of Emergency, which had drastically censored the media for five years.

"If a police officer believes he needs to remove a journalist or anybody else, he has the power to do so — the same regu-

lations they always used against journalists"

He added that the police also had the power to remove anybody from the scene of unrest if they saw fit, to make arrests and remove film from cameras.

Media groupings yesterday slammed the new restrictions, saying "press freedom" experienced since the lifting of the countrywide Emergency regulations in June (except in Natal) seems to have been just a passing phase.

The Anti-Censorship Action Group (Acag) said: "It is disappointing that the full in the storm has ended and it's back to the old game of bashing the media."

The Association of Democratic Journalists said the ban on the media from "unrest areas" indicated a sinister return

THE WEEKLY MAIL, September

about 30 youths brandishing stones and petrol bombs advanced on the *Mail's* car. One threatened to hurl a brick at the car but was stopped by a woman resident. They claimed the press had no right to be there, saying "you people bring the police, take our photos, and then they come and pick us up".

On Wednesday, *Weekly Mail* journalists were also reprimanded by a hostel committee member for interviewing residents without the committee's permission. "If you want to see action, lady, you will see it now," the man said.

"It's a pity that nobody has effectively taught people the value of having journalists present. They are after all the means by which the public can be informed of abuses.

"Part of the problem is caused by police masquerading as journalists," said Acag, commenting on the attacks on the media by communities

to the State of Emergency regulations, and Media Workers Association vice-president Mathata Tsedu said: "The police are unable to control the situation and as usual are using the media as their scapegoats."

But police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman stressed that reporters were not entirely barred from covering unrest situations. The press, he said, were requested to leave scenes of unrest for their own safety. He cited the case of a South African Press Association journalist whose vehicle was stoned and set alight in Sebokeng on Tuesday.

The press does face an onslaught from both sides. *Weekly Mail* reporters were confronted by youths in two separate incidents this week. Yesterday in Soweto

Free speech ¹⁸ ~~243~~ 243
vital, ^{Sowetan} ~~19/90~~ 19/90
says prof

MOST of the participants in the debate about a future constitution for South Africa agreed that freedom of expression should be guaranteed in a new constitution.

But there was a difference of opinion on what the limits to this freedom should be, constitutional expert Professor Marinus Wiechers said yesterday.

Wiechers was addressing a conference on "Communications in a Changing South African Society" at the Human Sciences Research Council in Pretoria.

Freedom of expression and opinion should not be a play thing in the hands of politicians but should become a democratic institution in itself, Wiechers said.

"Informing citizens is a prerequisite for democracy. Without the dissemination of information and the right to criticise, democracy lacks the element of accountability towards the citizens and the ability of citizens to exercise control over the state is undermined.

"However, the constitutional entrenchment of freedom of expression is only one side of the issue. Freedom without restrictions or specific limits can easily lead to anarchy and profligacy," he said. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

THAMI MAZWAI — HEADING FOR OXFORD

It was at Victor Verster Prison that Thami Mazwai developed his interest in business journalism by reading purloined copies of the *FM*

Today he's the business editor of the *Sowetan* and the recipient of the 1990 Rosholt Fellowship in Journalism Named after Mike Rosholt, chairman of Barlow Rand, the fellowship aims to enhance journalists' knowledge and understanding of business, economics and finance Mazwai will spend three months at Oxford and concentrate on the study of small-business development

"I want to create an awareness of business in the black community," he says of his role in the *Sowetan's* nation-building campaign "We need black managers and black entrepreneurs We want to develop black business for the future of SA"

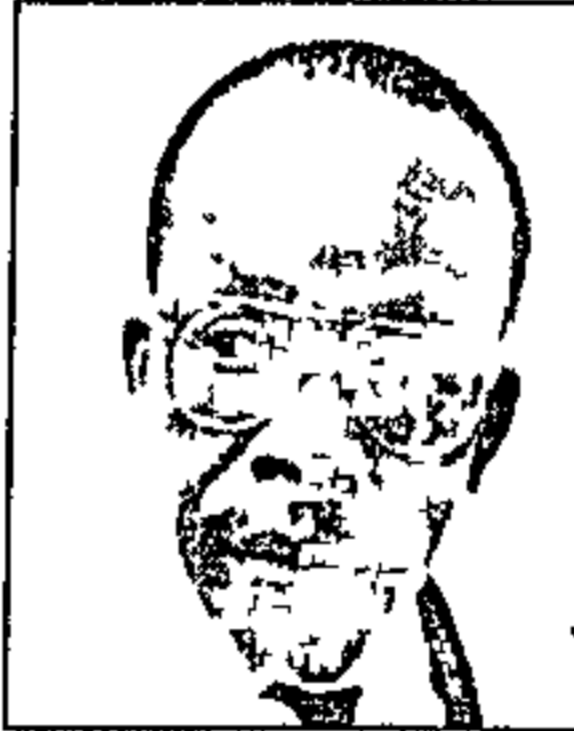
Mazwai (45) learned politics early In 1963 he was sent to Robben Island for 18 months for PAC activities at Orlando High in Soweto, where he now lives with his wife and three daughters He later entered Fort Hare University but was expelled when the administration thought he had led a class boycott "They told me

that my past suggested that I could have been involved" *FM 719190*

He joined the *World* in 1972 and stayed until it was banned five years later From there he went to the *Post* — killed a few years later, he says, "by an industrial dispute and the State"

In 1981 he became the *Sowetan's* first news editor and that year was detained for eight months for interviewing student leaders When he refused to give evidence about his interview with them, he was sentenced to 18 months in prison Denied access to papers and magazines, he swiped *FMs* he found in a storeroom

"Freedom of the press is indivisible," he told a conference on "Winning Against Apartheid" in June



"It does not change from situation to situation Neither is suppression of the media by a black government less severe than that from a white government Both abuse my rights as a human being"

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NEWSPAPERS (243)

FAREWELL, DAILY MAIL

It was set up as an alternative to the commercial press, so it was no surprise that *The Daily Mail* was never a money-spinner

The paper died on Tuesday after only 44 issues because, according to its final leader, "we have not raised the money needed to continue printing"

The deathblow was administered by the Reserve Bank in July when it refused to allow R2,5m of offshore funding to come in through the financial rand. This was because it was earmarked for working capital rather than the purchase of fixed assets. This R780 000 shortfall in funding (when converted through the commercial rand) decided the paper's fate. About half of its 115 staff are expected to lose their jobs.

Nevertheless, the question remains whether investors would have ever seen realistic returns. It was unwise to compete against six other Johannesburg daily newspapers, especially with the most expensive cover price and without any heavyweight newspaper management behind it.

Mail Publications is determined to keep *The Weekly Mail* going. Since the launch of the daily, the circulation of the weekly has increased from 27 000 to more than 30 000.

Co-editor Anton Harber says "Our investors decided that their money would be better spent on maintaining and strengthening *The Weekly Mail*. We've learnt a great deal and intend to build our core publication into an outspoken, independent voice"

Though it never attracted more than marginal advertising, the death of *The Daily Mail* is much lamented by media planners.

"Everybody knew that the *Mail* would have to bite the bullet and sustain losses for a couple of years, but it needed capital to get over its teething problems," says Bernstein Loxton media director Roger Garlick. "The editorial content was improving. They were beginning to tone down the heavy features and bring in more hard news, but it was too late"

Ogilvy & Mather's John Montgomery says the newspaper was written for intellectuals and the editors overrated the extent to which people would subject themselves to heavy reading in the morning.

"It's a tragedy that *The Daily Mail* closed because it reached a highly focused group with high incomes, many of whom watched little TV and probably read no other newspaper. But unfortunately its circulation never looked as though it was going to reach 30 000. It was struggling to reach 15 000"

Even competing publishers are sorry to see it disappear. Argus Newspapers MD Peter McLean says "It was a very good newspaper, but a lot more money and newspaper experience were needed to get it going in a very competitive market. There are still opportunities in this market but only for professionals. We would certainly take notice of a Rupert Murdoch or a Robert Maxwell" ■

PUBLISHING

BAD OMEN

(243) (243)
FIM 719/90

The Durban-based Zulu weekly *Ilanga* seems to have weathered a concerted intimidation campaign against it — but the incident could herald to conflict between papers perceived to be supporting different political organisations

From the beginning of the year, when the campaign started, to July, *Ilanga's* circulation dropped 20 000 to 120 200

MD Arthur Konigkramer says the campaign — which at its height saw attacks on outlets selling *Ilanga* and on newspaper vendors and threats to journalists and some readers — is losing momentum. He declines to give present circulation figures because they have yet to be audited but reckons they are growing and “should be back to budget levels by the end of the year”

He condemns the financial backers of what he calls the ANC-supporting newspapers that have apparently benefited from *Ilanga's* circulation dip — mostly Western governments that channel funds through the Kagiso Trust and Catholic Bishops fund — for “their assault on private enterprise”

Whatever the degree of editorial indepen-

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dence enjoyed by its journalists, *Ilanga* has been widely viewed as Inkatha's mouthpiece since the organisation bought the newspaper — through Mandla-Matla Publishing — from the Argus Group three years ago

Konigkramer dismisses this criticism by pointing out that since Mandla-Matla bought the newspaper in April 1987, circulation has increased by 40%. Despite its links with Inkatha, readers want the newspaper and about 1,6m people read *Ilanga* every week. He also dismisses as “total drivel” accusations — made this year mainly by Natal Indian Congress and UDF leaders — that *Ilanga* was making racially inflammatory and anti-Indian statements

Fostering an ethos

(243) (243)
Former chairman of Mandla-Matla's management committee, Oscar Dhlomo, who has since resigned all positions with the KwaZulu government and Inkatha to establish his own institute free of party politics, says he does not believe accusations that *Ilanga* has been stirring racial feelings are justified

“Natal Indian Congress officials had recourse and, in fact, did have a letter published in *Ilanga* giving their side of the story. If we are to foster a democratic ethos in SA there should be no problem with newspapers taking a line which supports a particular political party

“The problem is in the response to this and you cannot justify attacks on newspaper vendors and threats to journalists because of a newspaper's political stance,” Dhlomo says

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

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He adds that the intensity of the campaign against *Ilanga* showed it must have been instigated by somebody but would not say whom he thought responsible because he had no proof

(243) (243)
ANC southern Natal convener Patrick Lekota could not be contacted but said at a congress last month the organisation had “no problem” with political parties having their own newspapers and saw it as a part of the democratic process

The problem now, it seems, is to get supporters of the different political groupings to understand this as well

Shaun Harris

Death by natural causes

STimes 9/9/90

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THERE is much wailing and gnashing of teeth in the journalistic community this week over the closure of the "new" Daily Mail barely 11 weeks after it first hit the streets.

