

PRESS

2 JAN. 1981 —

29 MARCH 1981

*Argus 2/1/81*

# Argus awaits reply

*Argus 2/1/81*

Argus Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. — The Argus Company is still awaiting a Government answer to its application for re-registration of Post Transvaal, the Sunday Post and the Sowetan, according to Post's manager, Mr John Gittins.

Mr Gittins said today that he had not yet heard from the Department of Internal Affairs.

Earlier this week he said that if governmental go-ahead came 'between now and Monday, Post will be back on the streets by Tuesday'

Mr Gittins also said earlier this week that Post was making an application to the Minister of Justice to relax the banning order on a black journalist, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu.

There had been no further development in this situation either, he said.

Newspapers throughout South Africa have criticised the bannings of Mr Sisulu and of a Durban journalist, Mr Marimuthu Subramoney. Wide protest about the bannings has been raised both here and overseas

*Argus 2/1/81*

# Minister says statement untrue

THE Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, has taken exception to a leader in The Argus of December 30 in which it was alleged that the Government was 'provocatively dragging its heels' about allowing three black newspapers to print again, and that the Government had effectively closed these newspapers down.

Mr Heunis said that both these statements were untrue.

In terms of the Act, the registration of the three newspapers had lapsed and there were no representations from the proprietors for condonation.

The first application for condonation had been received only this week, and he would meet the Minister of Justice as soon as possible to decide what action to take in respect of the three newspapers.

# British call: End ban on journalists

# British newspaperman to report on bans

Argus Bureau

LONDON. — 'End the ban on black South African newsmen and newspapers' was the call of an hour-long protest staged here by British journalists.

London's first demonstration of the new year, organised yesterday by the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) was held outside the South African Embassy in Trafalgar Square.

'This is just the beginning of a campaign to protest against the South African Government's intimidation of the black Press,' said NUJ deputy general secretary, Mr Jacob Ecclestone, one of the several top Fleet Street journalists who took part in the demonstration.

'The government's actions disprove its claim of Press freedom in South Africa. All British journalists condemn the harassment of black jour-

nalists in South Africa, the closing of three newspapers and the use of the courts to suppress them,' he said.

### PLACARDS

Carrying placards saying 'lift bans on Sisulu and Subramoney' and 'British journalists say lift the bans,' the protesters handed out leaflets expressing their support 'both for our colleagues in South Africa and for the struggle against apartheid' to passers-by.

They were protesting against the banning orders served on Mr Zvelakhe Sisulu and Mr Mutimuthu Subramoney of the Media Workers Association of South Africa which represents black journalists, and the Government's actions against the Post family of newspapers.

Mr Ecclestone said afterwards the NUJ intended intensifying its campaign to get the banning orders lifted and get the newspapers back on to the streets.

Argus Bureau

LONDON. — Mr Ken Ashton, general secretary of the National Union of Journalists here, leaves for South Africa tonight to prepare a report on the banning of two black journalists and the closure of three newspapers.

He said yesterday, 'Our interest is in supporting the freedom of the Press. Not many voices have been raised in protest and I hope that, when we have more first-hand information, the protest will spread.'

During his week-long visit, he intends to investigate the recent two-month strike by 64 black journalists of the Media Workers Association.

The Guardian today published a letter from the banned South African former editor, Mr Donald Woods, on the SA Press. It was in reply to a letter from Mr Johan Adler, director of information at the South African Embassy.

21/8/81  
No decision  
on Post <sup>Sum</sup> 243

The Argus Company is still waiting for the Government's answer to its application for the re-registration of Post Transvaal, Sunday Post and The Sowetan says Post's manager, Mr John Gittins

Mr Gittins also said earlier this week that Post was applying to the Minister of Justice for a relaxation of the banning order on black journalist Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu

Newspapers in South Africa and overseas have criticised the bannings of Mr Sisulu and of Durban journalist Mr Marimuthu Subramoney

London newsmen and their supporters protest against the ban on South African journalists.

# UK NEWSMEN CALL FOR LIFTING OF BANNINGS

*Stamp 2/1/61*

The Star Bureau LONDON — "End the ban on black South African newsmen and newspapers" was the call of an hour-long protest staged in London by British journalists.

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"This is just the beginning of a campaign to protest against the South African Government's intimidation of the black Press" said NUJ deputy general secretary, Mr Jacob Ecclestone, one of the several 10 p Fleet Street journalists who took part in the demonstration. "The government's

actions disprove its claim of Press freedom in South Africa. All British journalists condemn the harassment of black journalists in South Africa, the closing of four newspapers and the use of the courts to suppress them," he said.

## NUJ OFFICIAL TO VISIT SA

The Star Bureau LONDON — Mr Ken Ashton, general secretary of the National Union of Journalists here, leaves for South Africa tonight to prepare a report on the banning of two black journalists and the Government closure of four newspapers.

He said yesterday: "Our interest is in supporting the freedom of the Press. Not many voices have been raised in protest and I hope when we have more firsthand information the protest will spread."

Subramoney and British journalists say lift the bans," the protesters handed out leaflets expressing their support for our colleagues in South Africa and for the struggle against apartheid to passers-by.

They were protesting against the banning orders served on Mr Zvelakhe Sisulu and Mr Murruthu Sumaney, of the Media Workers Association of South Africa which represents black journalists, and the government's actions in closing down the Post family of newspapers.

Mr Ecclestone said: "We hope to coordinate our protest action with other bodies such as Amnesty and the Anti-Apartheid Movement. We are also considering trying to help the Media Workers Association financially."

During his week-long visit, he intends to investigate the recent two-month strike by 64 black journalists of the Media Workers Association.

The Guardian today publishes a letter from the banned South African former editor, Mr Donald Woods, on the South African Press. This follows an earlier letter from Mr Johan Adler, Director of Information at the South African embassy in London on Press freedom.

"Protest leaflets will be sent to all 150 branches of the NUJ in Britain and we expect them to stage their own protests. The NUJ will be meeting in London soon and it is possible that protest telegrams would be sent to the South African Government said Mr Ecclestone.

# Bannings show SA in <sup>(2)</sup> ~~an~~ even poorer light - IPI <sup>(2)</sup> ~~IPI~~

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The International Press Institute (IPI) has sent a strongly worded telegram of protest to Mr P W Botha, over the banning of two black journalists and the suspension of four black newspapers.

The telegram, sent yesterday by IPI director, Mr Peter Galliner, says the Government's actions will "portray South Africa in an even poorer light than existing at present."

It calls on the Government to review the registration of the newspapers as soon as possible and to lift the banning orders on Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu and Mr Maimuthu Subramoney.

The full text of the telegram is

"The International Press Institute wishes to protest in the strongest possible terms at the sus-

pension of four black newspapers and the banning orders placed on two highly respected black journalists,

"During the past two years South Africa has introduced some of its most drastic Press laws to date, whittling away the right of an already 'half free' Press to comment on matters of importance.

"These latest moves come at a time of renewed fears among the world's free Press of yet further action by the South African Government against black and white journalists and publications."

Mr Galliner added that "these latest actions against the Press give added urgency to my suggested visit to your country to discuss the relationship between your Government and the Press."

The IPI is composed of over 2000 editors and senior journalists worldwide.

In another telegram sent to Mr Botha yesterday, the Metalworkers Federation in Geneva also protested at the banning orders and "closure" of four black newspapers.

The telegram, sent by Mr Herman Rabhan, General Secretary of the union, said:

"On behalf of 14 million metalworkers I protest most strongly at the banning orders and closure of four black newspapers. Refusal to let the National Union of Journalists' general secretary, Mr Ken Ashton, enter South Africa is an action worthy of a totalitarian state.

"Such behaviour will only dishearten trade unionists who seek peaceful change in South Africa."

RDM 3/1/81  
**Argus expect  
~~327~~ 243  
reaction later**

By CHRIS FREIMOND

THE Argus newspaper group does not expect any reaction to its urgent application to the Minister of the Interior, Mr Chris Heunis, to allow three black newspapers to resume immediate publication until next week

The newspapers, Post (Transvaal), Sunday Post and The Sowetan, which were forced to suspend publication due to a protracted strike by workers, lost their registrations in terms of the Internal Security Act because they did not appear for over a month

When the Argus group lost a court application earlier this week to allow continued publication, an urgent telex was sent to Mr Heunis asking him to use his power under the Internal

Security Act to condone the lapse in publication and permit immediate re-appearance of the papers

In terms of the Act a minimum period of three weeks must pass after an application for re-registration is received by the Department of the Interior before re-appearance

The manager of Post, Mr John Gittins, said yesterday that nothing had been heard from Mr Heunis and that he did not expect any reaction until next week. The newspapers are not being published in the meantime. Normal re-applications had been made

Earlier this week Mr Heunis said that, after studying the application in consultation with the Minister of Justice, he would consider, "if necessary" the re-registrations.

BY MAUREEN GRIFFIN

EVEN the Afrikaners Press has joined the world-wide outcry at Government action against black newspapers and journalists.

Editorials in both the Transvaler and Beeld question the necessity of closing three Argus Company black newspapers, while the Transvaler says the banning of two black journalists smacks of arbitrary action against individual freedom.

Overseas critics have roundly condemned the closures and banings as part of a further attack by the Government on Press Freedom in South Africa.

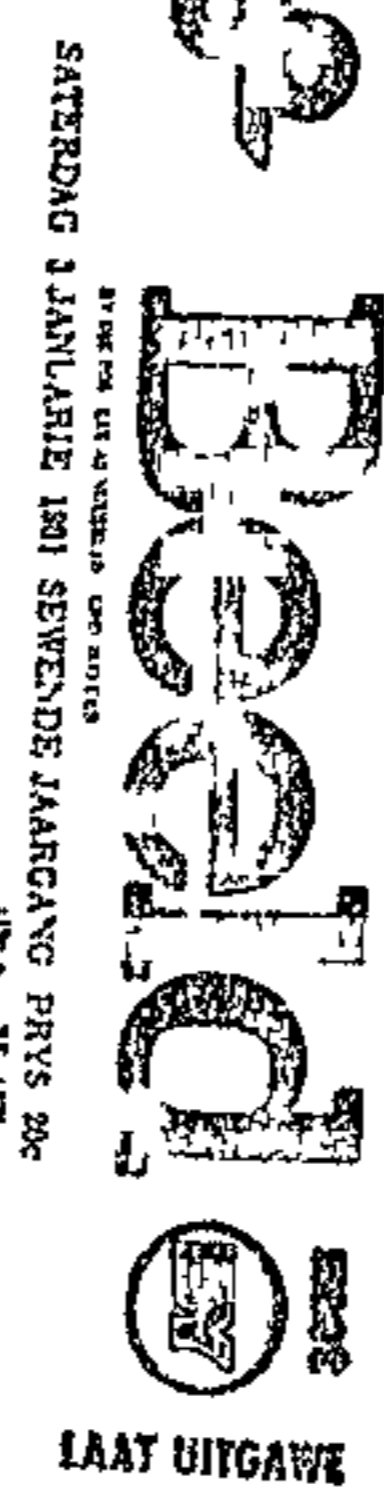
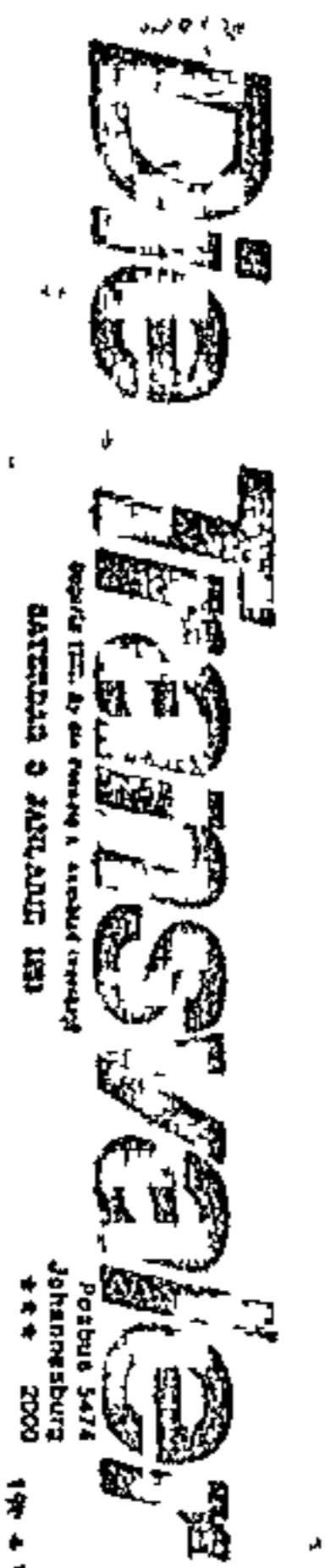
The three black newspapers — Post (Tvl), Sunday Post and the Soewetan — had their registration withdrawn in December at the end of a two-month strike by black media workers.

The strike was called by the alblack Media Workers' Association of South Africa in October, ended on December 23. That day the newspapers were closed down by the Department of Internal Affairs for "failing to publish in terms of legislation."

The Argus Company filed an application to the Rand Supreme Court that publication of one-sheet copies of the three

# WAVES ?

## Now Afrikaners Press joins papers banning row



newspapers during the strike constituted publication in terms of the Internal Security Act and the Newspaper Imprint Act.

Mr Justice Coetzee turned down the application, finding insufficient proof by the Argus Company of the act of publishing the newspapers "within the meaning of the word."

A week after the strike ended, security police served three-year banning orders on the president of the Media Workers' Association (Mwasa), Mr Zvelakhe Sisulu, and the

national vice-chairman and Natal regional secretary, Mr Marimuthu Subramoney.

Both the closures and the banings received widespread publicity and censure abroad.

The Times of London and the Guardian declared the acts further attacks on Press freedom, while Mr Otto Kiersten, general secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, called for United Nations action against Britain's National Union of Journalists said it

would protest to the South African Government.

Reaction at home was equally severe. Mr Hal Miller managing director of the Argus Company and Mr Clive Kinsley of SAAN — both of whom had negotiated with Mwasa — issued a joint statement calling for the immediate lifting of the bans, warning that they would be seen here and abroad as "another direct attack on the Press of this country by the Government."

Their statement said the bans were "senseless and totally uncalled for in the

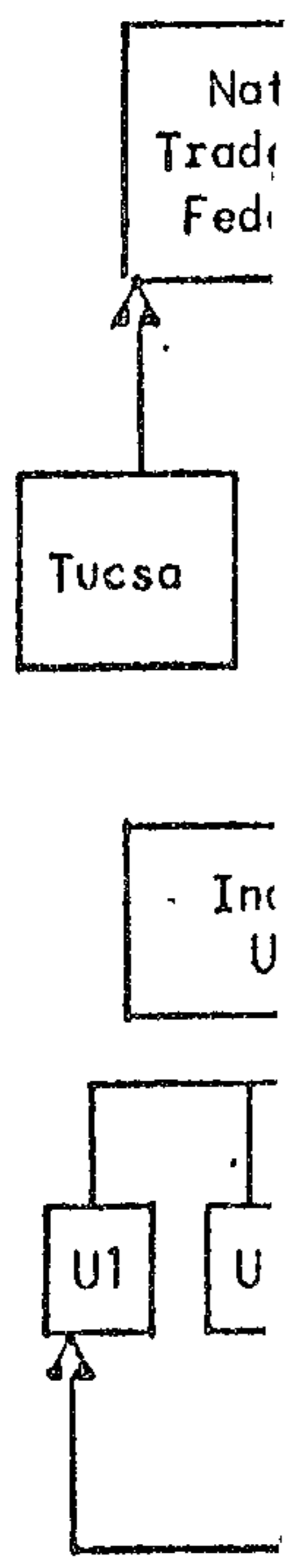
managements and so help to bring harmony to the industry."

The Volksblad in Bloemfontein ran the heading "Was it Really Necessary?" and a leader saying that a storm was visibly brewing from the first moment the strike of the black Argus workers became world news.

Beeld's editorial said the Government had put itself in a poor light overseas by taking a fastidious stand on a minor ruling over registration of the newspapers "as a Government that tampers with freedom of speech and the Press to thwart its opposition."

The Transvaler said the Government's action could look like discriminatory practice against newspapers which did not toe the line regarding State policy.

POSSIBLE  
LABOUR  
RELATIONSHIP  
SYSTEM





KEN ASHTON

S. Tribune

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4/1/81

## DECISION TAKEN BY PRETORIA AFTER LABOUR

### JOURNALIST IS QUIZZED FOR FIVE HOURS

By WILLIAM SAUNDERSON-MEYER

**KEN ASHTON**, general-secretary of the powerful British National Union of Journalists (NUJ) was last night barred from South Africa and hustled aboard a flight back to London.

Mr Ashton had come to South Africa to prepare a report on the recent South African Government banning of black journalists Zwelakhe Sisulu and Marimuthu Subramoney, president and executive member respectively of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa).

He had also come to assist Mwasa in future negotiations with newspaper managements.

Phillip Mtimkulu, a national vice-president of MWASA said his organisation had invited Mr Ashton to South Africa in December.

"We were engaged in negotiations with management. We had an interim agreement and we needed some people who were really well acquainted with newspaper employers and employees. He agreed to help us," he said.

"We are surprised that this should happen because a British subject was coming to visit MWASA and all the time there have never been any Mwasa requirements when people from Britain visit South Africa.

"It is quite clear this is aimed at us. It can't be seen in isolation from the two bannings," Mr Mtimkulu said.

In a move bound to spark fresh anger at the South African Government, Mr Ashton was de-

In a move bound to spark fresh anger at the South African Government, Mr Ashton was detained and questioned for almost five hours by authorities at Jan Smuts before being put aboard the last London flight at 8pm yesterday.

A waiting British Embassy official was told of the decision minutes before Mr Ashton was sent home. The official was permitted to speak to Mr Ashton on an airport telephone, but not to see him.

Immigration officials at Jan Smuts refused to disclose on what grounds Mr Ashton was deported, but said that the decision "was taken at high level in Pretoria".

The Minister of Internal Affairs, Chris Heunis, could not be reached for comment last night.

In London an angry Jake Ecclestone, deputy general-secretary elect of the NUJ, said the barring of Mr Ashton suggested "the people responsible had guilty consciences about their recent treatment of black newspapers and the two black journalists".

He added, "I think it is a very foolish way to behave. Turning someone like Ken Ashton away is a mark of fear. It seems as if the South African authorities are afraid of what he might find and report to the world."

Mr Ecclestone said he believed Mr Ashton had also come to South Africa as a representative of the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) and of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

# UK Press demo to back ban protest

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London Bureau

LONDON — Britain's National Union of Journalists held a placard demo outside South Africa House in London on New Year's Day to back growing international protest at the banning of two black South African journalists and the closure of four black newspapers by the Government

The NUJ joined the British Labour Party in condemning the bannings of the president of the Media Workers' Association of SA, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, and Mwasas Natal vice-president,

Mr Marimuthu Subramoney

It also added its voice to condemnation of the withdrawal of the registration certificates of the Argus-owned newspapers Post (Transvaal), Saturday Post, Sunday Post and The Sowetan

The NUJ called on the Government to reverse these decisions

Mr Ron Knowles, editor of the British Press journal, "The Journalist", said this week "We are very deeply concerned that the authorities in South

Africa seem not to be learning about the extension of freedom and justice for all people

"We have heard a lot from South African politicians about a new era coming in there, but so far there has been no evidence"

The NUJ viewed the bannings as attempts to shut down a legitimate organisation (Mwasa) that did no more than represent its members

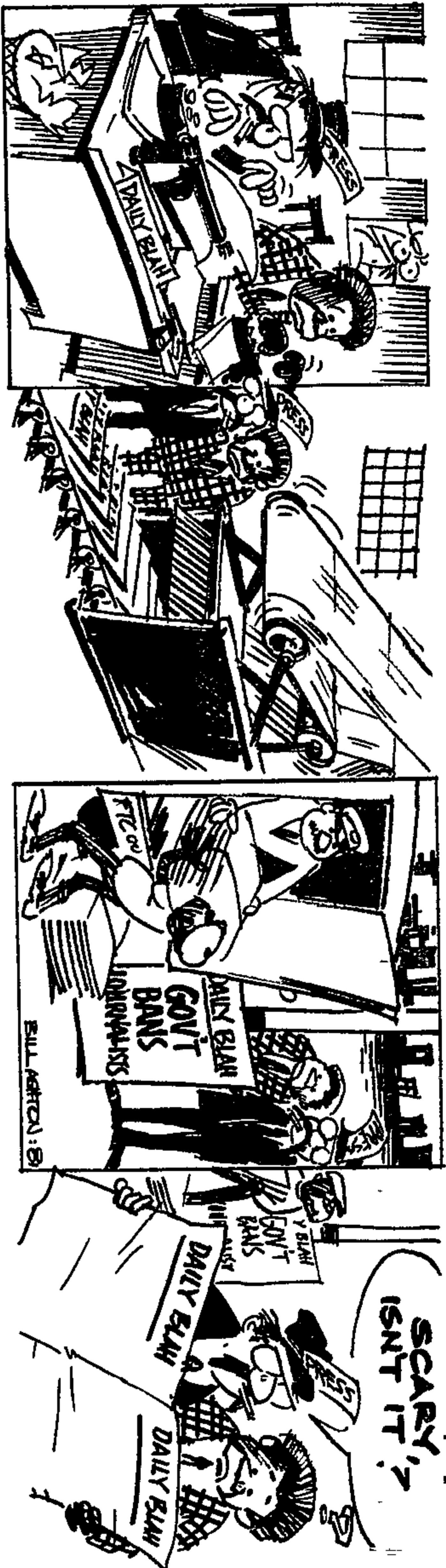
"This smacks of the worst kind of totalitarianism," Mr Knowles said

On Tuesday the Labour Party accused the South African Government of "directly attacking Mwasa" and said the actions were all part of the "savage attack on the Press"

It called for the immediate lifting of the bannings on the two Mwasa executives and the rescission of the restrictions on publication of the four black newspapers

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has protested directly to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, over the Government's actions

# BILL ASHTON LOOKS AT THE FADING POWER OF THE MEN OF THE PRESS



THE START of a new year, following closely upon the closing of three newspapers — Post (Transvaal), The Sowetan and Sunday Post — plus the banning of two well-known Black journalists — Zweelakhe Sisulu and Marimathu Subramoney — provides a convenient moment to survey the state of the game in the Government's sustained harassment of the Press.

The operative word is "harassment". That is to say, although there are many laws that could affect the Press, a good deal depends upon the vigour and intensity with which those laws are invoked and applied to newspapers.

In my view, the manner in which these laws are at times applied constitutes the kind of harassment calculated to intimidate, and to obstruct the free flow of news.

One of the most perfect examples of this process was the prosecution of the Editor of the Sunday Express, just over a year ago, for criminal libel. It would be hard to find a more far-fetched, cloud-in-cuckoo-land prosecution than that.

Not only did no reader of the Sunday Express know who had allegedly been defamed, but it took the State weeks, perhaps months, of intensive research to discover who the "victim" was who had been libelled. And the full power and machinery of State was invoked to bring a prosecution for criminal libel against the Sunday Express.

The Sunday Express, at great financial cost, was acquitted — and these appalling proceedings simply leave one with a sense of outrage. Before I come to Mr Sisulu and the three recently closed newspapers, let me quote a few more examples to show how the campaign of harassment operates — a one-way campaign in what it looks like to me.

The Rand Daily Mail some time ago published evidence (during the Information Scandal days) given before Judge Mostert. Within days the paper was charged with contempt of the Erasmus Commission, brought to court and convicted (the Rand Daily Mail was later acquitted on appeal).

The point to notice is that no time was wasted. The State went into action, as it were, with all guns blazing.

The Eastern Province Herald reported a speech made by an

# Presssure On the Press.

These manipulations happened quite a long time ago, but the latest information we have is "the police are investigating". I venture to guess that if it was the Argus or SAAN which had been up to that kind of non-key business the State would have nominated a lion time ago.

three papers. They were not the victims of an "injustice". True, the strikes made things difficult, but in fact, difficult or not, the law was contravened. Mr Justice G A Coetzee, with respect, gave a perfectly sound judgment in ruling that the three newspapers were not to meet the

**By JOEL MERVIS**  
A former Editor of the Sunday Express and now South African representative of the International Press Institute takes a look at the Opposition Press and some of its journalists who are under siege as 1981 dawns.

● Zweelakhe Sisulu — under house arrest

*Handwritten notes:*  
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bishop is a respected member of the community — to report what he says is the normal part of a newspaper's business

Yet, for that report, the Eastern Province Herald was promptly prosecuted on a criminal charge of having contravened the Prisons Act. You will note that no time is wasted in visiting the law upon these alleged transgressors

By contrast — and it is a most remarkable contrast — we have one of the greatest scandals in the South African newspaper history — the fraudulent manipulation by Perskor of the circulation figures of three of its papers

One of the newspapers, whose daily sales were inflated by several thousand copies, was none other than Die Transvaler, widely known as the official National Party organ

That, broadly, seems to be the state of the game, and it brings me now to the closing of Post (Transvaal), The Sowetan and Sunday Post

As everyone knows, these papers were bedevilled by strikes, and on that account they were unable to publish regularly, or at all. They were, in fact, forced to close because their failure to publish amounted to a contravention of the Internal Security Act

Just in passing, it is interesting that formal rules governing newspaper publication should occur, in of all places, an Internal Security Act — but that is by the way

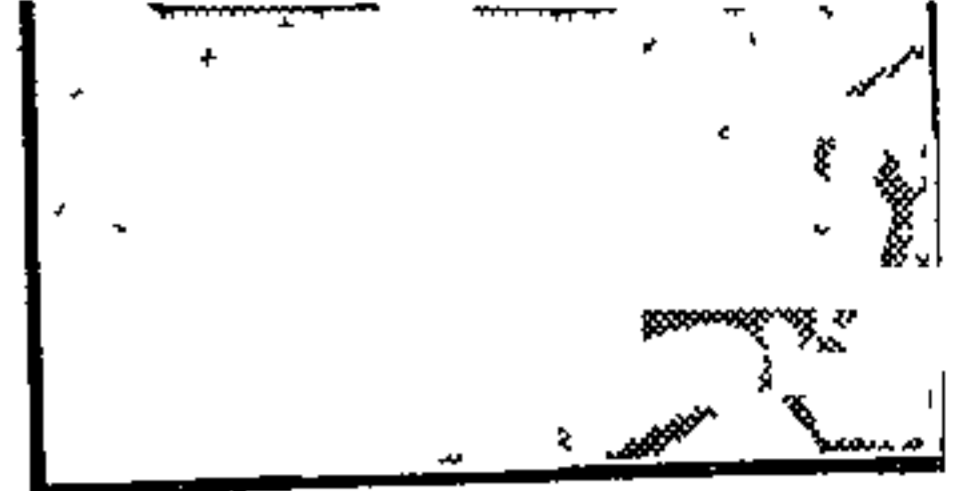
Let me make one thing quite clear about the closing of the

requirements of the law. Furthermore, the judge raised the pertinent point that during the Argus company's difficult problems last November the Argus could have asked the Minister of the Interior to condone the contraventions, which were obviously beyond the Argus's control, but failed to do so

The Minister might well have granted the request, since it lies in his discretion, after consultation with the Minister of Justice, to do so

But even if, in that regard, Argus were at fault, I cannot help wondering whether, in a different political climate, the Minister might well have decided not to wait for the Argus to come to them for condonation

I cannot help wondering whether, in a different climate, the



Minister of his own initiative, might not have said, in effect "I see you are having great trouble with strikes. The law gives me the right and the discretion to intervene. In the circumstances I shall be happy to do so. I accordingly condone your acts of omission"

But that would be expecting altogether too much in the present climate. That view would seem to be reinforced by the fact that Mr Sisulu, news editor of the Sunday Post, has been banned and placed under house arrest —

in terms of the same Internal Security Act which deals with the innocuous formality of newspaper registration and publication

One of the chief lessons of the ban on Mr Sisulu is that the Government not only no longer cares about Press freedom, but it doesn't care who knows it

What makes the affair so distasteful and offensive to all right-thinking people is the fact that Mr Sisulu's alleged offence or transgression remains a secret — a mystery. He does not know what the charge against him is. Neither does anyone else

In my view, that degree of ignorance applies equally to the people who have banned Mr Sisulu. They don't know either. Of

course, they will claim that they think they know — but that is not the same thing as actually knowing — and it just isn't good enough

We have reached the sad state in South Africa when a man's liberty, freedom and civil rights often depend on what some security expert "thinks" or upon the so-called "information" which a security boss decides to equate with fact or truth

It requires very little prescience to foresee that, for newspapers in South Africa, a rough ride is ahead in 1981

How does the ordinary average

citizen (for whom I have the greatest respect) look upon these developments?

Regrettably, there is a tendency to say "there's no smoke without fire" or to dismiss the matter with the complacent reflection "I'm all right, Jack. It couldn't happen to me"

This may be the moment, then, to remind all citizens that freedom is indivisible, and that when someone else's freedom is arbitrarily restricted, your own freedom is necessarily threatened as well

I can do no better, to bring the message home, than quote what Pastor Martin Niemöller said in Germany in 1939 of Hitler's Nazi regime. With each New Year it

becomes more and more apposite for us

*"They first came for the communists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a communist."*

*"Then they came for the Jews and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew."*

*"Then they came for the Trade Unionists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist."*

*"Then they came for the Catholics and I did not speak up because I was a Protestant"*

*"Then they came for me — but by that time there was no one left to speak."*

*Handwritten:* PEP's • S. Imbume 4/1/80

IN SOME areas of national politics, the ruling party in South Africa has recently demonstrated flexibility of thought even if this has not generally been reflected, or fully reflected, in its practical programmes.

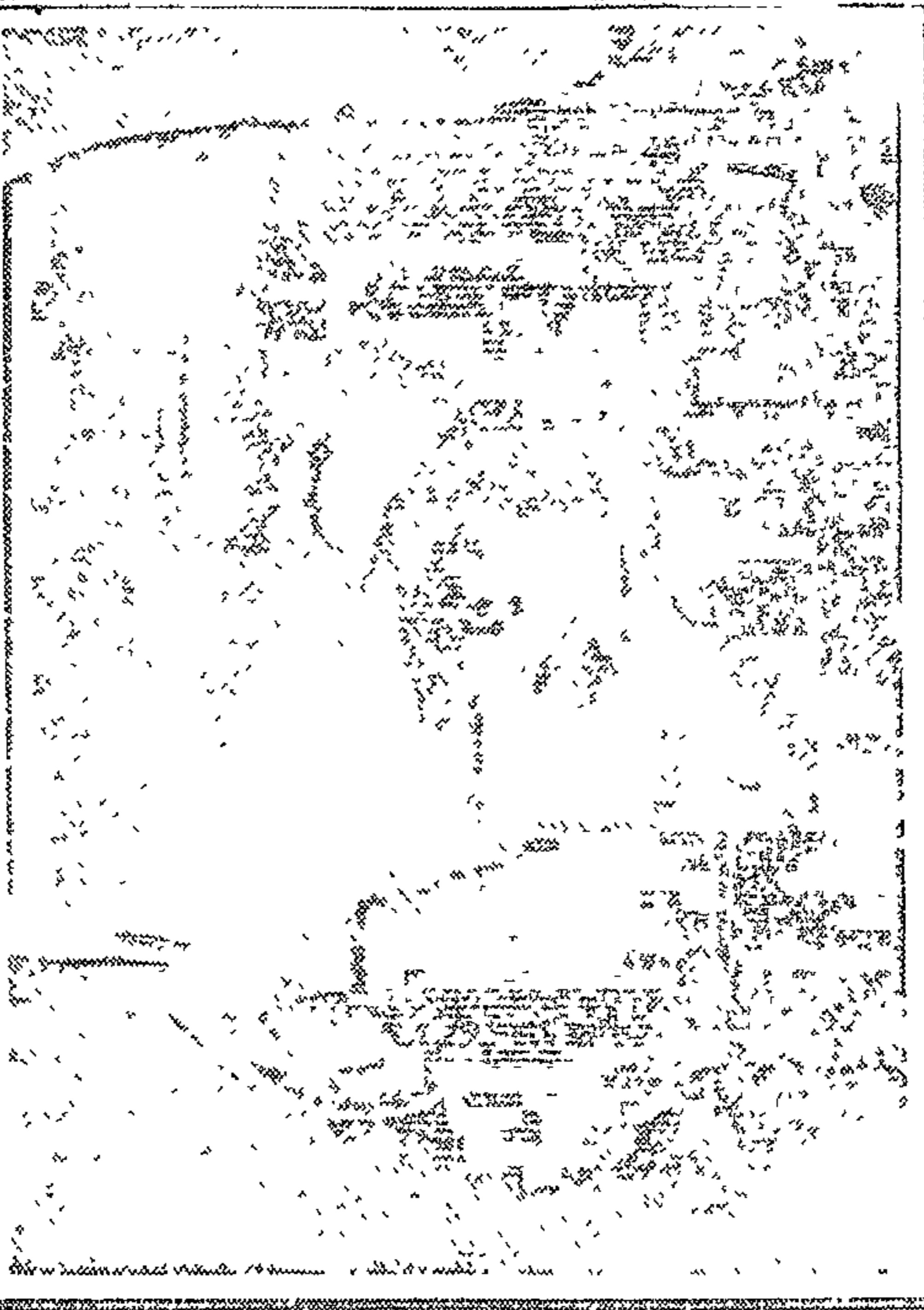
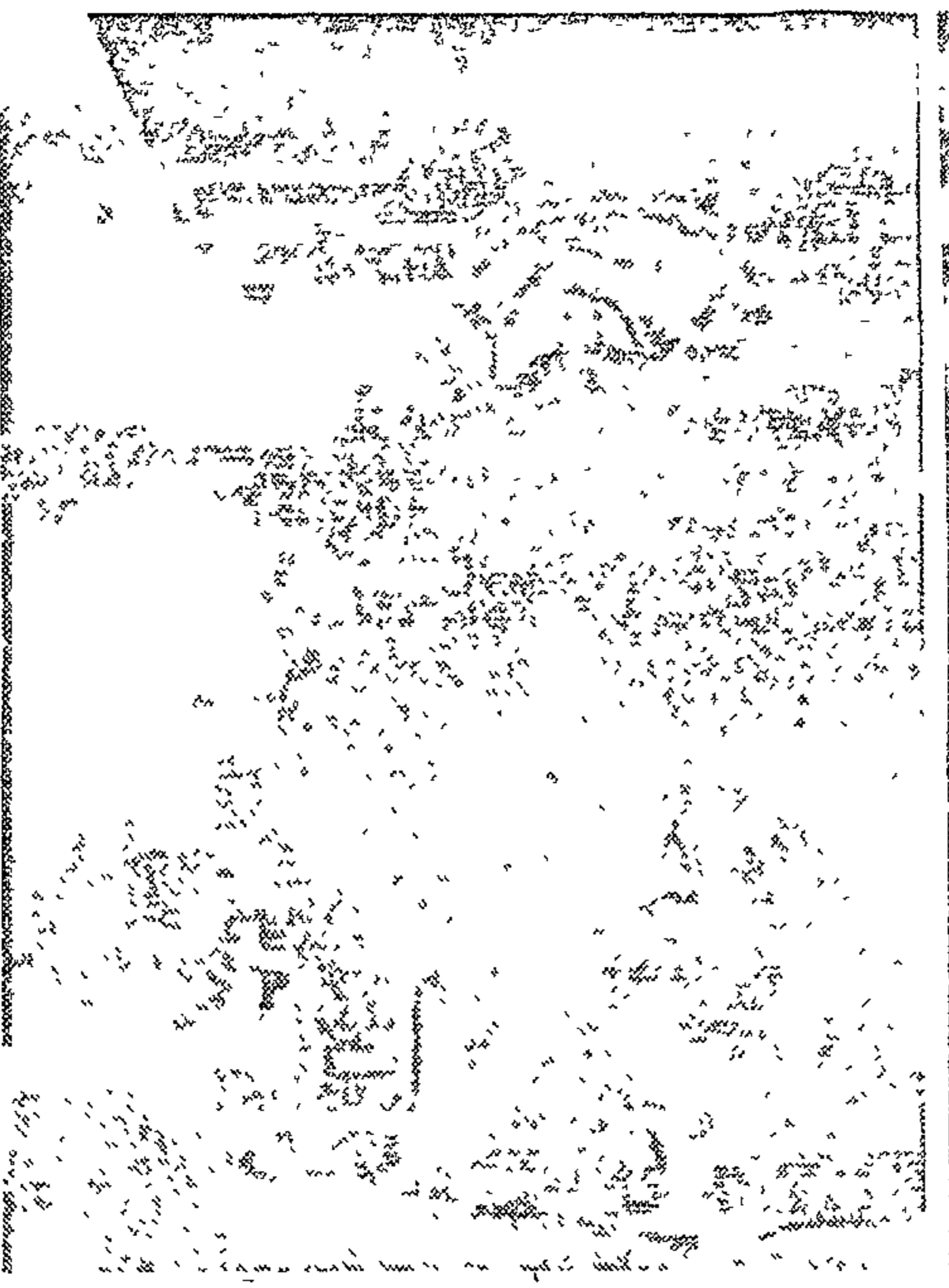
The areas of flexibility include such matters as job reservation, integrated facilities and, to a lesser degree, labour organisation. In contrast, there are other areas in which both attitudes and policies appear to have hardened, and one of the most important of these is Press freedom — or, more accurately, Press control.

In its relations with the Press the Government continues to demonstrate the old-style heavy-handedness and kragdadigheid which in different areas it has commendably replaced with a more accommodating stance.

### Banning

The old style has just been fully manifested again in the banning of black journalists involved in the recent Press workers' strike and in the Government's action over the registration of newspapers which were apparently not published for more than a month during the strike. This enabled the Government to declare,

# BANNING



**AN ADVERTISING COMPANY HAS BEEN SET UP TO HANDLE THE BANNING OF PRESS WORKERS' STRIKE**

not exist in the free democracies, there is much self-censorship induced by fear of the law and the powers already described. There are issues which the Press will not and dare not canvass in its columns.

### Moral Mirror

The answer to this question is most certainly a complex one but we can unravel a few strands of the truth.

First, the direction of the laws in the past 30 years have ensured that to the extent we remain a democracy, we are progressively a less accountable one. When absolute power is vested in the political authorities, a carping Press is bound to stand out as an anomaly.

The growth and centralisation of executive power has produced rulers who tend to impose solutions rather than arrive at them through public debate.

When the Press seeks to present fundamental alternatives, its role becomes subversive in the minds of men who are not accustomed to have their judgment qualified or seriously called into question by others.

The whole direction of legislation is against the notion of any group outside the Government becoming a serious participant in policy formation.

speed and satisfaction, that the registration of the newspapers in question had lapsed.

Since Government spokesmen tend to make inexplicable claims about their devotion to Press freedom whilst simultaneously increasing the stranglehold on the collective editorial neck, it is worth recalling what powers the Government holds, and regularly exercises, against the Press in South Africa.

We all know, or ought to know, that the Government has unlimited power to ban newspapers, as it did just over two years ago in the case of the newspaper *The World*.

A more insidious power, since its exercise is usually unknown to the public, is the power to prevent the registration of new

newspapers by requiring a deposit of up to R20 000 which is held by the Government as a kind of guarantee of "good behaviour" and which is forfeited if the newspaper errs in the opinion of the relevant minister.

Quite a large number of newspapers have been prevented from registering under this provision

### Caution

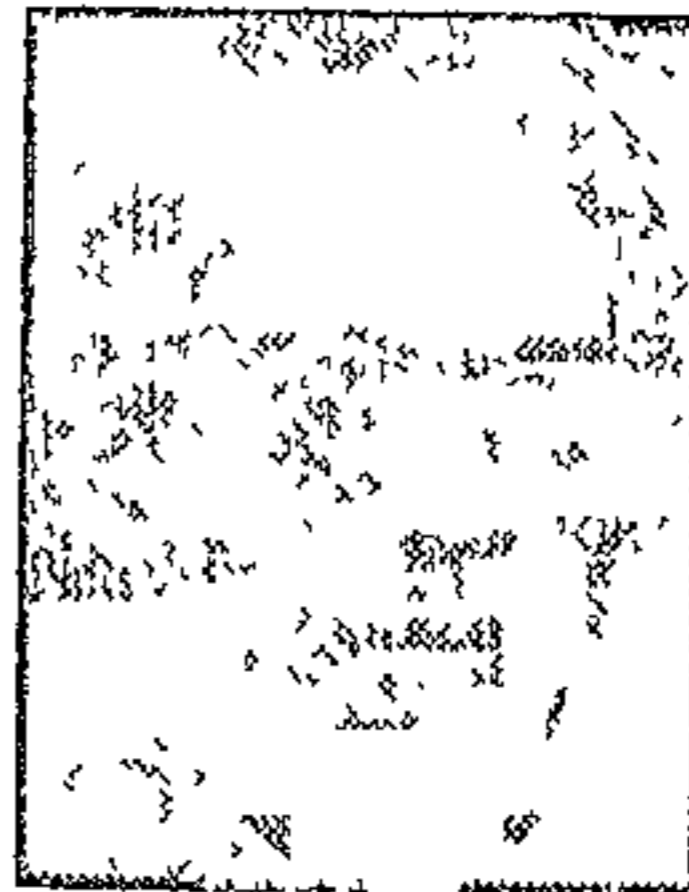
Then, again, the authorities can achieve control in less dramatic ways than the banning of the newspaper itself by banning the journalists whose stories, reports or activities the officials of Government dislike.

This step has been taken with great fre-

quency and, as already observed, has been used once more in the recent Mwasu strike

The banning of individual journalists is a harsh action which involves loss of the journalist's livelihood and the drastic restriction of his freedom of movement and expression, quite apart from the injury to freedom of speech in general

Nevertheless, as harsh as the banning of a journalist may be, it is probably less feared than the use of detention powers against pressmen — especially the dreaded indefinite detention under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. We should recall, in referring to the Terrorism Act, that many of the activities which it covers have little or nothing to do with terrorism in any



By TONY MATHEWS

PROFESSOR OF LAW AT NATAL UNIVERSITY

ordinary or acceptable sense.

Finally, though this does not complete the list of controls on the Press, there is the possibility of prosecution under sweeping laws such as the Official Secrets Act and the Prisons, Police and Defence Acts. "Navigating through a minefield" is an understatement of the difficulties of running a newspaper in

our country.

It is bad enough that such powers exist, but what is worse is that they may be exercised in an arbitrary and capricious manner. When a newspaper is banned or a journalist detained or banned, the responsible official is not legally required to account to anybody for his action. The persons against whom the action is taken are not entitled

to a statement of the case against them, to a hearing before an independent body or to an opportunity to put their own case to some impartial adjudicating authority.

The law has been so framed as to deny the right of procedural justice, in the eye of the law the minister's word is justice. The words of Gilbert and Sullivan sum up perfectly the situation in which the law has put the minister.

*The law is the true embodiment  
Of everything that's excellent*

*It has no kind of fault or flaw,  
And I, my lords,  
embody the law.*

These words are worth remembering when ministers glibly assure us that they are acting in the interests of the public or (with

more brass) that they are protecting Press freedom when they restrict journalists or newspapers

### Moderate Press

What is truly significant is that these same ministers are not prepared to submit their decisions to independent scrutiny, even by the judges whose integrity they advertise almost *ad nauseum*. It needs to be asked why our courts are not trusted to do justice where Press freedom is involved. Does the Government fear that they might get to the heart of any matter submitted to them?

Readers who have travelled abroad will know that while our Press does criticise, and sometimes sharply, it is by Western standards a very mild and moderate one. Apart from the need to work under legal restraints which do

Second, the Press tends to focus on the moral shortcomings of Government policy and actions. It is a kind of moral mirror in which the Government can see its own image, and the sight is frequently not a pretty one. This explains the irrational outbursts against the newspapers. They produce a discomfort of conscience which is irrationally countered by transforming the Press into a uniformed enemy ranking with, if not beyond, the communists, the ANC *et cetera*.

Two more journalists have become victims of this kind of response. Their fate, and that of the Press, is a sad one. It is ironic, however, that by this action the Government weakens its power to achieve a peaceful accommodation with rivals and harms its international position to a degree that its people can ill afford.

g. Tribune 4/1/80  
(243)

Warning <sup>5/1/68</sup> ~~18~~  
by <sup>Stone</sup> barred <sup>(943)</sup>  
UK <sup>270</sup> ~~newsman~~

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mr Ken Ashton, general secretary of Britain's National Union of Journalists, warned in London of a renewed Government attack on Press freedom in South Africa

On his return to Britain yesterday after being refused entry to South Africa, Mr Ashton said the Press was coming under increased Government oppression

There were 40 South African journalists facing possible jail sentences under laws such as the Internal Security Act, he said.

Mr Ashton went to South Africa at the request of the Trades Union Congress to help the Media Workers Association of South Africa which represents black journalists



# On the surface, the 3-week strike by the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) was mainly to do with the unusual demand that strikers be paid strike pay. But there was clearly more to the Press strike than met the eye. The first comprehensive account of the background appears in the current edition of Frontline magazine. These extracts are republished from that article, which is by the editor of Frontline, Denis Beckett (below)

4/8/81 Star

Among editorial executives the prevailing feeling was that Mwasa was trying to destroy the liberal Press, for the sake of removing the prime obstacle to polarisation and clearing the ground for that much-predicted clash of opposing nationalism from which in the long run there can be only one winner.

That seems unlikely, if for no other reason than that the strikers had mouths to feed. But it is not without foundation. For years there have been mutterings among black journalists that the liberal Press ignores issues of national relevance for the sake of offering irrelevant titillation to whites.

In this respect, the strike could hardly have come at a more apposite time. The great Who-Shot-R. Nyama fell in the middle, giving the point a topical edge way beyond what could have been expected.

"I couldn't believe my eyes," said one striker. "The employers keep telling us how they're on our side, and doing their best for the black man, and every time I open a paper all I see is a lot of rubbish about this programme. That is the real problem. For the whites, apartheid is just one of many topics to deal with. For us it makes everything else insignificant."

(Evidently not everyone agreed. A Mwasa meeting on Dallas night ended early by request.)

Much of Mwasa's hostility towards the liberal Press was aimed at the liberals' worship of objectivity. The essence of the complaint was that 'objectivity' as seen through white eyes is really a bias in favour of continuity.

When a liberal speaks from his ideological platform he can by no stretch of the political vocabulary claim to be objective," said a leading article in Mwasa's bulletin.

Clearly, the idea of "committed journalism" does not make the best bedfellow with the staple maxim of the established Press that "comment is free but facts are sacred".

However, there is room for doubt as to quite how sacred the facts ever are, even in the quarters which pay the most enthusiastic lip-service to the maxim. And it may be that the two principles are not wholly irreconcilable.

Within Mwasa there are some people who believe that facts which damage the cause must be suppressed. But this is by no means a belief unique to Mwasa, although when you're twisting facts in order to support the status quo it is a lot easier to persuade yourself that it is when you're twisting them the other way.

In any case, there are other Mwasa people who say that "comment is free but facts are sacred" for doubt as to quite how sacred the facts ever are, even in the quarters which pay the most enthusiastic lip-service to the maxim. And it may be that the two principles are not wholly irreconcilable.

There were some efforts to bring out the few black journalists employed by other companies, with little success. At one black magazine, known for its high pay, reporters tentatively suggested that they should respond to the national call.

"Fine," said the editor, "you're welcome to strike in support of the rates the Cape Herald is demanding. We'll reduce your salaries to those rates." The reporters stayed at work.

It was not new to anyone in the profession that many blacks had scorned the great triumphs of the Press — the Info Scandal and so on — since they didn't change the system. Nor that there were blacks who had zero interest in those years of well-meaning but ineffective leading articles. Nor that black journalists rejected the idea of having the black readers' concept of change directed by people with swimming baths and servants and the benefits of whiteness and wealth. But all that, too, had become old hat, taken as a stock exercise which was good for grumbling and blowing off steam.