It is true that the disappearance of a newspaper is not a happy event — attracting more attention, or at any rate more publicity, than, say, the shutting down of a factory for making carpet tiles.

In both cases people are thrown out of work and in both cases closure means the dashing of many unfulfilled hopes (carpet-tilers can also dream, can't they?)

But somehow a daily newspaper, such a flimsy and perishable product in the TV age, represents more than just the sum total of its workforce's activities. It is a highly visible, and vulnerable, public purveyor of information and the ideas and visions that spring from the community it serves.

When a paper dies, a voice is stilled, a viewpoint stifled. This is bad for society and bad for democracy. So, at least, runs the conventional argument.

Victim

However, sympathy over the Mail's closure should not blind us to the reasons for it, or the lessons it should teach us about the nature of newspapers — even in the "new" South African society which we are constantly assured awaits us.

Assertions that it was merely the victim of an overtraded morning newspaper market are superficial. Put simply, the Mail ran out of money to publish because it attracted few readers and even fewer advertisers.

The bottom line is that Mail was a failure. In commercial terms, it was a product without a market.

Exactly why this should be so is no great mystery, at least not to those of us who have spent much of our lives striving to produce saleable newspapers (and sometimes succeeding).

The Daily Mail is the second Johannesburg newspaper of that name to die within six years. Its namesake, the famous Rand Daily Mail, folded in

The Daily Mail failed because it was a product without a market, says Richard McNeill

1985 Its first mistake was to cast itself in the role of radical heir to the RDM. It was precisely the RDM's radicalism, combined with managerial inertia and journalistic arrogance, which led to its fatal financial losses.

Though there was no evidence of poor management affecting the new Mail, its radicalism was there for all to see.

Despite promising a more centrist attitude when it began publication in June, it quickly became clear the newspaper's primary purpose was to propagate the leftist point of view.

It developed the trade mark of the radical press — a combination of earnest whingeing, trendy cynicism and unrelieved grimness and gloom.

At the same time, its handling of bread-and-butter news left much to be desired. It contained some excellent, if occasionally esoteric, feature writing, but there was little for the "ordinary" person — the man in the street for whom politics is perhaps a worrying, though far from overwhelming, fact of life — to identify with.

Just as its politics fell into the you-will-believe-what-is-good-for-you school of advocacy journalism, so its appearance seemed to owe much to the notion that "if it is dull, it must be interesting".

Despite touches of elegance, it was not an easy paper to read — surely the first task of the intelligent typographer. These are serious, but not fatal, flaws. Had the Mail been operating in a strictly commercial environment, its editors could have been sacked and priorities changed.

But since the paper considered itself to be in the vanguard of the

"struggle" to change society rather than a vehicle for reflecting events, it would probably have had to be totally reborn under a different title.

The Mail's slogan of "the paper for a changing South Africa" failed to recognise the elementary truth that although society may change, people, on the whole, don't — at least not very quickly. More inapt was its rather snooty assertion that "not everybody" would want to read the Mail. Crushingly, it became true — hardly anybody did.

In its valedictory issue this week, the paper retreated to its weekly base showing little understanding of why it had been a publishing disaster.

An eloquent front page editorial had plenty to say about the fragility of the future of democracy, and the paper's commitment to "fundamental political, social and economic change".

Desires

Stirring stuff — but words that properly belong in the manifesto of a political party. Generally speaking, newspapers have no business fighting for anything except the right to carry on publishing without interference.

In the end the paper paid the price of ignoring the needs and desires of tens of thousands of potential readers.

By putting politics before people, it flew in the face of well-tryed publishing wisdom that unless you try to provide your audience with what they *want*, rather than what you think they *ought to want*, you stand a very good chance of losing your shirt.

The Mail's editors are not the first journalists to try to change the world. In the years ahead in South Africa, when rival ideologies will be jostling for a platform, I suspect they won't be the last.

At least, after this, there can be no illusions about the kind of newspapers people are prepared to pay for, and those they aren't. Like its predecessor, the Mail's plight was self-inflicted. But it might be that suicide is too harsh a verdict.

Perhaps we should just call it death by natural causes.

A LOOK INSIDE THE ANC

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In a journalistic first, the *FM* is publishing a Special Survey of the African National Congress on September 28. A complete departure from our usual concentration on business issues, the survey covers neither a company nor a sector of the economy — but a liberation movement in the painful process of adapting to political legality.

A team of writers headed by Peter Wilhelm and Amarnath Singh interviewed ANC leaders — including Nelson Mandela — for the project, which assesses the history of the movement, its role in negotiations for a new constitution, and its stance on a variety of crucial issues including the economy, sports and cultural policy.

In key areas, the ANC provided departmental panels who were questioned by *FM* specialists. A wide range of documentary evidence was consulted and memories were cast back to the Fifties and Sixties and the formation of Um-

khonto we Sizwe. There were recollections of prison life and operations and linkages with other movements like PAC, NP and communists were probed.

The influence of the Communist Party on the ANC is specifically addressed — and the number and names of communists on the national executive committee is for the first time given in full.

The survey was conducted with the cooperation of the ANC but reflects solely the *FM* view of the movement, its credibility and prospects.

Much new information came to light — including Mandela's current position on socialism, the status of the sports boycott (that is, when it could be lifted) and the extent of pragmatism or otherwise on controversial economic matters such as nationalisation and fiscal policy. The initial response indicates that this could be the best-read survey ever published by the *FM* — and will remain a reference work for the future.

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When the long-time editor of *The Natal Mercury*, James McMillan, announced last week that he will be taking early retirement, the Durban newspaper's rumour mill began churning at full speed. Immediately, fears grew that the 138-year-old morning paper

BUSINESS

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would be combined with the afternoon *Daily News* into a 24-hour publication.

Those fears have been put to rest — at least for now. Argus Holdings CE and Argus Newspapers chairman Douglas Band says the group is "committed to the concept of keeping *The Mercury* as Durban's morning newspaper." And Ed Booth, MD of Natal Newspapers, the Argus subsidiary that owns the Durban newspapers, says he sees no reason to make any changes and that, personally, he is not keen on the idea of a 24-hour publication.

That still leaves the question of who will succeed McMillan, who has held the post since 1971, when he leaves early next year.

Favourite for the editor's chair is Deon du Plessis, deputy editor of *The Argus* in Cape Town. Band says the Argus board has not decided on McMillan's successor and a range of candidates is being considered. But he agrees that Du Plessis would be high on the list.

Other names doing the rounds are present deputy editor Miles Mattson and *Sunday Tribune* editor Jonathan Hobday. But with Band scotching rumours that the *Mercury* is about to be absorbed by the much larger *Daily News*, both candidates now seem far less likely than Du Plessis.

The thinking was that if the *Mercury* was to be part of a 24-hour operation, Mattson, a highly respected senior editor due for retirement in a few years, would have been an ideal caretaker through the transition. Alternatively, Hobday could have taken on dual editorship of both the *Tribune* and the *Mercury*.

Two recent developments supported the belief among *Mercury* staffers that they were heading for a 24-hour publication.

First was Robinson Group Holdings' sale late last year of its controlling share in former *Mercury* parent, Robinson & Co, to Times Media Ltd (TML). This firmly entrenched the *Mercury* in the Argus stable because Robinson & Co had the right to set editorial policy at the *Mercury*, even though it owned only a minority share of the paper's parent, Natal Newspapers. With the sale of Robinson & Co to TML, Argus, which owns the major slice of Natal Newspapers, can now appoint *The Mercury's* editors.

The second was the more recent change in operations at Argus's *Star*, which saw Johannesburg's major afternoon newspaper virtually operating on a 24-hour basis.

Until 1985, the *Mercury* was family-owned and independent. It then merged with Argus's Durban newspapers to form Natal Newspapers, with Argus holding 70% of the shares and Robinson & Co 30%. TML predecessor SA Associated Newspapers held 49% of Robinson & Co. TML now owns all of Robinson & Co, giving it a 30% interest in Natal Newspapers, owner of the *Post Natal*, *Tribune*, *Daily News* and *Mercury*.

The Argus influence seems to have revived the *Mercury*. After a 3,1% drop in the first half of 1988, its circulation increased by 1,2% to an average of 61 019 copies in the first half of last year, according to ABC figures, and has since picked up smartly. The

paper sold an average of 65 690 copies in the first half of this year.

Growth in circulation of the afternoon *Daily News* has been slower over the past 18 months — though it sells substantially more copies, averaging 103 972 in the first six months of this year.

Shaun Harris

MOTOR INDUSTRY

HELP FROM THE EAST?

Japanese vehicle producers may soon lift restrictions on exports to SA, say local manufacturers.

They're hoping this month's talks between US President George Bush and SA President F W de Klerk will clear the way for a resumption of normal trade.

At least one SA manufacturer expects the restrictions, imposed in 1988, to be abandoned completely "by next year." Others expect they'll be phased out.

Japanese motor companies imposed "voluntary" export restrictions under pressure from their government's Ministry of International Trade & Industry (Miti). Miti itself was responding to threats of US trade reprisals if Japanese companies sought to benefit from large-scale US disinvestment from SA.

Since 1988, individual Japanese vehicle producers have restricted SA exports to 1987 yen levels. By pegging the limit to the low-inflation yen rather than the rand, the decision enabled SA companies to maintain orders at relatively stable levels. What it stopped them doing was increasing orders.


Recently, however, Miti quietly changed the rules and pegged levels to 1987 US dollar values. SA manufacturers say the change came as a surprise and they are still trying to assess the longer-term effect.

Though the market decline in the last two years has removed some of the pressure, vehicle sales are still running well above

AUGUST VEH

		CAR!
August 1990	20 460	August 1989
Jan-August 1990	142 728	Jan-August 1989
July (18 367) to August		
		LIGHT COMA
August 1990	10 138	August 1989
Jan-August 1990	76 224	Jan-August 1989
July (9 526) to August		
		MEDIUM COMA
August 1990	464	August 1989
Jan-August 1990	3 312	Jan-August 1989
July (413) to August		
		HEAVY COMA
August 1990	784	August 1989
Jan-August 1990	5 229	Jan-August 1989
July (650) to August		
		TOTAL VEH
August 1990	31 846	August 1989
Jan-August 1990	227 493	Jan-August 1989
July (28 956) to August		

Source: National As



RAND BLAST: Police inspect one of the cars damaged in last night's blasts outside Beeld's premises in Johannesburg

Bombs blast Rand newspaper offices

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Two bombs exploded within seconds outside the offices here of the Afrikaans morning newspaper Beeld, causing extensive damage but no injuries.

The first bomb, believed to be made up of commercial explosives, was placed under a blue Volkswagen Citi Golf, owned by Mr Willem Pretorius, arts editor, that was parked near the entrance in Miller Street, Doornfontein. It detonated about 11.05 last night. Several windows in the newspaper building were shattered.

A second device, apparently placed near a delivery truck in First Street, detonated seconds later, shattering more windows, including those of an industrial firm across the street. The explosion caused employees in Beeld's dispatch section metres away to flee the premises.

Within minutes of the explosions police had cordoned off streets and were combing the glass-strewn pavements for a possible third device.

The police liaison officer for the Witwatersrand, Captain Eugene Opperman, said no mo-

tive had been established yet for the blasts.

Mr Pretorius said the newspaper's production was not affected by the explosions.

"We heard a terrific bang and I looked out of the window and saw it was my car. It happened just on deadline ... and then the other one went off. We told everyone to stay in the office in case there was another one."

Mr Pretorius said he believed rightwingers were responsible.

PATTERN OF ATTACKS

"We've been threatened by the right several times recently and while it hasn't been confirmed yet, a policeman told me commercial explosives were used."

"We've been constant in our criticism of the right but I can't think of any recent report which would have motivated the attack."

Mr Pretorius said he believed the explosions, coming in the wake of the recent blast at the offices of the Afrikaans weekly Vrye Weekblad, could be part of a pattern of attacks against the media.

Daily Mail publishes its last edition

TODAY's edition of the fledgling Daily Mail would be the last, co-editor Anton Harber confirmed last night. (243)

He said the decision to close the newspaper after just three months was taken at a staff meeting yesterday morning.

The feeling among staff was one of "great sadness".

Harber said he was unable to say how many of the Daily Mail's 115 staff members would be employed on the Weekly Mail, which had been strengthened by the publication of a daily newspaper.

However, it is believed that up to half

PETER DELMAR

the personnel could be retrenched and that employees will be told their fate today.

The Mail warned last week that it had just two days within which to raise sufficient new capital to keep it afloat. The appeal brought in only R150 000.

Asked about reports that a number of financial backers had pulled out, Harber said "no one pulled out per se. Some of them believed that some of the money would be better spent on a weekly than on sustaining the daily".

BIDAY 4/9/70

Pressing problems

8 Times 9/9/90

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THE debate on how the media will fit into a new South Africa has become pressing as the so-called "Alternative Press" contemplates its future without foreign funding

It is generally understood that their backers are to withdraw financial support in the not-too-distant future — "not-too-distant" being a euphemism for far sooner than they would like

Kept newspapers, it would appear, like kept women, rarely endure. Their keepers grow tired of them and, as the publishers of the Daily Mail have learned at considerable cost, newspapers are voracious mistresses

At the core, the debate on media futures is about who owns and controls the mass media in this country and, by implication, who controls the flow of information

It is a debate which has ranged from calls for outright nationalisation of all media, so that the State would control the entire information flow, to the passionate libertarian defence of market-driven media, which argues that all information must compete

Kerry Swift detects a shift in the ANC away from nationalisation of the Press to a search for subsidies for smaller newspapers

in a free marketplace of ideas and in which anyone can have access to the market

Although this debate tends to be somewhat academic, and is being conducted away from the public eye, it is of fundamental importance to all South Africans because the freedom of the media — or the lack of it — is a litmus test for the level of freedom we can expect from the much-vaunted post-apartheid society

Quality

It is also important because it could greatly affect the future content, quality and price of our newspapers, television and radio, because it is possible that the people debating these points today will be the same people exercising power over our media tomorrow

And lest we forget the example of Zimbabwe's disastrous Press Trust, not all "democrats" employ equally democratic means

So we should take it seriously enough to consider that at about the same time that executives at the Daily Mail were agonising over the decision to close their newspaper, Rhodes University's Department of Journalism and Media Studies was hosting a high-level workshop to address the vexed question of media policy

It was one of the first occasions on which senior mem-

bers of the commercial, alternative and State media could grapple with their futures against the background of emerging policy statements from the ANC, the South African Communist Party and other political players, all of which traditionally have eyed the media with keen, if somewhat jaundiced, interest.

Legacy

The first, and most fundamental, view to emerge is that neither the ANC nor the SACP appears to favour nationalising existing media, although they do tend to make a special case of the SABC

Second, and equally fundamental, is a growing public commitment to a diversity of opinion and dissent in the media, both of which are hallmarks of democratic society

These views, however, may be governed less by concerns for freedom of the Press than by the realisation that in the glasnost era any attempt by a government espousing democratic values to nationalise media would seriously damage its local and international credibility and, of course, the credibility of the nationalised media

Who, after all, can seriously argue the virtues of State-controlled media in the wake of freedom's calamity in Eastern Europe over the past few decades?

Not even the SACP, with its legacy of silent consent to

Soviet tyranny and obfuscation, can peddle that old ideological baggage any longer. And, indeed, they do not

In the case of the communists, however, their sudden discovery of the virtues of dissent and diversity of opinion warrants more than a moment's reflection

On historical precedent alone, communists will have to live for some considerable time with the healthy scepticism of free men

And, of course, it tends to be a scepticism that washes over the ANC as well because of its "special relationship" with the SACP

The old attacks on media monopoly are also tempered by a growing realisation from the broad Left that a major reason for the concentration of media in the hands of only a few companies is because those companies are good at their business and if they were not so good, marginal newspapers would long ago have closed, even further limiting the public's access to information

System

But what is emerging from all the talk shops are a number of suggestions on the way ahead, among them a subsidy system for small, independent newspapers to be administered through a politically independent Media Council

The suggestion seems to be that the commercial Press provide the subsidy finance,

or that a special tax be levied on advertising

And while there is a general distrust of any outside interference in their business, the commercial media companies are not entirely deaf to calls for greater popular access to their publications

Perhaps the latest and most interesting proposal, however, comes from Harvey Tyson, editor-in-chief of The Star, who suggests established publishing groups could offer alternative and special-interest newspapers privileged access to their printing, distribution, training and syndication services — and even offer the benefit of their management expertise so that the greatest possible variety of views can be put before the general reading public without damaging the commercial viability of the mainstream Press

Criticism

His suggestion that alternative newspapers can, for example, "piggy-back" existing newspapers could offer a real contribution to broadening democracy, while blunting much of the criticism of informational exclusivity levelled at the commercial media by emerging political forces

While these suggestions from the mainstream media are being seen in certain quarters as cynical attempts to circumvent nationalisation, serious media analysts regard them as a positive flowering of the whole debate on the future of the media in this country

● Kerry Swift is a senior lecturer in the Department of Journalism and Media Studies at Rhodes University, Grahamstown

Mail's death puts 40 out of work

MATTHEW CURTIN ²⁴³

THE closure of the Daily Mail had led to 35% of the newspaper group's staff being retrenched, Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber said yesterday.