There were aspects which would have made a log-cabin weep. At the Rand Daily Mail several white journalists went on strike in protest against the Post dismissals (which had in any case been promptly followed up by a "re-engagement" offer).

Here were the staff of one company striking in protest against the uncertain sacking of employees of another company who had been striking in solidarity with a third lot of strikers who were already long since back at work.

The bosses espouse the cause of non-racialism. To many of the black journalists non-racialism is a dirty word. That is not because they hate whites — the actual level of gut racism among the militants tends to be less than among many of the people who present a ja-bas exterior — but because non-racialism would in practice leave whites as the leaders and blacks as followers.

Liberal journalists denounced Mwasa in tones of hostility previously reserved for the government. The dominant white racial resentment of black consciousness became open. Mwasa's name was punned into "Mediocore" Workers Association. Many white journalists strongly resented the turmoil and agony they were being plunged into over the question of how far to support a rival organisation which had made regular practice of kicking them in the teeth, at had for a long while tried to have their unyen, no the open one, expelled from the International Federation of Journalists to leave sole representation to itself, the racial exclusive one.

The white journalists had grown so used to the official black conservatism line that liberal were irrelevant, getting the way of black se expression, hypocritical, and so on, that many had come to believe this was just moral-boosterism beating of ritual drum. Now, it suddenly seemed that maybe the black meant it after all.

The root of the problem is the demand that change be looked at within the impatience of the times of discrimination rather than the measure of tolerance of its moral beneficiaries.

How far this stretch who knows? Even with Mwasa there are many who seek nothing more than a speedier progress within the existing rules of the game and who have no desire to start electing their own bosses. A Mwasa itself has a certain difficulty in sustaining claim to be the representative of the ideas of the people Vanguard, may be difficult to pin down.

Within Mwasa there are some people who believe that facts which damage the cause must be suppressed. But this is by no means a belief unique to Mwasa, although when you're twisting facts in order to support the status quo it is a lot easier to persuade yourself that it is when you're twisting them the other way.

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Within Mwasa there are some people who believe that facts which damage the cause must be suppressed. But this is by no means a belief unique to Mwasa, although when you're twisting facts in order to support the status quo it is a lot easier to persuade yourself that it is when you're twisting them the other way.

In the editorial conference rooms, though, the idea that the professionals and the meretricians should dilute their own ideas of objectivity in favour of an ethnic

which does not believe in objectivity at all goes down about as loudly as the suggestion that they should submerge their standards of efficiency for the sake of providing a decision-making role for blacks.

Which is exactly what the other large underlying issue amounts to. If change is to mean anything, Mwasa people argue, it must mean a black role in making decisions and forming directions. Without that, what does change boil down to? A more benevolent form of white control, with duly trained and educated blacks slowly slotting into top jobs in twenty or forty years time?

RDM 6/1/81 (2333)  
Debate on banning

Staff Reporter

THE Southern Transvaal Region of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa will meet in Soweto tomorrow night to discuss the banning of two of Mwasa's leaders

Last week the Government served Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu,

national president, and Mr Marimuthu Subrimoney, Natal vice-president, with three-year banning orders in terms of the Internal Security Act

They were also placed under house arrest

Tomorrow's meeting will be held at the DOCC, Orlando East, at 7pm

Heunis

RDM 7/1/81

silent on

fate of

papers

243

~~227~~

**Staff Reporter**

THE Argus Group is still waiting for the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, to decide the fate of three black publications.

After a court action failed to win permission for continued publication of Post (Transvaal), Sunday Post and The Sowetan, the group telexed an urgent message to Mr Heunis on December 29 to allow immediate resumption of publication.

The manager of Post, Mr John Gittins, said yesterday, "We have not had a word from the Minister yet."

Mr Heunis was asked to use his power under the Internal Security Act — the same Act under which the three publications' registration lapsed — to condone the lapsing and set aside the need for the statutory 21-day period before newspapers can re-appear after re-registration.

The Government action against the papers has caused an international outcry.

Plight  
of news  
venders  
raised

RDW  
9/1/8

887

243

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Society for Social Workers (Western Cape) is concerned about service conditions for newspaper venders

In an open letter to employers, the society said "The question of child vending is part of a much greater issue involving such factors as the poverty cycle, effective implementation of compulsory education and the ethical issues involved in a system which uses child labour"

Regarding accidents, the society said its representations about the safety, ventilation and installation of exit doors in vehicles had not been effected

The society's surveys showed venders had to provide their own food and were required to buy unsold newspapers. The society claimed insurance coverage was not explicit. The society called for the provision of shelters, subsistence in the form of hot soup and sandwiches, protective clothing and insurance coverage

The provincial manager (Cape) of Allied Publishing Limited, Mr J A Rayner, said most of the vehicles his company used were open-ended and fitted with emergency exit windows on both sides

He said it was not company policy to employ youths under 15 and that free insurance covering death and injury was provided for venders

## ZIMBABWE PRESS

### Depressing deal

FM 9/1/81

213

The Argus group can take some comfort from the forced sale of its Zimbabwe newspaper interests to the government-controlled Mass Media Trust (MMT). Given the circumstances, the price (R3,2m) is fairly reasonable and the money is payable in SA where it will be available to help finance the heavy capital expansion costs Argus faces in buying new presses and introducing electronic editing.

For the rest, only the Zimbabwe government can be happy. Everyone else — journalists, Argus, the Zimbabwe public and southern Africa as a whole — will lose in one way or another. The Zimbabwe press will now become an instrument of official propaganda — in the same way that radio and TV already are (and were under the Smith government as well).

Senior white journalists face losing their jobs, junior ones the prospect of curtailed careers; while black journalists face a future in which ideological rectitude rather than journalistic excellence will be the likeliest path to promotion.

The Argus press empire — which once had papers in Zambia and Swaziland, as well as in Zimbabwe and SA — has been severely circumscribed. "We are," Argus chairman Layton Slater admitted to the

FM this week "back in the laager"

How much better it would have been if Argus had found a private buyer for its 40% of Zimbabwe Newspapers (1980) Ltd (formerly Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Co). Slater assures the FM that they tried, but no private buyer was forthcoming, and the MMT was the only alternative.

Slater points out that the Mugabe government cannot be blamed for objecting to the major shareholding in the country's press being in foreign hands — particularly when those hands are from a country they "regard as grossly racist".

#### Unseemly haste?

No doubt he is right, but there seems to have been an aura of almost unseemly haste about the negotiations. Working journalists in Zimbabwe have claimed that the first they knew of the deal was when they read about it in the *Sunday Mail*.

Slater, however, says that senior journalists were kept informed — particularly at a meeting on December 15 1980, attended by, among others, Frank Capon, chairman and MD of Zimbabwe Newspapers, company secretary Gordon Simpson, and the editors of most of the company newspapers. Heads of departments were

briefed at a separate meeting, Slater says.

The situation is a traumatic one for people (both journalist and non-journalist) who have built their careers in the Zimbabwe press. Argus is only guaranteeing not to desert those who are fired as a result of the takeover — basically meaning editors and others in policy-making positions who, the Mugabe government has said, will be replaced by blacks.

Others, who choose to resign rather than accept the situation, have no guarantee of jobs with Argus. Slater says it will depend on circumstances in each case.

Most senior policy-makers (particularly editors) cannot be offered equivalent posts in SA. Eric Richmond, editor of the *Sunday Mail*, has already accepted a downgraded post with Argus in Durban — probably with the *Sunday Tribune*.

Slater says Argus is happy with the price paid by the MMT. Basically Argus receives the book price of assets which, Slater says, several exercises showed to be fair and which accountants appointed by government also apparently accepted as fair.

However, in April last year the FM estimated Argus's share of Zimbabwe Newspapers (1980) Ltd to be worth R3.5m (on current market capitalisation) which was about R300,000 more than the com-

pany received. On the latest available (but still outdated) figures the FM estimates Argus sold at a discount of about 22%.

This may be a cheap price for Argus to pay for getting itself out of a difficult political situation with a reasonably hefty

slice of capital payable in SA. But from every other point of view it is a most depressing deal.

STAR 9/1/81

# Another Mwasa official banned

### Political Staff

A third executive member of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa was today placed under house arrest and served with a three-year banning order by Security Police.

He is 32-year-old Mr Mathata Tsedu, general secretary of Mwasa's far north region and a reporter at Transvaal Post.

The banning order was served at his home in Seshego, near Pietersburg.

Mr Tsedu's banning comes on the eve of a Mwasa executive council meeting where the banning orders of Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, national president, and Mr Marimatu Subreymoney were to be discussed and their posi-

tions filled.

Mr Tsedu was to have attended the council meeting but his banning will now appear on the agenda.

In terms of the banning order he is restricted to Seshego Township and has to obtain permission to go to Pietersburg or anywhere else.

A member of Mwasa's constitutional committee, Mr Tsedu joined the organisation in 1978, the year he was appointed Northern Transvaal Bureau chief of Post.

The publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr George Wauchope, said the banning must be linked with Mwasa's recent strike

S A Read

For the best final year student.  
General J B M Hertzog Prize

D H Pryce Lewis

For the best student of  
Architecture (or Quantity  
Surveying) in the subject  
of Professional Practice.

Miss C Tredgold

For the best woman student  
in third year.  
Molly Gohl Memorial Prize

P A Rappoport

For a student who has  
satisfactorily completed  
1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.  
Helen Gardner Travel Prize

P F Dunckley

Sixth Year

For the best student in :-  
of Architects' Prize  
Cape Provincial Institute

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTURE

Another  
RPM 10/1/81  
senior  
Mwasa  
243  
member  
banned

By DIAGO SEGOLA

ANOTHER member of the executive of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) was banned for three years and placed under house arrest yesterday

The banning of Mr Mathata Tsedu, secretary of Mwasa's Northern Transvaal region, follows the bans imposed last week on Mwasa president and Sunday Post news editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, and on Mr Marimuthu Subramoney, a BBC correspondent and national vice-chairman and Natal regional secretary of Mwasa

In terms of his banning order, Mr Tsedu, a reporter for Post newspaper, is restricted to Seshego, near Pietersburg, on weekdays and will be under house arrest over weekends and on public holidays

He is restricted to the magisterial district of Seshego and is required to obtain permission to go to Pietersburg

His banning order prevents him from entering any newspaper office or educational institution and also from attending social and political gatherings

Mwasa and the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) yesterday condemned Mr Tsedu's banning

Mwasa said in a statement "The banning of Mathata Tsedu leaves us in no doubt about the intentions of the South African Government

"The intention is to destroy Mwasa by picking at the leadership. Mathata Tsedu's contribution, both as a journalist and a senior Mwasa member, obviously did not go unnoticed by the Security Police"

The statement said the latest banning "had followed events which began with the bannings of Mr Sisulu and Mr Subramoney and the refusal to allow Mr Ken Ashton (of the British National Union of Journalists) entry into South Africa

In its statement Azaso said "The national executive of Azaso condemns in the strongest possible manner the banning of our comrade, Mathata Tsgdu

# Argus meet Minister on black papers

RDM  
10/1/81

~~227~~  
243

Staff Reporter

THE Argus Group management has met the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, to discuss the fate of three black publications

The meeting took place after a period of almost two weeks' Government silence on whether publication of Post (Transvaal), Sunday Post and The Sowetan, could be immediately resumed

Mr Hal Miller, managing director of the Argus Company, said yesterday a "firm" answer could be expected from Mr Heunis within a week

Registration of the then strike-hit papers lapsed at the end of November because they had not been published for more than a month

After a court action failed to win permission for continued publication of the newspapers, the Argus Group telexed an urgent message to Mr Heunis on December 29 asking him to

allow immediate resumption of publication

Mr Heunis was asked to use his power under the Internal Security Act — the same Act under which the three publications' registration lapsed — to condone the lapsing and to set aside the need for the statutory three-week period before newspapers can re-appear after re-registration

He can take such a decision after consultation with the Minister of Justice, Mr H J Coetsee

The Government action against the papers has caused an international outcry

In a statement, issued yesterday, Mr Miller said

"I have yesterday discussed with Mr Heunis the applications by the Argus Company for registration of the three newspapers and also the company's application for condonation of the lapse of their registration

"We now expect a firm reply within a week"



# ORGANISATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS

CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR 17 unions: 137640 members

- ULTRA-RIGHT WING UNIONS
- WHITE UNIONS ONLY ADMITTED
- STRONGLY SUPPORTS JOB RESERVATION - PROTECTION FOR WHITE WORKER
- NOT AFFILIATED TO INTERNATIONAL
- DIVIDED ON SUPPORT FOR NEW LAWS.

FOSATU

22030 members

- MAINLY OPPOSED TO GOVERNMENT
- PREDOMINANTLY COLOURED AND STRONG SUPPORT FOR MIXED UNIONS
- MANY AFFILIATED UNIONS ARE IN SOME AFFILIATION WITH INTERNATIONAL
- DO NOT SUPPORT THE NEW LEGISLATION
- CONDEMN "PARALLEL" UNION POLICY

TUCSA

260650 members

- OLDEST FEDERATION OF UNIONS
- MODERATE, MIDDLE-OF-ROAD POLICY
- SUPPORT REGULATIONS FOR REGISTRATION
- MANY MIXED AND SINGLE RACE UNIONS
- AFFILIATED TO INTERNATIONAL
- SUPPORT "PARALLEL" UNION POLICY
- SUPPORT AND HAVE HELPED INTERNATIONAL

NON-ALIGNED UNIONS

POLICIES SET BY EACH UNION ON

DD 10/1/81  
Mwasa  
328 244 11A  
banned

JOHANNESBURG — Another executive member of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) was banned yesterday for three years and house arrested

He is Mr Mathata Tsedu, secretary of Mwasa's northern Transvaal region. His banning follows closely on the bans imposed last week on the Mwasa president, Mr Zweleakhe Sisulu, and Mr Marimuthu Subramoney a vice-president

Mr Tsedu, a reporter on Post, is restricted to Seshego, near Pieter-sburg, on weekdays and will be under house arrest over weekends

Mwasa condemned the banning, saying it left them in no doubt about the intentions of the government

"The intention is to destroy Mwasa by picking at the leadership." — DDC.

## Korchnoi wins

MERANO — Soviet exile Victor Korchnoi won the world chess candidates final yesterday when West Germany's Robert Heubner gave up after eight completed games

Huebner pulled out because he was exhausted from the strains of the three-week-old tournament — SAPA-AP.

DISCRIMINATORY

276025 members

POLICY

ED

# Media inquiry judge condemns press coverage

DD 16/1/81

JOHANNESBURG — The failure of some newspapers to report certain evidence heard by the Steyn Commission investigating the media may be considered in the commission's final report, the chairman, Mr Justice M T Steyn, said here yesterday

Judge Steyn said at the start of a public hearing that newspapers had ignored a lengthy debate between the commission and representatives of the Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ)

The press chose to reflect only certain issues, he said

SASJ president, John Mr Allen, said yesterday the SASJ was not opposed in principle to the government openly owning newspapers as long as a diversity of opinion was allowed. It did oppose political control of the media

While the SASJ believed it too early to judge the effects of the Zimbabwe Government's take-over of the press, it opposed the move if it lessened press freedom

Mr Allen said of journalist strikers, there was a difference between stopping the "press flow of information" and the government closing down a newspaper

Dr H P Botha, Chief Director of Health

Promotion, said all state departments should strive for closer ties with the media

Dealings with the press had proven them generally reliable, clear and accurate. They avoided sensation and most reporters were responsible in their approach to health matters, he said

Mr Ton Vosloo, editor of Beeld, warned the commission that the government's "excellent opportunity" to present its case favourably to the Reagan administration would be lost if press freedom was curbed

In the US, Press freedom was an indication of the freedom of a country, he said

In South Africa people were agitating, within the press, not for an overthrow of government, but of the Western capitalist system, Mr Vosloo said

He suggested the existing Press Council be given additional powers to protect people against "unbridled" reporting, to protect the media from interference and to investigate alleged transgressions of the Press Code

The commission's next public hearing with submissions from the newspaper Press Union, will be in Cape Town on Wednesday — DDC

243

Cape Provincial Institute  
of Architects' Prize  
For the best student in :-

Sixth Year

P F Dunkley

Helen Gardner Travel Prize

For a student who has

satisfactorily completed

1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

P A Rappoport

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize

For the best woman student

in third year.

Miss C Tredgold

David Haddon Prize

For the best student of

Architecture (or Quantity

Surveying) in the subject

of Professional Practice.

D H Pryce Lewis

General J B M Hertzog Prize

For the best final year student.

S A Read

Osbourn Prize

For the best work in fourth

year.

D H Pryce Lewis

John Perry Prize

For the best work in

third year.

R A van Rosenfeld.

# Banning of Mwasa official condemned

The banning yesterday of Mr Mathata Tsedu, the Northern Transvaal chairman of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa), has been condemned by the Mwasa executive and the SASJ.

Mr Tsedu, a reporter on Post (Transvaal) based in Pietersburg, was handed a three-year banning order by the Security Police yesterday and placed under house arrest.

The Mwasa statement, issued by the organisation's national executive, said the banning left no doubt about the Government's intentions.

Mr Tsedu is the third senior Mwasa official to be banned.

"The intention is to destroy Mwasa by picking at the leadership. Mr Tsedu's contribution both as a journalist and as senior member of Mwasa obviously did not go unnoticed by the Security Police," the statement said.

Mr John Allen, president of the South African Society of Journalists (SASJ), said to ban a journalist such as Mr Tsedu was a demonstration of weakness for it required strength to face up to and respond to the challenges raised by such men.

ARCHITECTURE

Cape Provincial Institute of Architects' Prize  
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R A van Rosenveld.

Mtimkulu

acting as

head of <sup>STAR</sup> 12/11/81

Mwasa <sup>243</sup>

Political Staff

Mr Phillip Frederick Mtimkulu was yesterday elected acting president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa).

The decision was taken at a national council meeting at the weekend

Mr Mtimkulu takes over from the recently banned Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu

The two other banned executives, Mr M Subiemoney of the Natal region and Mr Mathata Tsedu of the Far North region, have not been replaced

Mr Mtimkulu, who was Mwasa's Transvaal vice president, said his organisation did not recognise the bannings of their leaders but had made appointments merely to carry out the functions of those now banned.

Mwasa intends holding a national convention in May.

The Press organisation is working on a memorandum about alleged Security Police harassment

This will be distributed locally and overseas

Transvaal secretary Mr Joseph Nong Thloloe takes over from Mr Mtimkulu as Transvaal vice president

**Qoboza**  
**resigns**

*SMK*  
*243*  
*15/1/81*



**MR PERCY QOBOZA**

Mr Percy Qoboza has resigned as editor of Post Transvaal and Sunday Post.

Mr Hal Miller, managing director of the Argus Company, said he had received a telegram from Mr Qoboza in Washington today. Mr Qoboza, who had been on sick leave, left Johannesburg suddenly at the weekend.

His telegram read: "Recent Government actions on black Press and banning of black journalists have forced me to tender my resignation as editor of Post. Would have liked to discuss matter with you in detail last Wednesday but consultation with my lawyers took longer than expected. Am rushing off to conference in Sierra Leone."

R A V  
third  
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Gene  
D H H

For the best student of Architecture (or Quantity Surveying) in the subject of Professional Practice.

David Haddon Prize

Miss C Tredgold

in third year.

For the best woman student

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Sixth Year

For the best student in :-

of Architects' Prize

Cape Provincial Institute

ARCHITECTURE

MR QOBOZA  
DD 14/1/81  
Percy Qoboza

## resigns

JOHANNESBURG — The editor of Post Transvaal and Sunday Post, Mr Percy Qoboza, yesterday resigned his position after slipping quietly out of the country to the United States at the weekend.

Mr Qoboza's dramatic move caught even his employers by surprise. Mr Hal Miller, managing director of the Argus Company, said he received a telegram from Mr Qoboza in Washington yesterday.

The telegram read: "Recent government actions on black press and banning of black journalists have forced me to tender my resignation as editor of Post. Would have liked to discuss matter with you in detail last Wednesday but consultation with my lawyers took longer than expected. Am rushing off to conference in Sierra Leone."

Mr Miller said Mr Qoboza, who had been on sick leave, left here suddenly at the weekend. He declined to comment further.

Mr Qoboza returned home from a three-month stay in the US about a month ago, where he was editor-in-residence of the Washington Star and also Howard Marsh professor of communications at the University of Michigan.

On his arrival home, he was greeted by the protracted strike by journalists at Post and other major newspapers in the country. A statement from Mr Miller at the time said Mr Qoboza "would remain on sick leave at least until the end of the year to give full effect to the remedial treatment he received overseas."

In the meantime Mr Joe Letakgomo will continue to act as editor of the two newspapers.

Both Mr John Gittins, manager of the newspapers, and Mr Letakgomo declined to comment. — DDC.

THIS  
WEEK



VARIOUS Nationalist Cabinet ministers at various times have found great joy in lambasting the English-language Press in South Africa, accusing it of being unpatriotic, one-sided and generally destructive. They have advanced a little, though not much, from those bygone days when these newspapers were described too, by earlier missionaries of Afrikaner nationalism, as the 'tools' of an imperialist power — Great Britain

Recently, or not so long ago at any rate, the Prime Minister said that if a country faced a total onslaught, 'then it is not only politicians that must be disciplined. The same applies to the Press'

### Way cleared

The politicians, it appears, have so far done insufficient to incur his ire but not long thereafter he appointed not one, but two successive commissions of inquiry under Mr Justice MT Steyn. The first was into the reporting of security matters affecting the South African Defence Force and the Police and the second, the way having been opened by the first, 'to in-

# This 'bastion of democracy' must hold to basic freedoms

NM 14/1/81

243

by  
**JAMES M<sup>C</sup>MILLAN**  
EDITOR

quire into and report on whether the conduct of, and the handling of matters by, the mass media meets the needs and interests of the South African community and the demands of the times, and if not how they can be improved'

Among the observations of the first Steyn Commission was that 'a partnership should exist between the media and authorities so that they can co-operate in the interests of survival in South Africa' and that the 'State has a right to protect itself. Press freedom is not an unassailable holy cow'

Steyn, Mark I, gave no indication of whose interests would be served by this co-operation, whether it was the policies of the present party in power, whites only, all South Africans or whatever party was in power at any particular time (the State in perhaps a general but more exact sense)

### Portents

Perhaps we will have a better idea after Steyn, Mark II, which resumed its hearings this week and visits Durban early in February, has reported on our shortcomings

After all that has been said, however, one would have to be obtuse to the point of stupidity not to recognise that Mr PW Botha and company feel the Press should be disciplined and placed in a legislative strait-jacket to serve the national (party?) interest in his 'total strategy' to overcome the 'total onslaught'

The theme is pretty well that the media should serve the State, a philosophy which has in its chorus most of the Third World, Russia and the Eastern bloc who have been campaigning in Unesco for almost as many years as the Nationalist Government has been in power, for what they see as a need for a New World Order of Information

It is an attitude which is

political, economic and cultural dominance which is alien to the countries concerned and therefore destructive of their social traditions

Individual freedom, along with freedom of the Press as an ideal for society is scoffed at as a form of 'cultural imperialism'

### Cornerstone

Black governments, some following their Soviet mentors, are making it a cornerstone of their policy to take over and 'reform' the Press as a tool in their task of 'nation building'. One of the most recent examples is Zimbabwe, where there is little doubt that instead of disseminating objective news and championing the rights of the individual, the four newspapers recently acquired by Mr Robert Mugabe's Government will soon be playing an ideological role in explaining to the people their part in bringing about the new social order he has in mind

Shortly before the takeover the Zimbabwean Government's Mr Enos Nkala attacked the newspapers as 'imperialist' and 'anti-government' and called for the very action which followed. His Prime Minister, too, reintroduced work permits for non-Zimbabwean-born journalists irrespective of how long they had been resident in Zimbabwe. The system, not much different from the register of journalists being suggested in some quarters in South Africa, allows for the immediate cancellation of a permit and the holder's expulsion, within 24 hours, in the event of a report being held to be offensive — by a minister, not a court

and the concept of the Press as a tool of governments'

He might have added that the line between one and the other clearly grows faint to the point of being obliterated altogether when a state legislates (or even threatens to) for the Press to serve any interest other than the truth — fairly, accurately and devoid of malice but with its supreme concern the legitimate welfare of both the individual and the community as a whole

It is this freedom, no greater than that of the individual, which responsible newspapers seek to preserve and dictatorial governments, regarding it as a privilege, desire to manipulate

The fervent hope of all fair-minded South Africans should be that after the Steyn Commission's final report the Government will reaffirm its commitment to Western concepts of the freedom of the individual and the Press, and stop giving the impression — however angry it might at times become — that it favours Third World interpretations of this basic freedom. Mr Botha cannot continue talking of South Africa being a bastion of Western democracy if he does not

*Respite*

United States, free Europe  
and all other democracies

### **Gaining ground**

What the developing countries have in mind has been gaining ground steadily at the United Nations, with the blessings of the majority, and to a disquieting degree bears some resemblance to what has been happening here. Among the ultra-Right in South Africa even some of the language has a familiar ring.

The Third World leaders concerned have been arguing that just because parliamentary democracy, an independent judiciary or a free Press support individual rights and liberties against the powers of the State, this does not mean that they are universally desirable. They maintain that the 'foreign Press', international news agencies, radio and television which is not homegrown — and therefore subject to Government control — is hypercritical of their shortcomings and under their 'imperialist mantle' there is imposed on the developing world a pattern of

The New Information Order, like the Third World's sought-after New Economic Order which calls for a redistribution of wealth, turns long-accepted values upside down.

At the most recent conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Unesco) in Belgrade in October the United States and Britain only just managed to head off, temporarily at any rate, the latest Russian and Third World demands which would have had the world body policing the use of media satellites, drawing up codes of conduct for journalists and even regulating the contents of their reports.

Free-world countries maintained that this would legitimise political control over the Press and undermine any respect for its truthfulness and lack of bias.

The chairman of the International Press Institute, Mr Cushrow, Iran, told the conference: "There is no synthesis possible between the concept of a free Press working independently of, and often in spite of, governments

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# Friction will grow if

# Press is restricted'

Extracts from a memorandum submitted to the Steyn Commission.

## Reports by Kevin Murray and Tony Duigan

Conflict between blacks and whites in South Africa would escalate if restrictions were imposed on Press freedom, the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media was told in a memorandum from the South African Society of Journalists

"The Press is nothing more or less than a medium of communication in society," the Southern African Society of Journalists said in a memorandum submitted to the commission in Johannesburg.

"If we shut off communication conflict will escalate, not diminish."

If the Government limited communication between blacks and whites nobody should blind himself to the consequences, the SASJ warned.

Dissatisfied blacks were becoming more insistent that their voices be heard

This was evident in the number of disturbances, strikes, and people who had left the country for military training in 1976

"We have a choice. Either we shut off avenues of talk, with the inevitable consequences, or we open them to encourage though but non-violent forms of communication."

One of the gravest problems facing the South African community was an inadequate force of black journalists able to articulate the aspirations, opinions, strengths, weaknesses, merits, problems, pleasures, frustrations and achievements of the black community, said the SASJ. According to SASJ esti-

mates there was one white journalist for every 1 171 whites, but only one black journalist for every 51 961 blacks

Among the reasons for this were inadequate education, inadequate training for black journalists, and lack of understanding by newspaper managements and editors of the problems facing black journalists.

When whites came across strong feelings among blacks their immediate reaction was a desire to suppress them, to pretend they did not exist.

"We are not concerned with the content of black opinion. We are concerned only to ensure it

reaches the ears, eyes and minds of the whole community," said the SASJ.

Only if black opinion was freely articulated would those in authority and the community be able to identify the needs and demands of the times. Unless it was, the authorities and society would not be able to respond to those needs and demands.

The SASJ submitted a quote from Harold Evans' book "The Half Free Press": "The cleverest secret agents of the police state are inferior to the prodigious reporter of the democracy".

South African Ministers

often complained citizens did not understand the extent to which foreign organisations and agencies were working against South Africa's interests, international opposition and the gravity of the total onslaught against the country

"The Government cannot have it both ways.

"If South Africans don't appreciate the extent of the 'total onslaught' there are two reasons," said the SASJ.

First, the Press was not permitted to give them the information they needed to make that assessment.

Second, the SABC in its desire to project "positive news" constantly told the public how well South Africa, South Africans and Government policy were received abroad.

Mr John Allen . . . SASJ president.

Mr John Battersby . . . SASJ vice-president for Western Cape

# Conflict a necessary part of democracy

There was an inherent and necessary conflict between Government and the Press in a democratic order, the Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ) told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media today.

In a memorandum to the commission, the SASJ submitted that government depended on consent and co-operation.

But, democracy depended on debate and disagreement, and the Press was the agent of those who disagreed with the government, the memorandum said.

"It is inherent in democracy that while the government of the day is going about the business for which it was elected, there are open moves within the community to persuade the electorate not to renew the government's mandate next time it gets a chance to vote.

"One of the most effective ways of doing this is to criticise the manner in which the government

exercises the power which it was given last time the people had a chance to vote.

"It is therefore quite inevitable not only that there will be disagreement about the way the government goes about its business but that there will be subjective, prejudiced and biased criticism of what it is doing.

"The whole purpose of the democratic system is to enable the people to change their government.

"That is why it has been recognised for centuries that the ultimate authority of the government must lie in the consent of the people," the SASJ submitted.

MR JUSTICE STEYN

## PRESS ROLE

The SASJ felt that the Prime Minister did not fully comprehend the role of the Press in a democratic society.

"Without a free Press to report on the circumstances which necessitate changes, neither public opinion nor those with the political ability to change laws will know that the relevant circumstances have arisen," the SASJ said.

The society also disagreed with recent statements by the Prime Minister calling for "justified, constructive" criticism.

"Criticism does not have to be 'justified' before it can be freely published in a democracy.

"Nor does criticism have to be 'constructive' before it should be published.

"It is sufficient that the criticism is lawful.

"If it is newsworthy, a newspaper is entitled to publish it"

The memorandum said a government which interfered with the Press was no different to the monarch who beheaded the bearer of bad news and rewarded the bearer of good news

## DISTORTED

In each case the message became distorted to "satisfy" the receiver, — or it was not delivered at all.

"If a room is too hot you don't attack the thermostat. You look to the causes"

Thus it was in the interests of the society that the Press reflected society's attitudes so that the government was in a position to seek out the causes of those attitudes.

It was not the function of journalists to assess news by any standards other than its newsworthiness and the lawfulness of publishing it, the memorandum said.

"Freedom of speech is not an end in itself. It is the means by which freedom is preserved and protected.

"For that reason any attempt to limit freedom of the Press — which is but one dimension of free speech — is the concern of all members of the South African community."

There would be instances of Press freedom being abused but that did not mean the freedom itself should be curtailed, the SASJ submitted.

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# Press must push justice — Dugard



## PROFESSOR JOHN DUGARD

The Press in South Africa has a special duty to promote justice by means of publicity, Professor John Dugard, Wits University international law expert, says in a submission made by the Southern African Society of Journalists to the Steyn Commission.

"In a country such as South Africa where the parliamentary opposition is numerically weak and the power of the courts to intervene in the interests of justice is severely restricted, a very heavy burden is placed upon the Press to advance the ideals of democracy," Professor Dugard said.

The director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits University was giving his assessment of the political and social philosophy advocated by the first Steyn Commission — also headed by Mr Justice Martinus Steyn — which last year investigated reporting of defence and police matters.

### RIGHTS

The first Steyn Commission's report was premised on the assertion that South Africa was a democratic society, Professor Dugard said. "But the commission's view of democracy does not accord with generally accepted notions, particularly in the emphasis it placed on the sovereignty and safety of the State and on the obligations of its citizens."

Human rights were seen by the commission as being a "gift of the law" and therefore

conferred or tolerated by Parliament. The State rather than the individual was seen as having "inalienable rights," Professor Dugard added.

In several places the commission emphasised the security of the State as a prime legal value and subordinated the rights of the individual to those of the group.

### DISTINCTION

The commission drew a sharp distinction between the rights recognised by the law and basic human rights that may not be recognised by the South African legal system.

"There is no reason why a commission should not endorse political authoritarianism. But when it does so it should acknowledge that its philosophy is out of line with the Western democratic tradition."

The Steyn Commission repeatedly described South African society and its own philosophy as "democratic" but none of the values of a democracy — respect for individual rights, equality, control of government by the people and the rule of law — received the unequivocal support of the commission, Prof Dugard said.

This made it incomprehensible that the commission should so adamantly proclaim its adherence to democracy, he added.

The commission denied any individual had any fundamental, inalienable rights but claimed he only had those rights conferred on him by law.

# Journalists veto Govt plan for a professional role

Journalism in South Africa would grind to a halt if it were to be recognised as an established profession, the Southern African Society of Journalists warned today.

To be regarded as an established profession such as law or medicine, minimum academic qualifications would be required to enter journalism, the SASJ told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media.

"That requirement would have eliminated some very eminent journalists from the field in the past.

"What, it would do to journalism in South Africa today is beyond contemplation.

"Journalism would grind to a halt."

The standard of journalism would be destroyed if its ranks were to be closed except to those academically qualified or if local journalists were denied the stimulus of working with foreign colleagues.

A register for journal-

ists would create utter confusion, because the question, "What is a journalist?" must then be asked.

Recipe compilers, regular writers of letters to editors, and book reviewers would be among those affected.

The Government already had absolute power over newspapers in terms of the Internal Security Act.

Newspapers and journalists would be silenced overnight.

"In our opinion the raising of questions of registers and a regulated profession from which individuals can be disqualified manifests a frustration in certain quarters at the Government's inability to bend the Press to its will."

The SASJ urged the commission to insist that any proceedings resulting in the imposition of any form of penalty on a journalist, including disqualification from working, be subject to a right of full appeal to the Supreme Court.

# Race views not Press 'to blame for pariah image

South Africa's essentially racialistic attitudes, and not the Press which mirrored the attitudes it saw, had made the country an international pariah, the Southern African Society of Journalists told the Steyn Commission.

"If the essential attitude of South Africans is one of racial intolerance and at times hatred, then that attitude will inevitably be mirrored in Press reports," the SASJ submitted.

"The argument that world opinion is against South Africa because of the methods used by the English-language Press over the years is entirely invalid."

Anti-South African feeling rested on the rejection by the free world of a political system which appeared to enshrine racial superiority.

Racialistic comments over the years by several leading political figures in the country helped confirm the view, held by the West that South Africa's policies were based on white superiority.

But world opinion did and would continue to respond to evidence of a change in South African attitudes.

"In 1979 South Africa received a more favourable Press than in any other year in the previous three decades, simply on the strength of an apparent change of attitude as evidenced by statements of the Prime Minister," the SASJ said.

The overseas Press had responded to changes and had encouraged signs of increasing racial tolerance. It would be naive to think that attitudes could be changed, except through publicity and exposure.

## OPEN DEBATE

"Paradoxically, while many South Africans blame the existence of a relatively free Press for South Africa's poor image overseas, it is this 'free Press' that creates respect for South Africa internationally.

"If a political dispensation acceptable to all South Africa's peoples is to be worked out, it will be achieved only if the maximum possible freedom is allowed within society for the propagation of different views and open and vigorous debate," the SASJ said.

But there seemed to be a growing belief that not only "inflammatory speeches" but hard news should be suppressed.

Details of racial and industrial unrest and conflicts between police and public had become increasingly difficult to report because access to facts had been restricted by the authorities.

Restrictions on reports on facts could never be justified without clear proof of material disadvantage to the public.

# SASJ voices objections to inquiry into media

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By Kevin Murray

The Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ) today protested at the appointment of a commission of inquiry into the mass media

In a memorandum handed to the commission in Johannesburg, representa-

tives of the SASJ said they objected to the inquiry because circumstances indicated an intention on the part of the Government to extend its control of the Press irrespective of the findings or recommendations of the commission

The memorandum was compiled by SASJ president John Allen, attorney Mr Kerth Lister, and SASJ Transvaal vice-president Mr Chus Smith

"We record that it is with extreme reluctance that we are participating at all in the proceedings of this commission," said the memorandum

Five reasons were given for the SASJ's objection to the commission

● The SASJ felt the Government would extend its control of the Press irrespective of the commission's findings

● The commission's terms of reference were "blatantly political issues"

● The SASJ did not believe a judge of the Supreme Court should have been chosen as chairman

● Regulations had been declared to be applicable to the commission which would prevent free debate about the political issues which had been referred to it

● It was "nonsensical in our opinion" to suggest that a small group of individuals were capable of making scientifically valid findings on issues such as those which had been referred to the commission.

The SASJ stated it felt the commission should rather deal with the matter as if the following had been its terms of reference (The bold sections being SASJ additions to the present terms) "To inquire into and report on the question whether the conduct of, and the handling of matters by, the mass media is considered by different members of the South African community to meet the needs and interests of the communi-

C S Jones  
Second Year  
J A L Chapman  
First Year

For the best student in each year of study of the degree course.

Book Prizes  
For the Building Industry  
National Development Fund

M R I Ness  
For the best project in structure and design.  
R Stubbs Award

J G Kirkman  
design work.  
For the student who has made best use of bricks in his design work.  
S A Brick Association Prize

Miss M F J Sandilands  
first year.  
For the best work in  
Mrs. Thornton White Prize

BUILDING

(Cont'd)

report on different views which are held within the community as to how they can be improved"

Page 9: Friction will grow "if Press is restricted"

# Hertzog complaint to Press Council

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By JEREMY BROOKS

A COMPLAINT against the Sunday Times by Dr Albert Hertzog, a former Minister and leader of the Herstigste Nasionale Party, was considered yesterday by the Press Council

The complaint arose in connection with an article printed in the newspaper's "Hogarth" column on August 31 last year

The article commented on the achievements of the Postmaster-General, Mr Louis Rive, on the eve of his retirement, and paid tribute to his restoration of a telephone service previously "reduced to a hopeless mess by former Minister of Posts Albert Hertzog"

Yesterday's hearing was under the chairmanship of Mr

Justice Oscar Galgut, assisted by two assessors. The Sunday Times was represented by Mr Kelsey Stuart

Dr Hertzog, in a letter to the council, said he 'objected most strongly to the fact that my name has been dragged into an attempt by the columnist to praise Mr Rive and, in addition, to attack me with false allegations'

Dr Hertzog said the Sunday Times could easily have established the true picture by consulting the relevant Hansard passages during the debate of the Post Office Readjustment Bill in 1968, when his successor as Minister of Posts and Telegraphs had set out the correct facts and paid tribute to him

The Sunday Times refused to publish an apology or a correc-

tion, but altered the words "reduced to a hopeless mess" to "left in a mess". It added that during the year of Dr Hertzog's retirement the waiting list for telephones was 60 000, with an official estimate that the backlog would take five years to overcome

Dr Hertzog said the reasons why the Post Office was experiencing problems had been set out in Parliament: all income went to the Treasury and only a small portion was reallocated to the Post Office

Mr Stuart, arguing for the Sunday Times, said that if the council was to take regard of laudatory passages in Hansard made by a fellow National Party member, then it should also pay attention to other passages quoting the shadow Minister,

Mr E G Malan, which were severely critical of Dr Hertzog

Quoting from articles and surveys written shortly after Dr Hertzog's retirement, Mr Stuart said it was common cause that the telephone service had been "in a mess"

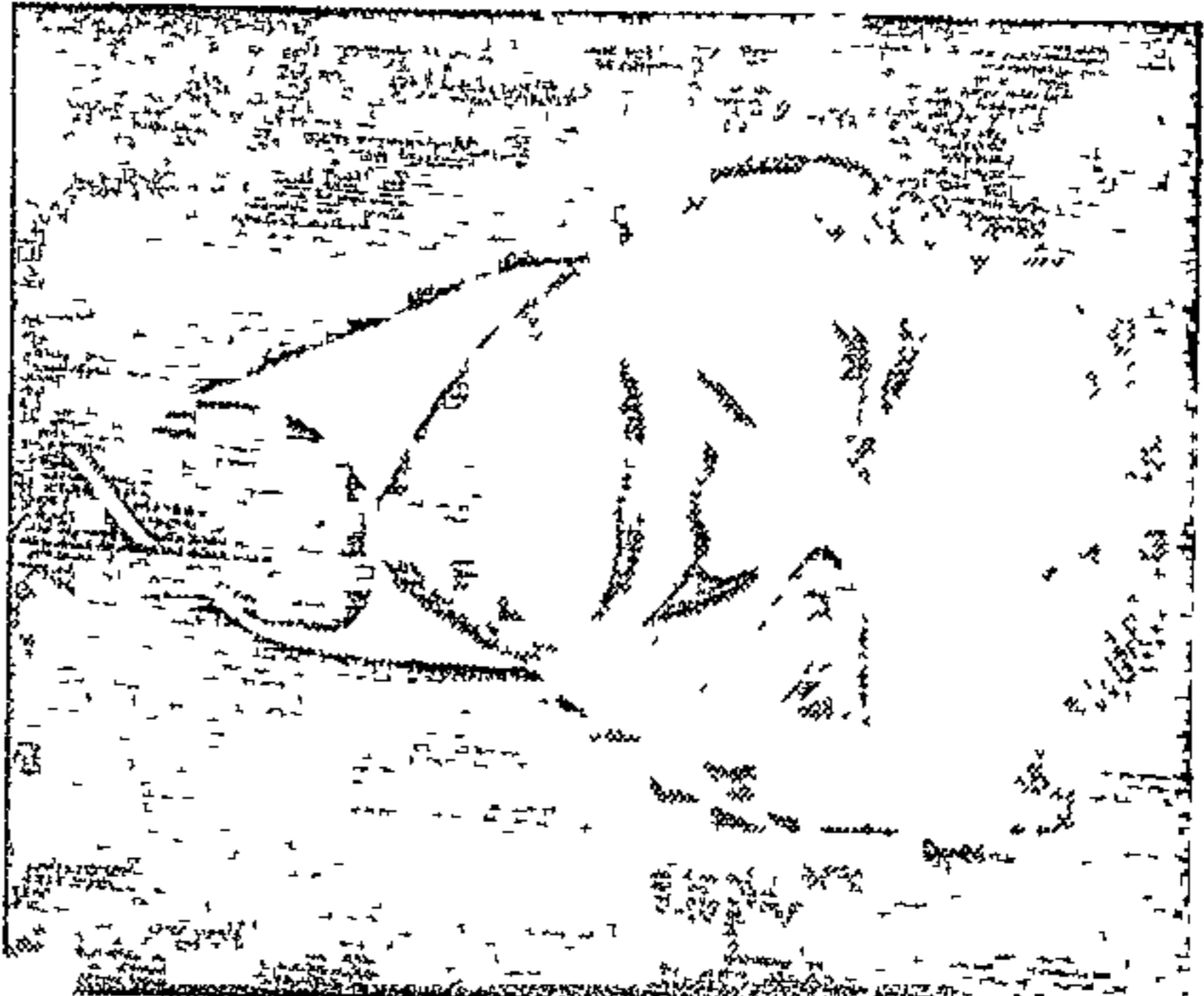
He said it was obvious that the Post Office was suffering from a critical lack of capital during a crucial business boom and that the Minister had not been forceful enough in getting sufficient funds for his department

"Whether through inertia or through insufficient support the complainant was unable to obtain the necessary funds which his successors were later able to do," Mr Stuart said

Mr Galgut reserved judgment

# EVIDENCE TO THE STEYN COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE MASS MEDIA GIVEN BY THE SC

BY CHRIS FREIMOND



Judge Steyn 'in the political arena'

## Why the RBY SASJ rejects the inquiry

It seemed that the commission had been set the task of deciding what conditions had to exist to enable a free and democratic society to grow in South Africa

Such conditions had been debated for centuries and individual members of the commission would probably differ on the many conflicting views

"The suggestion that the Commission should declare itself able to reconcile the conflicting views of some of the great minds of the past and present in order to determine the precise 'needs and interests of the South African community' is bad enough

The idea that individual journalists and editors should thereafter consider whether publication of the news of the day will or will not meet those needs and interests is simply absurd," the SASJ said

It did not believe that five individuals, however objective or talented, could seriously consider themselves capable of reaching an authoritative and scientifically valid conclusion as to "the needs and interests of the South African community" or "the demands of the times"

The exercise became "more absurd" when an assessment had to be made of whether "the conduct of, and the handling of matters by, the mass media" meets those needs, interests and demands

"By the time the third stage of the inquiry is reached — how they can be improved — we believe that any pretence of objectivity or scientific precision is intellectually grotesque," the society said

IN ITS evidence yesterday, the Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ) listed five major reasons for its disapproval of the Steyn Commission

- The circumstances leading to the commission's appointment indicated, in the opinion of the society, an intention on the part of the Government to extend its control of the Press irrespective of the findings of the commission.
- The commission's terms of reference related to blatantly political issues.
- The SASJ did not believe that a judge of the Supreme Court should have been chosen to chair the commission.
- Regulations were applicable to the commission that would prevent free political debate about the political issues which had been referred to it

Members of the commission were given artificial protections which were not enjoyed by those who offered themselves for election to participate in the cut and thrust of political debate, and

- It was nonsensical, in the opinion of the SASJ, to suggest that a small group of individuals were capable of making scientifically valid findings on issues such as those which had been referred to the commission
- The character of a political question was not changed by asking non-politicians to answer it
- Nor was it changed because a Supreme Court judge was asked to answer it
- "When he does so he steps into the political arena. He cannot do otherwise," the SASJ said

While the practice of appointing judges to head commissions was designed to satisfy divergent political opinion, no judge could remain above politics if "the very essence of his task is to

make a political judgment"

A judge was acceptable to the public as the chairman of a commission because he was trained and respected for his ability to be impartial. He was not selected and trusted for other qualities which he may or may not have

"We mean no disrespect to the Chairman of this Commission or to the office which he holds as a judge of the Supreme Court. But we believe that it would be wrong for the Chairman to believe that his abilities as a Supreme Court judge qualify him in any way to answer the political questions which will have to be answered by the Commission in fulfilling its mandate," the SASJ said

It rejected the view that additional weight would be given to the commission's findings or recommendations because the chairman, as a judge, was better able as an individual citizen to answer questions with "explosive political" overtones

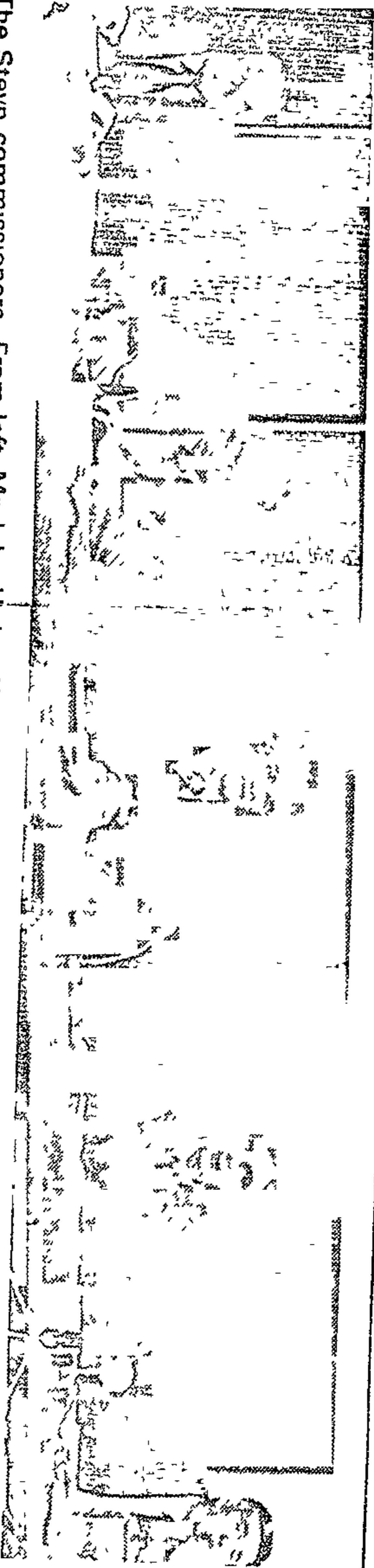
"Furthermore, we are duty bound to inform the public that we reject it and to ask them to reject it as well," it said

There was considerable authoritative reference to the prejudice inherent in all people, including Supreme Court judges. Their legal training enabled them to suppress prejudice and preference, but it did not disappear

The SASJ quoted from the autobiography of a former Judge-President of Natal, Mr Justice F. N. Broome, who wrote "Nearly every judge who has anything of a judicial personality may be



SOUTHERN AFRICAN SOCIETY OF JOURNALISTS (SASJ) IN JOHANNESBURG YESTERDAY



The Steyn commissioners From left, Mr John Hulet Hopkin, Mr Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau, Mr Justice M T Steyn, Dr Das Herbst and Mr Basil Landau

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# Commission's 'authoritarian' outlook

THE "First Steyn Commission" which reported last year investigated newspaper reporting of police and military matters. The SASJ commissioned Professor John Dugard, Director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand and one of the country's foremost legal authorities, to assess the philosophy behind the report. His critique was submitted to the Second Steyn Commission yesterday as part of the SASJ's memorandum.