About 40 people, mostly in administrative and office service positions, out of a total staff complement of 115 had received one month's notice.

Newsroom staff were least affected. ^{11/9/90}

The company had set up a special fund with company and staff contributions to help those people who were unemployed and who faced financial hardship once they had formally left the organisation

Retrenched staff who had found new employment would not be given financial assistance

Harber said the retrenchment package was worked out in consultation with staff, the SA Union of Journalists and the Association of Democratic Journalists.

The paper was also running a job list to help former employees find new employment.

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FOR THE PARTIAL

Sage interdict application postponed

AN APPLICATION by Sage Holdings to prevent the publication of an article in the Financial Mail was postponed until Friday by a Rand Supreme Court judge yesterday *12/19/90*

Mr Justice M Joffe made this decision in chambers last night

Advocate John Myburgh SC, acting for Sage Holdings, requested that the application for an interdict be heard in chambers and that

TIM COHEN
the argument about whether it ought to be heard in chambers also be heard in chambers

Advocate Jules Browde SC said the action was brought against the Financial Mail and four other defendants in order to prevent the journal publishing an article

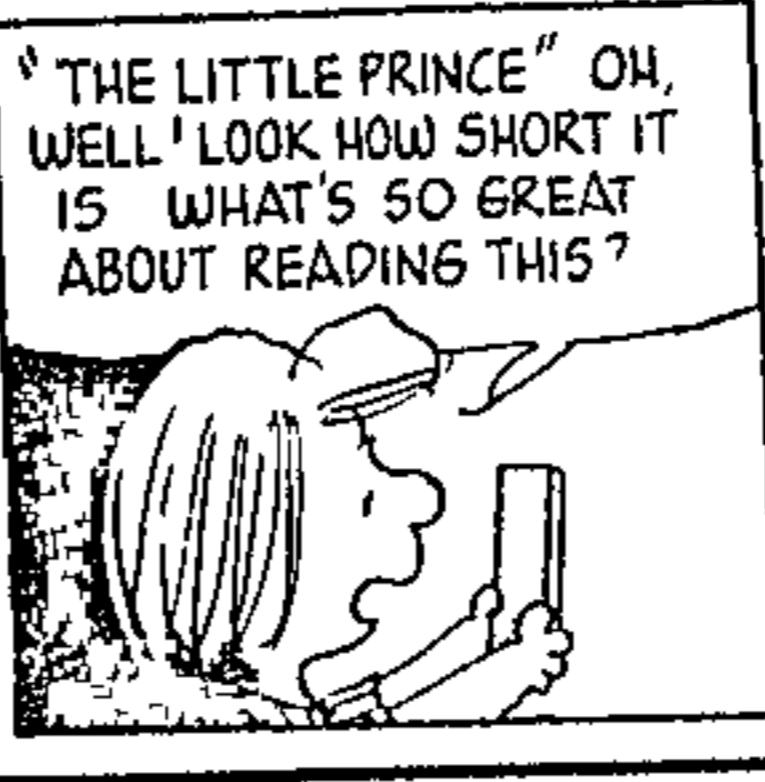
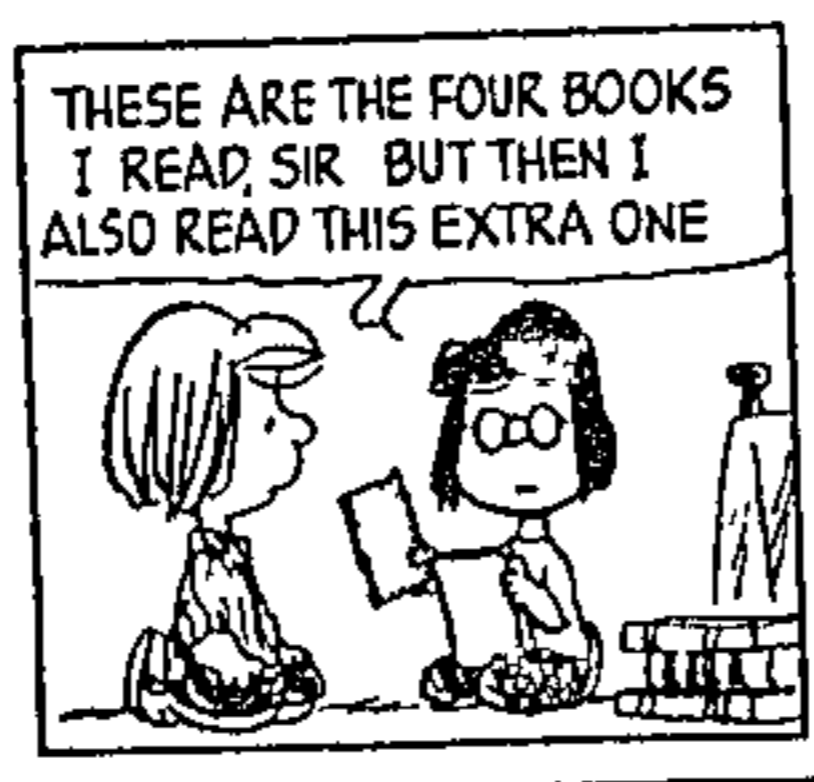
He said he intended arguing against the matter be-

ing heard in chambers
He said he also intended arguing that even if the matter ought to have been regarded as urgent at any stage, this was no longer the case

The judge decided that further argument should be heard in chambers and subsequently ordered that the hearing of the matter be postponed until Friday when it would be heard in camera

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



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SAM MABE SCHOLARSHIP FOR JOURNALISM SET UP

THE establishment of a R20 000 Sam Mabe Memorial Scholarship for journalism was announced last night by leading businessman Mr Raymond Ackerman during an award banquet in Johannesburg.

The Four Young Outstanding South African award banquet was held to honour the achievements of musician Mr Johnny

SA Press Association

Clegg of the group Savuka; Mr James Chapman, managing director of the South African Black Taxi Association, Mr Martin Rosen, a paraplegic environmental activist and marketing director; and Mr Max du Preez, editor of the independent

Afrikaans weekly newspaper *Vrye Weekblad*. The late Sam Mabe, a former assistant editor of *Sowetan*, "had a clear vision of a new, better and rehabilitated South Africa, and his memory, convictions and values needed to be perpetuated" said Ackerman.

The award for the four-year duration of the Bachelor of Journalism degree at Rhodes University will be granted "especially to a student, like Sam, from a disadvantaged background". Mabe had been an outspoken champion of a free Press, and along with his immense contribution to education and the concept of "nation-building" had left an indelible mark on South Africa. - *Sapa*

Sowetan 12/9/90

SAVING OTHER VOICES

FIM 1419190
 Two of the country's largest publishing empires are doing their bit to save alternative publications from closure.

On Monday, an agreement was signed between the Caxton group and *The Weekly Mail*. Caxton, which prints the paper, has agreed to write off the *Mail*'s debts to it over six months and give it advice and assistance in reaching its financial targets, according to *Mail* co-editor Anton Harber.

But he stresses: "This isn't a take-over and it won't affect the independence of the publication. Caxton agreed that we have a viable business plan. We have doubled the size of our advertising department and are confident we'll be able to increase our advertising revenue sufficiently."

Says Caxton's Noel Coburn. "We're sympathetic and are looking at ways to help them, but we also believe the paper has a

reasonable chance financially — especially with a R1,50 cover price and if it keeps its circulation over 30 000."

Meanwhile, *Frontline* appeared as a supplement to *The Sunday Star* for the first time this week after an Argus group bail-out. The 11-year-old publication will now appear quarterly. It will still be available on subscription to readers outside *The Sunday Star*'s PWV circulation area.

Denis Beckett, editor of *Frontline*, admits the paper was nearly bankrupt in July, when it started discussions with Argus.

Says *Star* GM Jolyon Nuttall: "*Frontline* adds value to *The Sunday Star* and is in tune with its positioning. It's important to encourage a diversity of media in the country."

As an insert in *The Sunday Star*, *Frontline* has increased its circulation from 12 000 to 100 000. Beckett says that from July 1987 to February 1989, *Frontline* was managed by the Argus group under contract, but the agreement was wound up after *Frontline* accumulated considerable debt with the group. This debt will eventually be paid off as part of the agreement.

Libel loss

Earlier this year, *Frontline* lost a libel suit to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and was ordered to pay a R12 000 fine and a considerably higher sum in court costs, which threatened to put the magazine out of business. But, in June, a number of institutions and individuals, including the SA Council of Churches, stepped in and paid most of the debt.

1419190 (S) (S)

The magazine is still owned by a separate company, Saga Press, and Beckett hopes it will eventually become a separate profit centre.

Frontline joins half a dozen other *Sunday Star* magazine supplements, on issues such as money, wine and eating out. Nuttall says the advertising support for the first issue of *Frontline* was sufficient to justify the venture from a commercial point of view.

Stephen Cranston

'Rocky 2' intervenes, saves day!

ELIAS MALULEKE

A BLACK policeman from Vosloorus on the East Rand has earned himself the nickname "Rocky 2" - after Lt Gregory Rockman of Cape Town - because he intervened between white police and residents in an explosive situation.

Sgt Hosea Mogashoa of the SAP in Vosloorus became the hero of the residents this week for possibly stopping a bloodbath in the township.

His mainly white colleagues were attempting to disperse a crowd of about 5 000 who had gathered near the Sotho hostel to witness its demolition on Tuesday - when he stepped in and appealed to police not to use force.

The crowd had earlier been told by a delegation of women that the hostel would be demolished by 2pm.

Earlier, Vosloorus mayor MM Sinukula told *City Press* it was not true the Sotho hostel would be demolished that afternoon.

"We told them the hostel dwellers had been given until the 21st of this month to vacate the hostel."

City Press was at the scene as the crowd started to swell from 1.30pm while black policemen monitored the situation.

As 2.30pm approached, heavily armed white policemen arrived in Casspirs - and took up positions to disperse the crowd.

However, Mogashoa stepped in and said there was no need to use force against residents. He was supported by several of his black colleagues.

Mogashoa was heard remarking: "People want the hostel down. They want peace and want to sleep peacefully because they are tired of shedding tears for their dead - the killings must stop."

Members of the crowd roared with approval and there were chants of "Rocky! Rocky!" - an apparent reference to Rockman - from the youths.

During the chaos, a white police lieutenant came forward, wanting to know why the police were not taking action against the residents.

Mogashoa came forward to explain - but was told the crowd had only five minutes in which to disperse.

Mogashoa objected and pointed out five minutes was not enough for such a large crowd to disperse.

He told the lieutenant the black policemen at the scene would personally disperse the crowd - and appealed to white policemen not to interfere.

Mogashoa then appealed to the crowd to disperse before action was taken against them.

"Please return to your homes before more blood is spilled," he said, giving the crowd directions and urging them on.

The crowd heeded his appeal and started to move off the streets - and gradually dispersed into their yards. No teargas was fired.

City Press has established that Mogashoa, a married father of three, has constantly been informing the station commander about the danger of hostels - and asked that hostels be demolished to avoid further deaths.

He has even gone to the extent of asking for a Casspir for use by off-duty black police volunteers - to patrol the streets without pay. This has not been done.

Approached at his home for comment, the police sergeant said he had been told that his conduct at the hostel would be investigated.

"If the department wants to take action against me, they can, but I am only a human being. I am here to serve the community and I must assist them where possible."

Major RA Crewe of the SAP division of public relations in Pretoria denied as "false" allegations that black policemen prevented their white colleagues from using force to disperse an illegal gathering in Vosloorus on Tuesday.

Asked about possible disciplinary action against black Vosloorus policemen, Crewe said disciplinary action was taken against members from time to time, but this was a "departmental" matter.

Crewe denied as "false" that black policemen had asked for a Casspir to patrol the township while off-duty.

He said a Casspir was in fact "dispatched to patrol the streets after information was received that certain houses might be attacked".

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Sgt Hosea Mogashoa defuses a tense crowd in Vosloorus this week. "I'm only a human being. I'm here to serve the community and must assist them where possible," he said after hearing he might face disciplinary action for his effort to prevent violence. ■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

Zwelithini lashes out at media

ZULU King Goodwill Zwelithini said yesterday that marches and boycotts were unnecessary and intimidation had to end.

He also accused the news media of provoking people into killing each other. *Stellen 18/9/90*

After he and Transkei President Tutor Ndamase met State President FW de Klerk, Zwelithini said people had to be free to work.

He thanked De Klerk for security arrangements for the two leaders while addressing peace rallies on Sunday at Tokoza and Soweto.

"Our message to the State President was cordial and we saw him for the first time," the king said.

"The news media is provoking our people to kill each other. It is our black people who are being killed and the news media are owned by white people."

Zwelithini said the media had incorrectly reported the Sunday peace rallies and called on the media to help bring peace to strife-torn areas. He did not elaborate.

- Sapa

ANC funding: Lonrho mum

CAN 1/2/90 19/9/90
Own Correspondent

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LONDON — Lonrho, the multinational conglomerate, has declined to comment on reports that it is considering funding a pro-ANC daily newspaper in South Africa.

The company's press liaison head has this week declined to respond to inquiries about a report in the latest edition of Africa Confidential, in which it is claimed Lonrho is "toying with the idea" of establishing such a newspaper.

The journal says "The demise of the liberal Daily Mail leaves the ANC with no sympathetic daily at all."

It notes that "Lonrho has at various times owned newspapers in several African countries."

● The company has also declined to comment on a claim in the same publication that it intends constructing a railway to link the Namibian rail system to that of Zambia.

Africa Confidential says "Lonrho-watchers" had detected the implementation of a strategy to "control the key communication routes of Southern Africa."

Sam Mabe's memory lives

A R20 000 journalism scholarship in honour of the late Mr Sam Mabe, former Assistant Editor of the *Sowetan*, is being

sponsored by Pick 'n Pay.

Mabe was slain by two gunmen after he had dropped off people in Jabulani, Soweto in July.

Details of the scholarship for study at the School of Journalism at Rhodes University in Grahamstown were announced recently by Pick 'n Pay chairman Mr Raymond Ackerman.

It is to be named the

Sam Mabe Memorial Scholarship and will cover all costs for the full four-year bachelor of journalism degree.

"We have especially requested that the scholarship be awarded to a student, like the late Sam Mabe, from a disadvantaged background," Ackerman said.

"Sam Mabe had a clear vision of a new, bet-

ter and rehabilitated South Africa and his memory, convictions and values need to be perpetuated. (243)

"He was an outspoken champion of a free Press and, along with his immense contribution to education and the concept of 'nation-building', he left an indelible mark on South Africa in his relatively short life.

Scholarship

Nov. 24/90

in honour of

Sam Mabe

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A R20 000 scholarship in honour of the late Sam Mabe, former assistant editor of the Sowetan, is being sponsored by Pick 'n Pay.

Mr Mabe was slain by two gunmen in Jabulani, Soweto, in July

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"We have requested that the scholarship be awarded to a student, like the late Sam Mabe, from a disadvantaged background," Mr Ackerman said.

"Sam Mabe had a clear vision of a new, better and rehabilitated South Africa and his memory, convictions and values need to be perpetuated," he added

Sage gets interdict

SUSAN RUSSELL

(243)

THE Financial Mail was prohibited by a Rand Supreme Court judge yesterday from using information on Sage Holdings Ltd based on unlawful taps on telephones owned and/or used by the company.

Mr Justice Joffe, after hearing an application by Sage Holdings in camera, interdicted the Financial Mail from publishing, disclosing or in any way disseminating this information. *By 26/9/90*

He also interdicted the financial publication from publicly disclosing or disseminating an Allied Group confidential document which contained information on its relationship with Sage.

Mr Justice Joffe ordered the Financial Mail to pay the costs of the application, including costs of two counsel

Arms rewards upped

LINDEN BIRNS

By 26/9/90 POLICE yesterday announced significantly higher rewards for the handing-in of dangerous arms and ammunition

A revised list of arms wanted by police includes SA-7 (SAM-7) ground-to-air missiles, anti-tank rockets and launchers, explosives, detonators, mines and firearms

Police are also offering R400 for every petrol bomb handed in. Police spokesman Maj Rex Maree said last night strict controls would be enforced to ensure that people were not making these in order to claim rewards

The latest SAP reward for anyone finding an SA-7 is R10 000 a 50% increase. Police have not yet found any.

Information leading to the arrest or death of a "terrorist" is rewarded with R3 000.

Klaaste dreams of putting it all back together

By JACQUELINE MYBURGH

At the launch banquet of Nation Building in 1988, Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the Sowetan newspaper, referred to the almost endless cycle of violence that was tearing communities and families apart throughout the country

Sharpeville in 1960, the 1976 riots in Soweto and the outbreak of violence in September 1984 were "terrible explosions" which planted the germ of an idea in Mr Klaaste's mind

"Blacks lost many things. Worst of all we all lost the innocence of our children," he said in his speech

He said then that there was a silent preparation by blacks for the next inevitable explosion and that someone had to

do something to stop the madness

The next explosion took place on the Reef two weeks ago.

Mr Klaaste said the outbreak of violence was the result of the destruction of the social fabric in the black townships. However, the carnage had sharpened peoples' desire to rebuild the structures

Nation Building means picking up the pieces and rebuilding all structures that have collapsed in the black community

"We face the prospect of massive political change in South Africa in the short to medium term. Are the people ready to assume the responsibilities that this change will bring?" Mr Klaaste asks