Prof Dugard accused the (first) commission of following a "orthodox and positivist" philosophy which was foreign to the philosopher's heritage of Western democracy.

The philosophy was "authoritarian" in that it depicted a view of society in which the absolute sovereignty of the State was emphasised at the expense of the prime values of a democracy -- notably the need for the consent of the governed, respect for individual liberty and equality before the law.

This was apparent from a number of features of the commission's report:

- Human rights were seen as the "gift of the law";
- The State, rather than the individual, was seen as possessing 'inalienable rights';
- Emphasis was placed upon the security of the State as a prime legal value;
- The subordination of the interests of the individual to the interests of the "group", which in context is synonymous with the State;
- The "crude positivist mes-

sage" of the 19th Century which saw law as the command of the sovereign to a political inferior coupled with sanction had been discarded by modern jurists who espoused the positivist creed.

"Nevertheless it still seems to me to find favour with the Steyn Commission which draws sharp distinction between the rights recognised by the law -- viz positive rights -- and basic human rights that may not be recognised by the South African legal system," Prof Dugard said.

While the commission repeatedly described South African society and its own philosophy as "democratic", it did not unequivocally support any of the four basic principle legal values of modern democracy:

- Respect for the rights of the individual;
- Equality;
- Control of government by the people, and
- The rule of law.

The commission denied that the individual had any inalienable, fundamental rights, but claimed that he had only those rights that were conferred upon him by the law. It insisted that there could be no "right" without a "duty".

It complained that an over-emphasis on "Rights" and disregard for the individual's obligations to his country and community undermined the task of the Defence Force.

The lack of concern shown for individual rights made it difficult to give credence to the commission's professed support for democracy. It

claimed that the individual had only those rights that were conferred by common law or statute law and totally ignored the doctrine of natural rights, Prof Dugard said.

Such rights were recognised in the three most notable Bills of Rights in the modern world, the US Bill of Rights, the Basic Law of the German Federal Republic and the Canadian Bill of Rights.

The commission's assertion that individual rights could not exist without duties was "jurisprudentially unsound", he said.

While it is true that modern social democracies place greater stress on social obligation than individual right, this shift in emphasis has occurred in the interests of social and economic justice and not in order to stress the 'duties' of the citizen towards the State -- as suggested by the Steyn Commission," Prof Dugard said.

The commission was highly critical -- and cynical -- of the concern for human rights shown by the United States in its foreign policy and by implication for the protection of human rights by international means.

It showed disregard for the "genuine and well-intentioned" attempts by the international community to promote respect for human rights through international treaties.

"Had it consulted these treaties the Steyn Commission would have discovered that all emphasize freedom of expression and the right of the individual to receive in-

formation through the media as important human rights," he said.

While no democracy had attained absolute equality for its citizens, they did at least aspire to abolish man-made (as opposed to natural) differences in the treatment of their citizens.

"Certainly the allocation of civil and political rights on the basis of race is seen as incompatible with the legal ideals of democracy," he said.

The commission did not deny the need for equality in a democratic society and suggested in fact that such equality -- at least in the form of equality before the law -- existed in South Africa.

"This assertion, based on the common law ideal, completely ignores the statutory law of apartheid. It is hardly necessary to list the vast array of discriminatory laws on the South African statute book which have brought the South African legal system into disrepute," Prof Dugard said.

Government of the people did not exist in South Africa. The vast majority of citizens had no say in the law-making process of the central, sovereign parliament.

"It would have been wiser for the Steyn Commission to admit this obvious fact rather than to attempt to disguise it," he said.

A number of South African statutes -- notably the Internal Security Act and the Terrorism Act -- clearly violated the Rule of Law.

In his conclusion, Prof Dugard said in a country such as



PROF DUGARD heavy burden on Press

South Africa where the parliamentary opposition was numerically weak and the power of the courts to intervene in the interests of justice severely restricted, a very heavy burden was placed on the Press to advance the ideals of democracy.

"As the Steyn Commission on the Mass Media is likely to consider issues substantially similar to those raised in the report of the 'First Steyn Commission', it is essential that the Second Commission be persuaded to adjust its views on the nature of South African society so that it may see Press Freedom in a truly democratic perspective," he said.

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The chairman of the commission of inquiry into the media, Mr Justice M T Steyn (right), questions the journalists' union delegation which gave evidence in Johannesburg yesterday. With him are Mr Klaus von Lieres and Dr Dirk Herbst

# Free speech concern of all the peoples'

RDM 15/7/81 (243)

By CHRIS FREIMOND

Free speech freedom was an issue of concern to all South Africans. It was not something to be fought out between the Government and newspaper owners, Mr Justice M T Steyn said in his report to the Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media heard in Johannesburg yesterday.

A memorandum submitted to the Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ) said any attempt to limit the freedom of the Press — which was only one dimension of free speech — was the concern of the whole country.

There was an "inherent and necessary conflict between the Government and the Press in a democratic order and there will always be those who will see the conflict intolerable. The views of or in the Press did not coincide with their own.

There was, in fact, no such thing as "freedom of the Press". Either there was freedom or there was not. Freedom was indivisible. If the freedom of the Press was threatened, it was the freedom of speech that was the victim. If the freedom of the Press disappeared, democracy disappeared with it.

be a recognition by the Government of the essential role of the Press in a democratic society.

"We do not believe that the Prime Minister fully comprehends this role," the SASJ said. The Press played a "vital role" in identifying grievances and hardships and bringing them to the attention of the public and the authorities.

"Obviously this involves the constant criticism of laws, Government and of individuals. This is how the democratic process works," it said.

The Press reflected society. Its task was not to analyse the motives of people in the news, but to publish reports subject only to newsworthiness and the legality of doing so, the society said.

It disagreed with the Prime Minister that criticism had to be either "justified" or "constructive" before it could be published. It could appear as long as it was lawful news.

The SASJ listed four "constantly recurring consequences of the conflict between the Government and the Press":

- Complaints — particularly from Government members

Government protested that it valued a free Press, but said society could not afford inaccuracies.

• Attempts to control the "spirit" of reports — it was complained that although the letter of the law (or of the Press Code) was not broken by the Press, the "spirit" was and had to be controlled.

It had been said that in the "special circumstances" in which South Africa found itself, curbs on the public's right to certain information was essential.

But if the public was denied the "mental ammunition" which only a free flow of information could provide, it would be left defenceless.

"The greatest threat facing the South African community at present is that vital decisions may be made on the basis of wrong information. The experience of the white population of Zimbabwe illustrates what can happen when relevant information is kept from the public," the SASJ said.

This was already happening in South Africa to an extent due to a ban on the publication of news about anti-Government

bodies overseas  
The situation was aggravated by the SABC's tendency to broadcast only "positive news"

and supporters and from civil servants demanding that something be done about the Press  
• Threats to control — made by members of the present and previous governments  
• A demand for accuracy — the

The SASJ could not agree that responsibility for the relationship between the Government and journalists rested solely with journalists  
"We believe that there must

• See Page 11

# Papers criticised for selective reporting

RDM 16/1/81

By CHRIS FREIMOND

THE FAILURE of some newspapers to report certain evidence heard by the Steyn Commission investigating the media may be considered in the commission's final report, the chairman, Mr Justice M T Steyn, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

In what was seen by reporters as severe criticism, Judge Steyn said at the start of a public hearing that the commission had noted that all the newspapers they had seen yesterday morning had ignored a lengthy debate on Wednesday between the commission and representatives of the Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ).

The SASJ should not be surprised if this failure to report aspects of the proceedings was referred to again in the commission's final report as an example of how the Press chose to reflect only certain issues, he said.

Yesterday's reports of the SASJ evidence seemed to indicate that they had been prepared beforehand from pre-released memoranda.

The judge asked the SASJ president, Mr John Allen — who was giving evidence — to convey the commission's comments to SASJ members.

The evidence to which Judge Steyn referred mainly concerned a discussion of SASJ criticism of the report of the first Steyn Commission which investigated reporting on police and military matters and an assessment of the philosophy behind the first report by Prof John Dugard, a top legal authority and Director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Most of the discussion was devoted to the reasons for interpretations by the SASJ and Prof Dugard of certain sections of the first report and a defence and explanation of the

report by Judge Steyn and a fellow commissioner Mr Klaus von Lieres.

In evidence yesterday, Mr Allen said the SASJ was not opposed in principle to the Government openly owning newspapers as long as a diversity of opinion was allowed. The society did oppose political control of the media.

While the SASJ believed it was too early to judge the effects of the Zimbabwean Government's take-over of the Press, it was opposed to the move in principle if it mitigated against Press freedom.

On the question of journalists striking, Mr Allen said he believed there was a difference between strike action stopping the "free flow of information" and the Government closing down a newspaper.

The commission's next public hearing will be in Cape Town on Wednesday when a submission will be heard from the Newspaper Press Union.

## 'Press reflects country's freedom'

243

Staff Reporter

THE South African Government's "excellent opportunity" to present its case in a favourable light to the incoming Reagan Administration in the United States would be lost if Press freedom was curbed in the Republic, a leading Afrikaans newspaper editor warned yesterday.

Mr "Ton" Vosloo, the editor of Beeld, told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media that in all sectors of the US, Press freedom was an indication of the country's freedom.

"The Steyn Commission should be the medium to recommend to the authorities a

revision of existing statutory limitations on the free Press."

Because of the circumstances in South Africa in which "sly opponents" tried to use the Press to destroy the free capitalist system, an ideally free Press could not be achieved.

One manifestation of this was the clash between black and white nationalism. Black nationalists wanted to overthrow the present State and establish a Marxist regime.

"As an Afrikaner nationalist I have no illusions. It is us or them. In Zimbabwe the days of the free Press are numbered. No free media exists in Mozambique or Angola."

The South African media that

advocated one man one vote in a unitary state were preparing the way for a Marxist takeover "of the Zimbabwe recipe".

"There are such media operating in South Africa and I will give them the benefit of the doubt that they are doing so through ignorance without seriously considering the implications of such a system (one man one vote)," he said.

He was convinced the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa), to which most black journalists belonged, was a "tool" of forces such as the banned African National Congress (ANC), who were aiming for an overthrow of the present order.

It was precisely because there was a reasonable degree of media freedom in South Africa that a situation existed in which there was evidence of people agitating, within their democratic rights, not for an overthrow of the Government, but for an overthrow of the Western capitalist system, Mr Vosloo said.

He suggested the existing Press Council be given additional non-statutory powers to:

- Protect the community against "unbridled" reporting and also to protect the media from interference from, for example, the Government,
- Initiate investigations of alleged transgressions of the Press Code

## BLACKPRESS AND POLITICS

### Situation in 1960

Wanted Editor (Post Transvaal) and South Post must be able to operate in-formation about national and international affairs and able to deal diplomatically with polished staff, high management, numerous politicians and paragon government. Salary commensurate with responsibility. Apply: Hal Miller, Argus Group, Head Office, Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

This advertisement has not actually appeared, but the Argus Group is looking for the man to do it following the sudden, though usurping, resignation of Percy Qoboza.

Not that Qoboza's departure is likely to be greatly mourned either by Argus management or Post's journalists.

As far as many black journalists are concerned, he has fallen far since the days of his pre-1960 reputation when *The World* was banned and he was locked up by the government.

For its part management has maintained a stiff silence about some of Qoboza's activities, both journalistic and non-journalistic, over the last year.

If industry sources are to be believed that silence masked a growing irritation with an editor whose international reputation made him fireproof. So, cavalier though Qoboza's method of resignation

was (by cable from Washington), it is likely to have been received with relief.

In a way it is a pity. Whatever the pressures of the job and inflated international adulation may have done to Qoboza, he remains the first black editor of a major paper to have shaken off white editorial control (his predecessor was sub-

ject to a white "editorial director")

He also judged (correctly) that the black community was ready for a highly political newspaper and he fashioned one for them by wrenching *The World* from its earlier "sports and crime" approach.

He was rewarded by zooming circulation and punished by imprisonment and

the banning of his paper.

Whoever succeeds Qoboza will have a tough row to hoe.

Argus is already said to be hunting around — although where they will find someone with the tact of a diplomat, the political nous of a Machiavelli and the courage of a martyr remains to be seen.

# Entrench Press freedom in

# law, Afrikaans editor urges

24/3 Sink 14/1/81.

By Mike Derry

The Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media should be the medium to tell the authorities that the existing legal restrictions on the Press should be revised, an Afrikaans newspaper editor said yesterday.

Mr Ton Vosloo, editor of Beeld, said freedom of speech as embodied in a free Press should be entrenched by Parliament.

It was his opinion that there should be a diversity in the media and in

media ownership

"The electronic media, such as radio and TV, should also not be the sole possession of the State, but should be gradually disconnected," he said.

Mr Vosloo said the Press needed an ally to enable it to better carry out its task.

This ally could be a Press council with greatly strengthened powers. Such a Press council could protect the public against unbridled Press

reporting, while also acting as an ally of the Press

against the attacks of those — including the State — who had no true understanding of the extremely important task the media had to keep a community healthy.

Mr Vosloo urged that the powers of the present Press Council be extended to start investigations into contraventions of the Press Code.

The Press Council machinery only got into gear when there was a specific

complaint, Mr Vosloo said.

"I know from experience that one of the greatest complainants against certain media is the Government.

"The machinery of the Press Council has been changed to make it easier for complaints to be laid before it, but I have the impression that the State does not make use of the machinery, either because it is too much trouble or because the Council is not its own creation and therefore must be ig-

nored," Mr Vosloo said.

He hoped a strengthened Press Council would fill the role of an ombudsman between the public and the media he said.

He said it would not be in the national interest, in the broadest sense of the term, to institute statutory control of the Press. But absolute freedom in the hands of the media was out of the question.

The Press machinery alone was not developed enough to handle it, Mr Vosloo said.

## Standard of medical reporting is 'very high'

The Department of Health had a generally good relationship with the Press, the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media heard yesterday.

Dr H P Botha, the department's chief director, health promotion, told of "wonderful" co-operation from the media during

the cholera outbreak.

The media, by putting out information on symptoms of the disease and precautions to be taken, had played a big role in getting the message across.

"The standard of medical reporting is very high," Dr Botha said. While it

was felt necessary and desirable that certain media representatives specialised in medical reporting, his department understood the media's problems.

TRUSTWORTHY

The media's handling of information affecting his

department was, on the whole, trustworthy. Facts given to the media were usually correctly reported.

Considering that information was usually given by phone, there were very few inaccuracies. Where they occurred, editors co-operated in correcting

them.

He said sensational reporting on health matters could cause mass panic, but the media had co-operated in reporting calmly and factually. The commissioner's next public sitting will be in Cape Town on Wednesday.

a first class pass for a dissertation in Building Management.

S F Richardson

**Steyn: 59 WK**  
**Press did**  
**not report**  
**debate**

The Press was yesterday criticised for failing to report on a debate between representatives of the Southern African Society of Journalists and the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media

At the start of the hearing yesterday, Mr Justice Steyn said the apparent failure of some morning newspapers to reflect the debate might be considered in the commission's final report

The newspapers had apparently ignored a lengthy debate on interpretations of the report of the first Steyn Commission, which investigated reporting on police and military matters

He said yesterday's reports seemed to have been prepared from pre-released memoranda

During a lengthy debate with the SASI representatives, Mr Justice Steyn and Mr Klaus von Lieres reacted sharply to an opinion — commissioned by the society — by Professor John Dugard of the University of the Witwatersrand

The professor accused the first Steyn Commission of adopting an authoritarian and "positivistic" philosophy alien to the heritage of Western democracy

The commissioners repeatedly challenged Professor Dugard's statements, emphasising there could be no rights without duties

Mr Justice Steyn said the intention of the first Steyn Commission report was very different from how it had been interpreted

The commissioners contested a statement by Professor Dugard that the first Steyn Commission report had "dismissed" human rights

They also disputed that the report had attempted to "disguise the fact that the vast majority of citizens had no say in the law making process of Parliament"

LTA Prize  
 For the best student obtaining a first class pass for a dissertation in Building Management.  
 S F Richardson

George Strachan Prize  
 For the best final year student of the degree course.  
 R W Kohne

Fourth Year  
 R W Kohne

Third Year  
 B de Jong

Second Year  
 C S Jones

First Year  
 J A L Chapman

National Development Fund  
For the Building Industry  
Book Prizes  
 For the best student in each year of study of the degree course.

R Stubbs Award  
 For the best project in structure and design.  
 M R I Ness

S A Brick Association Prize  
 For the student who has made best use of bricks in his design work.  
 J G Kirkman

Mrs. Thornton White Prize  
 For the best work in first year.  
 Miss M F J Sandilands

# Steyn media inquiry RDM 17/1/81 moves 243 to Cape

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media will hear evidence by Cape newspaper editors, politicians and others, including Dr Danie Craven, president of the South African Rugby Board, when it starts a two-week sitting in Cape Town on Monday.

Among those expected to testify are Mr John Wiley, National Party MP for Simonstown; Dr Jan Marais, Nationalist MP for Pinetown; Mr Vause Raw, leader of the New Republic Party; Mr Harry Schwarz, chief spokesman of the Progressive Federal Party on defence and finance, and Professor J B Du Toit, professor of sociology at the University of the Western Cape.

The Cape Town sitting will be in open session except where directed otherwise by the chairman, Mr Justice M T Steyn.

The first two days of the session, Monday and Tuesday, have been set aside for visits to local newspaper offices. The formal hearing of evidence will begin on Wednesday.

Spokesmen for the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) are scheduled to give evidence on Wednesday and Thursday.

The commission will not sit on Friday, as Judge Steyn will be attending the formal opening of Parliament.

The Cape Town sitting is scheduled to last until February 4.

Anyone wishing to testify may approach The Secretary, Mr J H Cloete, at Room 602, Provincial Building, Wale Street, Cape Town.



# POST IS STILL IN CONTROL

243 20/1/87

POST

The two Johannesburg newspapers Post-Transvaal and Sunday Post have been forced to close down because the Government has threatened to bar them if they resume publication.

Both were forced to cease publication last October when editorial staff went on strike and, when the strike ended, the Government informed the Argus Printing and Publishing Company Limited, the owners, that the registration had lapsed.

Two Cabinet Ministers, Mr Chris Heunis and Mr Kobie Coetzee, said today that the Government could not by law prevent the publishers from applying for registration, but the Government would ban them if this was done.

Mr Hal Miller, managing director of the Argus Company, said in a statement today.

'Post-Transvaal and Sunday Post will not appear again for the time being if they are re-registered the Government will ban them.'

He said that Post Natal, was not affected by the Government's actions and would continue publication as usual.

Mr Miller said the Government had informed him that it had decided some time ago to ban both newspapers. The Government's decision implies that the recent strike kept the newspapers off the streets.

Mr Joe Latoro, acting editor of Post Natal, said today, 'The Government's decision to ban the newspapers is a direct result of the strike. We are still in control of our own newspaper and we will continue to publish as long as we are allowed to.'

**The Post is silenced**  
 In terms of the Argus Company's published objectives and policy which guide the preparation and publication of all our papers we must now give careful consideration to the question of staff, Mr Miller said.

# PEOPLE'S PAPER AXED

The registration of the newspapers passed by the Court ruling by Mr Justice Goffe on December 29. The Argus Company applied immediately either for cancellation of the lapse in registration, or for registration of the papers.

The Government has now made clear that the Argus Company's registration takes its own course with no help from the Government if they appear.

## STAFFS

## CONFUSED

## STILL

## SHOCKED

By Tony Pridgen  
 For the second time in 31 years the Government has had to call on its own police force to deal with a strike. The World, publisher of Post Press, was at the crest of a wave. Its circulation was 140,000 copies a day and climbing steadily.

But the storm clouds had been gathering in early October. The then Minister of Information, Mr Fraser, complained of a "black" paper in the World in connection with the handling of events after the death of Mr Steve Biko.

Registrations were banned. The Government had to take action to deal with the World's "black" paper. The Government's action was to ban the paper.

World left off. In the months and years that followed Post Press moved into the "black" paper. The Government's action was to ban the paper.

But with the labour dispute two months. In that time the Government refused the Argus Company's application for registration. The Government's action was to ban the paper.

We have received not to proceed with registration of the papers. Mr Miller said today. We see no point in making a title section by entering on registration and submitting to the rigour of actual banning.

We do not believe that this Government is any Government. It has the power to ban papers of people without trial or review. But we have no power to prevent the Government's action. The Government's action is to ban the paper.

Confusion and shock were the main emotions evident in the courtroom of Post this morning. Although they are preparing for the publication of the Sowetan on Thursday, journalists were unable to keep their minds on their work this morning.

Another executive member of the Mwaswe chapter, Mr Kingcom, told us that the Government was not prepared to tolerate a "black" paper in newspapers. The Government's action was to ban the paper.

The whole thing is so sad and we really don't know where we can go from here. The Government's action was to ban the paper.

It had the highest circulation of any newspaper in the world. The Government's action was to ban the paper.

The Sowetan has not been affected by the Government's decision. To Page 2, Col 6.

By Tony Pridgen  
 Minutes after the editor of Post Press, Mr Joe Mankoski, told his staff that the Government's decision on the future of Post and Sunday Post, the journalists broke up into small groups and in hurried conversations began to discuss what will happen next.

Mr Chris Moko, an executive member of the Mwaswe chapter at 255, said that the Government's action was to ban the paper. The Government's action was to ban the paper.

The Government's action was to ban the paper. The Government's action was to ban the paper.

Some time on our part, we end others parties for a meeting with Argus management tomorrow to discuss the future of the newspaper.

Post Press was the most widely read daily newspaper in South Africa, with an estimated 900,000 readers, according to the 1980 All Media and Press Study.

20/1/81  
STAK 243  
Kimberley  
journalist  
arrested

KIMBERLEY — Mr. Jimmy Beaumont, a Johannesburg journalist on secondment to the Diamond Fields Advertiser, was arrested in Kimberley today in connection with a charge under the Official Secrets Act.

The warrant of arrest was issued in Windhoek and the hearing is set down for April 7 in Windhoek.

Bail has been set at R1 000 by the Windhoek public prosecutor. The application will be heard at the Kimberley Magistrate's Court later today.

No details of the charge were given in the warrant of arrest.—Sapa.

COMMENT

*SINK*  
*20/1/51*  
*243*  
A new act of folly

**R**EPRESSION in a land that has already experienced democracy and freedom is a bitter admission of failure." That is what we wrote when the Government closed down the black newspaper World less than four years ago. Today the Government has prevented the publication of Post Transvaal, the successor to the banned World. Freedom has been further curtailed. Bitterness among sophisticated blacks has increased.

Putting Post on ice will not freeze the political turmoil in the townships, nor will it give any Government more time to find solutions. Instead the State move will aid extremists and discomfort many moderate.

We can only hope that the words of a leading coloured journalist, Jimmy Atkins do not come true. As he emigrated sadly to Canada last year, he said: "You people had a chance with the moderates. You are now welcome to the militants." The silence of Post dims the light for reasonable men and diminishes the chances of dialogue and public debate.

Why did the Government decide that, whatever happened, Post would be banned if it tried to re-register? As with the banning of World, and the detention without trial of its editor, no reasons are given. Post has not been a "tame" mouthpiece of Soweto and it has not pretended to be a paper giving the balanced view of all sides of the population.

Post is a paper exclusively for blacks — just as Die Transvaler was once a paper exclusively for active Afrikaner Nationalists,

such newspapers. Post has not only stayed within the law. It has — despite numbers of political squabbles within its own ranks — preached the moderate policy of all Argus Group newspapers: reconciliation and peaceful progress through negotiation.

Now Post is silent. Unlike World, it may not be silent for ever. But so long as the Government gags it, for so long will South Africa's reputation and the credibility of our entire Press stay on ice. We can only repeat what we said when the last Argus newspaper was banned:

"The West will ask ... and every South African should ask ... do the newspapers that continue to operate, publish only because the Government approves?"

The answer is no. The Star with others will continue to speak out on behalf of all its readers — white, black, English, Afrikaans — exactly as it has done in the past.

The Editor

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# Shock at closure of black papers

STAK  
20/1/81  
227  
243

The Government's effective banning of Post Transvaal and Sunday Post drew criticism from all sectors today

Professor D van der Vyver of the University of the Witwatersrand's law faculty "I can only express my absolute disgust at this flagrant attack on the freedom of the Press

"In a sense it is not unexpected because the Government has for some time now — in fact, as far as I can recall, since the time of Verwoerd — threatened to impose Press censorship in this country.

"The Government has become impatient with certain newspapers and is perhaps testing public opinion by this oppression of newspapers (which, in the mind of its own supporting electorate, may be regarded as of little importance) before introducing an elaborate system of tight control of the news media"

"It is hardly four years since the banning of The World and Weekend World raised an international outcry"

Mr Philip Mtshkulu, acting president of the Media Association of South Africa, went on "This action shows the extent to which the Government

is prepared to go to stifle black opinion

"We view the action against the newspapers, coupled with the recent bannings of Mswana leaders as a declaration of war against black aspirations"

## "CONFRONTATION"

"The Government's action, which amounts to banning the papers, is an invitation to confrontation and disaster," said Mr John Allen, president of the Southern African Society of Journalists

"Unless South Africans are exposed to a free flow of information they will be unable to identify, let alone respond to, the challenges facing them

"Post Transvaal and Sunday Post are vital components of that free flow

"They have mirrored black society and reported on aspirations and grievances of people playing a crucial role in the country's history.

"Stopping their publication may shatter mirrors reflecting distasteful images"

Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said the closure of Post Transvaal under threat from the State was in keeping with what had

opened to The World newspaper in October 1977

He said blacks were proud of Post Transvaal and its banning would not ban the thoughts and feelings of the masses

"We are not surprised at this action. The only thing is that we are distressed that they (the Government) refuse to learn," Bishop Tutu said

Mr Goba Ndlovu, chairman of the Southern Transvaal region of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) said Post had for a long time been regarded as a mouthpiece of blacks

"Its disappearance from the streets," he said, "will leave blacks stranded without any voice"

Mr Dave Dalling, MP for Sandton and Progressive Federal Party media spokesman said closing down these two avenues of free expression and protest by and for blacks would further radicalise the opposition to white racism and further polarise the peoples of South Africa

The closure of the two newspapers introduced a new escalation of confrontation in South Africa and the blame for it must lie squarely on the shoulders of the Govern-

ment, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said

Dr Slabbert said this was a typical case of "killing the messenger because you do not like the message

"The reality of black feelings, demands, aspirations and reaction will not disappear because people cannot read about them. They will simply be communicated underground and one half of society will not know what the other half is thinking or feeling"

The leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, said he agreed with the Government's action in preventing the two newspapers from being published

"But of course it is partly the Government's own fault for creating high expectations among blacks.

"This allowed the newspapers to create a revolutionary climate

Mr John Rees, director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, said the institute was "shocked"

"The State has chosen to close one of the most respected and widely read mouthpieces of the black community in South Africa. This action is seen as shortsighted and in-

# Editors voice outrage

"Any country where a government walks in and pulls down the shutters on a newspaper can't have any pretence at freedom of expression," Mr Tertius Myburgh, editor of the Sunday Times, said today.

He was reacting to the Government threat to ban Post and Sunday Post if the Argus Company attempted to re-register them.

Mr J R Coleman, acting editor of the Argus in Cape Town, said that for once the aims of the Government and of black extremists coincided — neither favoured the existence of Post.

"It is especially stupid because of the role black newspapers play in expressing the views of a largely voiceless population. The role of Post and before it World (which was banned) had a moderating force in the country."

Mr Coleman and Mr Rex Gibson of the Sunday Express regretted that the threat of the ban came during the Steyn Commission's investigations into the Press.

Mr Gibson said that "the fact that this outrageous step has been taken in advance of any report by the Steyn Commission, shows how little store the Government places both on its own commission and

the concept of Press freedom.

Mr Harald Pakendorf, editor of Die Vaderland, said "My first instinct is that the Government has made a mistake."

Mr A de V Marais, acting editor of The Citizen, said "This action merely increases our anxiety about the Government's intentions toward the Press, especially the timing —

when the Steyn Commission is conducting inquiries into the Press."

"This action should be seen as having been taken against the entire newspaper industry," he said.

Mr Joel Mervis, former editor of The Sunday Times and official representative in South Africa of the International Press Institute, said the Government's action was a "senseless ban."

"It reveals itself as part of a clear pattern in which the Government is determined to silence the Press. By effectively banning Post and other black newspapers, by banning Mr Sisulu and others, the Government sends out a clear message that it is starting on the black newspapers first."

"We have to remember that freedom is indivisible and that when the black newspapers are crushed and silenced, the Government will then move on

to deal with the so-called white newspapers.

"We are now, it appears, rushing at a dangerous speed towards that situation."

Fleet Street has reacted gloomily to the news.

"One regrets any country that restricts Press freedom," said Mr Roy Wright, acting editor of the New Standard.

And a Guardian executive commented "It is a pity. It seems the wrong kind of decision to get rid of newspapers which allowed black people some freedom of expression and news and information on their own terms."

Star  
20/1/81  
243

ARCHITECTURE  
(Continued)

Argus 20/1/81  
**Journalist**  
29 (243)  
**arrested**

Argus Correspondent  
KIMBERLEY. — Mr Jimmy Beaumont, 22, a Johannesburg journalist on secondment to the Diamond Fields Advertiser in Kimberley, was arrested today in connection with a charge under the Official Secrets Act.

A warrant for his arrest was issued in Windhoek, and the hearing is set down for April 7 in Windhoek.

An application for bail was due to be heard at the Kimberley Magistrate's Court this afternoon.

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BUILDING

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Book Prizes

For the best student in each year of study of the degree course.

First Year

J A L Chapman

Second Year

C S Jones

Third Year

B de Jong

Fourth Year

R W Kohne

George Strachan Prize

For the best final year student of the degree course.

R W Kohne

LTA Prize

For the best student obtaining a first class pass for a dissertation in Building Management.

S F Richardson

# Anxiety over black news ban

Angulo 20/1/81

243

Political Correspondent

THE banning of two black newspapers introduced a new escalation of confrontation in South Africa and the blame for it must lie squarely on the shoulders of the Government, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said today.

He was reacting to an announcement that the Government would have banned Post Transvaal and Sunday Post had they been reregistered as newspapers.

This is a typical case, he said, of 'killing the messenger because you do not like the message.'

Dr Slabbert said 'The ability of black feelings, demands, aspirations and reaction will not disappear because people cannot read about them. They will simply be communicated underground and one half of society will not know what the other half is thinking or feeling.'

**SOMBRE**

'Is freedom of the Press to become a white preserve as well, such little freedom as we have?'

'This is one of the most sombre notes on which to start a session of Parliament,' Dr Slabbert said.

Mr Dave Dalling, MP for Sandton and Progressive Federal Party media spokesman, said the Prime Minister (Mr P W Botha) was 'bringing the revolution nearer'.

'The Botha political bosses have like pocket Napoleons little realising they are bringing our whole country into total disrepute in the outside world,' he said.

'The banning of Mr Sisulu and his journalistic colleagues made big and black news in the outside world.'

'This latest fascist step will do the same.'

'South Africa can look to have few friends in the outside world.'

'No matter how P W Botha is represented in his own Nationalist Press as a man of enlightenment, he and his Government are no less autocratic, dictatorial and intolerant of opposition than any government to be found in a banana republic.'

**DISASTER**

'There is no doubt that by acting in this way Mr

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**BUILDING**

tion closer', Mr Dalling said.

Mr John Allen, president of the Southern African Society of Journalists, said the Government's action was an 'invitation to disaster.'

Mrs Joyce Harris, national president of the Black Sash, said 'It is absolutely essential that white people in South Africa should understand the thinking of black people... and there is no way they can even try without authentic black newspapers.'

Mr John Rees, director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, said: 'The State has chosen to close one of the most respected and widely-read mouthpieces of the black community in South Africa. This action is seen as short-sighted and incredible.'

**ARCHITECTURE**



# OUTRAGE OVER SEIZURE ON PAPERS

BY ARNOLD GEYER  
and MISSON GILVAIN  
INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE  
and have followed the se-  
cure yesterday by the Gov-  
ernment of Post (Transvaal)  
of Saturday Post both pub-  
lished by the Argus Printing  
and Publishing Company.  
The closing of the papers has  
been condemned in the stron-  
est possible terms and de-  
clared as a declaration of  
war against African aspirations  
of a "deserted attack" on  
freedom which would in-  
evitably lead to further cor-  
ruption in the country.  
The League of the Oppressed  
of Dr. Fredrik van Zyl (Stab-  
iliser) said one half of South  
Africa's community would no  
longer know what the other half  
is thinking or feeling.  
"Black" have been stranded

— The Argus Without another  
vice said Mr. Gordon P. Miller,  
chairman of the Southern  
Transvaal region of the Yuda-  
Worship Association of South  
Africa (WASA).

The 110 papers — successors  
of the former World and Wel-  
fare World — were yesterday  
effectively banned when the Ar-  
gus Controller was told by two  
Cabinet Ministers that the pa-  
pers would be forced to close  
down in terms of the Internal  
Security Act if they resumed  
publication.

Post was one of the most  
widely read daily newspapers in  
the country with almost one  
million readers and had the  
third highest circulation of all  
South African dailies — 112 000  
Sunday Post had a readership  
of about 1 200 000 and a circula-  
tion of about 118 000.

After a meeting with Mr. Hal  
Miller, managing director of  
the Argus Company, Mr. Chris  
Heunis, Minister of Internal Af-  
fairs, and Mr. Kobus Coetzee,  
Minister of Justice, issued a  
joint statement saying should  
the company proceed with the  
application for the re-registra-  
tion of the papers, steps would  
be taken in terms of the Act to  
prohibit their publication.

Mr. Miller yesterday said the  
Government informed him the  
papers would have been banned  
some time ago but the recent  
nation-wide strike by Africans  
had prevented the implementation  
of the banning orders.

As a result of the strike the  
papers' registration lapsed  
after which the Argus company  
applied to the Minister of Inter-  
nal Affairs either for immedi-  
ate condemnation of the papers  
or for re-registration of the  
papers.

Following the statement, b  
Mr. Heunis and Mr. Coetzee, the  
Argus management has decided  
not to proceed with re-  
registration.  
It is still not clear what the  
fate of the about 300 media  
workers' union papers will be.  
When asked about their fu-  
ture, Mr. Miller said: "We are  
still awaiting the shock caused  
by the action. We now have to  
study all the far-reaching im-  
plications of the matter."  
The application for the re-  
registration of a third black  
paper, the Soutafrican, was ap-  
proved by the Government yes-  
terday. Post (Natal), the Dur-  
ban-based edition of Post, was  
not affected by the Government  
action and will continue publi-  
cation as usual.  
The full Government state-  
ment reads:  
"In terms of the provisions  
of the Internal Security Act, 44  
of 1950, as amended, the regis-  
tration of a newspaper regis-  
tered in terms of the provisions  
of the Internal Security Act, 44  
of 1950, shall lapse auto-  
matically, inter alia if the news-  
paper is at any time not printed  
and published during a period  
exceeding one month, unless  
the Minister of Internal Affairs  
in consultation with the Minis-  
ter of Justice at any time else-  
wise directs."  
"In terms of the above provisions  
the registration of Post  
(Transvaal), Sunday Post and  
the Soutafrican had lapsed and  
the fact that the registration of  
these newspapers had in fact so  
lapsed had been confirmed by  
the Supreme Court, W. J. G. J. v. G.  
No. 29 of 1950.  
"An application for the regis-  
tration of these three newspa-  
pers was lodged by the Argus  
Printing and Publishing Com-  
pany, the owners of these news-  
papers, on December 29, 1950.  
An application for the con-  
diction of the non-subscription  
and non-distribution of the  
newspapers received by the De-  
partment of Internal Affairs on  
December 29 was refused by  
the Minister of Internal Affairs  
in consultation with the Minister  
of Justice.  
"In an interview with Mr. Hal  
Miller, managing director of

the Argus Company, we  
formed him that, should  
company proceed with the  
application for registration of  
three relevant newspa-  
pers would be taken in ter-  
ms of the Internal Security Act  
to prohibit publication of  
newspapers.  
"We have now been inform-  
ed by Mr. Miller that in view of  
message conveyed to him  
respect of the newspapers,  
application for the registra-  
tion of these newspapers are  
being withdrawn."  
Mr. Miller responded by say-  
ing this Government action  
diminishes us all — another  
has been added to the ce-  
list which is circumscribing  
freedom."  
© See Page 2 and 9

# contempt <sup>2/11/81</sup>

PERHAPS the Government has believed that, by eliminating Post in the way it has, it will avoid the odium and damage of October 1977, when it banned the newspaper's predecessor World. It might even be silly enough to have hoped that the roundabout nature of the execution was going to pass by largely unnoticed.

If such belief and hope existed, it was wrongly founded. For no one, whether at home or abroad, is going to be fooled by the manner of Post's end.

Taking advantage of the problems which Post has been experiencing and preventing its republication by holding a gun to the head of the owner, the Argus Company, is exactly the same as killing off the newspaper in mid-stride. Advising that banning under the Internal Security Act will follow if the newspaper appears on the streets again is the same as actually invoking the terms of that far-reaching law.

The banning is a banning, however it has been done. That makes it an action which will, and must, evoke the strongest possible reactions of outrage and protest.

What we have here is an act of contempt by the Government.

The banning is, firstly, an act of contempt against the most elementary rights of people and organisations. No finger of guilt has been pointed at Post. Neither the newspaper nor its staff members have been brought before court to answer for their doings. With the overwhelming armoury of "security" laws available, the Government would have had no difficulty in bringing such charges — if there was the remotest substance to the existence of misdeeds.

But no. Instead, Post has been the victim of ministerial decision. So arrogantly has it been done that no one has even deigned to offer any kind of explanation for silencing the newspaper.

Secondly, it is an act of contempt against the Government's own current inquiry — the commission into the mass media under the chairmanship of Mr Justice M T Steyn. The Government hasn't bothered to await the outcome of the commission's investigation and findings. It has prejudged the commission and gone along its own way.

Thirdly, it is an act of contempt against the freedom of the Press. That freedom is already sorely circumscribed. A network of laws has been created over the years to prevent the Press from providing full and free reporting, analysis and comment. Other laws have given the Government the power to issue bans as and when it pleases, and not only have these been applied over the years, but they have also been clearly intended to tighten the noose of intimidation.

Fourthly, the banning is an act of contempt against the readers of Post. They are mainly blacks and what they are in effect being told is that they cannot exercise a normal market-place decision in choosing what they wish to read, but that the Government will decide for them.

That is insulting. It is not going to aid the cause of race relations. Nor is it going to help the Nationalists in their efforts to persuade black people that some kind of a new era has dawned.

And finally, it is an act of contempt against the 262 people who work for Post, whether as journalists, managers, printers, messengers or clerks. The Government is telling them that it does not care what happens to them. The problem has simply been dropped in the lap of the Argus Company.

Of course it is nontal that it was a strike by journalists, by members of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa), which gave the Government the opportunity to destroy Post in this devious way. The Government has made permanent the action by journalists in temporarily interrupting the flow of information.

That, however, does not in the slightest justify what the Government has done. The action against Post is as wrong and ill-conceived as the recent bannings of three Mwasa leaders.

We are all affected by these acts of authoritarianism. All of us are that much the poorer

## Political Staff

IN a special statement to the Steyn Commission today, the Newspaper Press Union (NPU), which represents the proprietors of South Africa's major newspapers, expressed deep anxiety over the Government's action to prevent publication of the country's two leading black newspapers.

The statement was read at the start of the commission's public hearings on the media in Cape Town by Mr Dawid de Villiers, managing director of Nasionale Pers

Mr de Villiers said the NPU delegation which was giving evidence to the Steyn Commission today had asked him to make the statement 'so that it would be apparent that it is being made on behalf of the NPU as a whole'.

## Executive

Earlier Mr P W McLean, current president of the NPU and general manager of the Argus Company, told the commission that it was more appropriate that the statement be made by someone else since he was an executive of the company which owned the two affected newspapers, Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post

Mr de Villiers said 'The NPU has consistently been opposed to the executive authority having the power to close newspapers by its own decision without charge, trial, the provision of reasons for its action or the possibility of effective review

# ANXIETY ON SHUT PAPERS

Argus 21/1/81

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Mr D P de Villiers

THE Newspaper Press Union of South Africa told the Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media today that the enormous range of about 100 laws restricting publication of information should be reviewed amended and eliminated from the statute books where possible

Hearing the first of two days of evidence from the NPU in the Provincial Administration building, the commission was told that the guiding principle should be the encouragement of a free flow of information wherever possible

The NPU is being represented by its president, Mr P W McLean, general manager of the Argus Company, the managing director of Nasionale Pers, Mr D P

## 'Free flow of news essential'

about news for publication

The NPU believed that the rights of the mass media, including the Press, were the same as the rights of the individual citizen — no more and no less

The NPU believed it was essential that conflicting views be expressed, and not suppressed, and that all members of the South African community had a right to know about all social, economic and political developments in their country

ARGUS  
2/1/81

### Principles

In a State which attaches importance to democratic principles the press should be free to discuss the activities of the Government and its people. And to avoid the slightest suggestion of this being a biased action to smother political opposition, the precondition should be a trial and conviction by an unbiased judicial tribunal on a properly formulated charge.

In its representations to the Rabbe Commission, Mr. P. W. McLagan, the NPU pointed out that in this type of case there should not be any objection in the interests of security against a public hearing, since the charge, in the nature of things, would have to be based on what had had already appeared in the newspaper and thus not on secret methods of investigation or

(Continued on Page 3, col 1D)

manager of South African Associated Newspapers, Mr. Raymond Louw, the deputy financial manager of Perskor, Mr. H. de G. Laurie, and the NPU secretary, Mr. S. R. S. It is submitted in a memorandum that in the interests of the public there should be as fast and as complete a flow of information as possible from the administration to the people. Government departments should, as a matter of policy, provide more information to the media and be more receptive to inquiries

Special freedoms above those of the public though it voluntarily assumed a greater responsibility in the exercise of those rights than did the individual citizen.

The NPU believed that the tendency towards secrecy and manipulation of information through official releases, a tendency encouraged by

(Continued on Page 3, col 4)

# Warnings flow in: A grave mistake

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By ARNOLD GEYER  
and ALISON GILLWALD

THE closure through Government action of Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post has been greeted with concern and dismay by newspaper bodies in the West

And in South Africa, opponents of the Government — in and outside Parliament — have strongly deplored the move, warning it might introduce a new escalation of confrontation in South Africa

The Progressive Federal Party (PFP), the Soweto Committee of 10, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and Inkatha yesterday warned that the aspirations, feelings and thoughts of the country's black community could not be suppressed this way and would now have to be "communicated underground"

The Rand Daily Mail's London Bureau reports that the International Press Institute in London expressed grave concern, saying "In South Africa the situation facing the Press is becoming more difficult from week to week"

The general secretary of the powerful British National Union of Journalists, Mr Ken Ashton, described the action as a "Catch 22 situation" It was "a denial of a basic human right for people to be heard"

In the eyes of the world, he said, the move would be seen as a further harassment of black journalists and a continued denial of a free Press

He added "This increases our already great concern for the black and white journalists who are shortly to appear before the courts in South Africa"

Mr Ashton was recently turned back after he landed at Jan Smuts Airport without a visa The South African authorities put him on the next available plane back to Britain

Mr Ashton was to have met the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) to give trade union advice, and to investigate the banning of two black journalists

Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Opposition, said the action was a typical case of "you kill the messenger" "You do not like the messenger"

"The reality of black feelings, demands, aspirations and reaction will not disappear because people cannot read about them — they will simply be communicated underground"

The publicity secretary of Azapo, Mr George Wauchope, said it was "most tragic" that the Post newspapers, which were valued so much by the black community, should be effectively banned

It was more tragic that, even before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media could table its findings, the Government should threaten to close newspapers, he said

"Suppression of communication will inevitably lead to misinterpretation, misrepresentation, mistrust and ultimately conflict The Government should have been aware of this before taking action against the papers"

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, said the National Party had never tried to hide or disguise its utter horror and contempt for the free flow of information

"As a purveyor of authoritarianism, racism and of a philosophy and policy which the rest of mankind rejects with loathing, it was never in doubt that the Government would act against anti-government newspapers," he said

The only interesting matter was that of the timing "After successfully scouting from the Geneva conference and treating the rest of the world with contempt, they correctly assessed a Rightward lurch of the Western World, exemplified by the Rightwing governments elected into power in Britain, Portugal, and the United States Thus, our own Rightwing Government, thought to squelch mutilate the Left-

wing and get away with it

"We are now obviously entering a period of darkness, as far as civil rights are concerned, and, as someone said of Hitler, 'the lights of freedom are going out one by one'

"Let those who value freedom and a free spread of information represented by a free Press stand up and protest at this evil curtain of the right to know," he said

Mr Dave Dalling, MP for Sandton and PFP media spokesman, said closing down these two avenues of free expression and protest by and for blacks would further radicalise the opposition to white racism and further polarise the peoples of South Africa

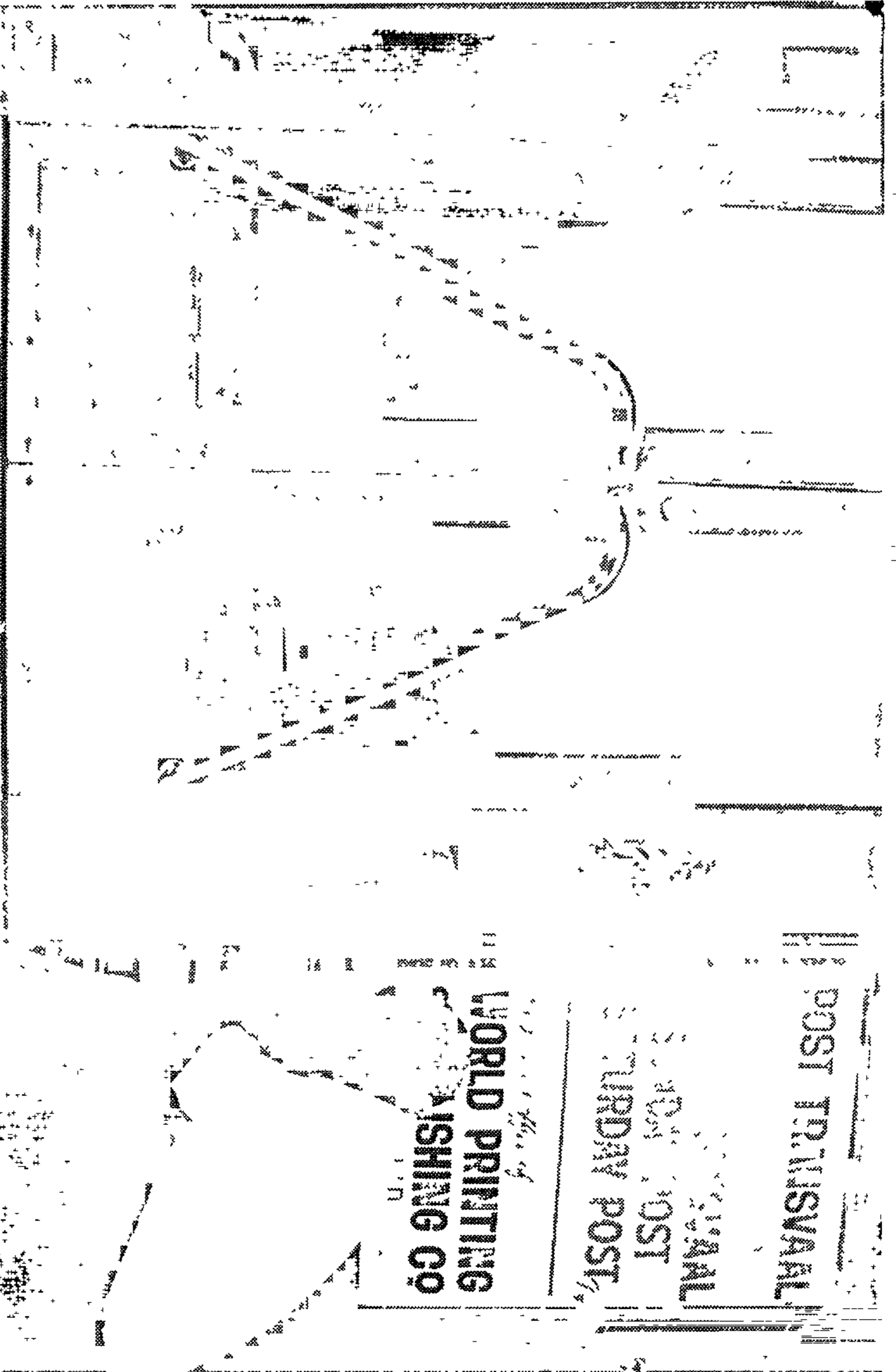
A spokesman for the American Embassy in Pretoria was not prepared to comment in detail on the effective ban, but said "Freedom of the Press, as a general concept, is something that Americans hold very dear "The general reaction of all of us here is one of concern about one of the traditions of a democracy that should be upheld at all times"

GERALD REILLY of the Rand Daily Mail Pretoria Bureau reports that diplomatic sources yesterday reacted with shock and dismay at the Government's action

There was no official comment from foreign embassies yesterday but diplomatic sources were appalled at so "insensitive" a move

The sources stressed if there were reasons other than silencing the black Press, then they should be clearly stated One high-level diplomat said

A shattered worker buries his head in his hands as he sits at the entrance to the offices of Post Transvaal and Sunday Post newspapers at Industria, Johannesburg, after the announcement that they would close down in the face of Government threat that they were re-registered as newspapers



POST TRANSVAAL

POST  
WEDNESDAY POST

WORLD PRINTING  
PUBLISHING CO

ne was at a total loss to understand the action of the Government — and so would the governments of Western countries be

“What do they hope to gain by this rash move? Did they count the cost?” he asked

One major prop to South Africa's image in other countries was that it had a Press which had a strong critical licence and it was used.

To close down newspapers through which blacks, including radicals, expressed their opposition to the Government was a futile attempt to bottle up a problem which could not be bottled up

What “amazed” diplomats was that in spite of the powerfully adverse reaction to the World ban in October 1977, the same blunder had been committed again

The director of the SA Institute for International Affairs, Mr. John Barratt, said “It's very difficult to understand. Surely the banning of the World, which caused such a furious reaction abroad and at home, should have been borne in mind

To attempt to block the free expression of black opinion was unwise and dangerous, he said.

He said reaction in the United States, particularly among the leaders of the new administration, would be sharply negative in view of the concern there on Press freedom

But Mr Barratt said, “it is the reaction in South Africa among blacks and whites which is going to be a cause of the greatest concern”.

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FDM (243) 21/1/81

# Newsmen outraged at 'cynical' Post ban

## Staff Reporters

THE gagging yesterday by the Government of two black newspapers has evoked widespread anger from South Africa's editors and journalists

They have warned that this "drastic and authoritarian" measure would escalate conflict, not diminish it

In a statement, the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) said "This shows the extent to which the Government is prepared to go to stifle black opinion. We view the action against the newspapers, coupled with recent banings of Mwasa leaders, as a declaration of war against black aspirations"

It is understood that the management of the Argus Company and Post Newspapers will meet this morning to discuss what further steps to take

Mwasa and SAAN and Argus managements held talks in Johannesburg yesterday to work out an agreement in terms of the settlement after the Mwasa strike last year

"The Government's action, which amounts to banning the papers, is an invitation to confrontation and disaster," said Mr John Allen, president of the Southern African Society of

## Journalists

The acting editor of Post, Mr Joe Latakomo said "If the Government opts to silence the black people by denying them the basic right to be informed of what is happening around them, I can only suggest that the Government is making a grave mistake"

Mr Joel Mervis, former editor of the Sunday Times and the Sunday Express, and official representative in South Africa of the International Press Institute, said the Government's action was a "senseless ban"

"It reveals itself as part of a clear pattern in which the Government is determined to silence the Press. By effectively banning Post and other black newspapers, by banning Mr Si-sulu and others, the Government sends out a clear message that it is starting on the black newspapers first"

Mr Ton Vosipo, editor of Beeld, the Prime Minister's mouthpiece in the Transvaal, yesterday said "As a strong critic of Post I take the position that they have the right to free expression provided they stay within the bounds of the law"

If the Government's informa-

tion showed that Post undermined public safety it was in the public's interests that the information should be made public

To act in this way while the Steyn Commission was investigating the role of the Press was not only cynical but contemptuous of the commission, Mr Vosloo said

Mr Harold Pakendorff, editor of Die Vaderland, said "My first instinct is that the Government has made a mistake"

Reacting to the Government threat to ban Post and Sunday Post, Mr Tertius Myburgh, editor of the Sunday Times said yesterday "I find it hard to believe that the Government is now actually closing down newspapers. It's outrageous"

Mr Rex Gibson, editor of the Sunday Express, said "The fact that this outrageous step has been taken in advance of any report by the Steyn Commission shows how little store the Government places both on its own commission and the concept of Press freedom"

Mr A de V Marais, acting editor of the Citizen, said. "This action merely increases our anxiety about the Government's intentions with regard to the Press"

(13) RDM 21/1/81

# Closure greeted with 'shock'

Staff Reporter

EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY anti-apartheid organisations yesterday reacted with "disbelief" and "shock" when told about the silencing of Post and Sunday Post.

But the South African Council of Churches (SACC) said it was not surprised by the Government's threat to ban black newspapers.

Mr John Rees, director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, said the institute was shocked to learn of the closure.

"The State has chosen to close one of the most respected and widely-read mouthpieces of the black community in South Africa. This action is seen as short-sighted and incredible," he said.

Mrs Joyce Harris, national president of the Black Sash, said "It is beyond my understanding how the Government can close vitally important lines of communication like Post and Sunday Post, which present a point of view not available in our white newspapers."

The SACC's general secretary, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said "We are not surprised by this action. The Government took similar action against newspapers in 1977."

He said the Government was not aware that by banning people or newspapers, it did not destroy their thoughts, aspirations and ideas.

Whenever a person or institution spoke up for the black community, the authorities would find some pretext to act against that person or institution, he said.

● See Page 9



Aug 21/1/81 (243)

# 'State naive, ignorant, of Press'

# Security gags on Press 'can hit morale' of public

# Warning against Red-style new order

OFFICIAL opinion that reportage by newspapers of violent events such as riots was designed to sensationalise and to increase circulation and profits was 'somewhat naive'.

The Newspaper Press Union said in evidence to the commission that high costs involved in gathering such reports, deployment of large numbers of staff, overtime, extra expense in distribution to disturbed areas — could well 'cause losses rather than profits'

It said that the authorities either ignored or failed to understand the fact that the Press 'serves them as well as the rest of the community.'

### VALUABLE

'Such news could be a valuable source of information for the authorities, and serve as a sensitive early-warning device'

Quoting the 1976 Soweto riots as an example, the union pointed out that 'the news about the angry, frustrated feelings of blacks about their educational system and processes was apparently ignored,' and emphasised that the Cillie Commission specifically excluded the Press from any responsibility for either causing or exacerbating the riots.

The NPU said any attempt to muzzle the media about incidents such as riots or terrorist attacks would encourage rumour, which would 'escalate, causing the very panic or lowering of morale that the ban is designed to prevent. Official silence would confirm the worst fears'

SOUTH AFRICA'S security laws endanger the ability of the public to keep abreast of developments which have, or could have, an effect on its future well-being.

This has been said in NPU evidence to the Rabie Commission investigation security legislation. The evidence has also been presented to the Steyn Commission.

Laws which had been intended to curb forces harming the established order had also had the undesirable effect of limiting the free flow of information, the NPU said.

'This lack of information can have a profound effect on the public's confidence and morale in the face of adversity and on its ability to decide its future or accept the decisions made by its leaders about its future.'

### 'EXCLUDE'

The NPU asked the Rabie Commission to consider eliminating or amending clauses in security legislation restricting the Press. It suggested that

# NPU 'should see all laws'

ALL Bills, regulations and Government actions with any bearing on the Press should be referred automatically to the union for analysis.

The suggestion is part of a submission to the Steyn Commission by the union.

The union said it had always co-operated with any authority that wanted its views or wanted to criticise newspapers.

### EFFECTIVE

The most effective means available to Government for minimising abuse of Press freedom was support and use of the Press Council and

the commission could alternatively exclude registered or NPU newspapers from restrictive clauses.

The NPU said the Internal Security Act defined communism very widely

'Some of the objectives of communism happen to coincide with perfectly legitimate aspirations of conventional Western democratic communities or their civil or religious institutions.

'By reporting on these aspirations, a newspaper runs the risk of being considered to be in contravention of the Act.'

### BANNED

Unsolicited banned publications were frequently sent to journalists and could lie unopened for days on a journalist's desk, without a journalist being aware of a contravention of the law.

'The proviso that the Minister of Justice's permission is required to possess information which is relevant and necessary to know, yet is banned, is clumsy and repugnant to all free-thinking people.'

# Pressmen 'should not have to register'

THE only Western countries which forced journalists to be registered were Franco's Spain and Hitler's Germany.

This was said by the Newspaper Press Union in a letter to the former Minister of the Interior, Mr Alwyn Schiebusch, in response to a suggestion that journalists be registered and subject to a code of conduct.

### BE FIRED

The letter was included in the union's submission to the Steyn Commission

The Union said it was opposed to a code of conduct. Journalists were covered by the Press Council's code and could

the Press Code.

The union said that in the first 10 years of the council's existence 28 complaints were heard. Of this number nine were dismissed, three were partially upheld and 16 were upheld. Two newspapers were reprimanded.

'It is submitted that this is a remarkably good record for a Press in a country where the politics are robust and where politics and racial issues tend to create heated argument.'

The record since had been consistently maintained

ANY move by the Government to control the Press would place this country on a par with the Soviet Union and the Third World in their attempts to initiate a new order of information.

The Newspaper Press Union, in its annexure to the Steyn commission on Unesco and the new order, said this was a danger and that South Africa 'should not be seen to be moving towards the Soviet-backed view of Press freedom and away from the Western view'

The NPU outlined the 'global battle over the principles of freedom of information versus State-controlled Press,' and said the Third World had won the backing of the United Nations to 'shape international news reporting to the dictates of politics'

### HARNESSING

Third World representatives see the new information order as necessary to bring about a new economic order, and have recommended'

● The harnessing of domestic media 'in the service of the integral development of nations.'

● The creation of a news exchange between developing countries.

● Rejection of the dominant position of the Western news agencies (Associated Press, Reuter, United Press International and Agence France Presse, which among them supply an estimated 90 percent of the international news published around the world

Such reasoning, said the union, was already apparent in South Africa, both from the Government and from such black-consciousness organisations as the Media Workers' Associa-

THE closure of Post and Sunday Post differs in detail but not in substance from the banning in October 1977 of World and Weekend World, from whose metaphorical ashes they arose phoenix-like in 1978

The temporary closure of Post and Sunday Post late last year became permanent yesterday with the announcement by the Argus Company — which owns both newspapers — of its decision to withdraw its application to re-register the papers

Their registration under the Newspaper and Imprint Registration Act lapsed last year when they were not published for more than a month after the two-month strike by black media workers kept them off the streets

The application was withdrawn because the Ministers concerned, Mr Chris Heunis (Internal Affairs) and Mr Kobbie Coetsee (Justice), warned that if the newspapers were registered they would ban them under the Internal Security Act

Thus, in the final analysis, the difference between yesterday's closure and that of October 1977 amounts to the distinction between an intended banning action and an actual banning order

According to a statement

# 21/11/81 KDM 203 Total Strategy, m THE WORLD ORDER

released yesterday by the Argus Company's managing director, Mr Hal Miller, a decision to ban Post and Sunday Post was taken last year but not implemented because the media workers' strike resulted in the de facto but temporary shut down of the newspapers

But the strike was settled and the Argus Company was thwarted from re-opening the newspapers by a clear statement of Government intention to prohibit their publication under the Internal Security Act

Some observers felt yesterday that the Argus Company should have gone ahead with its application for registration under the Newspaper and Imprint Registration Act — which, it is understood, would have been granted — to expose the "reformist pretensions of the Botha Government by forcing it to do its own dirty work"

In apparent anticipation of this view, Mr Miller said in his statement "We see no point in making a futile gesture by insisting on registration and submitting to the

injustice of actual banning"

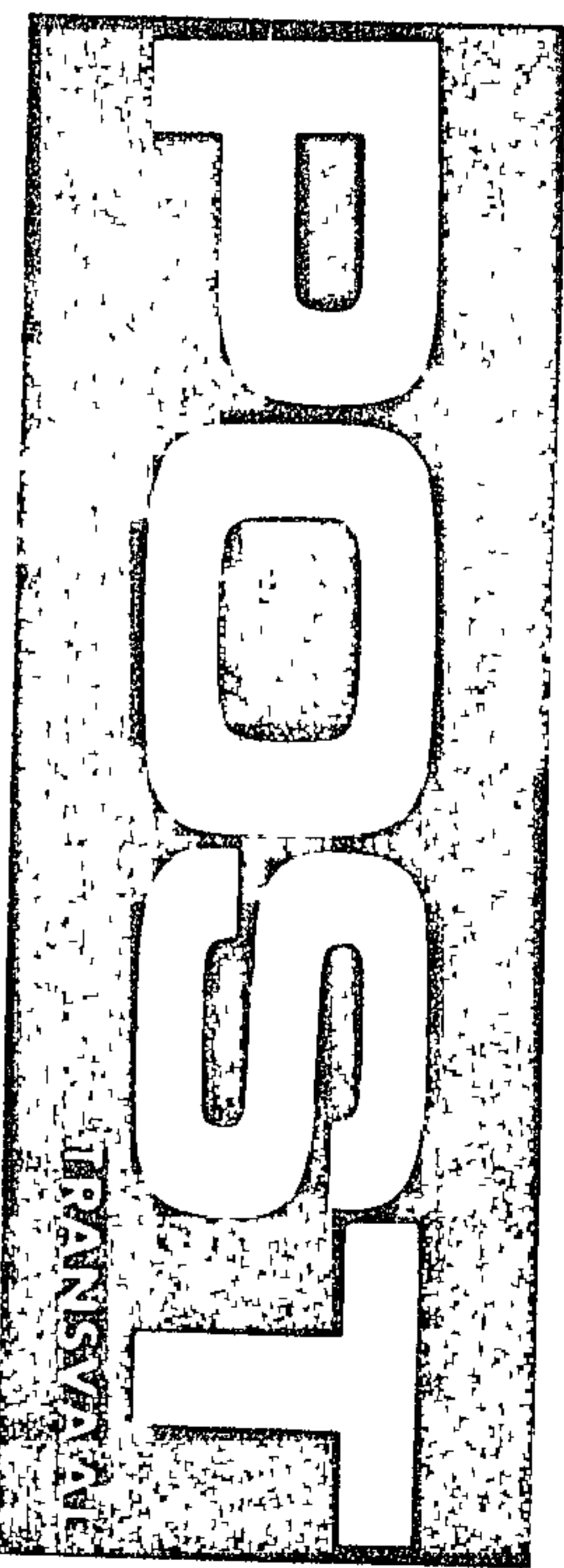
But examination of the Internal Security Act suggests that considerations of finance may also have influenced the decision against "futile gestures"

The Internal Security Act empowers Mr Heunis to demand a deposit of up to R20 000 as a condition for registration if he suspects it might be necessary to prohibit publication of the registered newspaper under the Act

As yesterday's joint state-

# 243 21/1/81 227 243 Bans absolute silence for Post

By PATRICK LAURENCE



der the same clause if it has been forced to fulfil its threat to ban Post and Sunday Post

No specific reasons were given for the 1977 banning. According to the key Argus Company newspaper, The Star, none were given for the threatened banning of Post and Sunday Post.

Since there has never been a clear definition of what kind of information is "calculated to endanger the security of the State", the line between what is permissible and what is not is ambiguous. In this sense the shut down of Post and Sunday Post affects a journalists

These lessons were implicit in the banning of World and Weekend World. But those who wished to could comfort themselves with the thought that the 1977 banings were due to the aberrations of the then Minister of Justice, Mr. T. Kruger, as he struggled to contain the simmering revolt of 1976-77 and the crisis precipitated by the death in detention of Mr. Steve Biko.

But after yesterday that is an illusion that newsmen can no longer entertain. The reformist administration of Mr. P. W. Botha, with its pursuit of "total strategy", has followed the Vorster government across the Rubicon by in effect banning newspapers

ment by Mr Heunis and Mr Coetsee made clear. Mr Heunis did not suspect that he might have to take action against the two newspapers — he knew that he would take action if they were registered.

At R20 000 a newspaper, the Argus Company faced a theoretical maximum deposit of R40 000 to register its newspapers and then see them banned — and the deposit forfeited to the State as prescribed by the Act.

There was an element of irony in the situation. The clause empowering the Minister to demand a deposit of up to R20 000 on registration was originally introduced to thwart avowedly leftist publications — including the now defunct Guardian, Spark and New Age — from exploiting a loophole in the law.

Until 1962 leftist publications registered under several names when banned under one name they re-surfaced immediately under an alternative name. An amendment in 1962 forestalled further use of that strategy.

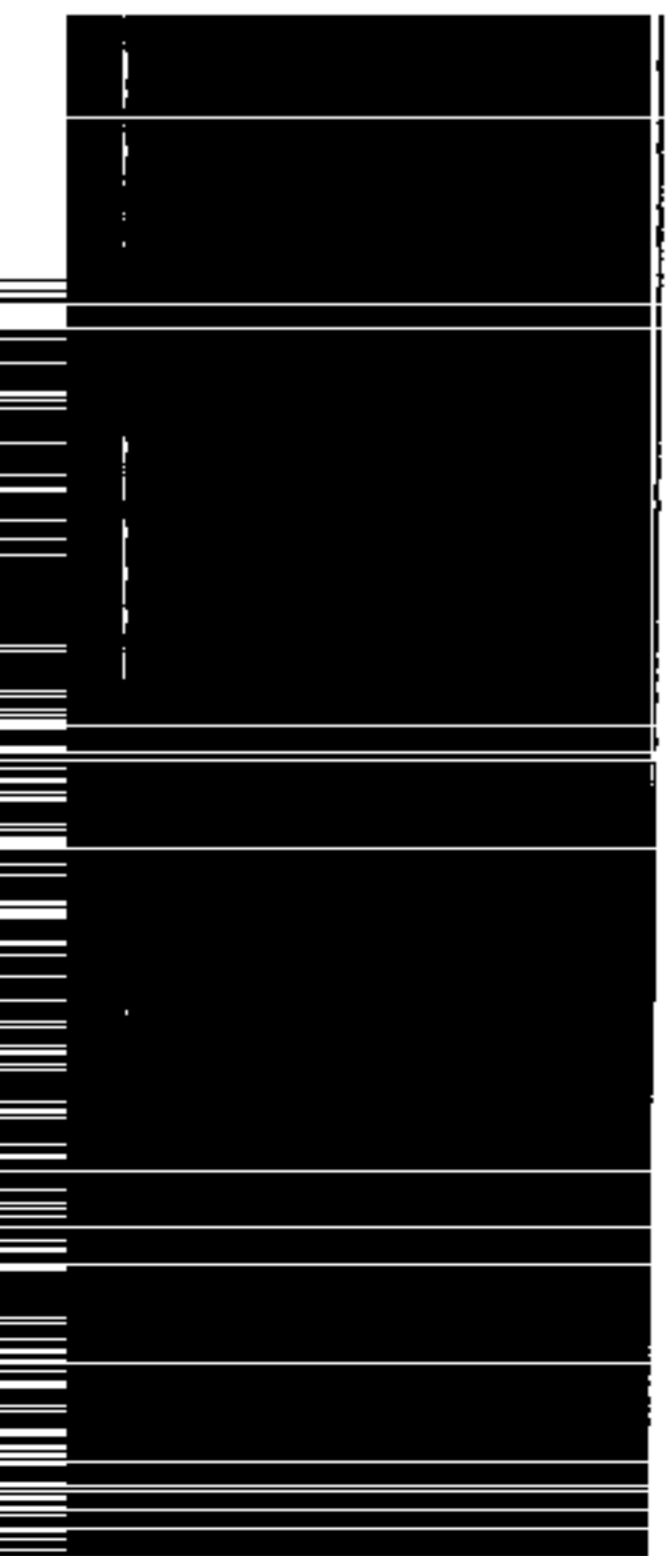
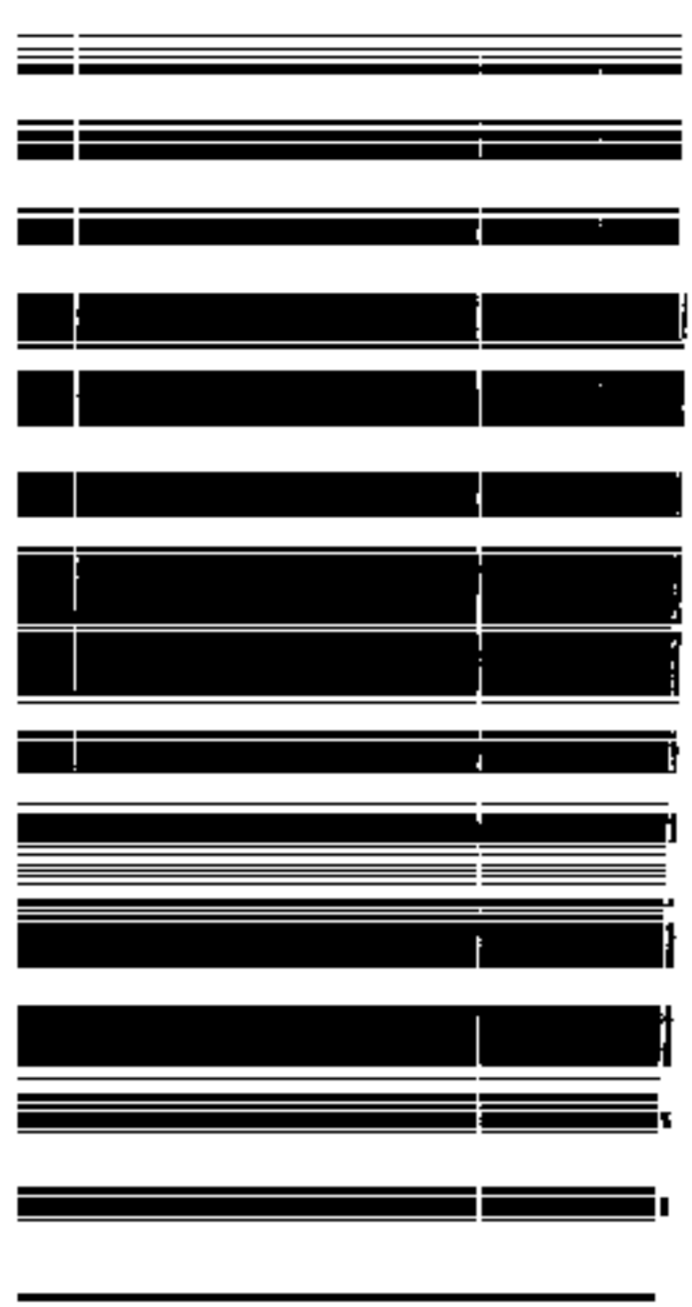
It forbade newspapers from registering under more than one name and, to discourage repeated registrations under different names, empowered the Minister to require a deposit of up to R20 000.

A clause designed to combat openly socialist publications nearly two decades ago was thus used to check a bid by the strongly pro-capitalist Argus Company to revive its stalled publications.

It is the second time the Argus Company has felt the cutting edge of a law originally designed for use against communist publications or, to put it more accurately, publications deemed to be supportive of communism.

Initially, Section Four of the Internal Security Act empowered the State President to outlaw any publication which propagated communist principles or which conveyed information likely to further the achievement of any of the objects of communism.

Two key amendments followed. The first in 1965 which



# Newspapers ask for Govt consultation

293 Ser 21/1/81

Extracts from a memorandum submitted to the Steyn Commission

sitting in Cape Town today.

All Bills, regulations and Government actions with any bearing on the Press should be referred automatically to the Newspaper Press Union for analysis and comment.

The suggestion is part of a submission to the Steyn Commission by the NPU which is representative of all but two of the country's regular daily and weekly newspapers. Such a system would bring the newspaper industry into line with other industries in South Africa, and would help to improve relations between the Press and Government.

The NPU pointed out that it had a history of meeting the Government and other authorities that wanted to air their views or criticise newspapers. It had helped set up a defence liaison committee and a police liaison committee to ease implementation and interpretation of security legislation and had helped establish other committees such as that on petroleum products and strategic supplies. It said the most effective

means available to Government for minimising abuse of Press freedom was support and use of the Press Council and the Press Code.

Official opposition to these avenues, based on allegations that the Council does not work because it operates ex post facto, or after the fact, "becomes the more suspect and dangerous because of its demonstrably false foundations". "In the first 10 years of the Council's existence 28 complaints were heard Of

this number nine were dismissed, three were partly upheld and 16 were upheld. Two newspapers were reprimanded.

"It is submitted that this is a remarkably good record for a Press dealing with literally thousands of stories a year in a country where the politics are robust and where politicians and racial issues tend to create heated argument." New rules of procedure, a new code of conduct and a new constitution had come into effect in

May 1977, introduced specifically to encourage more complaints. Only 17 of 400 referrals to the Council reached the hearing stage in the following two years, which suggested "a certain amount of harassment of the Press by frivolous or unsubstantiated complaints," the NPU said.

The Press Council had years earlier been empowered to impose three fines of up to R10 000 on newspapers found guilty of contravening the code of conduct.

All this, said the Union, was more than sufficient to curb abuses of Press freedom without resort to more restrictive legislation.



MR SCHLEBUSCH

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTURE

Cape Provincial Institute  
of Architects' Prize  
For the best student in :-

Sixth Year

P F Dunkley

Helen Gardner Travel Prize  
For a student who has  
satisfactorily completed  
1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

P A Rappoport

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize  
For the best woman student  
in third year.

Miss C Tredgold

David Haddon Prize  
For the best student of  
Architecture (or Quantity  
Surveying) in the subject  
of Professional Practice.

D H Pryce Lewis

General J B M Hertzog Prize  
For the best final year student.

S A Read

Osbourn Prize  
For the best work in fourth  
year.

D H Pryce Lewis

John Perry Prize  
For the best work in  
third year.

R A van Rosenfeld.

Angus 21/1/81 (243)  
**Free flow**

(Continued from page 1)

all bureaucracies throughout the world — posed a particularly strong threat to the welfare and evolutionary development of the South African community

The NPU accepted that even in the most democratic societies there must always be laws which regulate as well as protect freedoms.

The NPU believed that for the best fulfilment of its basic function in a democratic society, a free Press was required to be a self-disciplined one, subscribing to professional norms and standards, and particularly to the obligations to the public of reporting truthfully, commenting fairly and exercising due care and responsibility in sensitive areas of public and national interest.

# NPU on dangers of media controls

Restrictive legislation governing the Press in South Africa should be reviewed, amended and — if possible — lifted, the Newspaper Press Union told the Steyn Commission. Any attempts by the Government to increase existing limits would damage "the State and all its people".

In a memorandum to the commission, the NPU said

● That it believed conflicting views should be expressed rather than sup-

pressed, and that all members of "the South African community" had a right to know about social, economic and political developments in their country

● That it believed Press rights were those of the individual citizen, and that what is "best for the freedom of individuals is best also for the media"

● That it accepted laws regulating as well as protecting freedoms (such as those ensuring privacy,

reputation decency, child protection and secrecy for genuine defence needs)

● That it believed a free Press should be self-disciplined, "subscribing to professional norms and standards and particularly to the obligations to the public of reporting truthfully, commenting fairly and exercising due care and responsibility in sensitive areas of public and national interest"

The NPU warned the Government against

reputation decency, child protection and secrecy for genuine defence needs)

awarding itself some form of "Permanent state-of-emergency powers in order to deal with a permanent condition of social unrest". This, it said, was dangerous. Such a situation would jeopardise civil liberties, public confidence, and national security itself. "The nation is too cosmopolitan and too diverse to be influenced by news control or manipulation of information. Further curbs on freedom of information — even in military

## 'SA mustn't reject Western standards'

Any Government move to control the Press would place South Africa on a par with Russia and the Third World in their attempts to initiate a new order of information. The Newspaper Press Union, in its annexure to the Steyn Commission on Unesco and the new order, said this was a very real danger South Africa "should not be seen to be moving towards the Soviet-backed view of Press freedom and away from the Western view".

The NPU outlining the "global battle over the principles of freedom of information versus state-controlled Press," said the Third World had won United Nations backing to "shape international news reporting to the dictates of politics."

Third World representatives see the new information order as necessary to bring about a new economic order and have recommended

● Harnessing domestic media "in the service of the integral development of nations", or the removal of independent newspapers.

● Creation of a news exchange between developing countries. Said the NPU, "This pool already exists, but even Third World readers are bored by the laborious self-congratulatory propaganda that results."

● Rejection of the dominant position of Western news agencies (which among them supply about 90 per cent of international news published around the world). Such reasoning, said the NPU, was already apparent in South Africa, from the Government and such black consciousness organisations as the Mvusa.

"Any proposals to adopt Unesco-type recommendations in this country — or to introduce any form of licensing or registration of journalists, or outside-induced 'code of ethics' in the name of 'responsible reporting' — will be seen wherever freedom exists as a move towards a government-controlled Press."

"There is no middle way. We must either go backwards and join the undeveloped states and the Eastern-bloc in their policies or follow freedom of expression as practised in the democracies."

24/3 Steyn 21/1/78  
"And the effect on the 'converted' will be as helpful as 'simply closing one's eyes'."

South Africa, being a country under stress, needed specific legal protection for freedoms 'painstakingly acquired over three centuries'. The "delicate balance" in communication between the State and the people must not be upset.

Said the NPU, "It is our submission that the balance has already swung too far. 'It is our fear that if the restrictions collectively called the security laws are enlarged, or if the systems of communication are subjected to further Government control, not only could the Press lose its credibility with its readers but co-operation would tend to lessen and hostility in many quarters would grow."

"This would be to the detriment of the Press, and of the Government. But worst of all, it would harm the State and all its people."

MR JUSTICE STEYN

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## 'No' to journalists' register

The only Western countries which have forced journalists to be registered have been Franco's Spain and Hitler's Germany.

This was said by the NPU in a letter to the former Minister of the Interior, Mr Schlebusch, in response to a suggestion that journalists be registered and subject to a code of conduct.

The letter was included in the NPU's submission to the Steyn Commission.

Journalists were forced to register in Chile, Colum-

bia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Panama, Venezuela and Nicaragua. The only other countries in which governments could decide who could work as journalists were behind the Iron Curtain

In France, Belgium and Italy journalists themselves had instituted non-compulsory registration.

The NPU said it was opposed to a code of conduct for individual journalists. They were already covered by the Press Council's code and could be fined for breaking it. The NPU believed responsibility for

reports correctly lay with the editor.

The NPU also recorded opposition to attempts to give the existing Press Council power to prohibit publication of reports regarded as damaging to State security or public welfare. Existing Press Council provisions had a preventive effect, the union said.

It also told Mr Schlebusch it had reason to believe *The Citizen* — which is not a member of the NPU — would subscribe to the NPU's code and accept the jurisdiction of the Press Council if it were asked.

(243) **Call to Start  
expand  
co-operation  
with papers**

The Newspaper Press Union (NPU) opposed further restrictive legislation proposed by the "first" Steyn Commission of Inquiry, the NPU revealed today.

In a letter to the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, last June, the NPU said the proposed new laws would create more problems than they would solve.

"The Press Union, also believes that any such legislation would inescapably create the impression that the Government's aim is to institute forms of censorship and to force the media to endorse Government policy and its implementation."

The aims of the "first" report could be realised by expanding considerably existing co-operation between the Press and the police and Defence Force, through liaison committees.

The NPU referred to the dangers of "giving unfettered power to the military when dealing with internal problems and of giving similar wide powers to a civil force such as the police when dealing with internal problems."

The NPU also said in its evidence that the authorities appeared to continually underestimate the danger of a serious loss of credibility that withholding information created for them and the Press.

"They tend to underestimate the intelligence of the public and its ability to sense panic or inefficiency or lack of confidence when decisions are taken to withhold, suppress or distort information or to give conflicting information."



# 'Security laws muzzle'

243  
Star 1/18/76

South Africa's security laws endanger the ability of the public to keep abreast of developments which have, or could have, an effect on its future well-being

This has been said in National Press Union evidence to the Rabie Commission investigating security legislation. The evidence has also been presented to the Steyn Commission.

Laws which were intended to curb forces harming the established order also had the unfortunate and undesirable effect of stifling the free flow of information, the NPU said.

"This lack of information can have a profound effect on the public's confidence and morale in the face of adversity and on its ability to decide its future or accept the decisions made by its leaders about its future."

The NPU asked the Rabie Commission to consider eliminating or amending clauses in security legislation restricting the Press. It suggested that the Commission could alternatively exclude registered or NPU newspapers from restrictive clauses

## RISK

The NPU said the Internal Security Act defined communism very widely

"Some of the objects of communism happen to coincide with perfectly legitimate aspirations of conventional Western democratic communities or their civil or religious institutions

"By reporting on these aspirations a newspaper runs the risk of being considered to be in contravention of the Act"

The "Sabotage" clauses of the 1962 General Law Amendment Act made it necessary for the Press to be very careful about reporting news about sabotage, the NPU said.

"It has to ensure that its reports are not construed as being incitement or an instigation, aid or encouragement to commit sabotage

"The definition is so wide that it could restrict reporting, comment and healthy debate on a wide array of events."

## Newspaper coverage of riots was costly

Official opinion that reportage by newspapers of violent events such as riots was designed to sensationalise and to increase circulation and profits, was "somewhat naive."

The Newspaper Press Union said in evidence to the Steyn Commission that high costs involved in gathering such reports, involvement and deployment of large numbers of staff, overtime, extra expense in distribution to disturbed areas could well "cause losses rather than profits."

It said that the authorities either ignored or failed to understand the fact that the Press "serves them as well as the rest of the community"

## MUZZLE

Quoting the 1976 Sowe- to riots as an example, the union pointed out that "the prior news about the angry, frustrated feelings of blacks about their educational system and processes was apparently ignored," and stressed that the Cillie Commission specifically excluded the Press from any responsibility for either causing or exacerbating the riots

It said that any attempt to muzzle the media about incidents such as riots or terrorist attacks would encourage rumour, which would "escalate, causing the very panic or lowering of morale that the ban is designed to prevent. Official silence would confirm the worst fears."

Should the authorities permit publication of selective information, the public would soon lose faith in the media.

This, too, would snowball until "people will tend to become suspicious of even normal, routine information and to impart to it wildly imaginative (and inaccurate) interpretations"

# Afrikaans Press hits closure of 2 papers

243  
243  
STAK  
21/1/81

Afrikaans newspapers today responded to the forced closure of Post Transvaal and Sunday Post with reactions ranging from strong reservations to outspoken criticism.

● Beeld said the State had "screwed down an important source of information and a safety valve through which frustrated emotions could be relieved."

● Die Transvaler said: "Black newspapers, even if they are left-wing, are also cogs in the democratic machine."

● Die Burger said the action "could not offer a lasting solution, and would harden black attitudes"

Beeld said that if the purely technical points were overlooked, the State had banned the papers.

It could not understand why this had been done.

Against the background of the Government's apparent attempts to normalise relations in South Africa, it would have been far better to allow the papers to reappear as quickly as possible.

"Such a prohibition has no effect — except that it hardens black attitudes further, gives the enemies of our State and

Government new ammunition and disturbs friends of the Government here and overseas."

Beeld said the Cilie Commission's report on unrest in 1976 exonerated The World after its 1977 banning.

"As regular and critical readers of the Post newspapers we know of no clear reason apparent from the newspapers themselves which compel a State to take this drastic action."

The step would strengthen doubts about the sincerity of Government reforms.

While the country's situation might now appear more peaceful on the surface it could be safely said that if more State departments had taken notice of what The World was saying in 1976 the unrest could have been avoided.

Die Transvaler said in an editorial it was a pity the Government had threatened the newspapers with banning.

It was desirable that motivation for steps taken in terms of security legislation be given to enable the public to understand their rationale and justification.

Black newspapers were  
To Page 3, Col 1

Afrikaans X

Press also

Critical 243

an essential window on black opinions.

They were a barometer of the turbulence in a community which was not easy for whites to assess.

A ban on the papers was going to evoke prejudicial reaction from moderate circles.

Die Burger said it was regrettable that the reasons for the Government's action that stopped the publication of the two black newspapers were not clear.

No matter how strong the case of the authorities might be, the immediate impression created in propaganda was that action had been taken against Press freedom, that the action could not offer a lasting solution and that it would harden black attitudes at a time when greater understanding and reconciliation were sought.

Die Burger suggested that the Steyn Commission, inquiring into the media, should give attention to "the harmful consequences of action against the Press and newspapermen when it takes place for secret security reasons"

*SIM*  
**Kimberley journalist** *321*  
**granted bail of R1 000** *243*

**Own Correspondent**

**KIMBERLEY** — Mr Winston James Beaumont (22), a Johannesburg journalist on secondment to the Diamond Fields Advertiser in Kimberley, appeared yesterday in the Kimberley Magistrate's Court in relation to an alleged offence under the Official Secrets Act.

No details of the charge

were given and the case was adjourned to April 7 for hearing in the Windhoek Regional Court.

Mr Beaumont was not asked to plead and no evidence was led. He was released on bail of R1 000.

Mr Beaumont's appearance came after his arrest in Kimberley at 8.45 am yesterday under a warrant of arrest issued in Windhoek.

SCAR 2/1/81

# Times slams Press action

## The Star Bureau

LONDON — There has been sharp British and Fleet Street reaction to the effective banning of two black newspapers in South Africa

The Government's "cynical behaviour" had been "shameful even by its own standards of injustice," The Times says in an editorial.

"The action against the black Press will do much to destroy any feelings of optimism about the country," The Times says

"It was, in terms of foreign relations, an extraordinarily inept thing to do, even for a Government not known for its delicacy of diplomacy.

"Its claim that South Africa has, unlike most African states, a more or less free Press looks more threadbare now than it has ever done before."

"The main impact, however, will be on the internal policies of the country.

"South Africa's blacks, now permanently deprived of their two principal avenues of news and comment on affairs affecting them, will be further alienated.

"The Government's move is bound to convert more moderates to militancy and to make any peaceful solution to the country's problems even

more difficult to achieve.

"The closures carry a clear message for South Africa's white Opposition newspapers as well"

The London Daily Mail uses the closure of the two papers to argue against one of the far left's recent ideas

"You see how liberty can be throttled in those countries where you need a licence to print," says the Mail

"On the political surface the upholders of apartheid in South Africa and the Benn-men in Britain seem poles apart

"But under the skin are they not zealots of the same genus?"

# 'Deep anxiety' of NPU over black papers

243

STIM  
21/1/81  
2

**Political Staff**  
**CAPE TOWN** — In a special statement to the Steyn Commission today, the Newspaper Press Union, which represents the proprietors of South Africa's major newspapers, expressed deep anxiety over the government's action preventing publication of the country's two leading black newspapers.

The statement was read at the start of the commission's public hearings on the media in Cape Town by Mr Dawid de Villiers, managing director of Nasionale Pers.

Mr de Villiers said the NPU delegation, which was giving evidence to the Steyn Commission today, had requested him to make the statement "so that it would be apparent that it is being made on behalf on the NPU as a whole."

Earlier Mr P W McLean, current president of the NPU and general manager of the Argus Company, told the commission that it was more

appropriate that the statement be made by someone else since he was an executive of the company which owned the two affected newspapers, Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post.

After Mr De Villiers had read the NPU's statement, the chairman of the commission, Mr Justice Steyn, asked, "Must I understand that the newspaper owners concerned were not informed?"

Mr De Villiers replied that he had no knowledge of such reasons being given. Mr McLean then said that to the best of his knowledge detailed reasons were not given by the Government.

Mr de Villiers said that "the NPU was and is opposed to the executive authority having the power to close newspapers by its own decision without charge, trial, the provision of reasons for its action or the possibility of effective review."

"In a State which

attaches importance to democratic principles the closure of a newspaper could only be justified as an action of the utmost importance to protect the safety of the State and its people.

"And to avoid the slightest trace of this being a biased action to smother political opposition, the criteria would be a trial and conviction by an unbiased judiciary on a properly formulated charge.

"In its representations to the Rabie Commission, the NPU pointed out that in this type of case there could be no objection in the interests of security against a public hearing since the charge, in the nature of things, would have to be based on matters which had already appeared in the newspaper and thus not on secret investigative methods or on information supplied by informers who needed protection against intimidation."

Mr de Villiers notes that the closure of Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post had taken place while the Rabie Commission still had to make recommendations on the continued existence or possible scrapping of the administrative powers to close newspapers and while the Steyn Commission was still conducting an inquiry into, among other things, the handling of news by the mass media at the present time.

## REACTIONS

"To initiate its oral representations, the NPU delegation expresses its deep anxiety over the whole matter."

"Because no reasons for the decision have been given by the authorities the NPU refrains from a discussion of the merits of this particular case."

"The reactions which have already been invoked nevertheless underline its anxiety over the system under

## Qoboza warns Govt on Post

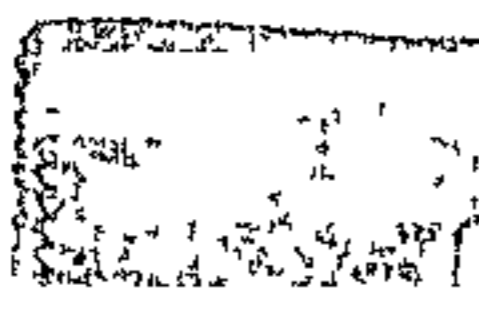
By John D'Oliveira

**WASHINGTON** — Mr Percy Qoboza, former editor of Post has warned the South African Government that it is fast eroding "even the limited amount of understanding and goodwill some people in the Reagan Administration have for South Africa."

Mr Qoboza was bitterly critical of the Government effectively closing down South Africa's only major black newspapers.

Mr Qoboza resigned as editor earlier this month.

Mr Qoboza said that once again the Nationalist Government had acted in a way that would seriously



national community.

He spoke of the Government's "guerilla warfare against the South African Press" and said the most tragic result of the Government's actions would be the creation of what he called an information vacuum.

"What will happen now is that the white community in South Africa will be left in utter ignorance of what is happening in the black community."

"The" delegation brings to the attention of the commission with renewed concern the representations from the NPU and especially to its conviction that the authority and the use of authority of this kind requires drastic revision with an eye to the future healthy relationships between the authorities, the media and all sectors of society."

See Page 9.

Star  
21/1/81 (243)

# Nat newspapers decry Post closures

Argus 21/1/81

243

**Political Correspondent**  
THE closure of two black newspapers by the Government has been criticised by Afrikaans newspapers, with one of them warning that it would help to harden black attitudes.

The Johannesburg Nationalist newspaper Beeld said that the closure gave enemies of South Africa and its Government new ammunition, and upset friends in this country and overseas.

## A VALVE

Beeld said the State had 'screwed down an important source of information and a safety valve through which frustrated emotions could be relieved'.

Die Transvaler said 'Black newspapers, even if they are left wing, are also cogs in the democratic machine'.

Beeld said that if purely technical points were overlooked the State had simply banned newspapers. It could not understand why this had been done.

Against the background of the Government's apparent attempts to normalise race relations, it would have been far better to allow the newspapers to reappear as quickly as possible.

## ON UNREST

'Such a prohibition helps nothing — except that it hardens black attitudes further, gives the enemies of our State and Government new ammunition and disturbs friends of the Government here and overseas.'

Beeld said the Cillie Commission's report on

unrest in 1976 exonerated the World after its 1977 banning.

'As regular and critical readers of the Post newspapers we know of no clear reason apparent from the newspapers themselves which compel a State to take this drastic action.'

The step would strengthen doubts about the sincerity of Government reforms. While the country might now appear more peaceful on the surface, it could be safely said that if more State departments had taken

notice of what the world was saying in 1976, unrest could have been avoided.

Die Transvaler said it was a pity the Government had threatened the newspapers with banning. It was desirable that reasons for steps taken in terms of security legislation be given to enable the public to understand them.

Black newspapers were an essential outlet for black opinions. They were a barometer of turbulence which was difficult for white people to assess. The Burger, the Cape Nationalist newspaper, said it was regrettable

that the reasons for the Government's action were not clear.

The newspaper said it was not enough to say it was apparently done for security reasons.

No matter how strong the case of the authorities might be, the immediate impression created was that action had been taken against Press freedom, that the action could not offer a lasting solution, and that it would harden black attitudes at a time when greater understanding and reconciliation were sought. (News by T. Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

# Whites will be left in dark — Goboza

**Argus Bureau**

WASHINGTON. — Mr Percy Goboza warned the South African Government today that it was fast eroding 'even the limited amount of understanding and goodwill some people in the Reagan Administration have for South Africa.'

The former editor of Post, Transvaal, was bitterly critical of the Nationalist Government for actions he said had effectively closed down South Africa's only major black newspaper.

Mr Goboza resigned as editor earlier this month and is working for the Washington Star as its Third World and United Nations editor.

Mr Goboza said he wished to make a 'serious appeal' to Mr Hal Miller, managing director of the Argus company to press ahead with the re-registration of both newspapers — in spite of the Government's threat.

The Argus Bureau in London reports that The Times says in an editorial that the South African Government's 'cynical behaviour' has been 'shameful even by its own standards of injustice'. The closure of the news-

papers is fully covered by Britain's National Press

The Times believes that this latest move carries a warning for white opposition newspapers as well.

The action against the black press will do much to destroy any feelings of optimism about the country, The Times says.

It was in terms of foreign relations, an extraordinarily inept thing to do, even for a government not known for its delicacy of diplomacy. It's claim that South

Africa has unlike most African states, a more or less free Press looks more threadbare now than it has ever done before.

There has been a sharp and angry reaction in Fleet Street.

Mr Peter Gallner, director of the International Press Institute, said he was shocked by the news.

This action is causing grave concern to the friends of your country, he said. Mr William Rees-Mogg, editor of The Times, said:

'We are very concerned about this matter.'

Mr Ken Ashton, general secretary of the National Union of Journalists here, was 'appalled'.

In the eyes of world opinion this action can be seen only as a further step in the worsening of a free Press situation, he said.

Mr Francis Beckett, president of the NUJ, said yesterday: 'A government which claims the right to ban newspapers has forfeited any right to our respect or consideration.'

**Mrs. Thornton White Prize**  
For the best work in first year.

Miss M F J Sandilands

He intends returning to South Africa at the end of February to a job which he does not wish to discuss 'at this stage'.  
'What will happen now is that the white community in South Africa, including the Nationalist Government, will be left in utter ignorance of what is happening in the black community.'

dissertation in Building Management.

S F Richardson

(Continued from page 1)

Figus 21/1/81  
**Papers 243**

on information supplied by informers who needed protection against intimidation.