The visible evidence that Na-

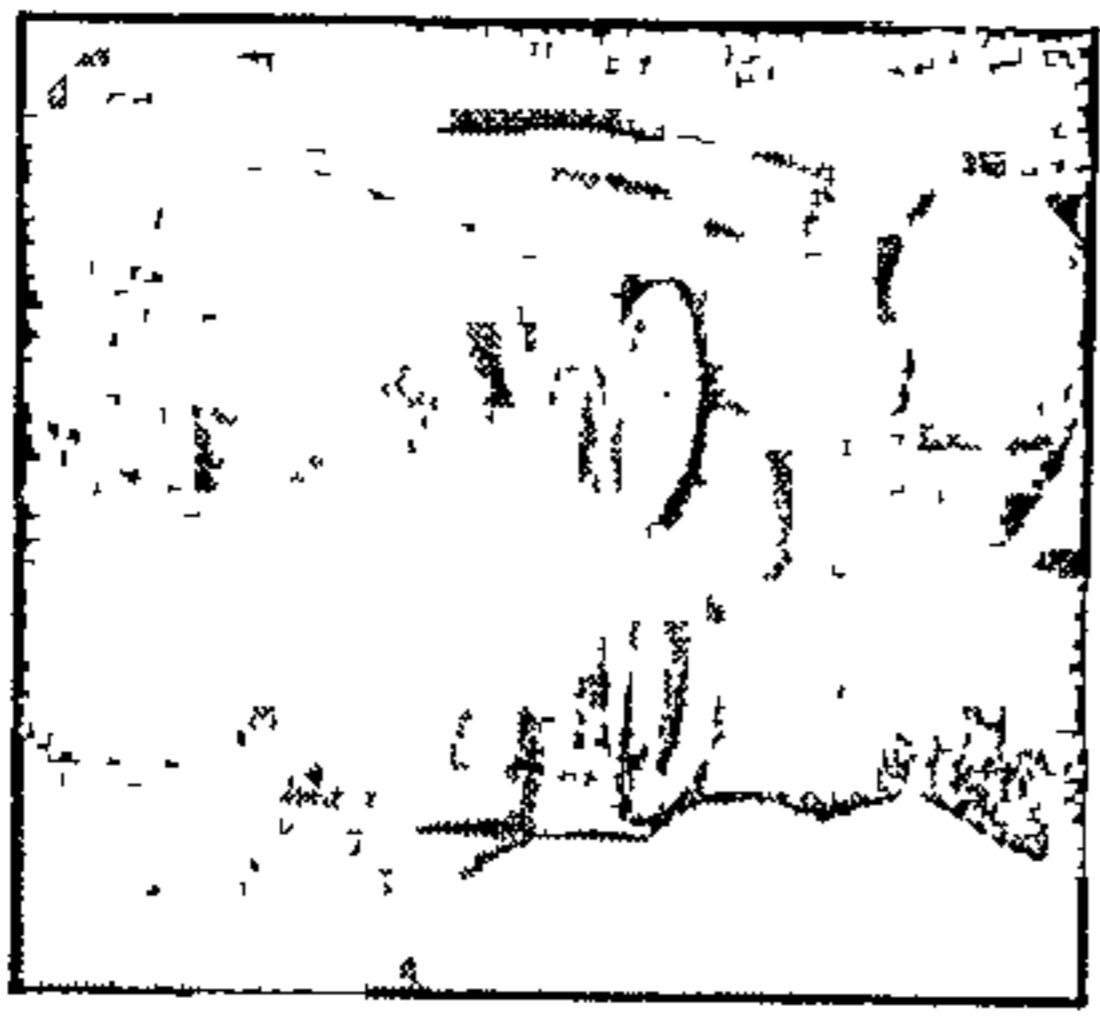
this year, and Mr Klaaste expects an excellent pass rate

Nation Building has also resulted in the creation of a remedial school in Soweto. Previously, children suffering from dyslexia or other learning disabilities were treated as mentally retarded and never given the extra attention they required

A business school has also been established to train entrepreneurs.

To highlight Nation Building's efforts, a Nation Building Festival has been planned for the whole of next month

The festival has been expanded to 40 events throughout the Transvaal. The emphasis is still on the main theme of Nation Building — "To rebuild the structures that have collapsed in our communities".



Aggrey Klaaste.

Nation Building is preparing blacks for this responsibility comes in the form of various community projects

A matric rewrite school at the Sowetan newspaper is putting 1 600 pupils through matric

The first event is a talk by a psychologist and a nutritionist on the crisis facing the nuclear family in the townships

Other events include a lecture on the job market, a small business exhibition, a school choir festival, a press seminar, a mass choir festival, a woman of the year luncheon, a business competition, and a soccer day and pop festival

Nation Building is "not ideologically based", Mr Klaaste says, but he hopes to get the okay from leaders of all political groupings for the Nation Building initiatives

Speaking two years ago, Mr Klaaste said Nation Building was something like a unilateral declaration of independence in style, in shift of thought and in the crucial role blacks would play in this country's future

Educating the masses

The Star, South Africa's largest daily newspaper, has long played a vital role in education — and is currently expanding its role in preparation for a new South Africa. (243) (ST) 510-28/9/90

Through its TEACH (Teach Every African Child) fund, the paper has already put about 250 000 children through school. And this year its READ educational Trust combined forces in the International Year of Literacy in an exciting project to buy books for schools.

With the launching of the TEACH fund in 1971, The Star challenged businessmen to donate R10 for each black person employed.

In the first two months, the campaign raised R15 000. By January 1976 TEACH had collected more than R1 million and had built 43 schools in the PWV area. Since then TEACH has passed the R2 million mark.

Weekblad wins bid to inspect police general's home

An application to inspect the Pretoria home of police forensics chief General Lothar Neethling was granted to Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez yesterday by the Rand Supreme Court. The application was

opposed by General Neethling, who was ordered to pay the costs of Vrye Weekblad's legal counsel.

The weekly said the application arose from an action of defamation instituted by General Neethling against the Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail, to be heard in the Rand Supreme Court in November.

Evidence of CCB-accused Captain Dirk Coetzee will be taken on commission in London from October 8 to 12.

Vrye Weekblad said in its application there was an urgent need to inspect General Neethling's residence because Captain Coetzee had claimed in evidence that the general had given him chemicals to poison alleged African National Congress insurgents.

Captain Coetzee was asked during evidence to describe the general's residence, to which he had allegedly gone to get the poisons — Sapa

Winnipeg welcomes charges, says Winnie

38 (1A) 25/9/90

By Dawn Barkhuizen and Monica Nicholson

Winnie Mandela yesterday welcomed the chance to defend herself on eight charges in connection with the alleged abduction and torture of four youths in Soweto in 1988.

In her first public statement since the announcement that she would be charged with four counts of kidnapping and four counts of assault with intent to commit grievous bodily harm, Mrs Mandela said, "I am unable to comment about a case that has not yet taken place, but I welcome the decision that at last I will be able to stand a proper trial and bear my name properly."

"Up to now I have been tried and found guilty by the media in South Africa, for their own purposes."

Asked to comment further on the trial by media she said "I will respond after the trial."

She was speaking after being allowed to leave Tokoza police station on the East Rand yesterday.

Mrs Mandela was held for about three hours after being found in possession of spent cartridges and one live cartridge at a SAP roadblock while en route to visit refugees in Phola Park at about 11 am.

Police public relations officer Colonel Steve van Rooyen said Mrs Mandela had been taken for questioning but not arrested.

Colonel van Rooyen said it is not unlawful to be in possession of spent cartridges, but

"Mrs Mandela apparently handed the shells to police at a roadblock. There is no crime involved."

Asked if she thought Mrs Mandela's actions were praiseworthy from a police point of view, Lieutenant van Zweekel said, "Yes, I believe so."

As she left the police station, wearing black leather, Mrs Mandela told pressmen that Phola Park residents had given her the cartridges when she visited the devastated settlement on Monday.

Evidence

She had been intending to show them to her husband, Nelson Mandela, as evidence of the shootings that took place last week.

Police had told her that she had no right to be in possession of empty cartridges, she said.

She said: "Police harassment has never been a surprise to the Mandela family or to myself or to the oppressed people of South Africa. I know I have personally been their barometer for years and I know that for as long as the present situation exists I will always be their political barometer through which they can measure the wrath of the people."

She added: "It is quite clear that the dirty methods they have been using are nowhere near being stopped. The one issue is coming to an end, so they must precipitate other issues. It is just a continuing of what has been going on."

Mrs Mandela went on to address some of the homeless



Winnie makes a statement ... Winnie Mandela, wife of African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela, leaves Tokoza police station yesterday after making a statement about spent cartridges found in her car when it was stopped at a police roadblock. Mrs Mandela later spoke to Phola Park residents.

Picture by Associated Press

Press duo in
broadcasting
task force

Staff Reporter

Aggrey Klaaste, editor of Sowetan, and Ton Vosloo, chairman of M-Net and managing director of Nasionale Pers, have been appointed additional members of the task force examining broadcasting in South Africa

In a statement last night, the Minister of Home Affairs and of National Education, Gene Louw, said Mr Vosloo would be vice-chairman of the group

The two would complement the collective expertise of group members.

Khala can go to conferences

By Celeste Louw

The general secretary of the Media Workers' Association of SA (Mwasa) succeeded yesterday in having his bail conditions amended to allow him to attend union conferences. He faces charges of armed robbery and attempted murder.

Sithembele Khala (32) asked permission of a Johannesburg magistrate not to report at the

Jabulani police station daily in September as Mwasa was involved in negotiations in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. Mr Khala was granted bail of R25 000 earlier this year after his arrest for allegedly robbing a branch of Nedbank in March.

According to the charge sheet, Mr Khala and a co-accused, Mchgwati Diseko (34), also allegedly attempted to shoot three men.



HARVEY TYSON: Retired as editor-in-chief of The Star this week

Earn right to be free — Tyson

INSTEAD of demanding freedom of the press South Africa's newspaper editors and media owners needed to ensure that the press deserved to be free, said Harvey Tyson on his retirement as editor-in-chief of The Star this week

Instead of demanding from the public the "right to speak our minds fearlessly and without regard to others' sensitivities", he said, newspapers ought to be persuading the people that the press deserved that right

"The press, whatever its present or future position, whatever its views, has a serious and uncompromising role to play in healing the wounds inflicted by violence and oppression and counter-violence

"We need, not so much a cause-oriented, propagandising or combative press, but one which will work hard at explaining both sides of each issue to all South Africans.