Mr de Villiers noted that the closure of Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post had taken place while the Rabie Commission still had to make recommendations on the continued existence or possible scrapping of the administrative powers to close newspapers and while the Steyn Commission was still conducting an inquiry into, among other things, the handling of news by the mass media at the present time.

To initiate its oral representations, the NPU delegation expresses its deep anxiety over the whole matter. Because no reasons for the decision have been given by the authorities, the NPU refrains from a discussion of the merits of this particular case.

The reactions which have already been evoked nevertheless underline its anxiety over the system under which the decision was taken.

The delegation brings to

the attention of the commission with renewed concern the representations from the NPU and especially to its conviction that the authority and the use of authority of this kind requires drastic revision with an eye to the future healthy relationships between the authorities, the media and all sectors of society.

After Mr de Villiers had read the NPU's statement on the Government action against the two black newspapers, the chairman of the Commission, Mr Justice Steyn, asked: Must I understand that the newspaper owners were not informed?

Mr de Villiers replied that he had no knowledge of such reasons being given.

Mr McLean then said that to the best of his knowledge detailed reasons were not given by the Government.

Mr Justice Steyn asked Mr McLean to ascertain

whether any reasons had been given at all.

Mr Justice Steyn referred to a reported comment by Mr Dave Dalling, Progressive Federal Party MP for Sandton, yesterday about the action against the two black newspapers.

Mr Dalling had suggested that Mr Justice Steyn should resign as chairman of the commission as a sign of protest against the closing of the newspapers.

Mr Justice Steyn also referred to a leader in Die Burger today suggesting that the closure of the newspapers was something the commission should investigate. In other words, Mr Justice Steyn said the commission should not resign but should investigate.

Mr de Villiers said that if the authorities were to decline to give any reasons to the commission for its action it would smother the idea of any investigation.

This would be a further example of the undesirability of the existing kind of system.

● See Pages 4 and 17

Second Year

J A L Chapman

First Year

For the best student in each year of study of the degree course.

Book Prizes

For the Building Industry National Development Fund

M R I Ness

For the best project in structure and design.

R Stubbs Award

J G Kirkman

For the student who has made best use of bricks in his design work.

S A Brick Association Prize

Miss M F J Sandilands

For the best work in first year.

Mrs. Thornton White Prize

BUILDING

(Continued)

ARCHITECTURE



# Countrywide

## anger over

# ban on Post

No. 211181

(243)

JOHANNESBURG — There was a sharp reaction yesterday to the effective silencing of Post and Sunday Post, newspapers.

The government's action demonstrated that it was intent on destroying anything that was precious to blacks, the acting editor of the two newspapers, Mr Joe Latogomo, said.

"Whatever the wrongs or rights of the matter, it is perfectly clear that if the government had any reason to fault both publications on their content, the vast maze of laws at its disposal could have made sure of a conviction — thereby justifying any action subsequently.

"In the absence of any such evidence, I can only assume that the reason the government has taken this action is that we have been strong enough to speak out against injustices, and have relentlessly fought, using whatever limited resources at our disposal, to achieve a just society for all the peoples of this country."

The former editor of Post, Mr Percy Qoboza said the ban created a vacuum which white South Africa could ill afford.

The presence of a vigorous, proud and courageous black press was almost their only source of information for both black and white communities and the government to know exactly how black people thought and felt.

"Now these feelings and aspirations are literally being pushed underground. That more than anything else spells the greatest danger for South Africa," Mr Qoboza said.

Mr Joel Mervin, the official representative in South Africa of the International Press Institute, said the government's action was a "senseless ban."

"It reveals itself as part of a clear pattern in which the government is deter-

mined to silence the press.

"We have to remember that freedom is indivisible and that when the black newspapers are crushed and silenced, the government will then move on to deal with the so-called white newspapers.

"We are now, it appears, rushing at a dangerous speed towards that situation."

The editor of the Sunday Times, Mr Tertius Myburgh, said "Any country where a government walks in and pulls down the shutters on a newspaper can't have any pretence at freedom of expression.

"I'm finding it hard to believe that the government is now actually closing down newspapers in its outrageous."

Mr Rex Gibson, editor of the Sunday Express, voiced regret that the ban came during the Steyn Commission's investigations into the press.

"The fact that this outrageous step has been taken in advance of any report by the commission shows how little store the government places both on its own commission and on the concept of press freedom," he said.

"The banning is disgraceful and will do irreparable harm to South Africa's name abroad and race relations in the country."

Mr Harold Pakendorf, editor of Die Vaderland, said "My first instinct is that the government has made a mistake."

Mr A. Marais, acting editor of The Citizen, said "This action merely increases our anxiety about the government's intentions about the press, especially the timing — when the Steyn Commission is conducting inquiries into the press.

"This action should be seen as having been taken against the entire newspaper industry," he said. Both journalist unions in the country view the ban as an invitation to confrontation.

"The government's action is an invitation to con-

frontation and disaster," said Mr John Allen, president of the Southern African Society of Journalists.

"Unless South Africans are exposed to a free flow of information, they will be unable to identify, let alone respond to, the challenges facing them.

"Post and Sunday Post are components of that free flow. They have mirrored black society and reported on aspirations and grievances of people playing a crucial role in the country's history.

"Stopping their publication may shatter mirrors reflecting distasteful images. But the aspirations won't be fulfilled and black feelings won't go away."

The Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) said "It is hardly four years since the banning of The World and Weekend World ended an international outcry. Now the government has unflinchingly banned two more newspapers.

"This action shows the extent to which the government is prepared to go to stifle black opinion. We view the action coupled with recent banings of Mwasa leaders, as a declaration of war against black aspirations.

"It is a clear indication that nothing short of radical action by both the local and international community will stop South Africa's march towards totalitarianism.

"However, our painful experience is that after such vicious action by the government, the indignant cries from the international community will only last for a brief period, thereafter everything will return to normal.

Mr John Rees, director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, said "The state has chosen to close one of the most respected and widely-read mouthpieces of the black community in South Africa. This action is seen as short-sighted

A Post employee outside the newspapers' office yesterday, shortly after the announcement of their closure.

and incredible."

Mrs Joyce Harris, national president of the Black Sash, said "I react with absolute horror. It is beyond my understanding how the government can close vitally important lines of communication like Post and Sunday Post, which present a point of view not available in our white newspapers."

The secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said the government was not aware that by banning people or newspapers, it did not destroy their thoughts, aspirations and ideas.

"I am still appealing to the authorities to reverse their decision on the action they have taken on the newspapers and the three banned members of Mwasa," he said.

The PFP spokesman on the media, Mr Dave Dalling, said the Steyn Commission should disband and its chairman should resign unless the government withdrew the banning order on Post and Sunday Post.

"The government, if its past record is any indication, will use, abuse and manipulate whatever report emanates from this commission in order to put out the one light of freedom South Africa still enjoys." — SAPA.P.C.

## Action greeted with concern overseas

LONDON — The action against Post and Sunday Post has been greeted with concern and dismay here and has been condemned as "a further blow to press freedom in South Africa."

The International Press Institute here said the press situation facing the press in South Africa was becoming more difficult from week to week.

Mr Ken Ashton, general secretary of the powerful British National Union of Journalists, said "Such action is a denial of a basic human right for people to be heard."

He pointed to the McBride report adopted recently at a Unesco conference in Belgrade that it was a basic human right for people to be informed and that journalists, editors and proprietors were caretakers of that right.

Mr Ashton said he would be reporting on the action to a meeting of his executive this weekend. "We are appalled at the situation which the South

African Government presented to these two Argus newspapers.

"It would appear to be a Catch 22 situation because the two newspapers were deregistered for not being on the streets during the two-month strike. Now it has been said if they reapply for registration and start printing again then they will be banned."

Mr Ashton said that, in the eyes of the world, this move would be seen as a further harassment of black journalists and a continued denial of a free press.

"This increases our already great concern for the black and white journalists who are shortly to appear before the courts in South Africa."

Mr Ashton was recently barred from entering South Africa when he landed at Jan Smuts Airport. South African authorities said this was because he did not have the necessary documentation for such a visit.

Mr Ashton had intended to assist the Media Workers of South Africa

## What the papers say

JOHANNESBURG — Both Afrikaans and English language newspaper editorials have condemned the banning of the Post newspaper.

Beeld said the banning only helped to further harden black dispositions, gave a further boost to the "in this country and overseas. Beeld said it could not understand the ban.

The matter is incomprehensible. According to the owner of the newspapers, the state already decided some time ago to kill the newspapers. Yet the game was played that their registration had lapsed because of a strike and that the matter could be sorted out.

A court case followed after that, and applications for condonation and re-registration, as well as formal discussions between ministers — but the decision had already been taken. Why then such a to-and-fro?

Against the background of recent history, with a view to what the government presumably wants to presume to normalise relations in South Africa, it would have been far better if the newspapers had appeared again as soon as possible.

It says that more than a year after the unrest broke loose in Soweto, and with smouldering unrest still everywhere in the country, the World and Sunday World were banned. Afterwards, a commission which investigated the entire unrest situation, strongly criticised various official actions — and the press.

"Had I followed what the South African authorities maintain was the proper procedure, I now doubt very much that I would have been allowed to enter the country."

JOHANNESBURG — Minutes after the acting editor of Post, Mr Joe Latogomo, told his staff of the government's decision, the journalists broke up into small groups and began to discuss what would happen next in hushed tones.

Confusion and shock were the main emotions evident in the newsroom of Post as journalists prepared the Swetman for publication. Some members of the

especially The World, which was intimately involved in Soweto, was acquitted of responsibility for the continuing violence.

"Why The World and Sunday World were banned we still do not know. But the state was presumably convinced of its grounds, just as it must be now. However, it should not surprise (the State) if others, seeing what happened after the last time, come up with worried doubt."

Beeld says that as regular and critical readers of the Post newspapers, it did not know of one clear reason emanating from the newspapers themselves that obliged a government to act so crassly.

The Argus said Post newspapers had helped to provide an outlet for bottled-up political and other frustrations and provided a necessary voice for them.

"By removing these important voices from the community, the government is not only reducing the range of necessary dialogue at a critical time for South Africa, but it could be dangerously increasing also the feelings of impotence and frustration of the country's most important urban blacks.

The Star said, "Putting Post on ice will not freeze the political turmoil in the townships, nor will it give any administration more time to find solutions. Instead, the government move will aid extremists and discomfort many moderates.

The Eastern Province Herald comments "Typically, no reasons were given for this monstrously authoritarian action, but the object is no less plain for being unstated — it is simply to prevent the publication of news and views that conflict with official policy.

"By trying to achieve this end through crude dictatorial measures, the government has overlooked a simple truth. Official attempts at thought control will not alter the judgment most South Africans have formed about their own society. On the contrary, such actions can only deepen widely held suspicions about official promises of reform."

## Staff confused

40-odd editorial staff of Post had still not heard the news. Some were on assignment and others were preparing for a meeting with Argus management today to discuss the future of their newspaper.

In all there are about 262 staff members employed by Post, the manager, Mr John Gittins, said it was too early to tell what would happen to them. — SAPA.

# Government convinced <sup>STAR</sup> Post aimed <sup>22/11/81</sup> at creating revolutionary climate <sup>243</sup>

**Political Correspondent**  
CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Justice, Mr Coetsee, said today the Government was convinced that the actions of the black newspapers Post and Sunday Post were "aimed at creating a revolutionary climate in South Africa"

He declined to give the reasons for the Government's threat to ban the newspapers which led to their being shut down before efforts to have them re-registered were completed.

## CONTINUED

Mr Coetsee today responded to a storm of criticism of the Government's actions.

Mr Coetsee said that in

the interests of the country the Government had had no choice in its viewpoint on the closing down of the newspapers

He said the Government viewpoint was not aimed at affecting Press freedom as such

Mr Coetsee today again confirmed it had been his intention to ban the publication of Post Transvaal and Sunday Post

As a result of the strike of the editorial staff of the two newspapers who were also members of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) the non-appearance of the newspapers and the subsequent lapsing of the registration of the newspapers, the ban

was not imposed

Mr Coetsee said he would not comment on evidence given to the Steyn Commission, but Mr Hal Miller, managing director of the Argus Company, had not been told "in detail" of the reasons for the threatened ban

## DENIAL

Mr Miller said today "As proprietors of Post Transvaal and Sunday Post we deny emphatically Minister Coetsee's statement that our newspapers aimed to foment revolution"

Two of the primary aims of the Argus Company, and of all its news-

papers, were to "place South Africa's advancement and wellbeing before all else" and "to further the cause of racial co-operation"

"If the Government considered that in practice the content of the Post newspapers departed from these norms, we do not believe that it was necessary for it to take steps to prohibit the publication of the newspapers as has occurred

"We do not believe that this Government or any government, should have the power to ban newspapers or people without trial or review"

He added "We were in-

To Page 3, Col 7

Why Govt moved to close Post

formed by the Government that action was being taken in terms of the Internal Security Act in the interests of the security of the State and because it was dissatisfied with the content and conduct of the newspapers

But we were not given details of the accusations against us and so could not refute them, or if they were proven to be justified, correct them in subsequent issues of the publications in question"

## SISTER PAPER

Post was a sister paper of The Star

The Editor of The Star, Mr Harvey Tyson, said today "The Minister's allegation that Post intended to encourage revolution merely compounds the Government's folly

If the State has evidence of this attempted sedition it should have prosecuted those responsible

Instead it closed down the newspaper, breaking a fundamental principle of freedom and bringing opprobrium on South Africa from even the most conservative democratic nations

# Revolution?

# Argus Rejects

Argus 22/1/81

(243)

# accusation

R A van Rosenfeld.

## Political Correspondent

THE Argus Company has rejected allegations by the Minister of Justice, Mr H J Coetsee, that the newspapers Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post were aimed at creating a revolutionary climate in South Africa.

The managing director of the Argus Company, Mr Hal Miller, said today that 'as proprietors of Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post, we deny emphatically Minister Coetsee's statement that our newspapers aimed to foment revolution'. Mr Coetsee said today that the Government was convinced that the actions



Mr H J Coetsee

publication of Post Transvaal and Sunday Post

He said that, as a result of the strike of the two newspapers' editorial staff, who were members of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) the

## Miller: Our policy is South Africa first

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — 'As proprietors of Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post we deny emphatically Minister Coetsee's statement that our newspapers aimed to foment revolution,' said Mr Hal Miller, managing director of the Argus Company, today

Two of the primary aims of the Argus Company, and of all its newspapers, are to 'place South Africa's advancement and well-being before all else' and 'to further the cause of racial co-operation'.

'If the Government considered that

'We do not believe that this Government, or any government, should have the power to ban newspapers or people without trial or review.'

'We were informed by the Government that action was being taken in terms of the Internal Security Act in the interests of the security of the State and because it was dissatisfied with the content and conduct of the newspapers. But we were not given details of the accusations against us and so could not refute them, or if they were proven to be justified, to correct them in subsequent issues of the publications in question.'

# NPU: leading editors are SA citizens

CAPE TOWN — Major newspaper groups in South Africa appoint, as a matter of policy, only South African citizens as editors

The NPU said in representations to the Steyn Commission yesterday that it was unnecessary to

formalise this practice through legislation.

NPU members had undertaken not to appoint foreigners as editors but were opposed to a formalised and inflexible rule

"In the wider context such a rule would mean that it would be impos-

sible for say, a Portuguese immigrant to edit a cultural publication for Portuguese people in South Africa"

The Government itself had not always strictly applied that requirement.

"To The Point, which was started by the Depart-

ment of Information and financed by it for a number of years, was published by a Dutchman and later edited by a foreigner — the Welsh-born former Information Director of Mr Ian Smith's government in the former Rhodesia," the NPU said.

— Sapa

# Press and Cabinet should talk — Steyn

CAPE TOWN — In view of the internal situation in South Africa and threats from abroad it was probably now the time for open-hearted high-level talks between the Press and the Cabinet, the chairman of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media, Mr Justice M T Steyn said here today.

He was speaking to a delegation from the Newspaper Press Union on the second day of their appearance before the commission

Discussions centred on the need in the present circumstances for freedom of the Press to inform the public of the true position in South Africa

Mr Justice Steyn asked

to what extent real efforts had been made to bring the Cabinet and the Press together, and whether Press leaders and leading journalists had been involved in exchanges of opinion

Mr D P de Villiers, managing director of Nasionale Pers and a member of the NPU delegation, said "friendly talks" had on occasion taken place.

Mr H de G Laurie, a member of the NPU delegation, asked who should take the initiative — the Press or the authorities"

Mr Justice Steyn said that in such an important matter there should be no hesitation "The one must not be shy to ap-

proach the other"

Referring to Press freedom and greater co-operation from the authorities on certain matters of national importance, Mr de Villiers said part of the internal threat against South Africa was the fact that the public at large was ill-informed about the true situation

"We have used the external threat against the country as an excuse to affect certain basic freedoms and rights of the people, with the result that communications have become imperfect"

This was partly because of certain laws on the Statute Book and partly as a result of fear of persecution

The country's youth had not been adequately informed of the basic rights of a democracy and could not contrast these values with those of communism and other ideologies

"We are closing up instead of opening up"

Mr de Villiers recalled that at a recent international conference one of the speakers had said of South Africa that its people were unaware of the full facts regarding communism and merely left them "to a few bureaucrats in Pretoria to interpret"

"This is, in fact, true," said Mr de Villiers

There was a tendency among black youths to be pro-communist in a very superficial way. The general concept was that it would give them a greater share.

This tendency, which was borne out by moderate black leaders, could be ascribed to a lack of proper information.

Yesterday, the NPU submitted that newspapers and other interested groups should be allowed to acquire rights to commercial radio and TV stations in competition with the SABC

Mr P W McLean, chairman of the NPU, told the commission

"A better balance as well as a more competitive relationship for radio and TV would be achieved by allowing newspapers and other interested groups to acquire rights to commercial radio and TV stations in competition or partnership with the SABC" — Own Correspondent, Sapa

ance of the newspapers in practice intercontent of the Post news-  
papers departed from these norms, we do not believe that it was necessary for it to take steps to prohibit the publication of the newspapers as has occurred.  
● Mr P. W. McLean, president of the NPU, read the statement to the Steyn Commission. It was noted without comment.

papers were aimed at creating a revolutionary climate in South Africa

### Intention

He declined to give the reasons for the Government's threat to ban the newspapers which led to their being shut down before efforts to have them re-registered were completed

Mr Coetsee today responded to a storm of criticism of the Government's actions

Earlier this week he declined to add anything to the statement made jointly with the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr J C Heunis, in which they confirmed that it had been the Government's intention to ban the newspapers

In an interview today Mr Coetsee said that, in the interests of the country the Government had had no choice in its viewpoint on the closing of the newspapers

### Stability

He said the Government viewpoint was not aimed at affecting Press freedom as such, but far rather to create order and stability in South Africa and to counteract efforts to create a revolutionary climate in South Africa

Mr Coetsee today again confirmed that it had been his intention to ban the

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22/1/81  
Star

(Continued on Page 3, Col 3)

● See Pages 3 and 7.

# Quirb Gout Power, Demands Press

## Demands Press

RDH 22/1/81

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BY ARNOLD GYVER

THE exercise of the kind of Government powers that had effectively banned two black newspapers required drastic reform, the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media was told yesterday.

The Newspaper Press Union said in evidence to the commission it was deeply concerned about the Government's action.

The NPU statement was read on behalf of the union by the managing director of Nasionale Pers, Mr David De Villiers.

And yesterday Afrikaans newspapers throughout the country attacked the Government for its action, stressing it was undemocratic and a serious blow to Press freedom in South Africa.

The president of the NPU, Mr F. W. McLean, said the statement was read to the commission by Mr De Villiers, so that it would be apparent that it is being made on behalf of the NPU as a whole.

Mr McLean is general manager of the Argus company which owned the two affected papers, Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post.

Before the statement was submitted, Mr McLean told the commission the closure of the newspapers constituted "an event of far-reaching consequence" and was an action forced on the Argus group by the Government.

After Mr De Villiers had read the NPU statement, the

The commission's concern is not some necessary, natural consequence of the world. It reflects voluntary, contractual risk-sharing by the contracting parties—given that future demands and economic conditions are not perfectly and costlessly predictable. For example, a lender of money to a business firm can make a very short-term loan for a fixed interest rate. Normally he will be repaid on time and bears little risk of any interim events that might affect the security of that loan. Others may lend for a 20-year period and expose themselves more to longer-term risks and greater changes in the sale value of that bond in the interim. Others may choose to invest in some firm

the value of the firm's assets against financial risk when he borrows money to invest in the firm. Others may choose to invest in some firm

source of increased output production, requires team supervision, and monitoring. monitoring, and supervision, and monitoring. arrangements of jointly used efficiency of team sizes. is to resources permit efficient. Communal rights a congestion and overuse

chairman of the commission Mr Justice M T Steyn asked "Must I understand that the newspaper owners concerned were not informed and supplied with reasons for this action?"

Mr De Vilhiers was not aware of any reasons having been given but said he would investigate the matter and report back to the commission.

The NPU statement read:

"The NPU has been consistently opposed to powers authorising the executive authority to close down newspapers through its own decision, without charge, trial, giving reasons or the possibility of effective review."

In a state which valued democratic principles, the closure of a newspaper would be justified only as a matter of extreme urgency to protect the security of the state and its people.

"To avoid any vestige of unilateral action to stifle political opposition, a prerequisite will be trial and conviction on a properly formulated charge by an impartial judiciary."

Mr De Vilhiers said the closure of Post (Tvl) and Sunday Post came at a time when the Rabie Commission of Inquiry into Security Legislation had yet to submit its recommendations on the extension or scrapping of administrative powers to close down newspapers.

In its representations to the Rabie Commission, the NPU had pointed out there could be no security objections to public hearings when newspapers were charged with contravening the law.

The charges would inevitably be based on reports which had already been published and would not require secret methods of investigation, nor information provided by people who had to be protected against intimidation.

Mr De Vilhiers said the NPU therefore expressed its deep anxiety over the whole matter.

"The reactions which have already been invoked nevertheless underline its anxiety over the system under which the decision was taken."

"The delegation brings to the attention of the commission with renewed concern the representations of the NPU and especially to its conviction that the authority and the use of authority of this kind requires drastic revision with an eye to the future healthy relationships between the authorities, the media and all the sectors of society," Mr De Vilhiers said.

In editorials yesterday, newspapers belonging to both Nasionale Pers and Perskor, mouthpieces of the Government, criticised the step taken against the papers saying it was contemptuous of the Steyn Commission.

The papers condemned the move against Press freedom as being contrary to democratic principles, saying it blocked valuable sources of information for both black and white and was a blow to relations between the two groups.

They called for the Government to provide reasons for the action.

(Continued from page 1)

and the subsequent lapsing of the registration of the newspapers, the ban was not imposed.

He said he could confirm that such a ban would have been issued in terms of the Internal Security Act, on the ground that the newspapers in question had served as means to propagate the viewpoints of certain unlawful organisations and to give information calculated to endanger the safety of the State and the maintenance of law and order.

In today's interview Mr Coetsee declined to react to a Newspaper Press Union statement to the Steyn Commission yesterday in which it pointed out that charges against newspapers would have to be based on matters which had already appeared in the newspaper and that there could therefore not be any objection to such charges being heard in public.

Mr Coetsee said he would not comment on evidence given to the Steyn Commission.

# Argus 22/1/81 Rejection

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Mr Dave Dalling, MP, the Opposition's chief spokesman on media matters, today rejected the reason given by the Minister for the action that was planned against the newspapers.

'If any newspapers are fomenting revolution they should be brought before open courts and be subject to the normal justice of the country.'

'What has happened is that a politician has made a political decision unilaterally to close down two of the Government's more vocal opponents.'

'We should remember that, if the Government can close down the Post newspapers today, it can close down The Argus and SAAN groups tomorrow.'

'Soon there will be no rights left for the ordinary man except at the pleasure of the Minister of Justice. Who is he but an individual?'

Mr Dalling said the Opposition would raise the matter as a major

issue in next week's no-confidence debate.

● Post was a sister paper of the Star, and the Editor of the Star, Mr Harvey Tyson said today 'The Ministers' allegation that Post intended to encourage revolution merely compounds the Government's folly.'

'If the State has evidence of this attempted sedition it should have prosecuted those responsible.'

'Instead it closed down the newspapers, breaking a fundamental principle of freedom and bringing opprobrium on South Africa from even the most conservative democratic nations.'

Mr Joe Latakomo, acting editor of Post, said that if the Government was as convinced as it claimed to be that Post had been promoting a revolution, then it surely should have taken court action.

'In the absence of such action, I am convinced that they have no evidence.'

'They did have an alternative of taking us to court, which was much more respectable.'

(News by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

David Haddon Prize  
For the best student of  
Architecture (or Quantity  
Surveying) in the subject  
of Professional Practice.

Miss C Tredgold

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize  
For the best woman student  
in third year.

P A Rappoport

Helen Gardner Travel Prize  
For a student who has  
satisfactorily completed  
1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

P F Dunkley  
Sixth Year

Cape Provincial Institute  
of Architects' Prize  
For the best student in :-

ARCHITECTURE



# Remove most

# Press curbs

# NPU president

Angus 22/1/81

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THE most appropriate finding the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the mass media can come to is that curbs on the Press should be re-examined and that most be amended or removed from the statute books, the president of the Newspaper Press Union, Mr P W McLean, said.

In a submission before the commission sitting in Cape Town yesterday, Mr McLean said the NPU accepted certain laws which restricted the Press in the publication of information as these were regarded as appropriate in a civilised society.

### THE MAJORITY

However, the large majority of laws relating to the Press could be removed from the statute book without any detriment.

On the contrary, it is submitted that it would lead to a much healthier, more open and better society, one attuned to the forces and changing currents within the society and therefore better able to adapt to them, he said.

Earlier, the NPU told the commission that there

was a lack of consultation on the part of the Government on matters affecting the Press

An example of this was the procedure adopted by the Department of Justice in formulating amendments to the Divorce Act

The department held an investigation in which it consulted 15 organisations and bodies. The NPU, which had cogent views on the question of publicising divorce cases, was not consulted

Other serious examples were provided by two Bills

drawn up to insert highly controversial sections in the Police Act. In both cases the NPU was not invited to offer representations, but had to ask for an opportunity after the Bills had been published for almost immediate introduction in Parliament.

### AFFECTING IT

There was no standard procedure whereby the Press was automatically consulted about matters affecting it

This commission, the NPU submitted, was most undesirable, particularly

because of the important implications of interfering with Press freedom in a democratic society.

In the absence of constitutional entrenchment, as in the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, it was more necessary to allow full access to democratic processes when legislative roads into a basic civil liberties were proposed

Replying to a question from the commission, Mr D P de Villiers, managing director of Nasionale Pers,

said the NPU had only on occasion been consulted about impending legislation

A member of the commission, Dr D Herbst, asked why it was that journalism had no established status

Mr Raymond Louw, general manager of South African Associated Newspapers, replied that he did not think the lack of consultation had anything to do with status. In his opinion there was a wall of silence on the part of an administration that was not sufficiently open.

### MISTRUST

Another member of the commission, Mr K von Lieres und Wilkau, asked: 'Would you say there is a large degree of mistrust between the Government and the Press?'

Mr Louw replied: 'We do not mistrust the Government as an institution'. He added that there was a lack of knowledge of how the Press operated and a lack of communication between Government departments and the Press.

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Prize

major courses.

Prize

in :

Prize

# Police powers may be abused

CAPE TOWN — New legislation arming the police with powers of secrecy disturbed the desirable relationship between them and the public, the Newspaper Press Union told the Steyn Commission yesterday

The NPU said the police and their activities were matters of public interest and the public and media therefore had a full right to report on and discuss them.

"Liaison with the police should be aimed at a free flow of information save for limited areas of the law relating to defeating the ends of justice."

"The commission suggests certain reports indicate a growing attack on the Defence Force and potentially unacceptable alienation of the public from the police force."

"Caution should be exercised in interpreting statistics, but if they act as a pointer to attitudes, the government should treat them as early-warning devices."

The police were obviously using the provisions of the Police Act to suppress publication of anything which might sound critical of their conduct, the NPU said

The commission seemed to have missed the gist of the objection to the section, namely that it was likely to draw a veil of secrecy over police activities

"The section makes it practically impossible for a newspaper to fulfil its normal function, which is not that of a judge or court of law, but often to bring to the attention of the public and authorities, that some third party is making an allegation in respect of the police"

The section made it impossible to air the matter without the editor committing himself to belief in the truth of the allegation and seeking to find provable, reasonable ground for it — which might be impossible, particularly if the police denied the allegation.

So the editor who is neutral or uncertain about the matter, must either spike the letter or face possible prosecution in reporting it.

The natural reaction was to spike it and thus close a valuable potential source of information about police matters

The Steyn Commission had in no way addressed itself to this problem in its first report and the NPU submitted that the police had enough protection embodied in the press code — SAPA

# Internal threat cited as priority

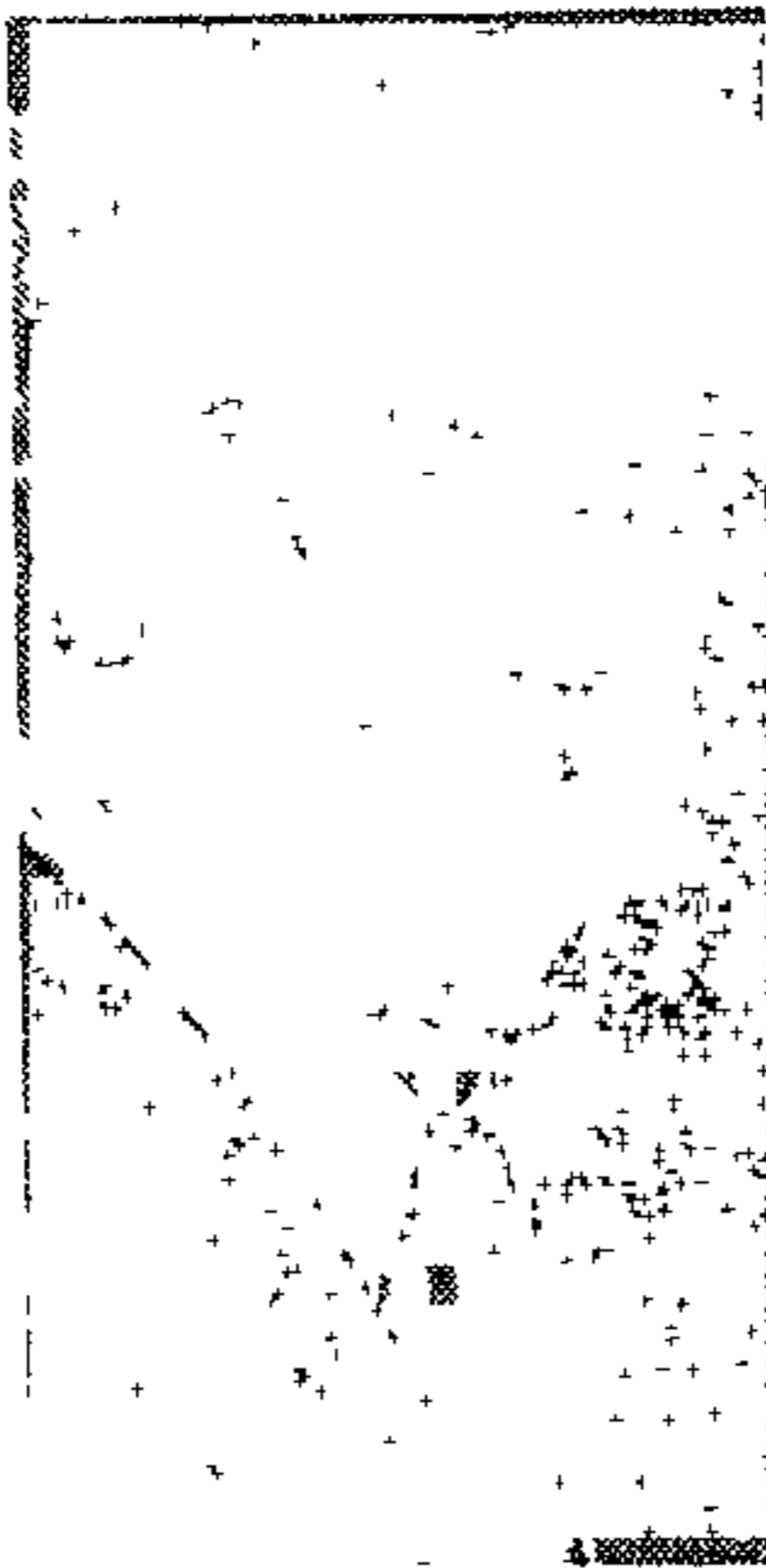
CAPE TOWN — The internal threat against South Africa was more serious than any outside threat and the emphasis should be on easing the tensions building up inside the country, Mr D P de Villiers, managing director of Nasionale Pers, said here yesterday

The causes of the internal threat were chiefly a system of political rights which were not shared by the whole population and "a failure to create the symbols and aspirations for national unity."

Mr De Villiers was addressing the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the mass media after the chairman, Mr Justice M T Steyn, asked the Newspaper Press Union team giving evidence whether it had formulated a view of the conflict situation in South Africa and the need for a total strategy.

The president of the NPU, Mr P. W. McLean, said members would probably disagree on the point of a total onslaught and the need for a total strategy, while Mr De Villiers said it was not a static situation

Mr Steyn was interested in assessing whether conflict had intensified since the commission's first report and Mr De Villiers



MR DE VILLIERS

then offered assessments gained at two recent conferences at the Wilderness and in London.

The assessment of the external situation was that the so-called frontline states were convinced of a need to build up their economies and realised the need to have practical good relations with South Africa, a strongly inhibitive factor against the territories being made

available as springboards for assaults on South Africa, Mr De Villiers said

Regarding the communist threat no one denied the strategic geographical and mineral supply position of South Africa.

"But the view was that we should distinguish between what the communist powers would like to see achieved and what they themselves would be prepared to do."

Their prime concern was still the East-West conflict and South Africa was still "somewhat on the sidelines".

"Though they would be prepared to lend help where trouble brews up, they would not take the initiative with their own money and forces," Mr De Villiers said.

"There are economic difficulties in the Russian system but no dearth of raw materials" Even if it could gain control over South Africa's minerals via satellite masters, the minerals would still have to be exploited with Western technology and would probably end up on Western markets.

"The assessment is that for the moment, the internal threat is more serious than one from outside" — SAPA.

# Code of conduct hailed

CAPE TOWN — The press code of conduct in South Africa — adapted to suit the country's requirements — compared with the best in the Western world, the NPU said in a memorandum

The NPU said it believed that a free press had to discipline itself and adhere to professional norms and standards if it wanted to fulfil its basic function in a democratic society

The press had a special obligation to the public to report truthfully, comment fairly and exercise due care and responsibility in sensitive areas of public and national interest.

"To these ends the NPU has established the Press Council and adopted the press code, subscribed to by all its members, who in turn have their own disciplinary systems exacting from their employees due compliance with the press code and their additional internal rules"

The memorandum said the NPU did not claim perfection of its standards and the organisation was always receptive to suggestions for further improvement — SAPA

# Threats seen as stifling

CAPE TOWN — Stringent statutory measures against individual journalists would take the edge off incisive newspaper reporting, the Newspaper Press Union submitted to the Steyn Commission yesterday. The NPU was responding to proposals by the former Minister of Justice and of the Interior, Mr Alwyn Schibusch

In a speech at the 1979 annual congress of the NPU, the minister had suggested that journalists be fined up to R1 000 and even be banned permanently from practising journalism if they were found guilty of offences against the press code.

The NPU felt strongly that such treatment

"It will have an inhibiting influence on the press through reporters who will live in constant fear of being unable to earn their living"

Newspapers would operate under the ever-present threat of being shut down

"The result could well be tame, unenterprising and dull newspapers which would have forsaken their roles of public watchdog"

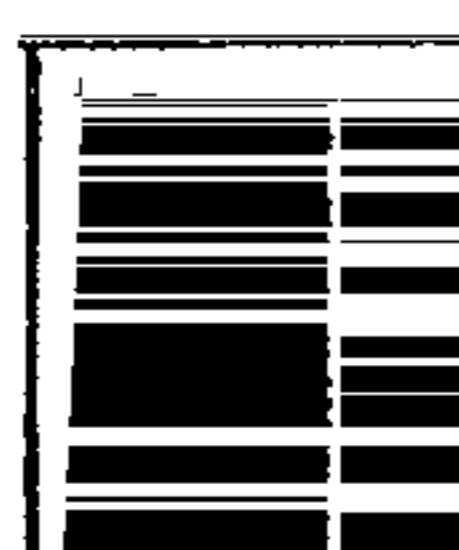
# Unesco report rejected

CAPE TOWN — The Newspaper Press Union yesterday strongly criticised the New international information Order compiled by a United Nations agency to regulate the publication of news.

A working paper, discussed at a United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Unesco) conference in France in 1978, set out a declaration on the world media which was adopted by 146 nations

In information papers submitted as evidence to the Steyn Commission, the NPU pointed out that Unesco was dominated by Third World membership.

The Unesco report proclaimed the freedom of the press yet scrutiny of both the text and the intentions of its proponents "makes it clear that the aim is authoritarian control of the world media," the NPU said — SAPA



# Steyn Commission

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## NPU: Review laws

CAPE TOWN — The fact that South Africa was a country under stress, and that there was a long-lasting threat of both external and internal conflict, did not mean that the nation should abandon freedoms painstakingly acquired over three centuries, the Newspaper Press Union said here yesterday.

"Indeed these freedoms need specific legal protection in these times," the NPU said in a memorandum submitted to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media.

"For it is in times such as these — wherever they occur in the world — that those in authority tend to increase their power, and in so doing to upset the delicate balance in communication between the rulers and the people."

The members of the delegation will continue their evidence today.

They said the balance had already swung too far.

"For the sake of better communication and better understanding, the laws which restrict the press from carrying out its role as news channel, forum and ombudsman need to be reviewed."

"It is our fear that if the restrictions collectively called the security laws are enlarged, or the systems of communication are subjected to further government control, not only could the press lose its credibility with its readers, but co-operation would tend to lessen and hostility in many quarters to grow."

"This would be to the detriment of the press, and of the government."

"But worst of all it would harm the state and all its people."

The NPU said it believed that the enormous range of laws — about 100 — restricting publication of information in the media should be reviewed and amended or eliminated from the statute book where possible.

"The guiding principle should be the encouragement of a free flow of information, wherever possible."

Dealing the role the press played during the 1976 riots, the NPU pointed out that the Calte Commission of Inquiry into the unrest specifically excluded the press from the causes of the riots. Regarding incorrect

reporting, the commission found nothing out of the ordinary.

It made it plain that the main factors which created the climate and caused the riots and their spread were substantive matters lying outside the responsibility of the media.

Regarding the Official Secrets Act and the Defence Act, the NPU said these Acts shielded the security of the state and the public well-being sufficiently from a careless or reckless press.

No newspaper had been convicted of offences in terms of the two Acts in the last 30 years.

Although the union welcomed the proposed amendments to the Defence Act, it felt the dice was still excessively loaded in favour of the government and of facialdom.

Concluding its comments on the commission's recommendations the NPU said it considered that the restrictions relative to the SADF should be confined to circumstances of actual war or wartime operations and that no such special restrictions should apply to the internal actions of

the police. The NPU also categorically rejected allegations that newspapers were exploiting threats to the freedom of the press for propaganda.

The press was in fact repeatedly threatened with further restrictions by people in authority, it said.

The NPU welcomed statements on the value attached to freedom of expression by the government.

The union suggested that relations between the government and the press should stabilise if government statements about its belief in the freedom of the press were not repeatedly followed by threats to curtail that freedom.

"In making these submissions the NPU and all its newspapers are conscious of their own faults and frailties. Their fallibility is greater even than that of TV and radio, whose normally bland words disappear immediately into thin air."

"The press advertises its fallibility daily. Its ability to err is the sum of the fallibility of thousands of human beings," the union said — DDCSAPA.

MR STEYN

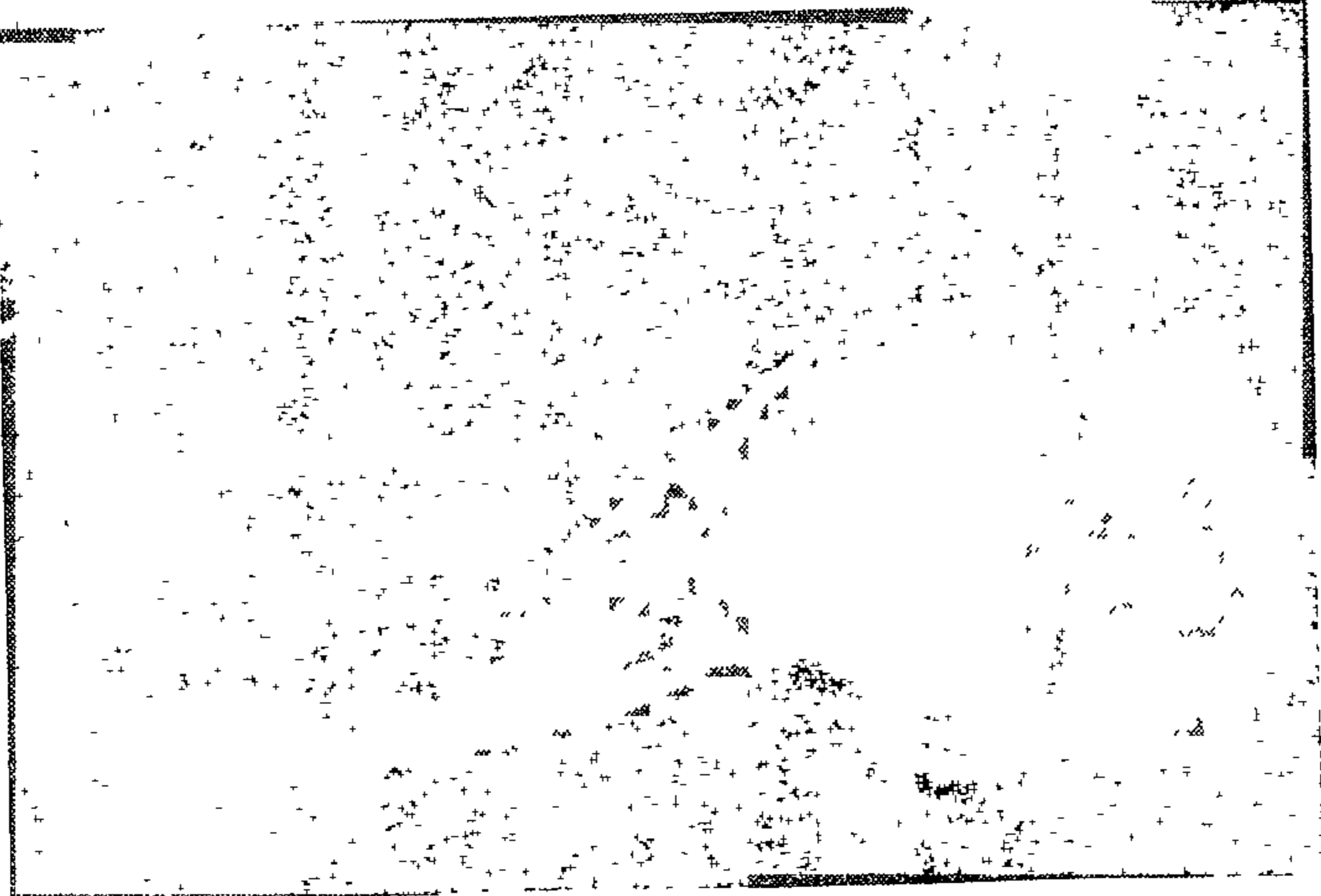


PHOTO COURTESY OF THE PRESS UNION

# Protest

## Against Banned papers

Staff Reporter

THOUSANDS of Johannesburg motorists driving to work early yesterday morning read the Black Sash posters displayed outside the University of the Witwatersrand by the national president of the organisation, Mrs Joyce Harris

The posters reading "Posters - Sunday Post gagged," and "Total onslaught on Press" were in protest against the silencing of Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post, both published by the Argus Printing and Publishing Company

The two papers were effectively banned on Tuesday when the Argus Company was told by two Cabinet Ministers that the papers would be forced to close down in terms of the Internal Security Act if they resumed publication

Mrs Harris said yesterday the banning of the two newspapers "is absolutely horrifying"

"We cannot understand why the Government can talk about rights and other people's views, and almost in the same breath, silence two newspapers which were the authentic voice of a large section of the black community"

"It shows the Government's total strategy clearly for what it is - one of listening to, hearing what it wants to hear - and silencing everyone else"



A visitor from Transkei, Mr Dandala Theminkosi, was one of the many people who saw the Black Sash posters held by the the organisation's national president, Mrs Joyce Harris, in Johannesburg yesterday

Picture TREVOR SAMSON

# Afrikaans papers condemn Govt action

By ARNOLD GEYER

AFRIKAANS newspapers throughout the country have strongly criticised the Government for its effective banning of Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post.

Notably those papers belonging to Nasionale Pers — and heretofore close to the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha — condemned the action, saying important sources of information had been closed which would merely lead to a further hardening of black views.

The most outspoken editorial came from Beeld, Mr Botha's mouthpiece in the Transvaal, which yesterday warned the Government if more of its departments had listened to what he banned World, Post's predecessor, had had to say, the eruption of June 16, 1976, could have been avoided.

The main points made in both Nasionale Pers and Perskor papers were:  
● The Government's action was in contempt of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Media and even raised the question whether journalists

should still pay attention to the commission  
● The existing freedom of the Press had been seriously knocked and indispensable sources of information, both for blacks and whites, had been done away with  
● The public should be informed of the reasons for the Government's actions and the concerned papers allowed to defend themselves in an open court

● Instead of promoting reconciliation and healthy race relations, the effective banning would lead to more bitterness and increased confrontation  
● The gagging was contrary to democratic principles, amounted to a serious inroad into civil rights and discredited the Government's reform plans  
● Beeld said if the technical points were overlooked, then the State had banned the two papers. It failed to understand why this had been done

● According to the papers' proprietor, the State has admitted that it had decided some time ago to kill the papers. Still, a game was being played — that the registration had merely lapsed because of a strike and that the matter could be sorted out  
● Then a court hearing, applications for reregistration, formal negotiations between Ministers — but the decision had already been taken! Why this to-and-fro?"

The editorial said that against the background of the Government's apparent attempts at normalising relations in the country, it would have been far better to allow the papers to reappear as soon as possible  
● "Such a banning has no effect — except for further hardening black attitudes, giving the enemies of our State and Government new ammunition, and upsetting the friends of the Government, both here and abroad"

Turning to the banning of the World and Weekend World in 1977, Beeld said the Cullie Commission's report on the 1976 unrest had later exonerated the papers  
● The public knew neither the reason for the 1977 banning

nor for the silencing of Post and Sunday Post, but had a right to know the reasons. And the "accused" should have an opportunity of defending themselves

● As regular and critical readers of the Post papers, we know of no clear reason apparent from the papers themselves which forced the State to take such harsh action," it said

This action would merely strengthen doubts about the sincerity of this Government's reformist plans  
● It has now screwed down an important source of information and a safety valve through which frustrated emotions could be relieved," Beeld said

Die Transvaler, official mouthpiece of the Transvaal National Party, stressed that black papers, even if they were Leftwing, were cogs in the democratic machinery  
● It must be asked how democracy could be served if mouthpieces of the Leftwing sections of the community are

gagged"  
Black papers, it said, served as an extremely necessary barometer of the turbulence in the community, which was difficult for whites to gauge

● It is desirable that motivation for steps taken in terms of security legislation be given to enable the public to understand their rationale and justification," Die Transvaler said

Die Vaderland, a Johannesburg-based afternoon paper published by Perskor, said one now had to ask what the point was of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Media  
● "The Government has obviously paid no attention to the commission. Should the media still pay attention to it?"

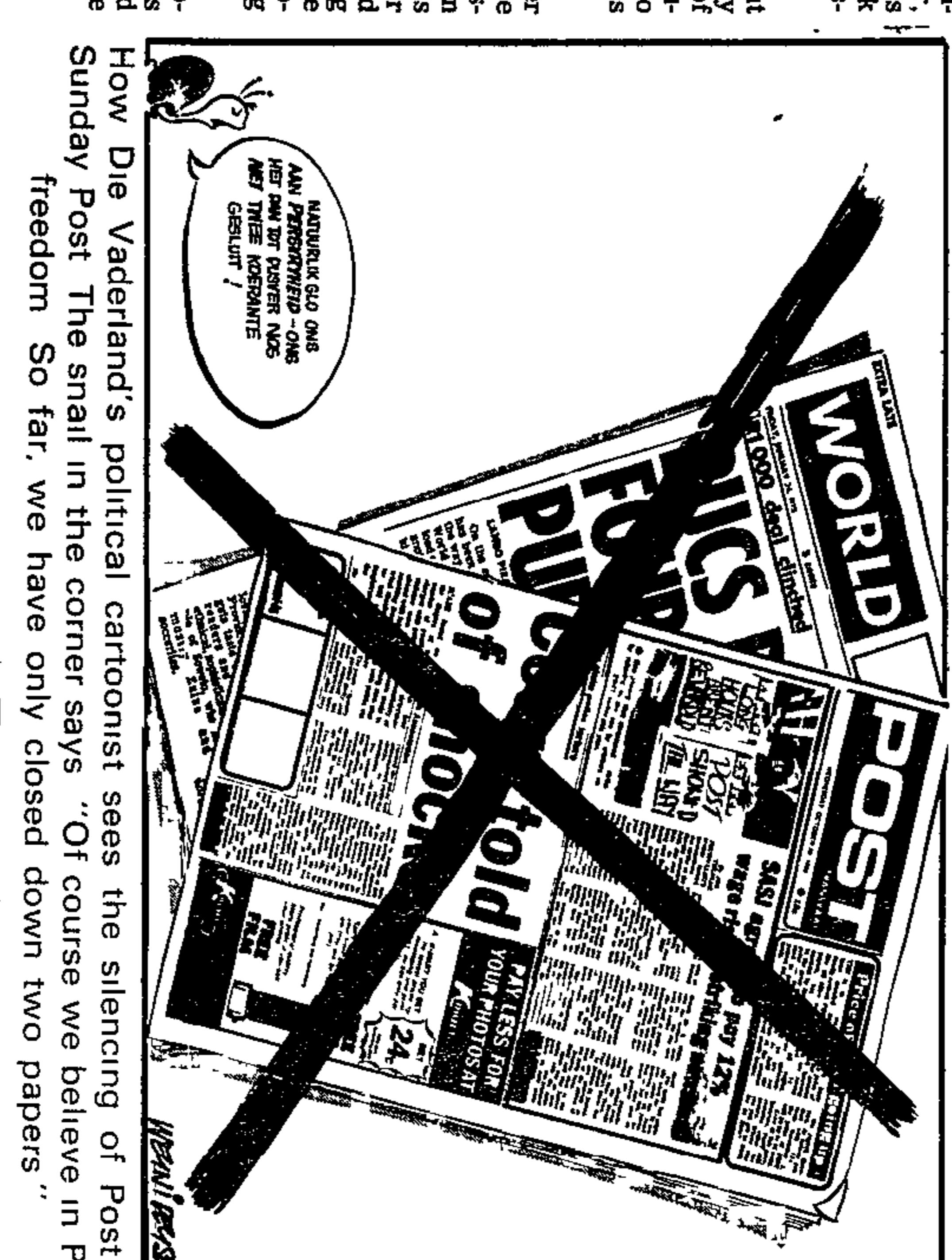
Die Burger, a Cape Town-based Nasionale Pers paper, said the effective banning clearly indicated a heavy task rested on the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Media

● One of the most important aims of the inquiry is precisely to prevent confrontations of this nature between the authorities and the Press — or to eliminate them as far as possible

The editorial said no matter how strong the case of the State, the immediate impression created was that action had been taken against Press freedom, that it could not offer any permanent solution and that it would cause a hardening of black disposition at a time when there was a striving towards greater understanding and reconciliation

In Bloemfontein, Die Volksblad, another Nasionale Pers publication, said if one closed the outlet valve of a pressure vessel, one was inviting an explosion

How Die Vaderland's political cartoonist sees the silencing of Post & Sunday Post. The snail in the corner says "Of course we believe in Press freedom. So far, we have only closed down two papers."



RDM 22/1/81

# International outcry at gag on papers builds up

Staff Reporter

INTERNATIONAL reaction to the closing down of two black newspapers is building up, with overseas papers warning the South African Government that black opinion and opposition could never be silenced.

Even conservative newspapers, which, so far, have given prominence to the policy initiatives of the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, yesterday condemned the action against Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post as cynical and shameful.

And they stressed such Government steps would further alienate those countries which still tried to maintain friendly ties with South Africa.

Both the International Press Union (IPI) and the British National Union of Journalists (NUJ) have attacked the Government, saying by this action it had forfeited the respect of the international community as well as of its own people.

In an editorial, The Times of London yesterday said the closures carried a clear message for the country's opposition papers. "What has happened to these two black

papers cannot make the Rand Daily Mail rest easily."

"The Government's cynical behaviour has been shameful even by its own standards of injustice and the consequences may be significant.

"South Africa's blacks, now permanently deprived of their two principal avenues of news and comment on affairs affecting them, will be further alienated," it said.

This move was bound to convert more moderates to militancy and to make any peaceful solution to the country's problems even more difficult to achieve.

And it would do much to destroy any feelings of optimism about the country. In terms of foreign relations it was an extraordinary inept thing to do — "even for a government not known for its delicacy of diplomacy".

The conservative London Daily Mail said in an editorial the Government's decision was an example of how liberty could be throttled in countries where newspapers needed "a licence to print".

And The Guardian, in a prominently placed article

headed "The stilled, small voice of Soweto", said the South African Government had not yet grown out of the attitude that blacks were basically happy smiling children and would stay that way but for the "revolutionary" propaganda poured into them by newspapers that have been "captured by political activists".

Zimbabwe's major morning newspaper, The Herald, scheduled to come under Government control later this month, said the South African Government had to be condemned outright for its move.

"No specific reasons for refusing to allow the re-appearance of the papers — which provided a moderate outlet for black views — have been given. "It is a disgraceful state of affairs."

It was even more disgraceful that the ban occurred when a Government commission was actually investigating the Press whose members "might as well pack up now and go home".

"The National Party will not silence black opinion and black opposition by this banning. Rather will it strengthen the

determination of the blacks to make their voice heard, perhaps in even stronger terms by extremists.

"The South African Press must now be wondering how much longer papers like the Sowetan and Post Natal will be allowed to continue, and how much the Government's vice will tighten on other papers that attempt to reflect the black viewpoint," The Herald said.

The IPI, based in London and Zurich and which monitors Press freedom throughout the world, has protested to Mr P W Botha, saying the actions of the Government, in regard to the Press, were causing grave concern to all who regarded themselves as friends of South Africa.

Mr Francis Beckett, the NUJ's president, said yesterday "A government which claims the right to ban newspapers has forfeited any right to our respect or consideration. When a government makes the casual assumption it can choose what its people may or may not read, then it has lost the respect of its own people," Mr Beckett said.

RDM 22/1/81

# An act of contempt — opposition Press

Staff Reporter

SOUTH Africa's opposition Press has continued its condemnation of the gagging of two black newspapers as a serious reverse for the peaceful and evolutionary change in South Africa

In editorials of all the papers belonging to South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) and the Argus Group, the Government's move to silence Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post has been slammed as an act of contempt and authoritarianism

The Cape Times yesterday said the closures were an outrage and a "grave reverse for the cause of peaceful change" in the country

"Probably the most influential newspapers read by the black community, particularly in the densely-populated Witwatersrand region, Post and Sunday Post, performed a vital service for blacks but also for the wider South African community

"In accurately reflecting the opinions and attitudes of their readers, as good newspapers invariably do, Post and Sunday Post were making an indispensable contribution to the stability of the country"

The Cape Times said if warnings in black papers had been noted by officialdom, the tragedy of Soweto in 1976 could have been averted. A society which hoped to avoid violent upheaval could not do without such newspapers, it said

"In some townships, for example, the question of increased rents might be a burning grievance as might be the depredations of corrupt officials in some other townships. Whatever the story, the news would be in Post

"This sort of timely disclosure was often unwelcome to the bureaucracy. But it is essential information for those in authority if they wish to run the country in accordance with the public good. In the absence

of proper political representation, the role of newspapers becomes critical, indeed indispensable in the public interest"

The editorial said these newspapers — "under white ownership as it happens", were never radical or revolutionary in tone or content. But they did reflect black opinion, honestly and accurately, sometimes in sensitive areas

"Now the Nationalist bureaucracy, with great short-sightedness, resolved to shut them down. The truth is not always palatable but it is not made more so by head-in-the-sand tactics. The surest way for a country to doom itself is to cut off the flow of information it needs to survive

"This is a species of political suicide. Increasingly, the business of opinion formation in the black areas will now fall into the hands of pamphleteers, committed radicals and revolutionaries. The loss of these newspapers is an unmitigated tragedy. The consequences are incalculable"

The editorial concluded it would be some time before the full dimensions of this blunder became apparent, both at home and abroad

But it was already plain that the shut-down would be badly received in the Western world, particularly among people anxious to be friendly and supportive towards this country — for the Reagan administration, in particular, from whom the Nationalist Government was expecting such great things, this massive blow at Western-style Press freedom would be particularly disconcerting.

The Daily News in Durban said in its editorial that if anything would sour American attitudes — even conservative Republican ones — it was such a gross intrusion on the freedom of the Press

"There has been no explana-

tion for this high-handedness, just as the Government never said why it banned Post's predecessor, the World

"The only possible conclusion is that this Nationalist Government shuts down newspapers merely because it does not like what they print. And the stark implication of that is no newspaper worth its salt is safe."

The Argus, in Cape Town, said the fact that the country's two leading black newspapers were silenced at a time when the Steyn Commission was still conducting hearings on the media, starkly underlined a warning already given in evidence to the commission.

"The Government seems determined to act against the Press, irrespective of the findings or recommendations its own commission might make.

"In the circumstances, the Steyn Commission could profitably look into this outrage against the freedom of the Press. Not only does the matter relate pertinently to relations between the Government and the Press, it profoundly concerns the public also, for it directly restricts their access to information and their right to free expression"

Predictably, there had been an outcry domestically and overseas against the Government's decision. The protest was bound to continue and even escalate for what was at issue touched upon a central conflict of our times

"The survival of freedom and democracy on one hand and the ravaging advance of totalitarianism on the other," The Argus said.

Most opposition papers stressed that, as usual, the Government had given no reason for its action in forcing the closure of the papers and that nothing unlawful had been published by either newspaper

They said both papers supported the forces of moderation in the black community

# Media commission moves to the Cape

## Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media will resume hearing evidence in Cape Town on Monday.

Until February 4, academics, private people, newspaper editors and politicians will be giving evidence.

First to give evidence on Monday will be Mr John Wiley, MP for Simonstown, followed by Mr D McLure of the University of Cape Town.

On Tuesday Mr P H Philips will give evidence in a private capacity, followed by Dr Danie Craven, president of the South African Rugby Board.

On January 28 another private person, Mr A Storey, and Mr J van der Westhuysen, MP for South Coast will appear.

On January 29 Professor J B du Toit, of the University of the Western Cape and Mr Tony Heard,

editor of the Cape Times, will give evidence.

On January 30 Dr Ian Marais, MP for Pinetown will give evidence in the morning.

The commission will not sit in the afternoon.

On Monday, February 2 the leader of the NRP Mr Vause Raw, and a witness yet to be named will testify.

On February 3 the editor of the NRP publication Volkstem, Mr C van Wyk, and an unnamed witness will appear.

On February 4 there will be a witness in the morning but he has not been named.

The total assets reflected in the balance sheet of a construction company are largely made up by the assets tied up on the contracts in progress. These individual projects can, in fact, be likened to a number of small businesses, each with their own fixed and current assets, the main difference being that construction projects have a limited lifespan.

The Return on Investment for the company as a whole is a measure of how effectively the resources acquired by that company are used by management to generate sales and profit. Therefore, since there is close correlation between company and project assets and profit one can say that if all projects earn a satisfactory return on investment, then the company's over-all return will also be satisfactory.

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## ROI FOR DIVISIONS AND PROJECTS WITHIN A CONSTRUCTION COMPANY

### CHAPTER 5



# Coetsee won't back charges

AD 23/1/81

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**CAPE TOWN — Justice Minister Mr Koble Coetsee has refused to back up his charge that Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post were "promoting revolution or a revolutionary climate".**

His allegation yesterday in the Nationalist press has brought a barrage of demands from senior opposition members who have rejected it as too vague and said he should back it up with facts

The general reaction here and in other parts of the country was that the charge, which was tantamount to treason, was far too serious not to take the matter to court

Mr Dave Dalting, chief opposition media spokesman said "On this basis one wonders who is next"

Mr Vause Raw, leader of the New Republic Party, said Mr Coetsee owed it to the country to substantiate his claims.

Mr Coetsee confirmed yesterday that the government would have banned the two newspapers if the Argus Company had re-registered them. Their registration had lapsed

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prevented them from being published for more than a month

Approached yesterday for details, Mr Coetsee said. "The government is confident that the actions of these newspapers were aimed at promoting revolution or a revolutionary climate."

Asked for details about his charge, Mr Coetsee said he did not have to give any reasons, but added: "I'll consider this in due course if necessary."

Asked if his action had been based on anything which had already been printed in the newspapers, Mr Coetsee again declined to reply.

Mr Dalling said later: "In effect what has happened is that the newspapers have been tried in secret by a political kangaroo court without the right to give evidence or rebut allegations. They have been found guilty by their political opponents."

The government's action was reminiscent of the worst examples of authoritarianism which had been condemned by the Western world.

"If the Minister is to be given any credibility and if his statement is to be considered by reasonable men he should place the facts before the public."

"I wonder if Mr Coetsee can produce cogent reasons or if he was not simply acting on the instructions of a power-hungry prime minister who has a long history of not tolerating opposition to his views."

Mr Raw said: "The Minister owes it to South Africa to substantiate his claims that the two newspapers were fomenting the revolution. This is a very serious allegation which implies treason."

"The government should charge those involved before the courts. Failure to do so will do South Africa's image incalculable harm and lead to accusations of dictatorship." — DDC.

Coetsee's allegations,  
page 15.

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# Argus denies 'revolution' accusations

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23/1/81  
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By AMEEN AKHALWAYA  
Political Reporter

THE Argus Company, owners of Post and Sunday Post, has denied a charge by the Minister of Justice that Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post had encouraged revolution in South Africa

And black community leaders yesterday challenged the Minister, Mr Koble Coetsee, to make public any evidence that the newspapers had promoted revolution or propagated the views of certain illegal organisations

The outcry over the effective banning of the two newspapers continued to mount yesterday

The Argus Company's managing director, Mr Hal Miller, said in a statement read yesterday to the Steyn Commission of inquiry into the media in Cape Town "We deny emphatically Minister Coetsee's statement that our newspapers were aimed at fomenting revolution"

The primary objectives of the Argus newspapers were to place South Africa's interests before all else, and to further the cause of racial co-operation, he said

"If the Government considered that, in practice, the contents of Post newspapers departed from these norms, we do not believe it was necessary to take steps to prohibit their publication

"We do not believe that this Government or any government should have the power to ban newspapers or people without trial or review"

Mr Miller added that no particulars of the objections against the newspapers were furnished, and the Argus Company was not given the opportunity to refute the accusations against the newspapers, or publishing corrections, where justified

Mr Coetsee told the SABC that the Government had no doubt that the actions of the two newspapers were aimed at the promotion of revolution in South Africa

He said the purpose of the Government's stand on the newspapers was not to interfere with Press freedom as

such, but to ensure order and stability in South Africa, and to work against the creation of a revolutionary climate

A ban on the newspapers would have been imposed under the Internal Security Act, he said, and would have been based on a conclusion that they were being used to propagate the view of certain illegal organisations, and that they were releasing information aimed at undermining the security of the State and the maintenance of public

The acting editor of the two newspapers, Mr Joe Latakomo, said he doubted whether such evidence existed

"If the Government has evidence that we propagated revolution and furthered the aims of banned organisations, surely there are laws to counteract that

"Surely the more respectable thing was for the Government to have taken us to court, and to take a more respectable decision in the light of its findings"

The chairman of the Soweto Committee of 10, Dr Nthato Motlana, said "For a Minister of Justice to give such puerile reasons for such a catastrophic stand is to insult the intelligence of all South Africans, and to diminish the stature of the Government to which he belongs

"The horrendous security legislation governs the Press to the extent that all South African newspapers have on call at all times the services of experienced lawyers on what they may or may not publish

"In this light, it is scandalous to even suggest that it is possible to propagate revolutionary ideas, let alone the aims of banned organisations. It would be laughable if it didn't have such tragic consequences for all of us"

The general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said if the Government had evidence, it should have tried the newspapers in court and vindicated its stand

"Why, with the plethora of laws, didn't they charge anybody? Whom do they think they

are trying to hoodwink? If you have evidence, it ought to be able to stand up to scrutiny in an open court"

The Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu, Chief Gatscha Buthelezi, said "Although both newspapers had become bluntly manipulated by the black consciousness groupings — even on the admission of some Mwasa members — and not publishing letters from authors they disliked, I must nevertheless condemn in the strongest possible terms the banning of the papers insofar as they catered for blacks

"Apart from their editorial policy, which was slanted in one direction only, these newspapers served us as black people in reporting specifically black news

"Their bannings will create a void as far as we as a race group are concerned, and this does nothing whatever in bridging the gaping chasm of lack of communication between black and white in South Africa"

Chief Buthelezi said it was unfortunate that the Government also did things to make martyrs out of "political nobodies"

"Anyone treated like this by the Government becomes a martyr to all of us instantly"

The scribe of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Africa, the Rev Sam Buti, said the Government "does not recognise black peoples' feelings", reports Sapa

The Government had always promised blacks a "new deal", he said, but the banning of the newspapers only proved that the Government was offering "a cheap deal" to blacks

The South African Institute of Race Relations warned the Government that failure to reverse its action against Post and Sunday Post would result in irreparable damage being done to the country

In a statement released in Johannesburg, the institute said the suppression of the newspapers "is to be condemned in the strongest possible terms"

"The action will destroy any credibility that South Africa may have in the outside world"

'Keep house open and clean'

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Professor J H van Rooyen of the department of criminal and procedural law at the University of South Africa was quoted yesterday at the Cape Town sitting of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media as saying that sustained open administration was essential to sustained clean administration

In a memorandum handed in by Mr D P de Villiers, managing director of Nasionale Pers and a member of the Newspaper Press Union delegation that testified before the commission, Prof Van Rooyen said the present Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, had committed himself to clean administration

Prof Van Rooyen's memorandum was on section 44 (f) of the Prisons Act which restricts publication of information about prisons

In the context of his comment on clean administration being dependent on open administration, he asked whether the section was not an obstacle to open administration — and whether it should be scrapped

Another member of the NPU delegation, Mr Raymond Louw, general manager of SA Associated Newspapers (SAAN), said there always would be an argument about whether the Press over-sensationalised news, taking into account that the news itself often created sensation

He admitted that increased circulation and profits were a prime consideration

"But to argue that reports on a particular subject, such as rioting and violence, could of their own accord increase profitability, is somewhat naive," Mr Louw said

He said that costs in these situations — because of staff problems and distribution — often eroded profitability badly

"The real point, however, which authorities often ignore or fail to appreciate, is that the newspaper is an extremely important communications instrument which serves them as well as the rest of the community," he said

He added that the business of a newspaper was to report the facts of the day. How these facts were interpreted was up to the individual reader — diversely as the readers' interests and interpretations might be

"It is for the readers to make use of the news as they will," Mr Louw said

Mr Louw said that news reports about people's grievances and their actions to draw attention to their plight could be valuable sources of information for the authorities and could serve as a sensitive early-warning

## Testimony was 'distorted'

CAPE TOWN — At the start of the proceedings on Wednesday, the chairman, Mr Justice M T Steyn, read out a telex message from the deputy editor of the Rand Daily Mail, Mr Benjamin Pogrund

The message, addressed to Mr Justice Steyn, protested that Mr Pogrund's views on private ownership of the Press were presented "in a distorted fashion" to another witness, Mr Harald Pakendorf, editor of Die Vaderland

According to a transcript of Mr Pogrund's testimony, read out by Judge Steyn, Mr Pogrund had said that theoretical

State ownership of the Press. But wherever there was State control of the media or excessive State intrusion into the Press, "a free Press, as we try to understand it, simply dies"

Where the Press was in the hands of private ownership it worked out "pretty well" in practice, however illogical and difficult it was to explain

In his message to the Steyn Commission, which is inquiring into the mass media, Mr Pogrund emphasised that he had expressed his views purely on the theoretical desirability of State ownership of the Press

"I do not in the slightest

should be State control of the media," he added

Mr Pogrund said Mr Pakendorf had been left with "a totally wrong expression" of his views

According to a transcript read out at the hearing, Mr Pakendorf had expressed surprise that he and Mr Pogrund found themselves "at opposite poles" Mr Pakendorf had said he could not agree with Mr Pogrund "at all"

"It will be wrong for the State to control information"

After reading out the transcript Mr Justice Steyn said he would not comment on the matter at this stage — Sapa

ARCHITECTURE  
(Continued)

Mrs. Thornton White Prize  
For the best work in  
first year.  
Miss M F J Sandilands

A Brick Association Prize  
for the student who has made  
best use of bricks in his  
design work.

G Kirkman

Stubs Award  
for the best project  
structure and design.

R I Ness

gent reasons or if he was  
not simply acting on the  
instructions of a power-  
hungry Prime Minister who  
has a long history of not fol-  
lowing opposition to his  
views.  
He said the allegation  
was very serious and im-  
plied treason.  
● See Page 2 and Editorial  
Opinion

International Development

the Building I

Prizes

the best student

of study of t

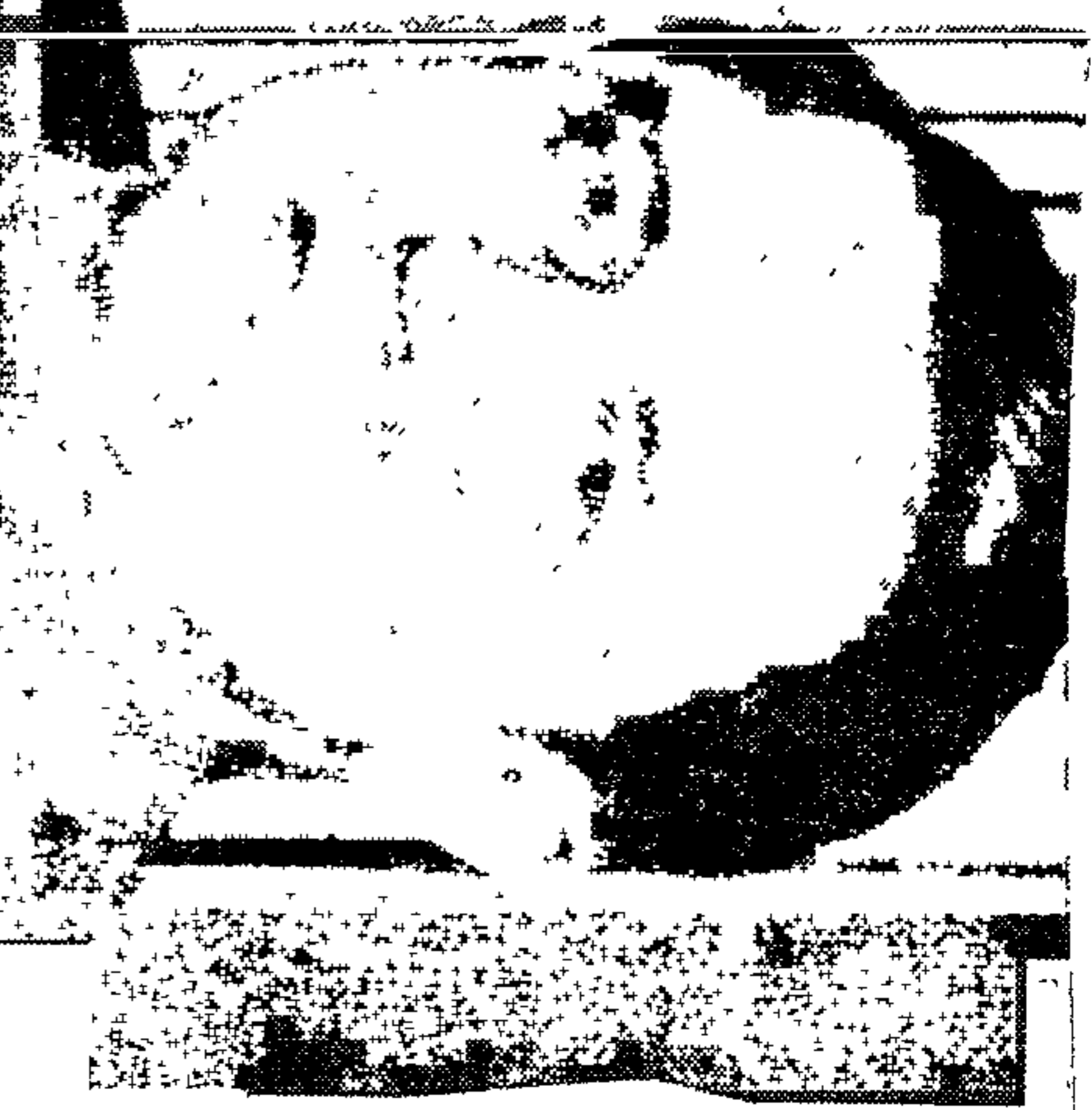
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First Year

J A L Chapman

Second Year

S Jones



# GOETSEE STANDARDS

ORMANDE POLLOK  
Political Correspondent

23/1/81 Nm (24/3/81)

CAPE TOWN—Justice Min-  
ister Mr Koble Coetsee has  
refused to back up his  
charge that Post (Transvaal)  
and Sunday Post were 'pro-  
moting revolution or a revo-  
lutionary climate.'

His allegation on Wednes-  
day brought a barrage of de-  
mands from senior  
opposition members who re-  
jected it as too vague and  
said he should back it up  
with facts.

The general reaction here  
and in other parts of the  
country was that the  
charge, which was tanta-  
mount to one of treason,  
was far too serious for the  
matter not to be taken to  
court.

Mr Dave Dalling, the Op-  
position's chief spokesman  
on the media, said: 'On this  
basis one wonders who is  
next.'

Mr Vause Raw, leader of  
the New Republic Party,  
said Mr Coetsee owed it to  
the country to substantiate  
his claims.

Mr Coetsee confirmed  
yesterday that the Govern-  
ment would have banned  
the two newspapers had the  
Argus Company re-regis-  
tered them following the

Asked for details about  
his charge Mr Coetsee said  
he did not have to give any  
reasons but added 'I'll con-  
sider this in due course if  
necessary.'

Asked if his action had  
been based on anything  
which had already been  
printed in the newspapers,  
Mr Coetsee again declined  
to reply.

Mr Dalling said later 'In  
effect what has happened is  
that the newspapers have  
been tried in secret by a po-  
litical kangaroo court with-  
out the right to give  
evidence or rebuttal  
allegations

'They have been found  
guilty by their political  
opponents.'

The Government's action  
was reminiscent of the  
worst examples of authori-  
tarianism which had been  
condemned by the Western  
world, he said.

'If the minister is to be  
given any credibility and if  
his statement is to be con-  
sidered by reasonable men,  
he should place the facts  
before the public

Mr Raw said. 'I wonder if  
Mr Coetsee can produce co-

# Reasons for the ban

**CAPE TOWN** — The government had no doubt that the banned black newspapers intended to encourage a revolution in South Africa, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said here last night.

Mr Coetsee emphasised the government had no intention of curtailing press freedom but only of safeguarding order and stability in a revolutionary climate.

He said he had intended to ban the papers but the ban had not been ordered because the strike had prevented the papers from being published.

The ban would have been imposed under the Internal Security Act on grounds that the newspapers were being used to propagate the views of illegal organisations, and were releasing information aimed at undermining the security of the state and maintenance of public order.

But the Argus company, owner of Post and Sunday Post, emphatically denied the charge and black community leaders challenged the minister to make public any evidence to prove the accusations.

The Argus company's managing director, Mr Hal Miller, said in a statement read on his behalf to the Steyn Commission yesterday: "We deny emphatically Minister Coetsee's

statement our newspapers were aimed at fomenting revolution.

Primary objectives of the Argus news papers were to place South Africa's interests before all else and further racial co-operation.

"If the government considered the contents of Post newspapers departed from these norms, we do not believe it was necessary to prohibit their publication.

"We do not believe any government should have the power to ban newspapers or people without trial or review."

The owners of the newspapers had been informed that action was being taken against them in the interests of State security "and because of dissatisfaction with the content and conduct of the newspapers."

Mr Miller said no particulars were given and the Argus company was not given the opportunity to refute the accusations or publish corrections where justified.

The acting editor of the two newspapers, Mr Joe Latagomo, said:

"In the absence of any direct legal action, I have my doubts about the existence of evidence." "Surely the more respectable thing was for the government to have taken us to court," he

said.

The chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Dr Natho Motlana, said: "For a minister of justice to give such puerile reasons for such a catastrophic stand is to insult the intelligence of all South Africans and diminish the stature of his government."

"The horrendous security legislation governs the press and it is scandalous to even suggest it possible to propagate revolutionary ideas, let alone the aims of banned organisations."

The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said he would believe the government only when it provided proof.

The Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said: "The bannings will create a void" because the papers "catered for blacks."

"Anyone treated like this becomes a martyr to all of us instantly," he said.

The scribe of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Africa and former president of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Sam Butu, said the government had promised blacks a "new deal", but the bannings proved it was only offering "a cheap deal." — SAPA-DDC

23/1/81 (243)

# ... but protest mounts

**LONDON** — International reaction continued to mount yesterday against the government's threat to ban the black newspapers, Post and Sunday Post.

Informed British and European opinion is that the moves against the newspapers reflect badly on the government and could prove counter-productive.

Even the conservative Daily Telegraph, claims that "this time South Africa has committed an act of folly which will delight its enemies."

Usually one of the more sympathetic British newspapers, the Telegraph yesterday spoke out in anger against the bans. It made the point that "even relatively hard-line Afrikaner newspapers such as Die Transvaler despar" —

In a leading article, the Telegraph stated: "Once South Africa had the most free press in Africa, remarkably stringent criticisms of the government generally went unpunished."

"The ill-informed or the ignorant and the unremitting enemies of South Africa, naturally denied this, but they were wrong, are they so now?"

It offers this advice: "If South Africa's leaders do not want to lose the few remaining friends they have, then they should ponder the consequences of their action."

The Times in its leader claims that the government's conduct cannot be other than counter-productive.

"The so-called government has been aptly attempting, over a number of years, to win over some of the country's critics overseas by relaxing, little by little, some of the more obvious injustices and absurdities of the apartheid system."

After listing some of these, the Times then suggests that "the action against the black press will do much to destroy any feelings of optimism about the future of the country."

The Times also warns other South African newspapers: "For many years the government, through a host of laws coupled with extra legal pressures, has been steadily whittling down the effective freedom of the South African press."

"Now it has made it clear that it might be prepared to use its ultimate sanction with less reluctance

"What has happened these two black papers cannot make the Far Daily Mail rest easily."

Two British provincial newspapers also condemned the banning.

The Yorkshire Post said in an editorial: "It is surprising that the more open-minded regime of P. W. Botha has cracked down on the press in this way."

"If faced with a choice, most blacks would probably rather go on suffering under petty apartheid than have to pay for a few reforms that field by giving up free press."

The Welsh newspaper the Western Mail, said the government's move would be a severe blow to those who felt that South Africa had slowly but surely been whittling away at petty apartheid and made life little easier for the blacks.

MR COETSEE . . . papers undermined security



# 'Inspan' journalist's trial on Monday

23/1/81

(43)

(278)

A former editorial employee of the banned magazine Inspan, Miss Christine Isabel Hofmeyr, is to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on Monday charged with allegedly producing an undesirable publication.

The formal charge to be brought against her, said prosecutor Mr F Strydom,

was that she had allegedly contravened several sections of the Publications Act by allegedly producing an undesirable publication, Inspan of October 1978.

It is believed the charges arise from the findings of the Publications Control Directorate that several of the articles in this issue were "blasphemous, harmful to public morals and a danger to State security".

## FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

## ARCHITECTURE

Cape Provincial Institute of Architects' Prize  
For the best student in :-

Sixth Year

P F Dunkley

Helen Gardner Travel Prize

For a student who has

satisfactorily completed

1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

P A Rappoport

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize

For the best woman student

in third year.

Miss C Tredgold

David Haddon Prize

For the best student of

Architecture (or Quantity

Surveying) in the subject

of Professional Practice.

D H Pryce Lewis

General J B M Hertzog Prize

For the best final year student.

S A Read

Osborn Prize

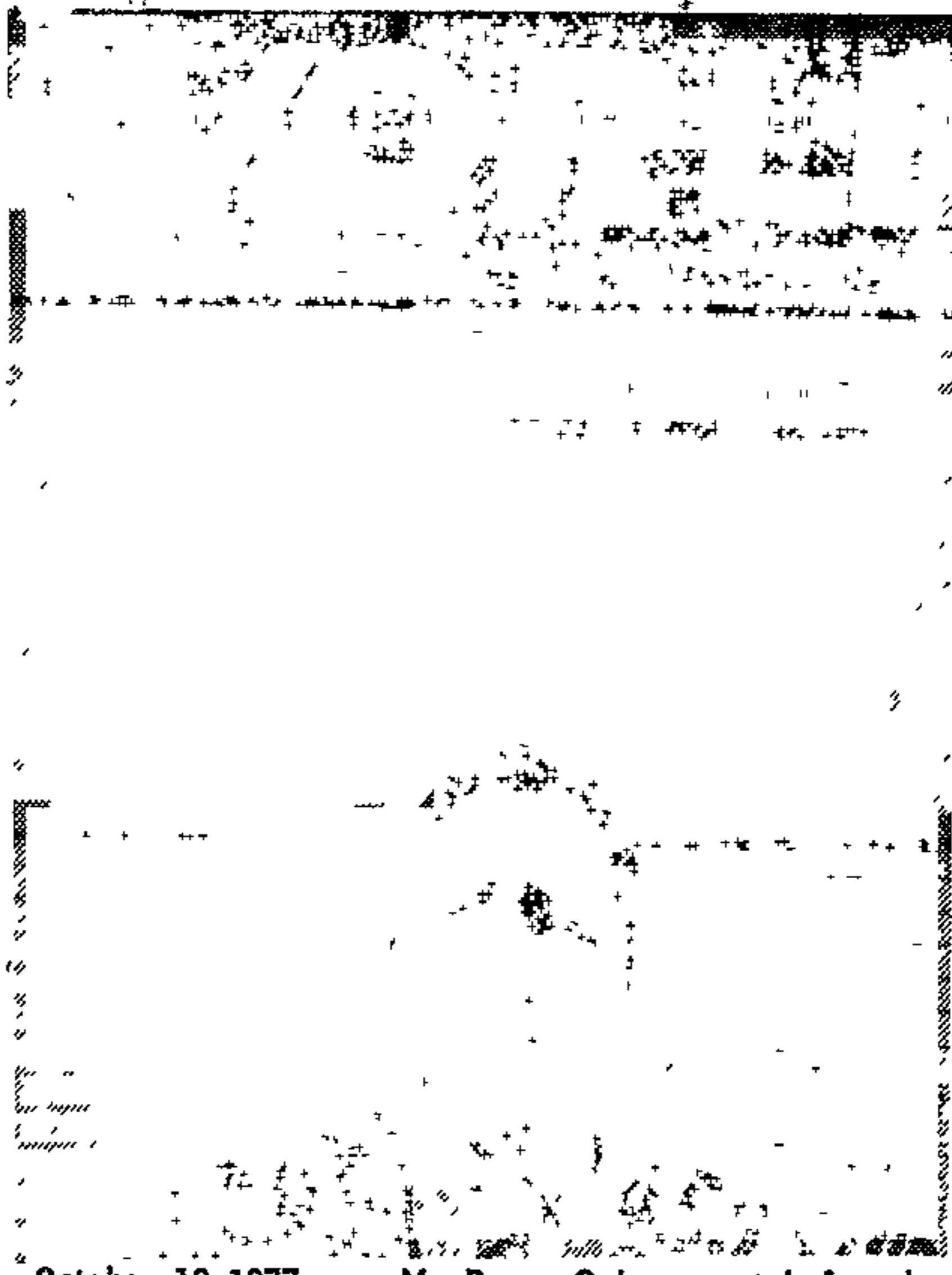
For the best work in fourth

year.

## NEWS ANALYSIS

The Star investigation team of Mike O'Sullivan and Tony Duigan take a look at the underlying causes behind the banning this week of Post newspaper. The dilemma facing journalists in South Africa's highly charged political atmosphere.

**STAR  
FOCUS**



October 19 1977 . . . Mr Percy Qoboza just before he was detained without trial.

## Sectional interests have a right to be heard—Tyson

Should black journalists aspire to the same standards of objectivity as white colleagues?

This question provokes strong and varying views among journalists

According to the Argus code of ethics, under which they operated, World and Post were expected to place South Africa's advancement and well-being first

To this end all Argus papers are expected to adhere to independent, honest and responsible standards of journalism that do not pander to personal or sectional interests

The group's papers are dedicated to furthering racial co-operation and to pursue a balanced policy to enhance the welfare and progress of all sections.

In a submission to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media, Mr Harvey Tyson, Editor of the country's largest daily, The Star, said that while he adhered to the Argus code he did not believe the same standard of ethics should be

met by the Press generally

"There are sectional interests that have a right to be heard and ought to be publicly heard, for the good of the community as a whole"

Of Die Transvaler during the 1940s and World — when he gave evidence Post had not been banned — Mr Tyson said both were examples of news being tailored to the interests and opinions of readers.

### FREE DEBATE

Such people, he said, did not want "balanced news any more than they want a totally independent representative in politics.

"Nor do they want cold facts

"They wish to see their own sectional interests, warmly and forcefully projected — at the expense of all other news and information

"Sectional interest groups also wish to put their own conception of 'the facts' and 'the news' to the public — and if a 'Free Press' means anything at all, it means the

right to publish such newspapers.

"All of this is another form of free and healthy debate in a society aspiring to democracy"

Asked to comment on the recent banning of Post, Mr Tyson recalled that Die Transvaler, under the editorship of Dr Verwoerd, was judged in court to have supported Nazi propaganda when South Africa was at war with Germany

"The government of the day took no action," he said,

"Provided a paper does not move into the realm of inventions and lies, provided it obeys the laws of the land, it should be allowed the widest latitude of expression.

"The Government objects — and men in power everywhere object — to strongly expressed dissident views on the grounds that these disturb the peace, or upset law and order, or incite revolution"

"It is not the politicians but the judges of the court who should decide whether this is true"

Wasa 1978 (200) 51011-231145

# The future of the black Press

Can a black newspaper — operating under South African laws and owned by whites ever faithfully portray the viewpoints and aspirations of black people?

The effective banning this week of Post Transvaal, the only black mass circulation daily, and its Sunday counterpart, has raised this and other troubling questions.

For the second time in 31 years — The World and Weekend World were banned on October 19, 1977 — the Government has shown its unwillingness to allow the aspirations of Black Consciousness to be disseminated by a mass medium.

The Media Workers' Association of South Africa, (Mwasa) organ of the black journalists who align themselves with the philosophy of Black Consciousness, says a white-owned newspaper in South Africa will never fully mirror "the black majority view".

## BATTLE LINES

That is a view which calls for a unitary state universal suffrage and total opposition to any accommodation with the present Government.

Mwasa believes this is the view of the majority but a wide spectrum of black leaders disputes this claim and believes that negotiation is still possible.

Black homeland leaders, community councillors and other moderates who together claim a significant constituency say Mwasa largely ignores them and does not want to report what they have to say.

Post — an Argus Company newspaper — was governed by its group's code of ethics, which called on it to report news objectively and fairly.

The code admonishes group papers to pursue a balanced policy calculated to enhance the welfare

and progress of all sections of the population.

Mr Joe Thloloe, Transvaal vice-president of Mwasa, believes the battle lines have already been drawn.

The white-owned English "liberal" Press and the Government stand together while Mwasa sees itself alone and unable to tell the "truth" about the black community.

The chasm between white newspapermen and black journalists is too great for both to be reconciled in a common purpose, says Mwasa.

White newspapers operate within the law and "it is impossible under South African law to tell the full story of what blacks feel", Mr Thloloe said.

Mr Thloloe and his colleagues in Mwasa are products of a radicalisation process that began in the early 1970s and gained impetus after the 1976 unrest.

Their emergence coincided with the decision by the Argus Company in 1976 to hand over the country's largest black circulation daily, The World, to black editorial control.

## VOICE

Black journalists began more and more to voice an unashamedly Black-Consciousness viewpoint.

They were the vanguard of a new trend in South African newspapers — "Commitment journalism". To these men "objectivity" became an "outdated myth".

They were black activists first and journalists second. They became propagandists for Black-Consciousness and the truth was that seen from the "black ghetto".

This viewpoint is perhaps best summed up by editorial comment in a recent Mwasa publication "Black - Consciousness proponents made no foolish claims to objectivity. We realise we are expressing the ideals and aspirations of our people

through the philosophy of black thinking".

Mwasa's rejection of traditional journalistic standards is hardly different from the view held until relatively recently by the Afrikaans Press, which espoused an Afrikaner Nationalist viewpoint of South Africa.

## DIFFERENCES

The Government obviously found deep differences.

It banned The World and Weekend World and detained its editor and other black journalists.

Within days of the banning the Argus Company launched another black paper, Post Transvaal.

Under the editorship of a white journalist, Mr John Miskelly, the paper initially followed a moderate line although it was critical of Government policy.

"I found myself on a collision course with some of my staff," Mr Miskelly said.

"As far as I was concerned news was presented by some reporters subjectively".

This disagreement over standards of objectivity never entirely resolved itself.

Mr Percy Qoboza, the former editor of The World, took over editorship of Post and Sunday Post when he was released from prison in March 1979.

Post was placed fairly firmly in the Black-Consciousness camp. It was a direction one white journalist, seconded to Sunday Post as assistant editor, found difficult to accept.

"Not enough by way of conscious decision was done to keep the paper objective," said Mr David Allen, who was in charge of the production of Sunday Post for about 18 months until the middle of last year. "Objectivity was regarded as almost a white

plot.

"No reference was made to the concept of total information or informing the public of all that was going on.

"I believe Post represented the views of journalists who set themselves up as experts on what people needed to know and what was good for them".

But who is the arbiter of what people should be told and what is good for them?

The Mwasa view is that it is the duty of black newspapers to lead the community to "total liberation".

Addressing journalists at a conference in Grahamstown 18 months ago, Mr J Wepeener, former editor of the Afrikaans Sunday paper Rapport, said "journalists always maintain a newspaper should have a cause or message".

"Then it must belong, must have a power base in the minds of people with whom it has something in common.

"It should be able to determine what is going on in the hearts and souls of people before they know it is happening.

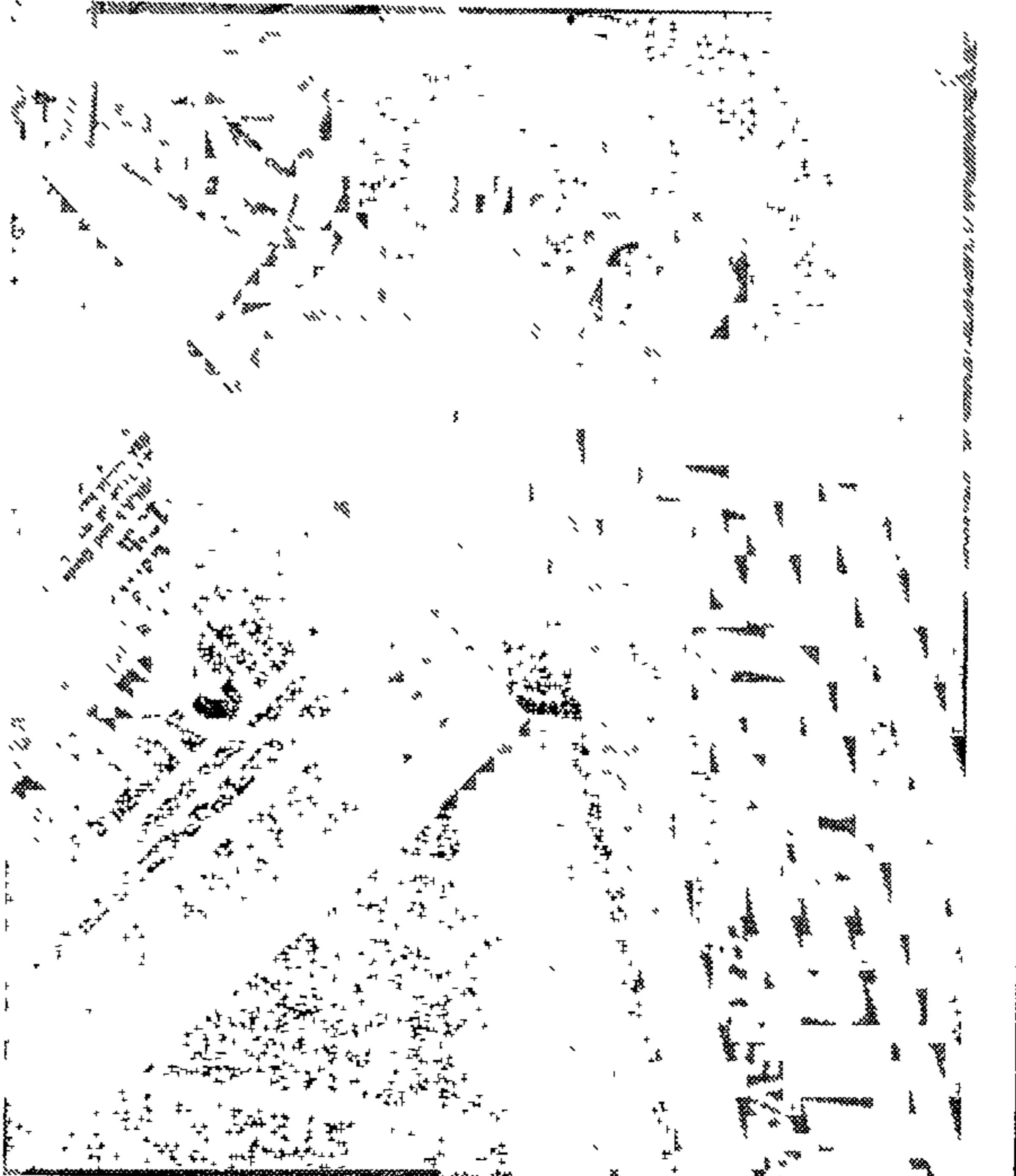
## DISCIPLINE

"The newspaper must be able not only to describe what is going on there but also to discipline and lead those forces of the mind and at all times be ready to provide a forum for discussing those ideas.

"Only then does journalism become more than mere newspapermaking." "It becomes leadership".

These views of a senior Afrikaans journalist could almost describe the philosophy of "committed" black journalism.

But neither the Government nor Mwasa can see a way to accommodate their clashing nationalistic viewpoints. Both are mutually exclusive and confrontational.



January 20 1981 . . . Mr Joe Latakgomo: "I must have a hole in my head."

# Moderates are now totally discounted, says Post editor

Anybody who wants to edit a black newspaper in South Africa must have holes in his head.

This was the wry but philosophical summing up of a black editor's dilemma by acting editor of the now silenced Post newspaper, Mr Joe Latakgomo.