"We need in this period of instability and transition, media that will be constructive, not destructive. In a word, the press needs tolerance. We need less arrogance."

But that form of tolerance, said Mr Tyson, had a weakness

"It carries a latent virus. To be

'positive' and Pollyana-like, to be constructive and constantly cheerful, is to be misleading — or worse — manipulative. We must guard against that form of weakness, but we should also guard against being party to the aggressive propaganda put out by most interests seeking power or special privilege in an unstable political situation."

This, he said, did not mean that propagandists should not be allowed to run hard-hitting newspapers. It was essential that, from the beginning, all views whether extreme or moderate, should be allowed expression.

Peer pressure

"But we all need to be aware that we can be hard-hitting without being intolerant; critical without being emotionally or misleadingly destructive.

"These are qualities that cannot be legislated for or against. It requires peer pressure, something journalists need to think more about. But there is a second form of tolerance required in our society if we are to have a free press — tolerance by jour-

nalists of each other's views.

"Already there is the unedifying spectacle of journalists slinging mud at one part of the press or another in order to further their own or some political interest. The press, like freedom, is indivisible when it comes to its role in society and its basic rights. If we wish to attain freedom we need to spend more time being supportive of each other, regardless of positions and prejudices."

He said there also needed to be tolerance by newly-formed political parties of any press that opposed them

"Already there are ominous signs of threat, boycott and violence by some of the newly emerging political parties. Already black journalists are finding themselves worrying far less about state or proprietorial pressure, and much more about the possibility even of death at the hands of people in the community who disagree with their published views."

Tolerance, he said, was the key quality for national peace in the future and "requires priority attention now.

"We need to be firm and strong in encouraging tolerance — and intolerant of intolerance."

Star 29/9/90

CHRIS MOERDYK

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NEW GOVT GOVT ENVOY

By BARRY STREEK
 Political Staff

SUNDAY TIMES editor Mr Tertius Myburgh resigned yesterday with immediate effect to accept a plum diplomatic job — strongly tipped to be that of South African ambassador in London.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in a statement yesterday that Mr Myburgh had been approached to become a South African ambas-

sador and he had indicated he was available. Mr Botha said no conclusion had been reached as to where Mr Myburgh would be posted, but there are strong indications that it will be London.

The current ambassador there, Mr Ray Killen, is due to retire next year — and Mr Myburgh is expected to take up his new position early in 1991.

Mr Myburgh announced last night to the Sunday Times staff that he was resigning with immediate effect, but did not say where his next job would be taking him.

Shocked staffers said they were in the dark as to who would succeed Mr Myburgh at the helm of the country's largest-selling newspaper.

Times Media Limited are expected to announce a new editor today.

The possibility of Mr Myburgh serving at the Court of St James was raised yesterday in a Johannesburg afternoon newspaper. Mr Botha's statement, issued afterwards, did not deny this.

In terms of diplomatic protocol, the names of new ambassadors are not announced until they have been confirmed by host countries.

"Nothing has yet been decided about the specific country. When a decision has been reached, the country's government will have to be approached for its agreement," Mr Botha said.

"Only after that government has given approval, will an announcement be made."

A major shake-up of South Africa's top ambassadorial positions is on the cards, including the possible replacement of Dr Piet Koornhof in Washington.

It is also understood that the government has decided to withdraw its role interpreters or lobbyists, such as the former PFP MP for Bryanston Mr Horace van Rensburg, in Washington and the former SATV announcer, Mr Michael de Morgan, in London because the attitudes towards South Africa are improving to such an extent that they are no longer considered necessary.



Mr Tertius Myburgh

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CAH Temp 29/9/90

Nonracial Mwasa opens avenues

South 30/8 - 5/11/90

243

By CHIARA CARTER
THE decision by the Media and Allied Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) to open membership to all races has opened new avenues for organising workers in the print industry.

This is the view of Mwasa president, Ms Sandra Nagfaal.

Mwasa has about 13

000 members throughout the country.

Nagfaal, who works in the Argus mailing room, says she is a "reluctant president" because she finds it hard to juggle national commitments with being a mother of five.

Nagfaal began work at the Argus in 1979 as a casual worker and the following year was elected shopsteward in the South African Typographical Union (Satu).

She was one of the first workers to be signed up by the Writers' Association of South Africa (Wasa) and

became a shopsteward in the union.

She was involved in the strike for union recognition at the Argus.

Nagfaal said removing the word "black" from Mwasa's constitution was part of re-vamping the constitution, begun at the union's congress last year.

Motivating the change was a view that the clause contradicted Mwasa's commitment to a nonracial, democratic South Africa and was out of step with the changes that had occurred since Mwasa was formed at the height of the Black Consciousness era.

Unanimous

She described the debate around the issue as "good", saying regions had done their homework with members. The eventual decision was unanimous.

Mwasa was once viewed as the flagship of the BC movement.

Does the move signal a shift from a BC line in the union and a resolution of political tensions within

Mwasa?

"It is untrue to say we are Africanist or BC. No shop-floor is ever 100 percent supporters of any political grouping," Nagfaal said.

"It has never been Mwasa policy to align with any political organisation.

She cited a congress resolution that delegates should not wear political t-shirts or sing political songs.

"The workers' struggle comes before our different ideologies," Nagfaal said.

"There are tensions. These indicate we are active. We have Africanists, BC supporters and Charterists like myself on the NEC.

"At the end of the day, despite whatever political differences we might have, we take joint decisions."

Nagfaal says, although the union is firmly apolitical, individual members may support a particular political grouping.

Interest

Nagfaal says Mwasa's new nonracial constitution will facilitate this process.

Several white workers had expressed interest in signing up.

Mwasa organises both journalists and print workers.

Is this not a contradiction in view of the organisation's commitment to worker interests?

Clout

Nagfaal thinks not.

She said there were many interests that both groups share and that, while she understood the reasons for the formation of a journalist organisation like the Association of Democratic Journalists by many former Mwasa journalists, editorial workers were inevitably a small group lacking the collective clout to fight management on either wages or editorial policy.

Nonracial Mwasa opens avenues

South 308 - 59190

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By CHIARA CARTER
THE decision by the Media and Allied Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) to open membership to all races has opened new avenues for organising workers in the print industry.
This is the view of Mwasa president, Ms Sandra Nagfaal.
Mwasa has about 13

000 members throughout the country.
Nagfaal, who works in the Argus mailing room, says she is a "reluctant president" because she finds it hard to juggle national commitments with being a mother of five.
Nagfaal began work at the Argus in 1979 as a casual worker and the following year was elected shopsteward in the South African Typographical Union (Satu).
She was one of the first workers to be signed up by the Writers' Association of South Africa (Wasa) and

became a shopsteward in the union.
She was involved in the strike for union recognition at the Argus.
Nagfaal said removing the word "black" from Mwasa's constitution was part of re-vamping the constitution, begun at the union's congress last year.
Motivating the change was a view that the clause contradicted Mwasa's commitment to a nonracial, democratic South Africa and was out of step with the changes that had occurred since Mwasa was formed at the height of the Black Consciousness era.

Unanimous

She described the debate around the issue as "good", saying regions had done their homework with members. The eventual decision was unanimous.
Mwasa was once viewed as the flagship of the BC movement.
Does the move signal a shift from a BC line in the union and a resolution of political tensions within

Mwasa?
"It is untrue to say we are Africanist or BC. No shop-floor is ever 100 percent supporters of any political grouping," Nagfaal said.
"It has never been Mwasa policy to align with any political organisation.

She cited a congress resolution that delegates should not wear political t-shirts or sing political songs.
"The workers' struggle comes before our different ideologies," Nagfaal said.
"There are tensions. These indicate we are active. We have Africanists, BC supporters and Charterists like myself on the NEC.

"At the end of the day, despite whatever political differences we might have, we take joint decisions."

Nagfaal says, although the union is firmly apolitical, individual members may support a particular political grouping.

Interest

Nagfaal says Mwasa's new nonracial constitution will facilitate this process.

Several white workers had expressed interest in signing up.

Mwasa organises both journalists and print workers.

Is this not a contradiction in view of the organisation's commitment to worker interests?

Clout

Nagfaal thinks not.
She said there were many interests that both groups share and that, while she understood the reasons for the formation of a journalist organisation like the Association of Democratic Journalists by many former Mwasa journalists, editorial workers were inevitably a small group lacking the collective clout to fight management on either wages or editorial policy.

Ken Owen is the new Sunday Times editor

5 Times 3019190
 KEN OWEN, editor of Business Day and former editor of the Sunday Express, has been appointed editor of the Sunday Times. (243)

Mr Owen, 55, succeeds Tertius Myburgh, who is taking up a diplomatic post abroad. Mr Myburgh relinquished his job on Friday. He is taking early retirement.

Mr Owen, who served as assistant editor of the Sunday Times from 1977-1981, and later for a brief period as managing editor of the Rand Daily Mail, is widely known as a political columnist. He spent 10 years in the United States representing Argus newspapers.

From 1986 until this week he was editor of Times Media's financial daily Business Day. His column on Mondays quickly became the most talked-about political commentary in any newspaper. Mr Owen said yesterday: "The Sunday Times is a great challenge."

"The role of a newspaper, especially during a time of transforming change such as we are now entering, is to discern and define issues so that its readers can make informed judgments."