The man most likely to be back in the firing line as editor of the weekly newspaper, The Sowetan, tipped at least partly to fill the vacuum left by Post, was undaunted but under no illusions about what lay ahead.

"The job of a white newspaper editor is clear: 'He is part of an establishment,'" Mr Latakgomo said.

"But a black newspaper editor faces an entirely different set of circumstances. 'To start with, the Government does not have to answer to a black voting public

"Whatever happens to a black newspaper has little effect on the dominant white political scene.

"But this is an even stronger reason why we as the main representative voice of black opinion should be looked to as valid representatives of a point of view that must be heard.

"Instead we are regarded as the enemy. "And certainly if we tried to satisfy the Government we would not satisfy our readers."

This was an unenviable position to work from a moderate viewpoint being virtually impossible.

"Blacks now look upon the moderate as totally irrelevant. After all, what has he achieved?" Mr Latakgomo said.

There was no more room for people who believed in negotiation. This was the feeling of many within the black community — "and we had to reflect this in Post".

Why were Post and its predecessor, the World, banned?

"I don't know," he said. "The pattern of the last few months of Post's existence was the same as that leading to the World's banning in 1977 so, I suppose Post's banning was not totally unexpected.

"All I can say is that we at Post tried to reflect black society as we saw it. "We believed in fighting for a just society for all and supported in our columns those black organisations which reasonably reflected the views of the majority.

"In our relationship with the Government we remained totally opposed to its policies. "Its so-called changes were not changes at all. "In no way can we be party to the Prime Minister's total strategy.

"It seems to forget that we keep it informed as much as we do our black readers".



# Black writers quit all-race centre

Siar 243  
23/1/81

## Political Staff

The Southern African PEN Centre (Johannesburg) is likely to close soon because black writers no longer wish to be members

At an executive meeting of PEN earlier this month it was agreed unanimously to recommend the disbanding of the centre.

Among the executive members present were Siphiso Sepamla, Mthobeni Mutloatse, Rose Zwi, Nadine Gordimer, Ahmed Essop, Mike Kirkwood, Jaki Seroke and Maishe Maponya

The executive's recommendation will be put to a general meeting on January 31.

"The non-racial character of PEN, viewed as 'multiracial' in certain quarters was, it was felt, an insuperable obstacle to its effective functioning at the present time," said a summary of the executive's discussion.

"It should immediately be stressed that this does not imply a rejection of non-racialism per se. However, its existence — and its non-racial character — could only impede the cultural struggle which most of its members sought to further."

The most important  
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 dont slow movers  
 tions  
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 both  
 space require-

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- (a) Commodity factor
- (b) Space factor
- (c) Stock location
- (d) Stock location system
- (e) Storage and warehouse

To ensure this the following factors should receive careful consideration:  
 To ensure an efficient warehouse facility careful planning and layout of the facility is essential.

## 8.7 Storage Planning and Layout

- Paper work or record keeping activities occur throughout the storage and warehousing phase. This includes the proper accumulation and analysis of the data and information required for efficient operation of the total storage or warehousing function.
- (a) Quantities to be shipped
  - (b) Weight or volume to be shipped
  - (c) Number of shipping points
  - (d) Distances involved
  - (e) Modes of transportation
  - (f) Delivery dates promised
  - (g) Documentation

In planning for shipping operations, the following factors should be considered:

# The growing list of the laws of silence

STAR 24/1/81

243

327

344

Almost four years ago the Government banned the forerunner of Post — The World. At the same time it banned 16 other predominantly black consciousness organisations, detained at least 43 prominent black leaders and delivered banning orders to several others

Those stringent steps taken 16 months after Soweto exploded in flames and death in 1976, caused a riptide of indignation around the world

The New York Times wrote that the South African banning laws were "the closest thing any modern state had devised to George Orwell's 1984." They said the laws were "almost an effort to turn someone into a non-person, to expunge him, to pretend he doesn't exist"

Such actions often cause a symbolic washing of hands, even among those who usually ally themselves with government policies.

## Refusal

The Human Sciences Research Council refused to accept more than R196 000 the Government wished to donate following the liquidation of most of the organisations banned in 1977

The Minister of Justice said the money would have been used for research on community development among blacks

The Council, however, said it did not want to alienate researchers who had expressed objections, and did not want aspersions cast on its autonomy

Prominent men banned in 1977 included Mr Donald Woods, editor of the Daily Dispatch and a close friend of Steve Biko, the black consciousness leader who died while in custody a month earlier

Shortly after, Mr Woods fled the country with his family. He now lives and works in London

Dr Beyers Naude, a director of the Christian Institute, was also banned for five years. Mr Percy

Thirty-one years ago the South African Communist Party was outlawed, and the Government instituted the Suppression of Communism Act (1950). Since then more than 1 358 people have been banned — of whom more than 367 have fled the country. The restriction orders in terms of the Internal Security Act (1976) have further enhanced its repressive powers.

The "banning" of Post and Weekend Post by the Government this week is the second time action has been taken against black newspapers. It forms part of another step along years of Government clampdowns on individuals and organisations who question the Government's apartheid policies, writes CHARLENE BELTRAMO.

banned World and now "banned" Post was detained for a few months

This year the banning orders of 43 people will expire. Most were among trade unionists and labour researchers banned in November 1976.

Currently about 172 people are banned in South Africa, many of whom are under house arrest and many who have had, or will have, banning orders renewed immediately an existing one expires

The three most recent bannings were executive members of the Media Workers Association of South Africa, two of whom were staff writers for Post — Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu and Mr Mathata Tsedu

The third, Mr M Subreymoney, was a freelance journalist

Mr Sisulu is the son of Walter Sisulu, an African National Congress leader serving a life sentence on Robben Island. His mother has been under house arrest since 1964

Banned people are frequently subjected to acts of violence or right-wing terrorism. Their loneliness is compounded by the knowledge that their movements are probably watched, and satisfying the thirst for companionship could lead to arrest or imprisonment

Their means of income are frequently cut and they can be banished to a strange place, hundreds of kilometres from friends and family — as in the cases of Winnie Mandela and Dr M Ramphela

They also often complain of police harassment

At two trials against

been banned almost continuously for 19 years, security policemen admitted to having "a running battle with Mrs Mandela" and that harassment was their duty as they saw it

The wife of Robben Island prisoner and ANC leader Nelson Mandela, she has been accused of breaking her banning orders on charges that a magistrate once described as "petty and technical"

Charges have included having a nine-month-old baby and a two-year-old toddler in her company and once arriving home 10 minutes later than her banning order stipulated

## Intruders

She has allegedly been assaulted on several occasions by intruders to her home. Fire bombs have also been thrown at her house

● Dr Rick Turner, a Natal University lecturer, was shot dead at his home a month before his banning order was due to expire in January, 1978. No arrests have been made in this instance or the following

● Mrs Fatima Meer, a banned Durban sociologist, has had her home peppered with automatic gun fire

● Shots fired at the home of Mrs Helen Joseph (75), a Johannesburg veteran of many banning orders, are so run-of-the-mill that her house now has bullet-proof windows

The provisions of house arrest and banning orders can go to the extreme of preventing a husband and wife talking

Mr Yusuf Cachalia was

25 years, probably longer than anyone else

He was first banned in 1953. From 1963 to 1973 he was under house arrest and so was his wife Amina. They were compelled to obtain Government permission to enable them to speak legally to one another

Their banning orders expired in November 1978 and were not renewed

The effect of banning has a greater impact on families than the financial burden often imposed

Mawalal Ramjobin, a Durban attorney, has been banned since 1971. In March 1973 a parcel bomb exploded in his offices, seriously injuring two of his five children. Five years later his wife Ela, a granddaughter of Mahatma Gandhi, was also banned

Many banning orders compel the person to report daily or weekly to a specific police station

Until the day he died Robert Sobukwe, the former Pan African Congress leader reported daily to a police station although he was "in great pain", — according to his wife, Veronica — from the effects of cancer and heart problems

Banned people are prohibited from being office bearers or supporters of an organisation that prepares, publishes or distributes any publication. Some orders prohibit entry to such premises

If under house arrest they cannot receive any visitor other than a doctor or attorney who is not banned

Some banning orders stop the person from entering townships or fac-

railway premises or harbours or courts, except as a petitioner, accused or witness.

An order may prohibit the person from communicating with certain organisations or newspapers. It may forbid them giving lectures or entering educational institutions.

Banning orders usually extend from as little as a month to five years. Up until the end of 1972, two-year banning orders predominated, according to the Institute of Race Relations, but since then five-year restrictions have become more common.

It is an offence to quote a banned or listed person — listed people include the more than 400 surviving members of the SA Communist Party and the Congress of Democrats

Most banning orders prohibit the person from attending political or other gatherings.

## Banished

A banning order may prohibit the person from leaving the house at all, or at night, weekends or public holidays.

Abdul Docrat is a case in point. His 10-year period of house arrest is probably the most stringent on record. It fell during his banning period from 1964 to 1978.

For a decade he was under 22-hour house arrest in his small Durban flat, allowed out for two hours daily

For those who decide the system is better fought from outside its borders than within, there seems to be no shortage of helping hands across the territorial fringes

● Thozamile Botha, a banned trade unionist now fugitive, attracted large crowds to his lectures in the United States.

● Barney Pitsoana, a banned and close friend of Steve Biko, fled the country with his banned wife. He is now London director of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania

● Harry Nengwenkulu, also a close Biko associate, is now a lecturer at the University of Botswana and Africa director of the BCMA. He was also banned

The list could go on

# POST HELT AND HUMOUR SHUT DOWN

Angus 24/1/81  
243



**ACCREY KLAASTE,**  
assistant to the Editor  
of Post (Transvaal)  
sketches the yo-yo his-  
tory of Johannesburg's  
black newspapers.

**THE best that can be said of journalists who have been kept on some form of a yo-yo thread of uncertainty by bannings, strikes, work stoppages and suspensions, is that they survive.**

For members of Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post, previously called World and Weekend World, the experience has had its traumas yet in a strange way it has developed men and women with adult perspectives of balance, tolerance and humour.

The truth is, it has not been easy to be put through the intricate balancing act of nerves typical only of the trapeze routine in a circus.

It has been hell, but sometimes it has had its glorious moments of sheer joy and humour.

cause they were caught with the stray bottle of brandy (these were the days of prohibition) or had infringed some technical law.

Few journalists met the kind of drastic action from the police that was to become a feature of black journalists after Sharpeville.

A number of exposés were written — chiefly because there was competition from the then Golden City Post, which scored pretty heavily in sensation and exposé-type writing. Drum magazine also added competition with its top-grade reporters.

When World and Weekend World became popular, things took a dramatic turn in editorial content.

### CIRCULATION

The World was sold for a cent and carried masses of sports and crime reports. This kind of flair sold newspapers, and circulation picked up dramatically after the independence of Mozambique.

This was perhaps the beginning of change, not only for the newspapers, but for all blacks. Reporting was more critical of the Government and the troubles of the black reporter with the police became standard.

When World and Weekend World were banned in October 1977, the papers were on the crest of a circulation spiral, all the way to the sky. It seemed at one stage the circu-



**HOLDING** the last published copies of Post and Sunday Post, acting editor Joe Latakgora casts a cynical eye at the world. With both papers now shut and facing a government ban if re-registered, Mr Latakgora's future is undecided.

ated she promptly stopped weeping and gawked.

A colleague said the other day that if you don't grow grey hair by being on the staff of these papers, you are probably going to get an injection of new blood. To be a

It seems there was just no looking back. The circulation of Post, after initially stumbling picked up and we were headed for the good days again. Then the inevitable happened.

Call it bad luck if you wish, but it keeps the newspaper in the country. For eight painful days there was dismay and tension. The best and the worst was brought out in us.

The eight-day strike was to spiral into another strike which ran for 54 incredible days. Even the most optimistic among us thought this was like the

then Bantu World in Westdene, Sophiatown. The taming of this Johannesburg newspaper should have started in earnest then, but what happened was that the paper grew in stature and muscle as the years went

were serious writers, but their style also cascaded into merry madness, almost as if they were defying the oppression they hated to live under. If reporters then had any scrapes with the police it was perhaps be-

the banning of the World will live long in the memory of the reporters on the staff.

As it was reporters on the two papers were distinguishing themselves with photographs and reports of the Soweto and later the country-wide unrest. Many reporters on the papers were detained or locked up for varying periods, and the police became a part of our lives. These were the days when the news editor would make a head count of casualties from the previous night when he called his daily conference.

The irony is that, every time the two papers climb the heady crest of success, something drastic happens. In 1977 there was the banning of the two papers, a circumstance that made world news, and added significantly to the stature and popularity of staff members.

#### FLASH OF BULBS

The Editor was detained and, from reports, he left the newspaper offices under police escort in something like cinematographic fashion. My wife, who was weeping at the offices after I had been picked up, tells the admirable story of Mr. Percy Qoboza bowing and waving to the whirr of TV cameras and the flash of bulbs. Fascin-

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ARGUS

24/1/81

CT 24/1/81  
 PEN may close in  
 wake of Post ban

JOHANNESBURG — The latest onslaught on press freedom in South Africa had caused the Poets, Essayists and Novelists International Centre in Johannesburg to seriously consider closing down

The centre's chairman, Mr Mothobi Mutlootse, said yesterday the present political climate in the country was making it impossible for the non-racial association to operate smoothly

"The executive committee of the centre has now called on its 20 affiliated black writers' groups to attend a meeting in Soweto to take a decision on the closure

"Unfortunately we are being forced to deviate from our principle of non-racialism (by holding an entirely black

membership meeting), but the non-racial character of PEN, viewed as multiracialism in certain quarters has been an insurmountable obstacle to its effective functioning

"At present, however, its existence could only impede the cultural struggle which most of its members sought to further"

● In a statement issued in Pretoria, the National Council of Women has protested against the government's action in closing the country's major black newspapers, Post (Tiansvaal) and Sunday Post

"The NCW, which upholds respect for human rights, deplores polarisation and the violations of individual freedom in South Africa by depriving a section of the population of its voice," the statement said

S A Read

General J B M Hertzog Prize  
 For the best final year student.

D H Pryce Lewis

For the best student of  
 Architecture (or Quantity  
 Surveying) in the subject  
 of Professional Practice.

David Haddon Prize

Miss C Tredgold

For the best woman student  
 in third year.

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize

P A Rappoport

For a student who has  
 satisfactorily completed  
 1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

Helen Gardner Travel Prize

P F Dunkley

Sixth Year

For the best student in :-

of Architects' Prize

Cape Provincial Institute

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTURE

# ATTEMPTS TO MUZZLE THE PRESS AND MANAGE YOUR DAILY NEWS

## Why one man says: I can't accept the closing of Post

S. Expiration  
25/1/81

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I AM writing as a practising attorney, a fairly ordinary one, out of my concern over a statement made recently by the Minister of Justice, being the Minister in terms of the Attorneys' Act, No 53 of 1979, and for the standing of the profession as such.

I believe simply that, whatever its effect, the time has come for men of rational minds to speak out.

Freedom of speech and the Press is a cornerstone of a dynamic and changing society. Speer said of his friend Adolf Hitler that if he had been a leader in any other country he would have been a figure of ridicule. Freedom of this quality breeds excellence.

These are viewpoints with which one may agree or disagree, but to some extent all the world's nations proclaim adherence to these ideals.

Against this freedom, nations also balance the interests of national security. While some believe in the absolute minimum of censorship by the executive, others govern in terms of the dictates of the few, and the Press is their servant.

There is no necessary rule to say which system or mixture is right for any set of people. It is evil folly, however, for a nation

BY ANDREW  
DUNCAN

can, with such apparent lack of concern, ban newspapers or threaten to ban a newspaper, what power can any recommendation of such a commission have in upholding the freedom of the Press? The greater the pity that the commission has not acknowledged this

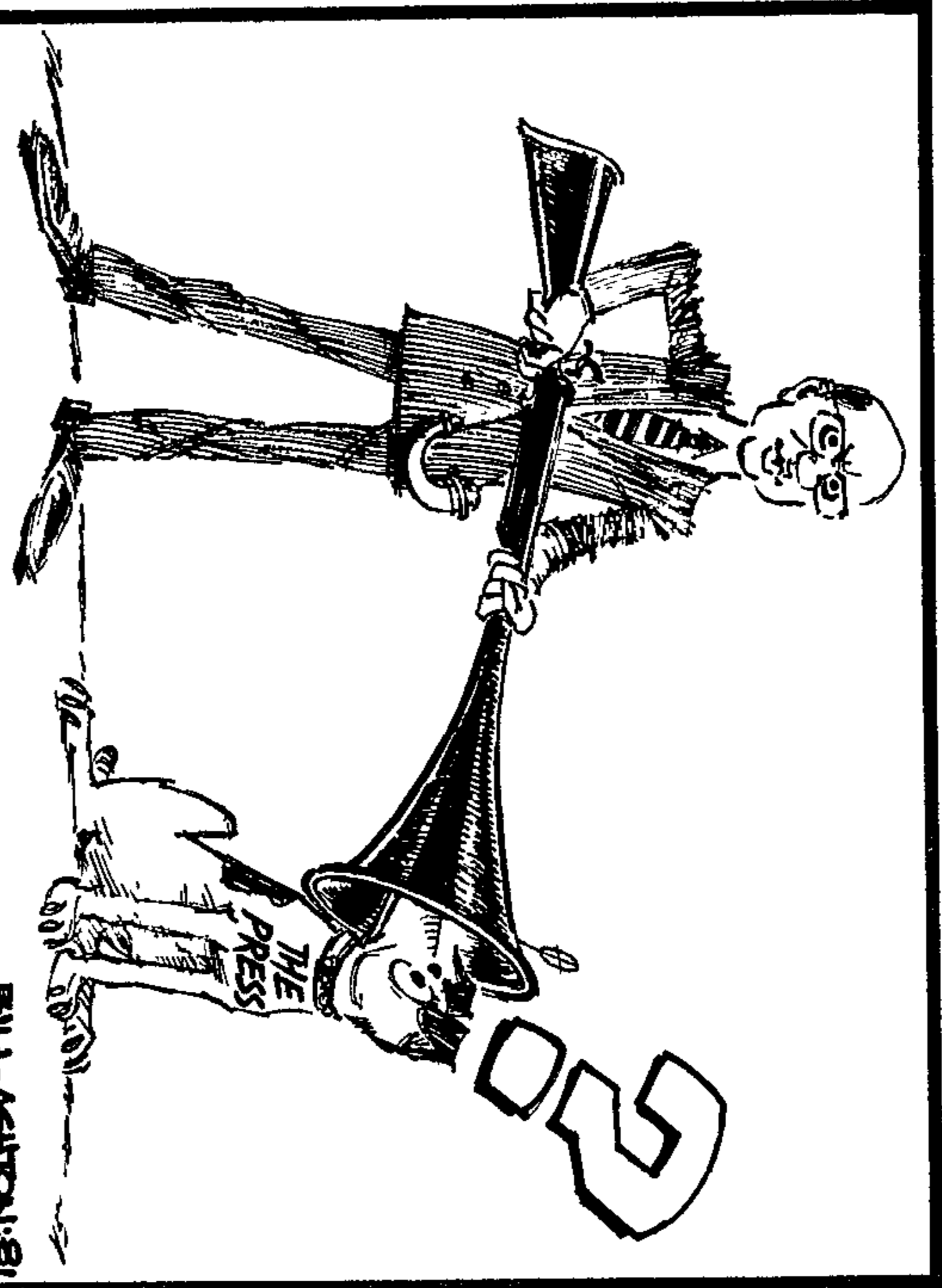
Indeed, nobody really has, because it is a mere part of a progression of the diminishing role of justice in this land. There cannot be justice ultimately without freedom of the Press and speech. We have wit-

nessed the death of the foundation of our society, or Western civilisation as it is called, without knowing it, for the sake of our apparent salvation, and it is the Minister of Justice who has done this thing.

I believe our Law Society must tell the Minister in the strongest terms possible that it disassociates itself from his statement.

Unless it does so, I believe it diminishes the prestige, status and dignity of the profession.

I register my disgust at the thinking reflected in the statement of the Minister of Justice. A copy of this letter has been posted to the Minister and to every member of the council of the Law Society of the Transvaal.



OF COURSE, I HAVE NO OBJECTION TO CRITICISM!  
BILL ASTON: 81

BUILDING

tradition of a free Press while the opposite is true and, worse, there is nobody left to proclaim this

It was with horror that on Thursday, January 22, 1981, I heard on the English Service news that the Minister of Justice had made a statement to the effect that he was not interfering in the freedom of the Press but was ensuring law and order and curbing revolution when he said that, if the two Black newspapers concerned had not lost their registration, he would have banned them.

Now, as an attorney and a member of the system of which the Minister is the titular head, I wish to disassociate myself entirely from this statement. The Minister is entitled, and indeed duty bound, to maintain law and order. But to say it is no interference with the freedom of the Press that, were it not for their failure to obtain registration, he would have banned certain newspapers, is a contemptible analysis. It is the most drastic form of interference I can imagine.

What law or what order is the Minister promoting when, at his mere whim, he can ban and shut down a newspaper?

It is the law and order of men not subject to ridicule. Indeed, it has all the thumb-marks of the very system of government to which we are told we are implacably opposed. It appears to have now all the flaws of governments to the north of us which are so often criticised by us.

The Minister is entitled to do as he wishes to maintain law and order, but to deny its effect on certain freedoms is a falsity of horrendous proportions. The Minister has all the necessary powers to bring about the prosecution of any person contravening the laws of this land. This is the normal process of the law. But here my own Minister of Justice has determined, without any form of prosecution, that he must or would have banned newspapers to ensure law and order. What kind of adherence to what kind of law is this? What is left for justice?

To the best of my knowledge and belief, neither of the newspapers or their editors have ever been prosecuted for the commission of an offence relating to the security or internal situation of this country.

It suddenly strikes me as peculiar that at the very moment of the Minister's statement there is a commission sitting to determine the path of the Press in this country. If the Minister

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# When two cheeky Press voices were silenced

S. Times 25/1/81

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BY THE EDITOR OF THE SUNDAY TIMES

THIS week South Africa took a perilous step across that fine line which distinguishes free and confident societies from petty, insecure despotisms.

Quite arbitrarily, two politicians shut down two independent, commercial newspapers and robbed

Now Post Transvaal and Sunday Post have also been silenced, a country where no freedom is more jealously guarded than in South Africa. Post's tone was sharp and not infrequently brash but its ability to see the issues clearly on our continent



# Why journalists can't accept a register

"PEOPLE who believe in freedom recognise that the democratic form of government is not necessarily the most efficient or the most effective. In fact it is often regarded as inefficient, bumbling and somewhat ineffective.

Other forms of government such as dictatorships or old-style despotic monarchies can be more efficient in some aspects of government. But free people choose democracy because it is the best form of government to ensure the freedom or safety of the individual

Democracy has been described as the best of a number of bad governmental systems. The others may ensure that the roads are kept in good order or that the trains run on time, but the rights of the individual to opportunity and a free way of life are destroyed

The same argument applies to newspapers in a democracy. As soon as they become subject to special controls such as registers of journalists and so on, the fundamentals change and though superficially the controls appear to create a more efficient and accurate Press, in reality the essential freedom of the individual is being destroyed and with it the institution of a free Press — and finally the country because it will no longer be adequately informed

A free Press with no other controls than those which apply to the individual — the laws of the country — may not be regarded as the most accurate, efficient or effective but it will ensure the freedom of the individual and the maintenance of the democratic way of life

It is better that there should be an abuse of freedom or many abuses of freedom rather than one restriction on freedom

That is how Mr Raymond Louw ended his address to the Steyn Commission this week on the question of a register for journalists. Before that, he had presented the Newspaper Press Union's argument against such a register. What follows is the main part of that argument

□ □ □

THIS is a very difficult subject. A register sounds attractive and desirable because professional bodies have adopted this form of control for their professions and they appear to work well. So the question is raised: Should there not be a similar controlling body for journalists?

The NPU, however, believes that a register would be an intrusion on the freedom of the Press and a form of restraint and control that would be unacceptable. The NPU believes that far from improving standards, a register is likely to emasculate the Press.

The practice of journalism does not lend itself to a profes-



THE public spotlight turned sharply on Press freedom this week with two newspapers — Post and Sunday Post — being effectively banned. The reports on these pages focus on the threat to the Press. One contains representations presented to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Media by Mr Raymond Louw, a general manager of South African Associated Newspaper, on behalf of the Newspaper Press Union; the other is a personal statement by a lawyer who felt compelled to speak out.

sional register. The principle of a register for journalists cannot be equated with registers for doctors, lawyers, accountants and so on.

In those professions, practitioners can be arraigned before their peers for conduct involving their honesty or their judgment. Generally, they are all people practising on their own or in partnership and charging fees for their services. They sell their services directly to the public and the need for registering them has arisen to protect the public and to bring order and standards of conduct to their professions.

Apart from the laws of the country, the public and their fellow practitioners have no other means of redress — and some of the complaints do not fall within the ambit of common or statute law.

Journalists, however, are employees working under the authority of an editor or his senior staff. They cannot always be held individually responsible for what appears in the newspaper because most of their published work is the re-

sult of joint effort involving others: Reporters, sub-editors, day or night editors, quality controllers, and so on.

They do not always act in their own right and the area of their responsibility for a published report cannot always be demarcated. They do not sell their services directly to the public as professional people do.

Their performance is caught up in the general standard of the newspaper and should those standards be criminally or ethically at fault the newspaper can be arraigned before the courts of the country or the Press Council.

Where a journalist can be identified as the author of an article that article will generally be a feature which may relate to an assessment of the current political situation, the rise of Black power, the causes of rioting, violence or crime, the security of the State or any number of subjects.

At the other end of the scale, it could also be a humorous article on, say, the sex-life of secretaries, or the likely outcome of the Metropolitan Stakes horse race on Saturday.

This poses the next question: How would such a register be conducted? What would be its constitution? Who would be the registering authority, the journalists' trade union, the newspaper proprietors or some other authority? Who would sit in judgment on journalists and their conduct? What powers would the disciplinary tribunal have — the power of censure only, of suspension of a journalist from his job or his striking off the register to prevent him from continuing to practice for a period of time — or for all time?

How would the registering authority or the disciplinary tribunal deal with complaints? What standards would it require of journalists applying for registration?

Considering the diverse nature of the craft of journalism how would the standards be arrived at? Is it possible for a common standard to be applied to the several types of article mentioned above? How would they be judged against a standard of practice? How would a leading article be judged, especially if the complaint was

that the views expressed in it were extreme or did not take cognisance of all the facts? Whose judgment of these issues would be the correct one? Whose judgment would be generally acceptable? The answer is that it will remain a matter of political controversy. Let us move the argument into a different sphere. Let us relate the complaint to a politician — or an MP in Parliament — making a public speech or an address to Parliament.

The content of the speech might be no different to the leading article. Would one contemplate a register of politicians to make them more expert or so that a similar complaint as that directed against the newspaper could be adjudicated upon?

Certainly not. It would be unthinkable because it would be a fundamental intrusion in and interference with the basic human right in a democracy for a person to express his views and represent his fellow men and women in the political forums of the country.

Another reason is that it would be impracticable to sit in judgment on the politician. Who would be the judges? For example, should there be such a register of politicians and should there be a complaint against one for dealing with the rise of Black power in a speech, whose judgment of the acceptability of the speech would be acceptable?

Were the registering authority's disciplinary tribunal composed of Herstigste Nasionale Party sympathisers or secret members of the Wit Commando, would a Nationalist, or a member of the New Republic Party or the Progressive Federal Party be prepared to be judged by it? Certainly not, because the likelihood is that the person complained against would not get a fair hearing.

The tribunal could only judge the content of the speech from the standpoint of HNP or Wit Commando policy depending on which faction composed the tribunal.

This is obviously far-fetched and unthinkable when related to politicians — but is it very different in concept to journalists with differing attitudes to political and other questions of-

the day being judged for their work by people with differing or diametrically opposite views?

But the objection to having a register of politicians because it would be a basic breach of democratic principle also applies to journalists. The journalist has no more rights than the ordinary citizen and aspires to no other status. A register would be a serious intrusion into those rights. He has the right — as any person has — of telling others what is happening in the community and what his views are on those happenings.

The NPU and journalists have a deep fear of the instrument of registration because they believe it can be used to penalise them for practising their craft vigorously to the possible embarrassment of vested interest and authority — the classic role of the "watchdog Press".

In the nature of such tribunals, journalists would have to prove the accuracy of what they have published or that they took reasonable steps to ensure accuracy.

This could be extremely difficult because of the problems that arise over the identification of sources — which in most of the cases would not be able to be identified before a tribunal.

There would also be the subjective approach by the members of the tribunal to the journalist's views. There is a strong likelihood that the findings would be against the journalist and this could lead to a loss of livelihood, not so much because of a professional misdemeanour but because his published views were considered unacceptable.

The natural result would be for journalists to be more concerned about their own welfare rather than the public interest.

Thus the standard of journalism would drop rather than improve. This would lead to what we can best describe as a "Prisons Act effect" on journalism — journalists would leave the subject strictly alone because of their fear of being convicted.

It should be pointed out that lawyers and doctors need never fear that they will be penalised for crusading for better standards of hospital or legal prac-

tice — but journalists would fear that their striving for improvements in the social or political order would be subject to severe censure.

How would a journalist be defined? Would a contributor be one? A letter-writer? Or only a letter-writer whose letter had been converted to a feature article? What about country correspondents of newspapers who are frequently the town clerk of a town or a person who has some other major occupation?

How would the register be applied to newspapers?

How would it apply to student publications where professional journalism is largely absent but student enthusiasm is a major component? What about De Rebus Procuratis and the Medical Journal where again other interests rather than journalism are paramount? What about Church magazines? Would the authors of books and plays be exempt?

As soon as we move from the big newspapers it becomes apparent that a register would encroach on a citizen's rights to make himself heard. And if registration is limited to the major media it immediately becomes apparent that it will be a restraint on the free Press.

How would overseas publications be affected? Would they be exempted from the provisions of the register? Would they be banned thus interfering with the public's right to know? After all, overseas lawyers and doctors can only practice here with special permission.

How would the standards be set? Some journalists are excellent writers but poor technicians, others poor or different writers but excellent gatherers of information or possessed of a particular special knowledge.

The International Press Institute, which has a membership of 2 000 editors and publishers throughout the free world, has firmly rejected a register of journalists because it could be used as a punitive weapon. So has the Royal Commission on the Press (1977) which was chaired by Lord McGregor. The South African Society of Journalists has also rejected it and now the NPU also rejects the proposal.

S. Express 25/1/81 (243)

the community of the sources of news and comment of their choice

### What of PW's undertaking?

It is true that, some years ago, the unlamented Mr Jimmy Kruger also closed down two newspapers and locked up their editor. However, the spirit and purpose of those two World newspapers was reborn in the Post that almost immediately succeeded them

senior that of Messrs Chris Heunis and Kobie Coetsee

What, therefore, must we now make of that undertaking which the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, gave to the country six months after his assumption of power?

For, on April 20 1979, he told Parliament. "To curtail (the) role of the Press is a certain road to great disaster for the State. Consequently it has no place in the Government's intention and aims

"Today we have the right to be proud of the high measure of freedom which the Press continues to enjoy despite the struggle for survival which is being forced upon the civilisation in South Africa. We count among a relatively small number of countries in the world in which the Press may in any way be called free

"We wish to remain in that company."  
Whether Mr Botha cares to acknowledge it or not, we ceased, this week, to remain in that company  
Whether we have done so by design, or simply because Mr Botha cannot control members of his Cabinet and their security policemen, the truth is that we have shifted inexorably away from that small community of countries that lay store by a free Press  
The closure of two newspapers — on the very day of the inauguration in Amer-

or expression, of a reasonably kindly disposed President — quite clearly moves South Africa further into the realm of unfree, intolerant and un-Western societies  
Why did the Government do it?

The Minister of Justice, Mr Coetsee, claims that the newspapers concerned were promoting revolution.

But the promotion of violent change is a crime in South Africa.  
Why, if Mr Coetsee was concerned about the political role of the Post newspapers, did he not prosecute them and allow his evidence of their alleged revolutionary misdeeds to be tested in court?

### Fears and Aspirations

Why must our already shrinking freedom — an undivisible thing — be curtailed and our name be blackened internationally simply because the authorities either do not have the nerve or the evidence to submit their opinion to judicial arbitration?

Or has total strategy come to mean total disregard of the usefulness of such procedures?  
Mr Coetsee's allegation will come as a surprise to Post's regular readers. The newspapers were critical of Government policies, yes, but this was hardly surprising in organs that brought a black perspective to news and comment

ed in a paper that reflected the fears and aspirations of a community shaped by political, economic and educational adversity.

Nor were the Post newspapers without their own political problems  
Extreme radicals often accused them of timidity and resented their white ownership. Others in their constituency — not least Chief Gatscha Buthelezi's Inkatha — accused the two papers of unfair political bias

But they were a mirror of black public opinion; cracked here and there perhaps, even smudged occasionally by human feelings; but a mirror that reflected a valid public opinion

Who was it, after all, but Post's predecessor that gave the first early warnings (lamentably ignored in Pretoria) of the pent-up rage that was finally to burst into the open during the 1976 Soweto riots?

Post newspapers also provided an outlet for expressions of frustration, a journalistic valve through which much potentially destructive political steam could be let off

Even by its own light, therefore, the Government's action has been clumsy and short-sighted. It has deprived itself of an invaluable daily gauge of black opinion

We go along with the Prime Minister when he says that South Africa faces problems of survival. But survival will depend on our

ions, no matter how politically unpalatable they be to some people.

But when rulers refuse to hear anything but the voices of the docile, the self-seeking or the personally ambitious, they are isolating themselves in the same way as those leaders in Eastern Europe who do not allow themselves to be inconvenienced by the opinions of dissidents

### They move underground

And it is then that criticism and frustrations move underground, when communication becomes covert and every rumour gains currency and is multiplied

That is why the African National Congress leaders must have been laughing this week, Mr Coetsee having created just the kind of environment in which their revolutionary propaganda can spread without the competition of hard facts which only independent newspapers can provide

The man who loses his head most easily in a crisis, who is most easily misled by agitators with revolutionary goals, is the man who doesn't know what is happening to him and around him; the man who keeps his head is the man who does know

And he knows because a free and independent Press is able to inform him

### Credibility

#### denied

The Transvaal's surviving newspapers — their credibility among blacks severely dented, since the banning of some newspapers might suggest that those who continue to publish do so only because they hold some kind of Government licence — will strive mightily, and professionally, to fill the information void created by the Government's recent deeds

The onus on them becomes even greater to keep all sections of the community informed, and to maintain the already-fragile channels of communication between the races

But Mr Justice Theunne Steyn (who can be excused for wondering about Messrs Heunis and Coetsee's apparent disregard for the outcome of his commissioner labours) also faces an added task.

### Adequately served?

His commission, now in session, is charged with determining whether the mass media meet the needs and interests of the South African community and the demands of the times

It would be interesting to discover whether the Commission feels the community's needs can be adequately served, and the demands of the times properly met, without the existence of a free, independent and authentic black journalistic voice.

# Lawyers

# slam

# banning

# of

S. Tribune  
25/1/81

243 ~~327~~

# papers

A MEETING of 70 prominent lawyers from all areas of South Africa yesterday slammed the Government banning of Post and Sunday Post as a violation of the fundamental human rights to knowledge, evaluation and the expression of views.

The chairman of the organisation hosting the meeting, Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Johan Kriegler SC, also drew a parallel between the South African Government and the Romanovs, the Russian royal family at the time of the Russian revolution.

"The Romanovs dynasty suffered from a fatal defect. He who loses contact with the governed is running into a very dangerous area," he said.

"It is deplorable that the largest concentration of black citizens should have been deprived of newspapers in their areas which reflected their interests and views

"The right to knowledge is fundamental. The right to evaluate events is fundamental. And, having made an evaluation, the right to communicate views to your fellow men is fundamental"

These rights had been violated by the banning, said Mr Kriegler.

"Freedom of speech, association, expression, reflected in a free Press in a particular community is so fundamental that depriving people of it other than for the most compelling reasons cannot but be deplored," he said.

A free Press was also a "most effective restraint"

## Tribune Reporter

Government.

Referring to the Romanovs, Mr Kriegler said. "The means for a meaningful feedback for the governed dare not be destroyed."

The Government's new fingerprints plan for all could mean that whites would face the choice of being "either disenfranchised or dehumanised", he added

The Government had said whites would only be fingerprinted if they require endorsements on their books of life or new books

Mr Kriegler pointed out that the legislation empowered the state to require of each white voter that his constituency be reflected on his book of life.

This could require an endorsement and hence the fingerprinting of each white.

"So you either be disenfranchised or dehumanised," said Mr Kriegler.

"A very serious intrusion into a person's dignity and right to privacy," the new fingerprint system was an "Orwellian system" — referring to George Orwell's predictive novel on

# Perskor S. Tribune faces big action

28/1/81 (243)  
NATIONALE PERS, the giant Afrikaans publishing house, is preparing a R6,85-million claim against fellow publishers Perskor, according to a report in today's Sunday Express.

The claim will be instituted, according to the report, if Nasionale Pers is not adequately compensated for losses incurred through Perskor's falsification of three of its newspapers' circulation figures.

Perskor was apparently warned of the impending action in a letter from executive staff of Nasionale Pers. The letter was delivered to Mr Marius Jooste, Perskor's executive chairman. Former cabinet minister Ben Schoeman, who is chairman of Dagbreek Trust — Perskor's controlling body — is also said to be aware of the possible claim.

Neither Mr Jooste nor Mr Schoeman could be contacted last night. A Perskor board member, Mr Harry Laurie, refused to comment on the report.

R A van Rosenveld.

third year.

For the best work in  
John Perry Prize

D H Pryce Lewis

year.

For the best work in  
Osbourn Prize

S A Read

For the best final year  
General J B M Hertzog

D H Pryce Lewis

For the best student of  
Architecture (or Quantity  
Surveying) in the subject  
of Professional Practice

David Haddon Prize

Miss C Tredgold

in third year.

For the best woman student  
Molly Gohl Memorial Prize

P A Rappoport

For a student who has  
satisfactorily completed  
1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

Helen Gardner Travel Prize

P F Dunckley

Sixth Year

For the best student in :-

Cape Provincial Institute  
of Architects' Prize

ARCHITECTURE

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

# Banned for being loyal South Africans

S. Twb.

25/1/81

(243)

If the black journalist — in fact any respectable journalist — is asked to make a choice between loyalty to his country and loyalty to a political party, he would almost certainly opt for the former.

In South African terms, however, if you are not loyal to, and support fully, the nationalists, you must be a communist, Marxist, or any of a host of other descriptions that come forth from the Government.

This is the position which Post and Sunday Post found themselves in. And because they chose to pursue their profession in the greatest tradition, believing that this is a free, democratic country, and upholding our readers' right to know what is happening around them and to them, the Government chose to close down both papers.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, explained later this week why the two papers were banned. They wanted to stir up revolution. They furthered the aims of banned organisations.

This is not going to fool many people. If, as the Minister claims, they had evidence to support this belief, it would certainly have been much more respectable and honourable to take us to court, find us guilty, and then close us down. Nobody could have screamed "foul" then. In the absence of such action, and the vague ex-

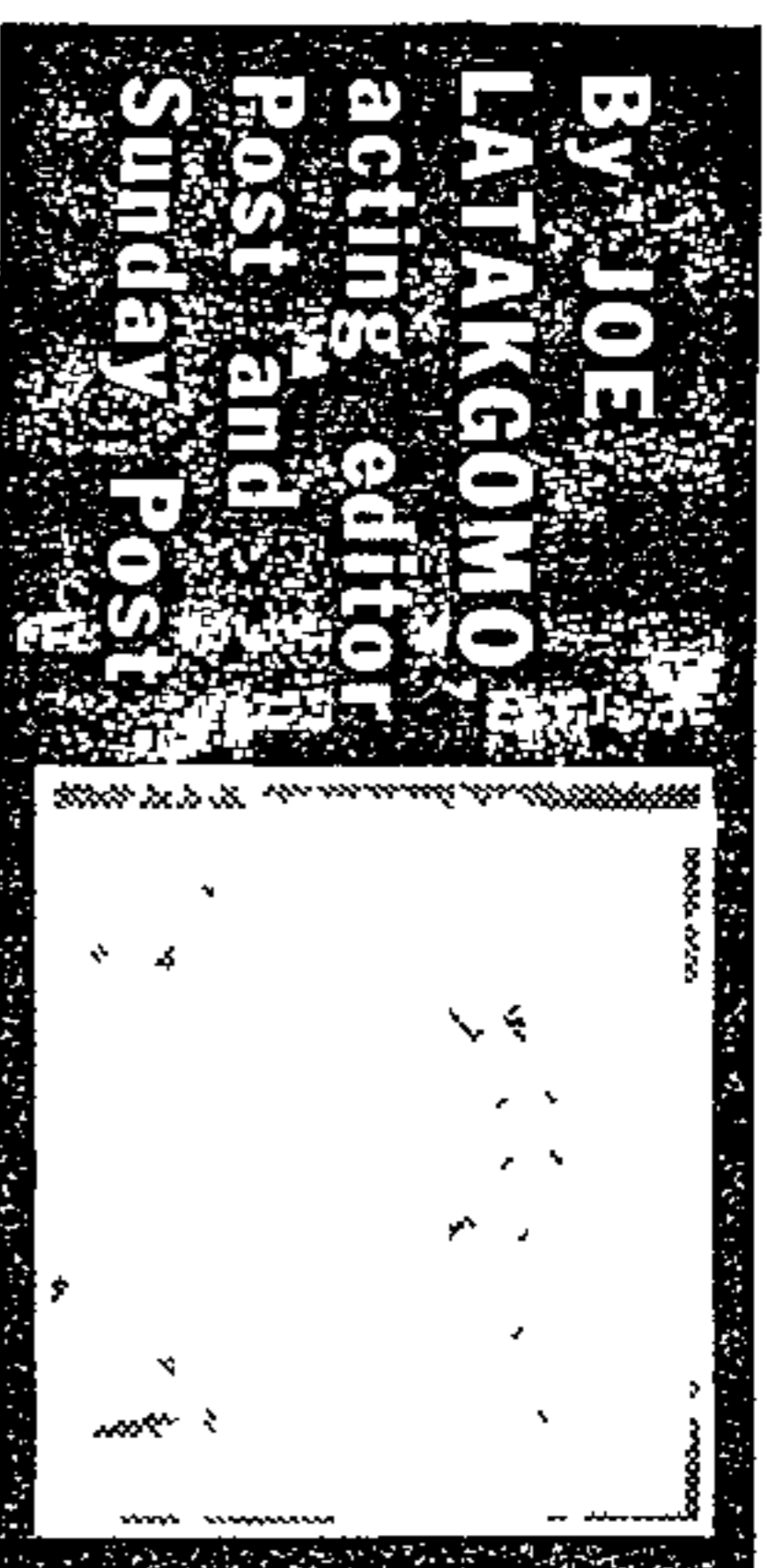
cuse that taking us to court would have endangered state contacts and informers who would have had to give evidence, it must be clear that no such evidence exists.

## Interest

The planning of the coup de grace was excellent — or so the Government thought. With a strike on, they watched with keen interest whether we would fulfil the requirements of the Imprint Act by publishing at least once a month. Then they jumped.

The Government thought that this was a golden opportunity to close down the papers, hoping that the strike would cushion the effect. As usual, they were wrong.

However, the Government know that whatever they do wrong will result in harsh statements from the West, threats, then quiet. From then, it will be business as usual.



It is perfectly clear why the Government is so scared of a black society. The Afrikaner's history is riddled with incidents of Press manipulation, starting up their own newspapers to counter the "English influence" and using those newspapers in their battle to get into power. That, I'm afraid, simply was not journalism.

But having done that themselves, they must live with the constant fear that this is what blacks are up to. In fact, if the Government tries hard enough, this is exactly what will happen. For the moment, however, journalism is

still honourable. We still know of something called objectivity.

The same cannot be said of the Government's own media. The SABC and its TV, newspapers born of propaganda's ideals — of National Party, some of which blatantly put the National Party's interests first, and South Africa a distant second.

## Symbols

What does the closure of Post and Sunday Post and before them, World and Weekend World, mean to the black people?

Both had become institutions in black society.

In fact, all had been seen, because of the Government's attitude towards them, as a symbol of a threatened free Press in resistance.

Their roll had been clearly defined: to report and inform; to serve as a watchdog for the community if served, which the white Press was either unwilling or unable to perform; to articulate the aspirations of the community; to educate.

Our task was not an easy one. By trying to do exactly what we set out to do, to serve our readers in exactly the same ways as any other newspaper would, we found ourselves on the wrong end of the Government's stick.

The Steyn Commission of Inquiry was set up to investigate the mass media. We will watch with keen interest the outcome of this commission. The Government's action was, it seems to us, absolutely in contempt of the Commission. In fact, it seems that the Government was impatient, and seized the opportunity to strike at

Post and Sunday Post while the strike situation prevailed.

This action made every newspaper aware that we are now facing the most serious censorship threat in recent memory. Freedom of the Press cannot be divided into freedom of the black Press and freedom of the white Press. What has happened to Post and Sunday Post can happen to any newspaper, the Press said this week. But can it?

## Difference

Whether we like it or not, the black Press simply is not treated like the white Press. The difference here is that the readership of the black Press is made up of people who do not have representation in Parliament. Taking any action against them — as indeed the banning of their newspaper is — will not affect the face of white South African politics.

But taking action against a "white" newspaper, can, and will almost certainly, do just that. It is for this reason that the Government would prefer to take white newspapers to court, rather than taking arbitrary action against them. Against this background, can people be blamed for being angry with the Government? Must a black newspaper not mirror society because the Government does not like the images it sees? Indeed, the Government's attitude has been. If we don't like the images we see in this mirror, smash it!

ALL-OUT WAR LOOMING FOR AFRIKAANS PAPERS

# Nasionale Pers demands R7-m for fake Perskor figures

S. Express 25/1/81 (243)

**AFRIKAANS** newspaper giant Nasionale Pers is to lodge a preliminary R6 850 000 claim against Perskor, its arch rival in the bitter Transvaal circulation war

Cape-based Nasionale Pers, which is close to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, is seeking compensation for losses incurred through the circulation scandal in which Perskor falsely inflated the circulation figures for its three main papers

The unprecedented action is certain to erupt into open war between the two groups and will have far-reaching political repercussions on the fighting between the verligte and verkrampte wings of the National Party

The opening shot by Nasionale Pers — the first of its kind in the history of the Afrikaans publishing industry — has been delivered in a letter to Perskor by the chairman of Nasionale Pers, Mr Priet Cillie, former editor of Die Burger, and Mr Dawid de Vilhiers, managing director

**By KITT KATZIN and JOHN BATTERSBY.**

The letter, it is understood, was sent to Mr Marius Jooste, executive chairman of Perskor. The contents are also known to Mr Ben Schoeman, former Minister of Transport and chairman of Dagbreek Trust, which controls Perskor

The claim for R6 850 000 was described by Nasionale Pers executives as "a conservative figure", and indications are that it could eventually be much higher

Although the letter is not regarded at this stage as a legal claim against Perskor, it is understood that Nasionale Pers has made it clear that, if negotiations for compensation founder, Nasionale Pers will institute a claim

The letter follows a meeting two months ago between Mr Cillie and Mr Schoeman at which Mr Cillie said Nasionale Pers intended to go ahead with its claim against Perskor

Nasionale Pers executives, headed by Mr De Vilhiers, who led South Africa's legal team in the South West Africa case in the World Court, subsequently officially notified Perskor that the company is proceeding with the action

The Perskor circulation scandal, which erupted last September, showed

a discrepancy of 20 000 copies a day of Die Transvaler, an extra 37% of its circulation, and about 6 500 copies each for Vaderland and The Citizen inflating their actual circulations by over 12%

This amounted to 5-million "extra" copies of the three newspapers for the first half of 1980

The fraud was discovered by the Audit Bureau of Circulations and led to Perskor withdrawing from the organisation

Perskor, however, agreed to compensate advertisers

It is also believed that negotiations between the groups took place for a "trade-off" in the Afrikaans morning paper market to avoid litigation

Perskor was asked to stop publishing Die Transvaler, its flagship paper

and official organ of the Transvaal National Party — leaving Beeld in sole possession

It was also suggested Die Transvaler be incorporated in the afternoon Vaderland, and that Nasionale Pers take full control of the Rapport, the Sunday paper owned jointly by the two groups

The circulation battle between Die Transvaler and Beeld is conservatively estimated to have cost the two groups R20-million each

As a result of the Perskor circulation scandal, Beeld emerged not as second-runner to Die Transvaler but as the front-runner. Nasionale Pers has argued that it unnecessarily spent millions trying to capture a market position which, in fact, it already held

ARCHITECTURE

Cape Provincial Institute  
of Architects' Prize

Closing of black papers proves 'Nats

can't accept change'

S. Twiss

25/1/81

243

By MARION SPARG

A NOTED Afrikaans academic said this week that the cry of outrage from Afrikaans newspapers at the closure of two black newspapers was one of "bitterness and embarrassment" at the "miserable failure" of verligte initiatives.