"However, the Sunday Times is an institution. It is a complex and varied product and it includes a great deal of entertainment and fun. No one would want to change that."

Legacy

Mr Myburgh, also 55, was editor of the Sunday Times for nearly 16 years. During that time the paper consolidated its circulation into the biggest in South Africa.

The latest sales figure of 538 003 is an all-time high.

In a statement last night, TML paid tribute to Mr Myburgh's distinguished career in editorship, starting with the Pretoria News in 1970 and culminating in his brilliant editorship of the Sunday Times.

"He leaves the company with its very best wishes," said the statement.

MD Stephen Mulholland said Mr Myburgh's departure left behind "a great legacy — he has done an outstanding job and leaves the Sunday Times at its peak."

Mr Myburgh's diplomatic posting has not yet been disclosed.

On Friday, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said no specific country had yet been decided on.

Goodbye

When it had, the country's government would be approached for its agreement — standard diplomatic practice — before an announcement could be made.

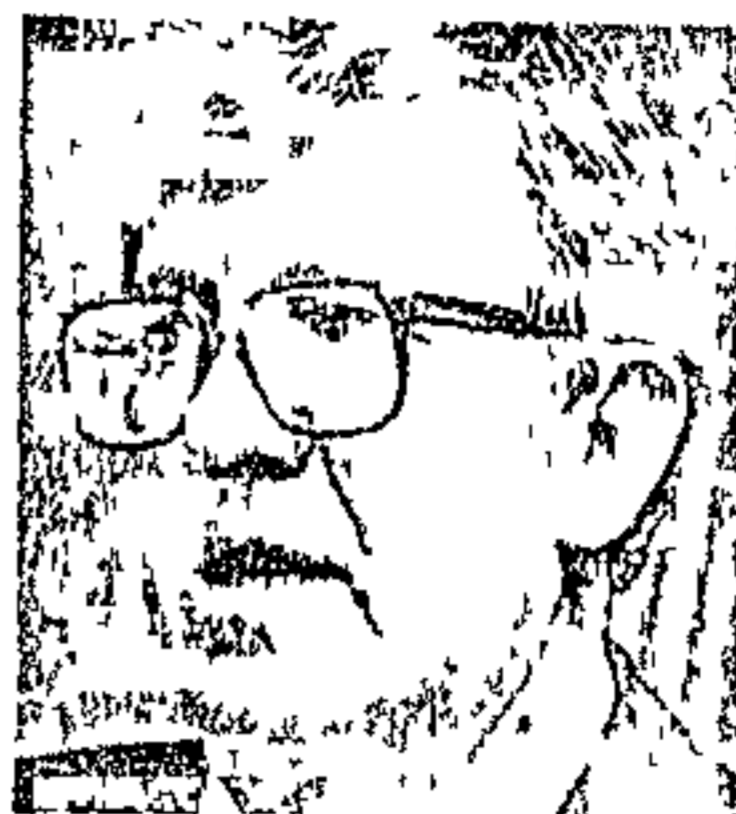
Yesterday, Mr Myburgh enjoyed the unusual relaxation of being at home in Johannesburg with his family on a Saturday instead of at his editor's post.

He said he was sad to leave journalism after 35 years.

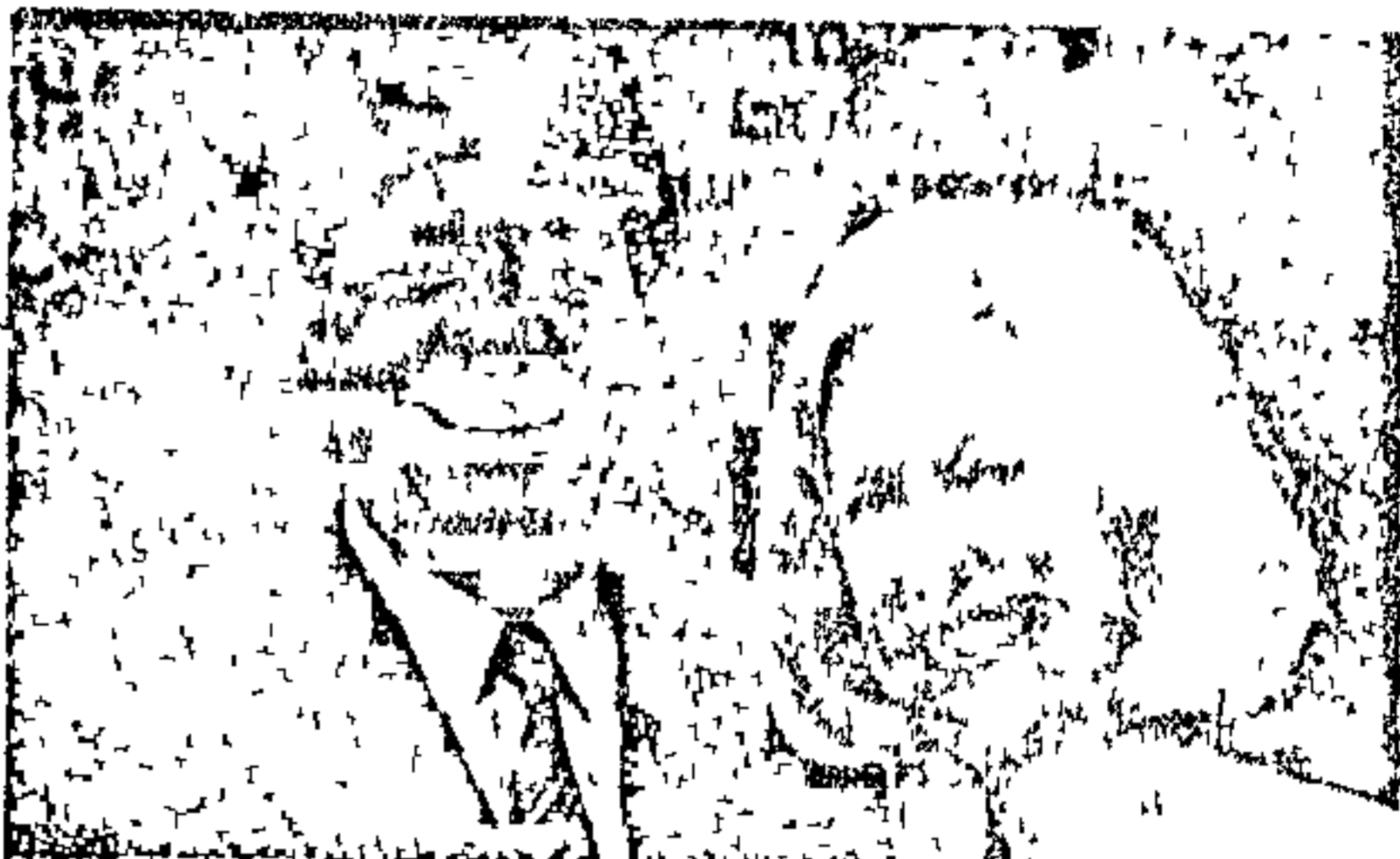
"Maybe it is better things happened so quickly. It is not easy to say goodbye to a place you love."

"I am delighted to leave at a time when there is a government that seems to understand the importance of the freedom of information and has restored many of the liberties of the Press."

Of his successor he said "Ken is an excellent pro-



NEW CHALLENGE
 Ken Owen



RELAXING: Ex-editor Tertius Myburgh and wife Helmine in Johannesburg yesterday. Picture: JAMES SOULLIER

PICK 6

TURFFONTEIN
 There were 1 04 winners with each collecting a dividend of R1 180,00. Numbers 12; 2, 1, 4, 5, 6, 6, 3.

SCOTTSVILLE
 18 punters collected a payout of R23 863,40 each. Selections 7, 11; 1, 6, 4, 5, 7.

JOHN

Owen is the new editor

JIM JONES MANDLA TYALA
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 fessional and a friend of 30 years' standing. The paper is in very good hands.
 Mr Myburgh said the reason he had given up "a very happy and secure career in an excellent company" was because he was excited by the challenge of diplomacy.
 "I think there is still every-thing to play for in South Africa. We have closed the old book and have opened an exciting new one."
 Mr Owen's appointment

CHERYLYN IRETON HOUSEN KOLIA
 Mr Tyala, 31, has just returned from a year at Harvard. He has worked at TML for over 10 years and distinguished himself as a columnist and news reporter.
 ● Hosen Kolia, Durban bureau chief of the Sunday Times, becomes an assistant editor of the Sunday Times. Aged 38, he has managed the editorial affairs of TML in Natal for many years.
 ● Cherylyn Iretton, 27, deputy financial editor of Business Day, becomes an assistant editor of Business Day.

Daily Mail won't be sold to the ANC

THE publishers of *The Daily Mail* have denied reports that the newspaper is to be sold to the African National Congress. W/Mail 31/8 - 2/9/90

"There have been informal and very helpful discussions with ANC leaders, amongst others, to explain the situation in which the newspaper finds itself. However, there is no discussion about the possibility of ownership.

"*The Daily Mail* meanwhile continues to explore all possibilities to raise the money to ensure the maintenance of the newspaper as an independent and outspoken voice," co-editor Anton Harber said in a statement. (243)

"If the money is not found to save the newspaper, the company is due to return to publishing *The Weekly Mail* alone. A decision is to be made on September 7."