"This proves what I have always said — that change is impossible in the National Party as it exists today," Professor Willem Kleynhans of the politics department at the University of South Africa, told the Sunday Times.

"The party cannot help showing its true colours in the typical kragdadige action we have seen in the closure of Post and Sunday Post this week."

The newspapers, which ceased publication last October after editorial staff went on strike, were forced to close down this week because the Government threatened to ban them if they resumed publication.

This is the second time the Government has clamped down on black newspapers in the last three years. In October 1977, The World and Weekend World,

predecessors of Post and Sunday Post, were banned.

A national and international cry of outrage followed the latest action, with some of the most vehement criticism coming from the Afrikaans Press.

Beeld, the Prime Minister's verligte mouthpiece in the Transvaal, said the events of June 1976 could have been avoided if the Government had listened to what the banned World had had to say. The gagging discredited the Government's reform plans and would lead to more bitterness and confrontation.

Prof Kleynhans said the heavy criticism from this "verligte vanguard" of the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, was a sign of "bitter disappointment".

Certain Afrikaans newspapers had espoused "liberal integrationist" views since Mr Botha had come into power and had now been finally

"dumped", while they were in the middle of building up verligte expectations for the coming parliamentary session.

"This session of Parliament is meant to be the one where Mr Botha proves himself and the Afrikaans papers have generated an atmosphere of verligte optimism. Now they are faced with the position where their credibility as a true spokesman for Mr Botha has been destroyed," Prof Kleynhans said.

"Let no one fool himself into believing that the outcry from papers like Beeld signifies a change in the National Party direction or that the Government could be prompted to unban Post.

"The National Party is still the same party it was 30 years ago.

"Mr Botha's showmanship and grand promises have to be seen against the background of the silent majority of conservatives in the party.

"This majority has been silent so far because it still has control of the party.

"Mr Botha is very conscious of this majority and that is why he has so far restricted himself to statements and minor concessions in his programme for so-called reform.

"Afrikaans newspapers like Beeld have been discredited in the eyes of this majority since the days of Connie Mulder when it was said they were by no means the voice of Afrikanerdom. Now their verligte hopes have been dealt a further blow in the face

"Undoubtedly they will be more critical of Mr Botha's actions in the future but how long they can just carry on believing what he says, I don't know

"Change is still a long way off in the National Party. The verligtes will be the last to force a split because they are still a minority and will be condemning themselves to a political wilderness

"On the other hand the verligtes too will never desert their party, they would rather force out the verligtes

"Either way the verligtes are the greatest losers. Mr Botha knows this and this is why he is still stalling.

"Party sources have in fact told me that one of the reasons for Mr Botha's hesitancy is that he fears if the real confrontation comes, the party will be so changed that both sections will be losers

"The entire party will be mortally wounded

"But ultimately the leadership will only be forced to cause this confrontation if there is a massive stayaway at the next elections. If there is a drastic drop in majorities for whatever reason, then the politicians will have to go into action to win back their jobs and their support"

# R6,85-m Nasionale Pers claim against Perskor rejected as 'pure speculation'

*S. Times 25/1/81*  
 THE joint managing director of Nasionale Pers, Mr Gideon Engelbrecht, has dismissed as "pure speculation" allegations that the Afrikaans newspaper giant is to lodge a preliminary R6 850 000 claim against its archrival Perskor in the wake of the bitter circulation war

But, he said, it was not impossible that a claim in that region would be lodged soon

He said the next board meeting was due on the first Friday next month. A decision on such a figure could "obviously" not be passed without full board consensus

The latest allegations in the Transvaal Afrikaans Press war were made by the Sunday Express today

243 By GRAHAM SPENCE

It reported that nearly R7-million had been demanded by Nasionale Pers from Perskor in lieu of the circulation scandal which erupted last September

The Transvaler, mouthpiece of the Transvaal National Party, had inflated its circulation figure by 20 000, and its sister papers, the Citizen and the Vaderland by 6 500 each

As a result, a keenly contested circulation battle broke out between the two major Afrikaans dailies, Beeld and Transvaler. Nasionale Pers has argued that it unnecessarily spent millions trying to corner a market that it already held

Mr Engelbrecht said it was true that the chairman of Nasionale Pers, Professor Piet Cillie, had paid a "friendly visit" to Mr Ben Schoeman, former Minister of Transport and chairman of Dagbreek Trust which controls Perskor, and warned him that hefty claims against Perskor by their Cape-based rivals were imminent

"Most of my men are on leave. Our managing director, Mr Dawid de Villiers, is in Hermanus on holiday. The executive chairman of Perskor, Mr Marius Jooste, is also still away. How can such a decision be taken then? It is pure

speculation"

The Sunday Express said the claim for R6 850 000 had been described by senior Nasionale Pers men as "conservative". The final amount could be much higher

Mr Engelbrecht said he had no idea how the Sunday Express had managed to get hold of such an exact figure as a base for its allegations

D H Pryce Lewis

For the best student of Architecture (or Quantity Surveying) in the subject of Professional Practice.

David Haddon Prize

Miss C Tredgold

For the best woman student in third year.

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize

P A Rappoport

For a student who has satisfactorily completed 1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

Helen Gardner Travel Prize

P F Dunkley

Sixth Year

For the best student in :-

of Architects' Prize

Cape Provincial Institute

ARCHITECTURE



# Rapport criticizes paper ban

26/1/81 (243)

Staff Reporter

THE newspaper Rapport yesterday criticized the banning of two black newspapers, the Post and the Sunday Post, warning it would have serious consequences

Rapport commented in an editorial that the banning would result in a fuss overseas and in an accentuation of the image of authoritarian conduct, and provided another peg (kapstok) for the incitement of hatred against the government and against white people

ent. It suggests that the government should first have consulted the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media

Had the commission supported the government's standpoint in a special or interim report, reaction might have been less heated. The commission might have made other suggestions for settling the problem. And the impression would have remained that everything possible had been done to prevent the closure

Burger columnist Dawie said in his column on Saturday that an idea being discussed was that action should be taken against individual newsmen rather than against newspapers

"It will always be a highly controversial step but would it

not be better to act against individuals than to take the service of a newspaper away from a community?"

Nationalist editor Dr Willem de Klerk commented in his weekly column in Rapport that there were objections to the banning

He questioned the timing "As Mugabe effects his coup d'etat on the press, as Reagan takes over government, as Parliament is about to start a new round of accommodation-politics (skikking-politiek), as the President's Council is about to take off then we strike at the black press"

● A front-page article in Rapport said that according to court records and tape-recordings of conversations with a news editor of Post, terrorists recruited in South Africa gathered in a post office and discussed plans to escape the country. There were also plans to propagate the terrorists' case in the newspaper

The article claims that friends of the former editor of Post, Mr Percy Qoboza, who resigned as editor of Post Transvaal in January and is living in the United States, say he could not reconcile himself with "far left extremists"

● News ban: Editor wants evidence, page 2

P A Rapport

For a student who has  
satisfactorily completed  
1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

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FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

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# Mercury editor wants minister to give evidence

nm  
24/1/81 (243)

THE editor of The Natal Mercury, Mr James McMillan, has called on the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Media to summon the Minister of Justice to appear before it as a matter of urgency, to produce the evidence on which he acted to prohibit the publication of two newspapers, Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post.

Mr McMillan said in Durban yesterday that failure to insist that the evidence be produced could threaten the credibility of the commission's findings by the omission of vital evidence.

It is understood that the commission will consider Mr McMillan's representations, which were delivered on Friday, at its resumed sitting in Cape Town today.

Mr McMillan said he considered the information on which Minister of Justice Kobie Coetzee had acted as vital to the effective fulfilment of the commission's terms of reference.

## Supposedly

'After all, this is supposedly the very sort of thing that has been upsetting the Government,' said Mr McMillan.

'While the recent full Bench decision of the Transvaal Supreme Court, in favour of the editor of the Rand Daily Mail and others, that the law of contempt does not apply to commissions, may insulate the minister from action in this respect, he clearly has information which he believes entitles him to act against the papers and if it were not produced for the commission's scrutiny then there would have been a dereliction of duty on his part and, in my view, a serious miscarriage of justice.'

In the telexed representations handed to the secretary of the commission on Friday, Mr McMillan said:

'I seek permission to appear before your commission to make general representations opposing any further restrictions on the media but specifically, as a matter of urgency, to protest events of the past few days which, I suggest, threaten the very credibility of the commission itself.'

'I believe that unless the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetzee, is forthwith summoned to appear before you to explain his actions against the Post (Transvaal) and the Sunday Post, your commission, by omission, will confirm the fears of many in the newspaper industry, myself included, that it is incapable of fulfilling its terms of reference.'

'I make this submission with no intention of being disrespectful or in any way reflecting on the integrity or standing of the commission's members.'

'The reason for my concern is that the State

President (acting on the advice of the Prime Minister) having appointed the Steyn Commission to investigate and report on the question "whether the conduct of, and the handling of matters by the mass media, meets the needs and interests of the community and the demands of the times, and if not, how they can be improved", the Government, seemingly contemptuous of this, has told the Argus Company that should it be successful in re-registration of these newspapers it will simply ban them.

'As a consequence, one is left to assume that the

papers, whether or not they were guilty of any offence at all (and they have not been charged with anything) had done something which the Minister of Justice, in his subjective view, found unacceptable.

'Mr Coetzee's statement that the newspapers were "promoting revolution or a revolutionary climate" is vague in the extreme.'

'In a sense the minister has decided the commission's task for it by determining that whatever they (the newspapers) had done was precisely what the

◆ TURN TO PAGE 2

## Minister challenged

◆ FROM PAGE 1

Government considered unacceptable.

'What better opportunity, assuming the Government has a righteous cause, for the minister to place his evidence before your commission?

'I submit that if the commission were to summon the minister and hold the hearings in public, this would clarify the Government's dislike and intentions for both the public and those in the media.'

'If this opportunity is missed or allowed to pass without Mr Coetzee being called on to produce whatever evidence he is withholding, the conviction will grow that whatever your findings, the Government is determined to do whatever it wishes.'

'Previous statements by

Cabinet ministers, including a past Minister of Justice, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, suggest that the Government seeks to bend the media to its will, which is what the Third World and Communist-bloc States have been trying to achieve at Unesco meetings for some years.

'The Government's action against the Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post provides an excellent opportunity for a tribunal such as yours to examine specific complaints rather than the generalities with which newspapers have been bombarded for years.'

'I respectfully submit that the commission will be failing in its duty if it were content to limit its action to the statement by its chairman, Mr Justice Steyn, urging that there be fresh "open-hearted, high-level talks between the

Press and the Cabinet" instead of demanding the production of important evidence on which the Minister of Justice has prosecuted, convicted and sentenced all on his own.

'While there are other matters which I wish to raise with you (many of them having already been canvassed by fellow editors, the Southern African Society of Journalists and the Newspaper Press Union) the purpose of this telexed representation is both a protest at the minister's cavalier treatment of a respected process of our society (commissions of inquiry) and a desire to try to persuade you to debate the course I suggest so that those who too often give the appearance of wanting to act above the law are seen to be subject to it,' Mr McMillan said.

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ARCHITECTURE

# Steyn seeks evidence on threats to ban Post

August 26/1/81 (243)

**Political Staff**  
MR Justice Steyn, chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into the Press,

wants access to information leading to the threatened banning of Post Transvaal and Sunday Post

But, Mr H J Coetsee, Minister of Justice, said the commission had access to the evidence and he was not planning at this

stage to give evidence to the Steyn Commission. Last week Mr Coetsee said the newspapers had been creating a climate for revolution, but he has declined to say how or in what manner.

However, Mr Steyn said in an interview today that 'all I have had access to is what I have read in the newspapers'.

The commission would be interested in the evidence, but this depended on its nature.

'We would like to know who is the source. One would like to go direct to the source,' he added.

Asked if the Government had discussed the threatened bannings with the commission before the threats were issued, Mr Steyn said this had not been done.

He declined to comment on this, but said it would be dealt with in the final report of the commission.

Asked to comment on the telegram sent to the commission by the editor of the Natal Mercury calling on the commission to summon Mr Coetsee to produce the evidence, Mr Steyn said the commission would discuss the telegram today.

Meanwhile, Government sources are planting the suggestion in Nationalist newspapers that there is evidence that the two black newspapers had harmed the security of the country.

Both the Sunday newspapers Rapport and the Cape Nationalist mouthpiece Die Burger have had reports to this effect.

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For a student who has satisfactorily completed 1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.  
P A Rappoport

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize  
For the best woman student in third year.  
Miss C Tredgold

David Haddon Prize  
For the best student of Architecture (or Quantity Surveying) in the subject of Professional Practice.  
D H Pryce Lewis

General J B M Hertzog Prize  
For the best final year student.  
S A Read

Osborn Prize  
For the best work in fourth year.  
D H Pryce Lewis

John Perry Prize  
For the best work in

# Natal editor asks evidence from Minister

RDM 26/1/81

243

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The editor of The Natal Mercury, Mr James McMillan, has called on the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media to summon the Minister of Justice to appear before it as a matter of urgency to produce the evidence on which he acted to prohibit the publication of two newspapers, Post (Transvaal) and the Sunday Post.

Mr McMillan said in Durban yesterday that he believed that failure to insist that the evidence be produced, could threaten the credibility of the commission's findings by the omission of vital evidence.

It is understood that the Commission will consider Mr McMillan's representations, which were delivered on Friday, at its resumed sitting in Cape Town today.

Mr McMillan said that he considered the information on which the Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetzee had acted vital to the effective fulfilment of the commission's terms of reference.

"After all, this is supposedly the very sort of thing that has been upsetting the Government," said Mr McMillan.

"While the recent full bench decision of the Transvaal Supreme Court in favour of the Editor of the Rand Daily Mail and others, that the law of contempt does not apply to commissions, may insulate the

Minister from action in this respect, he clearly has information which he believes entitles him to act against the papers, and if it is not produced for the commission's scrutiny then there will have been a dereliction of duty on his part and, in my view, a serious miscarriage of justice."

In the telexed representations handed to the secretary of the commission on Friday, Mr McMillan said he wished to appear before the commission "specifically, as a matter of urgency" to protest at events which threatened the credibility of the commission.

"I believe that unless the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetzee, is forthwith summoned to appear before you to explain his actions against the Post (Transvaal) and the Sunday Post your commission, by omission, will confirm the fears of many in the newspaper industry, myself included, that it is incapable of fulfilling its terms of reference," he said.

The reason for his concern, he said, was the Government's seeming contempt of their own lines of reference and their threat to ban the papers should they re-open — this without being guilty of any offence.

"Mr Coetzee's statement that the newspapers were 'promoting revolution or a revolutionary climate' is vague in the extreme.

"In a sense the Minister has

decided the commission's task for it by determining that whatever they (the newspapers) had done was precisely what the Government considered unacceptable.

"What better opportunity, assuming the Government has a righteous cause, for the Minister to place his evidence before your commission," he said.

"If this opportunity is missed or allowed to pass without Mr Coetzee being called on to produce whatever evidence he is withholding, the conviction will grow that whatever your findings, the Government is determined to do whatever it wishes."

"I respectfully submit that the commission will be failing in its duty if it is content to limit its action to the statement by its chairman, Mr Justice Steyn, urging that there be fresh 'open-hearted, high level talks between the Press and the Cabinet' instead of demanding the production of important evidence on which the Minister has prosecuted, convicted and sentenced all on his own."

Mr McMillan said that the representation to the commission was a protest against the Minister's "cavalier" treatment of the process of commissions and a desire to see those who often give the appearance of wanting to act above the law to be seen to be subject to it.

● Editorial comment — Page 8

P A Rappoport

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## Background

IN effectively banning Post and Sunday Post last week, the South African Government has aligned itself with a clique of governments despised by the Western world for their brigandry and authoritarianism.

South Africa has joined with Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey, South Korea, Bolivia, Guatemala and Argentine — the latter countries ruled by quasi or outright dictatorships which have suppressed newspapers or newspapermen in the last 12 months.

The major Western nations (with which Pretoria likes to identify itself) all recognise Press freedom as one of the bastions of a healthy and mature democracy, and few issues are more likely to bring a country into disrepute than action to suppress its newspapers.

The suppression of Post and Sunday Post has been headline news in Europe, bringing condemnation on all sides.

There is little doubt that the progress Prime Minister P W Botha was making in improving relations with Europe has suffered a setback. Pretoria has begun to succeed (in some countries quite significantly) in persuading Europe that the Nationalist Government was swinging away from the suppression of black aspirations.

The action against the black newspapers can only damage this progress. At one diplomatic function last week even the high drama of the hostages' release failed to blot out discussion of Post's banning.

I heard one official suggest that it may be part of a calculated ploy by the South African Government to establish firm control over the black media. He linked it to the planned black State-run television service.

Several newspapers, notably The Times in London, believe the silencing

Argus 26/1/81

# Bannings: SA in bad company

243

of Post will make white South Africans more vulnerable, because they will lose a valuable listening post from which to monitor black sentiment.

The hope has been expressed in London that Mr Botha will recognise he has been ill-advised, and will feel strong enough to reverse the decision.

If he did so, it would certainly help to increase his stature in Europe.

The constant pressure to suppress unwelcome policies in newspapers is not

**By CLIFF  
SCOTT, Editor  
of The Argus  
London Bureau.**

peculiar to South Africa, of course.

Here in Britain, the extreme left of the Labour Party has been agitating for more than two years for Government control to ensure that left-wing views get a better airing.

And Sir James Goldsmith, a publisher with far right-wing views (who owns the conservative Now! magazine) said last week that the Government should legislate to prevent newspapers in Britain being 'manipulated by foreign interests and communists'. (Exactly the opposite view to the left-wing, who say Britain's newspapers are all organs of capitalism).

The point is, of course, that these cries come from the extreme wings of public opinion. And because succeeding British Governments have confidence in the policies and values of the society in which they are living, the extremists will all be tolerated — and ignored.

Maybe there's a message here for Mr Botha.

The suppression of news and views goes beyond the closure of Post and Sunday Post. Here in London, one is keenly aware (as are my colleagues in South Africa) of the amount of news which South African newspaper readers never get to see, because the Government will not allow it.

The Argus's London Bureau is frequently obliged to mark news reports from Europe 'for Editor's attention' because of the minefield of legislation which limits the flow of news.

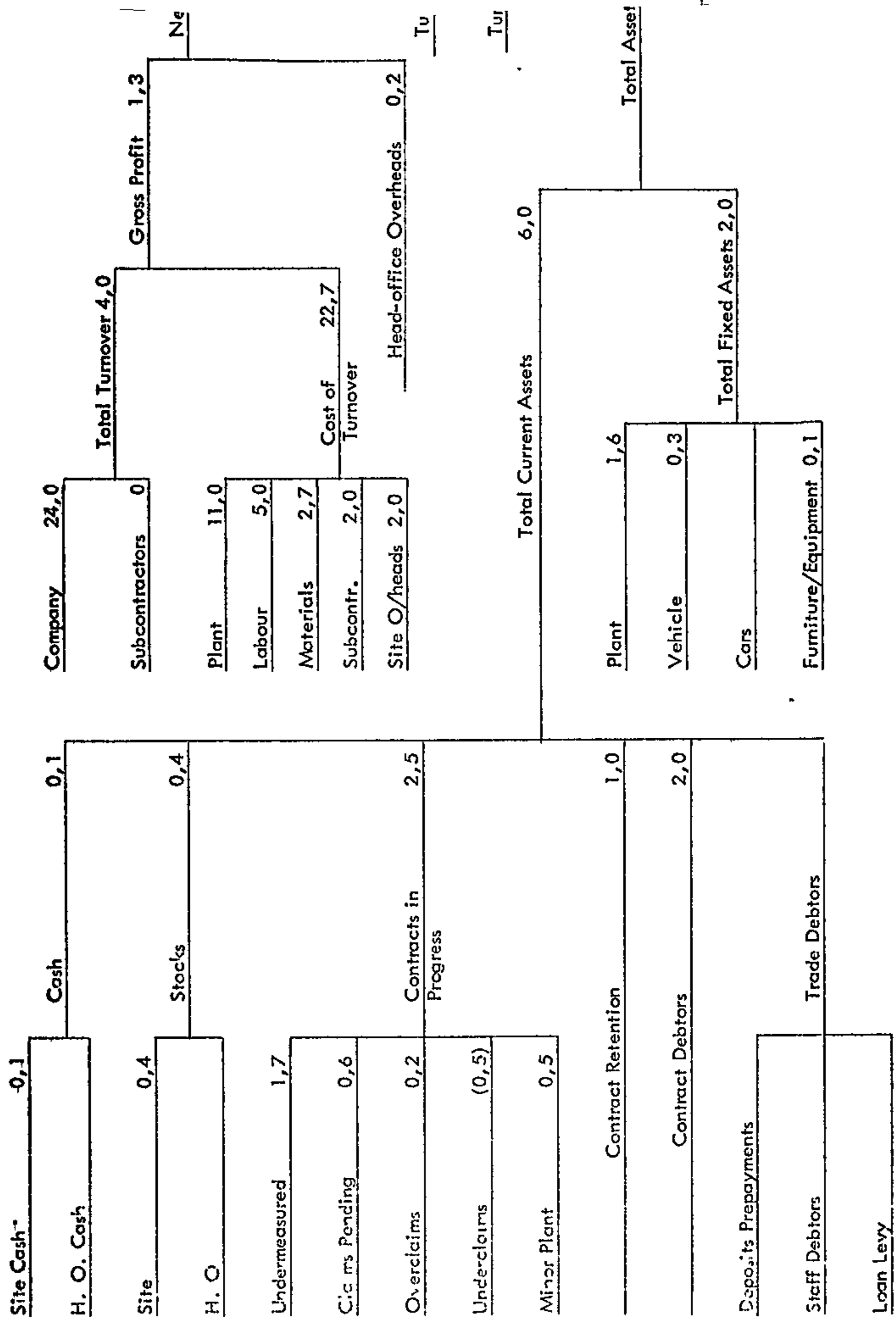
I am aware of a number of instances where news touching on defence, the supply of oil or other strategic issues has failed to appear because the Government will not allow it to be published.

It is not a question of State security and giving away secrets. The reports filed by the Argus's London Bureau which have been suppressed or partly suppressed have revealed no secrets. They have already seen the light of day in mass-circulation newspapers, on TV screens, watched by millions of viewers, or in specialist magazines.

ARCHITECTURE

FIG. 5.7

DU PONT CHART FOR A SITE



# The Sowetan goes daily from next week

26/1/81  
243  
227  
139  
152

The weekly black newspaper The Sowetan will be published as a daily from Monday to Friday starting next Monday February 2.

It will sell at 15c. This was announced today by Mr Hal Miller, managing director of the Argus Company.

Mr Miller said "The newspaper will be edited by Mr J Latakomo and will be staffed by many of the journalists who used to work on Post Transvaal and Sunday Post.

"The company's activities in the black newspaper field will, however, be considerably reduced

as a result of the closure of the Post newspapers and it will therefore be necessary to retrench some of the editorial staff.

"Those who are retrenched will receive appropriate severance pay.

"In its works at Industria, the company will extend its jobbing printing activities in association with Caxton Limited in which the Argus Company has a 30 percent share.

"The company hopes to retain most of the works staff in the extended commercial printing operation."

# Steyn wants Post 'banning' evidence

STAR 26/1/81 (243) (227) (182)

## Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Mr Justice Steyn, chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into the Press, wants access to the information leading to the threatened banning of Post Transvaal and Sunday Post

But Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice said the commission had access to the evidence and he was not planning at this stage to give evidence to the Steyn Commission

Last week Mr Coetsee

said the two newspapers had been creating a climate for revolution, but he has declined to elaborate

But Mr Justice Steyn said in an interview today "All I have had access to is what I have read in the newspapers"

Mr Steyn said the commission would be interested in the evidence but this depended on its nature

"We would like to know who is the source. One would like to go direct to the source"

Asked whether the Government had discussed the threatened bannings with the commission prior to the threats being issued, Mr Justice Steyn said this had not been done

Asked to comment on the telegram from the editor the Natal Mercury calling on the commission to summon Mr Coetsee to produce the evidence, Mr Justice Steyn said the commission would discuss the telegram today

Meanwhile Government sources are apparently

planting the suggestion in Nationalist newspapers that there is evidence that the two black newspapers had harmed the security of the country.

Both the Sunday newspaper Rapport and the Cape Nationalist mouthpiece Die Burger have carried reports to this effect

In these reports reference is made to a court case in Pretoria last year in which two members of the staff of Post Transvaal were involved.

● See Page 11.

taken must be:

per cent on total assets the average ROI of the projects under-  
used for contracting purposes then for the firm to earn 12,7  
cent of total turnover and that 85 per cent of total assets are  
Assuming, for example, that head office overheads are 5 per

pany assets).

divisions (as a percentage of total com-

and a = Assets of the firm not tied up on sites or

total company turnover).

sites or division (as a percentage of

c = Costs of the firm not allocated to the

Where P = Target ROI of firm (on total asset)

.....(6.2)

$$\text{Target ROI of division/project, } P^* = \frac{P(100+c)}{(100-a)}$$

desired return on total assets of the firm as a whole:

the target return on total assets of a division on site, given the

It is proposed that the following formula be used to determine

# Rapport 24/1/81

## tells why paper was silenced

By David Breier  
Pretoria Bureau

The Pretoria Office of Post had been used as a base for terrorist recruitment, according to evidence at a terrorism trial last year.

This had been part of the reason for the effective banning of the newspaper, the Sunday paper Rapport claimed yesterday.

Post's telephone in Pretoria had been tapped by police, who had monitored a conversation between reporter Thami Mkhwanazi and another man who had discussed "guys crossing" the South African border to "help liberate their brothers" according to evidence at the trial.

Mkhwanazi and eight other men were found guilty of contravening the Terrorism Act and jailed for terms of between five and seven years.

In addition the Pretoria Regional Court had heard that Post's Pretoria office had been used to take photographs of some of the men who were to have undergone terrorist training.

The photographs had showed the men giving black power salutes.

The then News editor of the Sunday Post Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, was last year convicted of refusing to answer questions relating to the telephone conversation with Mkhwanazi.

Mr Sisulu was later acquitted on appeal.

The telephone conversation allegedly involved discussion of a Press statement on seven recruits.

## Students also hit by Post gag

By Carol Mathiane

The closure of Sunday Post newspaper will affect thousands of blacks who have been using the educational supplement that was carried by that paper, says Mrs Sheila Sisulu of Learning Post.

In 1977, when Weekend World was banned, so was People's College. The ban also meant that the material which had appeared in People's College had to be re-written, if it was to be re-published.

Later, Sunday Post came up with Learning Post which carried courses on accountancy, history, mathematics and English.

"Since we then embarked on mass media education we have been convinced by the response from the people that education does not end in the classroom," said Mrs Sisulu, editor of Learning Post and the educational project head.

"The banning of newspapers does not only deprive people of general information but it is also a disservice to those who have been benefiting from our courses."

### 1 000 STUDENTS

"We are now thinking

of ways to produce Learning Post. We had 1 000 students doing the Elementary Pitman's Accountancy Course which is the equivalent of the State's Junior Certificate.

"There are about 33 black teachers who use our algebra series. We also have students following our African, English and history series. All these students are now left out in the cold," said Mrs Sisulu.

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ARCHITECTURE

FINE ART





# Top legal man hits at closure of Post

STAR  
26/1/81

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339

By Jon Qwelane

It was regrettable that the largest concentration of blacks outside the homelands found itself deprived of its newspaper with the closure of Post and Sunday Post

This was said today by Mr J C Kriegler SC, chairman of the Johannesburg Bar Council, when he opened the annual congress of the Committee for Human Rights, an association of lawyers, in Johannesburg at the weekend

Mr Kriegler said freedom of speech, of association, and of expression were fundamental to any democratic society.

"The means for a meaningful feedback to the Government cannot and dare not be destroyed.

"He who loses contact with the governed is running into a very dangerous area," he said

On the taking of fingerprints in terms of proposed legislation, on identity books, Mr Kriegler

said "In terms of the law, the taking of fingerprints is justified only in certain limited circumstances

"In a criminal case, in the event of an acquittal or charges being withdrawn the fingerprints of the suspect are immediately and automatically destroyed.

"Taking a citizen's fingerprints is a serious inroad into an individual's privacy," he said.

If there were a clash between law and order and human rights in South Africa, it did not mean that anything was wrong with human rights, but with the structure of society

"If there is disparity or a lack of harmony between law and order and human rights it means that the form of law and order as well as justice adopted is the wrong one

"There is never anything wrong with human rights," he said

Lawyers had publicly to deal with Government legislation because it involved a "wide spectrum of

human rights

"Even lawyers will be astounded by the many fundamental human rights — which we take for granted automatically — that are involved in the proposed legislation affecting urban blacks," he said

He urged lawyers, attorneys and law academics to keep parliamentarians informed of their views and knowledge of proposed legislation so that nobody could say the legal profession had failed in its duty to the country's black citizens.

"I wish to say with deference to the Government that the means of meaningful feedback — such as the Post newspapers — with the Government dare not be destroyed.

"Any government which loses contact with the governed is entering a very dangerous area," Mr Kriegler said.

Deploping the closure of the two black papers, he said "The right to know-

ledge and the right to evaluate knowledge for oneself — and to communicate this — is fundamental."

Mr Arthur Chaskalson SC, leading the discussion on the new Bills affecting blacks, said control over the residence of blacks in urban areas was one of two pillars on which the influx control system was built

The other pillar was the control over the right to take up employment

"If the Bill is enacted in its present form it will, in effect, be a declaration by the Government that blacks living outside homelands are to be regarded as disqualified persons with no right to be in white areas"

He added that the names of administration boards would be changed

The composition of the boards would be changed to include experts

But apart from this, the powers and functions of the board and councils would be much the same as they used to be

Miss C Tredgold

In third year.

For the best woman student

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize

P A Rappoport

1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

satisfactorily completed

For a student who has

Helen Gardner Travel Prize

P F Dunkley

Sixth Year

For the best student in :-

of Architects' Prize

Cape Provincial Institute

ARCHITECTURE

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

# Press ban: Editor calls for evidence

G 20/1/81

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## Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Editor of The Natal Mercury, Mr James McMillan, has called on the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the media to summon the Minister of Justice to appear before it as a matter of urgency to produce the evidence on which he acted to prohibit the publication of two newspapers, Post (Transvaal) and the Sunday Post

Mr McMillan said in Durban yesterday, that he believed that failure to insist that the evidence be produced could threaten the credibility of the commission's findings by the omission of vital evidence

It is understood that the commission will consider Mr McMillan's representations, delivered on Friday, at its resumed sitting in Cape Town today

Mr McMillan said that he considered the information on which the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, had acted vital to the effective fulfilment of the commission's terms of reference

"After all this is supposedly the very sort of thing that has been upsetting the government," said Mr McMillan

## Dereliction

"While the recent full bench decision of the Transval Supreme Court in favour of the Editor of the Rand Daily Mail and others, that the law of contempt does not apply to commissions, may insulate the Minister from action in this respect, he clearly has information which he believes entitles him to act against the papers and if it is not produced for the commission's scrutiny, then there will have been a dereliction of duty on his part and in my view, a serious miscarriage of justice"

In the telexed representations handed to the secretary of the commission on Friday, Mr McMillan said

"I seek permission to appear before your commission to make general representations opposing any further restrictions on the media but specifically, as a matter of urgency, to protest events of the past few days which, I suggest, threaten the very credibility of the commission itself

"I believe that unless the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, is forthwith summoned to appear before you to explain his actions against the Post (Transvaal) and the Sunday Post your commission, by omission, will confirm the fears of many in the newspaper industry, myself included, that it is incapable of fulfilling its terms of reference

"I make this submission with no intention of being disrespectful or in any way reflecting on the integrity or standing of the commission's members

"The reason for my concern is that the State President (acting on the advice of the Prime Minister) having appointed the Steyn Commission to investigate and report on the question 'Whether the conduct of, and the handling of matters by the mass media, meets the needs and interests of the community and the demands of the times, and if not, how they can be improved'

"The government seemingly contemptuous of this has told the Argus Company that should it be successful in re-registration of these news papers, it will simply ban them

"As a consequence one is left to assume that the papers, whether or not they were guilty of any offence at all (and they have not been charged with anything) had done something which the Minister of Justice, in his subjective view, found unacceptable

"Mr Coetsee's statement that the newspapers were 'promoting revolution or a revolutionary climate' is vague in the extreme

"In a sense the minister has decided the commission's task for it by determining that whatever they (the newspapers) had done was precisely what the government considered unacceptable

"What better opportunity, assuming the government has a righteous cause, for the minister to place his evidence before your commission

"I submit that if the commission were to summon the minister and hold the hearings in public, this would clarify the government's dislike and intentions for both the public and those in the media

"If this opportunity is missed or allowed to pass without Mr Coetsee being called on to produce whatever evidence he is withholding, the conviction will grow that whatever your findings, the government is determined to do whatever it wishes

## Opportunity

"Previous statements by cabinet ministers, including a past Minister of Justice, Mr Alwyn Schlabusch, suggest that the government seeks to bend the media to its will, which is what the Third World and Communist bloc States have been trying to achieve at Unesco meetings for some years

"The government's action against the Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post provide an excellent opportunity for a tribunal such as yours to examine specific complaints rather than the generalities with which newspapers have been bombarded for years

"I respectfully submit that the commission will be failing in its duty if it is content to limit its action to the statement by its chairman, Mr Justice Steyn, urging that there be fresh 'open-hearted high level talks between the press and the cabinet' instead of demanding the production of important evidence on which the Minister of Justice has prosecuted, convicted and sentenced all on his own

"While there are other matters which I wish to raise with you (many of them having already been canvassed by fellow editors, the South African Society of Journalists and the Newspaper Press Union), the purpose of this telexed representation is both a protest at the minister's cavalier treatment of a respected process of our society (Commissions of Inquiry) and a desire to try to persuade you to debate the course I suggest so that those who too often give the appearance of wanting to act above the law are seen to be subject to it

BUILDING

Mrs. Thornton White Prize  
For the best work in  
first year.

ARCHITECTURE  
(Continued)

# Argus, SAAN 'an octopus', says Wiley

CF 27/1/81

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## Chief Reporter

THE Argus Group and SA Associated Newspapers (SAAN) had become an "octopus" which controlled more than 90 percent of the English-language daily and Sunday newspapers in South Africa, in an unhealthy monopolistic situation, Mr John Wiley, National Party MP for Simon's Town, said before the Steyn commission of inquiry into the mass media yesterday

He said this Argus/SAAN monopoly was, under the guise of putting the case for evolutionary change, playing an activist role in projecting moves from outside the country to bring about revolutionary change in South Africa

Having travelled widely throughout the Republic, to address meetings and get to know the people of different areas, he could say without fear of contradiction that the Argus/SAAN newspapers were not representative of average English-speaking South Africans

"I have files of letters from English-speaking South Africans, congratulating me on the stand I have taken on the English-language press, which in the absence of competition has a captive readership

"I also have a file of letters (to newspapers) that have not been published — because they don't portray the line that those newspapers take"

The chairman (Mr Justice M T Steyn) "What line would you say these papers take?"

Mr Wiley "I would say they are largely PFP"

## Secret trusts

The chairman "And the owners and editors?"

Mr Wiley "In the case of owners, you have nominee companies, and secret trusts. This situation has developed over a long period of time. The people who own the shares elect able businessmen and others of a particular political persuasion, and people who have had associations with that particular newspaper group

"Owners will not interfere with the direction of their boards or of their editors — unless the profits of the company are harmed

"Some are scared stiff of the editors, it's a case of the tail wagging the dog. When Joel Mervis became editor of the Sunday Times he became omnipotent"

Mr Wiley said visitors to South Africa were given a picture of South Africa that to his way of thinking was unrecognizable — "and also unrecognizable to the average, moderate South African

"About all these reports on the situation in South Africa come from SAAN/Argus, so what sort of picture is being given to people overseas, in reports that are doing us incalculable harm?"

Mr K P C O von Lieres, a member of the commission "The Newspaper Press Union told this commission the public should trust them. What is your attitude?"

Mr Wiley "I think there has been a breakdown in trust between the newspapers and the

public they serve. I think the public gets heartily sick and tired of seeing only one line being pushed all the time"

Questioned further by Mr Von Lieres, Mr Wiley said he thought trust could be restored "by a balanced presentation of the news"

The chairman "What about comment?"

Mr Wiley "I would like to see that balanced as well. I would like to see what you have referred to in your first report as 'loyal dissent'

"I do not ask any newspaperman to support my views, just to project my views at the same time that other people's views are given"

## Arrogance

Mr Wiley said the "arrogance" of some newspaper editors and senior journalists in South Africa was "beyond belief", and it seemed to him that anyone with a facile tongue or pen could become a journalist

He suggested that a register of journalists be instituted and that there should be not only qualifications for but also disqualifications from practising as a journalist in South Africa

The chairman "In other words to ensure that a person is a fit and proper person to carry on in the profession of journalism?"

Mr Wiley "That is so"

Mr Wiley said that as newspapers operated in such a sensitive field, they should be treated quite differently from normal business undertakings

He suggested that groups holding shares in newspaper companies should be dissolved and that the shares should be put on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, "so that ordinary South Africans can acquire shares in those newspapers"

The chairman "By way of statute?"

Mr Wiley "I don't see how else it could be done. It's a unique industry, and should be treated as such. The ordinary South African citizen should be able to take part in newspaper ownership, and to have a say in the election of people to newspaper boards, who in turn choose the editors

## Interference

"This would result in editors and senior journalists more representative of public opinion being chosen for our newspapers

"No one can say this would be interference with freedom of the press, it would interfere only with the ownership of individual newspapers"

Questioned by the chairman about an assertion he had made earlier that the Argus group had taken over SAAN, Mr Wiley said this had been "a creeping process", with Argus now holding more than 40 percent of the shares in SAAN

Mr Wiley added "Roy Jenkins, in a book on diversity in the press, says monopolistic control is a negation of press freedom

"I say newspaper groups should be dissolved so that individual South Africans can buy shares in the companies"

BUILDING

(Continued)

ARCHITECTURE

# Wiley attacks UK editor of SAAN

CF 27/1/81

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## Chief Reporter

IN EVIDENCE before the Steyn commission of inquiry into the mass media yesterday, Mr John Wiley, MP for Simon's Town, attacked the London editor of the South African Morning Group of Newspapers, Mr Stanley Uys, whose reports he described as "biased and dishonest"

Mr Wiley accused Mr Uys of "sensationalizing" and of "suppressing all news regarded as favourable to the government"

Mr Wiley said that in 1979 he had received a letter from a certain journalist from the Argus Group, whose name he would give to the commission privately, who had gone into Mr Uys's background and his political associations

Mr Wiley said his attention had been drawn to the fact that Mr Uys, in his capacity as head of the Morning Group's London office, had arranged a post in that office for a South African journalist called Maggie Smith who had had to leave South Africa hurriedly because of her political activities here

Mr Wiley said that if someone was being given sanctuary in this way in a South African office abroad he could not understand why the police had not acted on it

He felt it would be correct to bring this matter to the attention of the commission

• The proceedings of the Steyn Commission yesterday afternoon were held *in camera*, on the ruling of the chairman

The witness scheduled to be heard during the afternoon was Mr D H McClure a senior lecturer in the department of political science at the University of Cape Town

Dr Dame Craven, president of the South African Rugby Board,



CT 27/1/81  
**Black Sash condemns  
 banning of newspapers**

Staff Reporter

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revolutionary

THE Cape Western regional council of the Black Sash yesterday strongly condemned the banning of the Post Transvaal and Sunday Post newspapers

In a statement the Black Sash said that the banning of the two newspapers was "only the beginning", and said that statements of facts and views unacceptable to the government were regarded as

The statement continued "To suppress expression of facts and ideas is to foster revolution, not to prevent it. Ignorance of black frustrations and anger, as expressed by Mr Percy Qoboza, is dangerous because whites can fool themselves that these do not exist

"Therefore, we as the Black Sash will redouble our efforts to keep in touch with the black community and communicate the truth, however unpalatable to the public"

D H Pryce Lewis

year.

For the best work in fourth  
Osborn Prize

S A Read

For the best final year student.  
General J B M Hertzog Prize

D H Pryce Lewis

For the best student of  
 Architecture (or Quantity  
 Surveying) in the subject  
 of Professional Practice.  
David Haddon Prize

Miss C Tredgold

For the best woman student  
 in third year.  
Molly Gohl Memorial Prize

P A Rappoport

For a student who has  
 satisfactorily completed  
 1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.  
Helen Gardner Travel Prize

P F Dunckley

Sixth Year

For the best student in :-  
of Architects' Prize  
Cape Provincial Institute

# Fallacies — and Facts — about South Africa's Newspapermen

DD 27/1/81

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Political myths were once described as a false body concealing a kernel of truth. With caution this dictum can be applied to popular myths about the control of the Afrikaners and English newspapers in South Africa.

Among the English-speaking population at large there exists a strong belief that the editors of the Afrikaners newspapers are under the control of the National Party and Afrikaner Broederbond and as such are confined to the ideological parameters of Afrikaner nationalism.

Afrikaners again are equally convinced that the editors of the Engelsepers are in the pockets of the Anglo American Corporation and related capitalist interests, and have to adhere to the tenets of the capitalist ideology.

Much of this is false. In fact the present editors of three of the four leading Afrikaners dailies—Beeld, the Burger and the Vaderland—are, as far as the Strydom-Wilkins manual can be trusted—not members of the Broederbond.

Schalk Pienaar, the greatest Afrikaner political journalist of our time, became a member late in his career, but he always remained his own man. He would countenance no attempt by Hendrik Verwoerd, John Vorster or the Afrikaner Broederbond to tell him what he should write, whom he should criticise or what he should publish in his newspaper.

In 1968 Vorster had no success when he asked Pienaar to "seriously consider" terminating the columns by Denis Worrall and Andre P. Brink which appeared

Rand Daily Mail veer more in the direction of social democracy than pure capitalism.

But the matter is more complicated. No Afrikaners editor will vigorously and consistently take issue with the National Party, and particularly with the Prime Minister, on any of the cardinal issues of separate development and multi-nationalism. And no English editor will advocate nationalisation (least of all of the gold mines) or charge the mining houses that they are more concerned with quick profits than promoting the social welfare of the workers. Nor will they advocate a radical redistribution of wealth and opportunities.

Historically control over editors, be they Afrikaners or English, has come in ways which differ in form or subtly. Least desirable is direct interference with the independence of the editors. Neither the board of directors nor management will, in the first place, resort to giving direct instructions to editors to take a definite point of view or warn them not to step beyond a certain line, but there are all sorts of more subtle control.

First it takes the form of what in Afrikaners press circles are delicately termed *gesprekke*—editors are informed in private conversations, which preferably take place outside the editor's office, that a certain line in the editorials or reporting gives rise to disagreement or discomfort. They may be advised that full exposure of certain events (disturbances in the townships or mining compounds) are bad for

race relations and economic growth, and should be played down.

This links up with the second form of indirect control—that which exercised before and not after the appointment of the editor. The proprietors will choose editors whom they feel confident will follow a certain approach and not step over some non-defined but definite boundaries.

In turn editors, who have usually come up through the ranks in a particular press group, are only human in not wishing to betray the trust which has been placed in them.

The third form of control is that of public support. No paper can survive in the face of public opinion unless some tycoon or financial interests are prepared to subsidise losses in pursuit of self-aggrandisement, an ideological goal or a personal vendetta. If these factors are absent the circulation figures of a paper are the final arbiter.

If all the subtler forms of control fail, there remains the brutal last step of sacking an editor or a peremptory command to take a certain line in an editorial. The best known instance in South African press history is the sacking of D. E. McCausland, editor of the Argus, by John Martin, who was at the time chairman of the Argus group, head of a mining house and well connected with British banking interests.

A dominating personality, Martin was incensed by the criticism by the Argus of Neville Chamberlain's appeasement of Hitler, culminating in the Munich agreement of 1938. Today the managements of the various press groups

Cecil John Rhodes — claims that he had control of the Cape Times proved to be untrue.



would go far to avoid something similar.

Certainly the easing out in the '60s of Morris Broughton of the Argus (too pro-Republic) and Laurence Gardar of the Rand Daily Mail (considered too radical in racial matters) were dis-

creet operations. Gerald Shaw, chief assistant editor of the Cape Times, has just uncovered another instance of direct interference with editorial independence which was even more dramatic than the McCausland sacking and of equal significance for our historical understanding of the working of the press in a divided society like South Africa.

Written as part of his post-graduate studies in history at the University of Cape Town, it has been published under the title, South African Telegraph versus Cape Times (Centre for African Studies, UCT). Shaw's study concerns the rise and demise of the South African Telegraph, which was established as a

The battle between the two Cape Town dailies was vicious, with the same rumour and slander which has characterised rivalries between newspapers in recent years. During the past century, the political battle between newspapers in South Africa has in fact been so bitter that at times the integrity of rival newspapers has been called into question with incalculable damage to the general esteem of the press as a public institution.

Even before the battle between the Telegraph and Cape Times started there was evidence of the strategy of doodslander—sapping the reputation of a newspaper by charging that the Editor was not independent but in the control of some outside interest or party. Rumours circulated that the Cape Times had fallen under the control of Rhodes (which Shaw shows was untrue) and, conversely, that the Telegraph was simply a pawn of J. B. Robinson in his personal vendetta against Rhodes.

In the end it was exactly on the issue of control of the newspaper that the Telegraph fell after it had made a promising start. On December 30, 1895, news reached Cape Town that Jameson had invaded the Transvaal at the head of a mounted force. Among the Cape Town public it unleashed what can only be called hysterical jingoism in support of Jameson and in denunciation of Kruger's treatment of the uitlanders.

For an editor it must have been a nightmare, because several days elapsed before the full picture of the Jameson Raid emerged. Inexperienced in South African affairs, Stuart of the Telegraph could not sense that the raid produced great anger and indignation among Afrikaners (and also his backers), and would be used by the opponents of Rhodes to bring about his downfall as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony.

For the earlier editions of the Telegraph of December 31 Stuart wrote two editorials almost justifying the raid and criticising the "ignorant, narrow oligarchy" of the Kruger administration in the Transvaal.

Later that day he was confronted by the politician J. W. Sauer, who instructed him to publish a leading article entitled "Treason" probably written by John X Merriman, it condemned

Jameson and Rhodes in furious terms. When Stuart refused, Sauer produced a power of attorney from J. B. Robinson and forced him to comply.

News of this quickly spread with devastating effect. Stuart's inability to resist proprietorial pressure had dealt the credibility of the Telegraph a mortal blow. As Shaw remarks, "No newspaper can afford to be seen to be patently a rich man's tool."

In February, 1896, when Stuart resigned, the paper's fortunes were already on the decline. Its editorials, sometimes written anonymously by Merriman and Jan Smuts, propounded a far-seeing and statesmanlike South Africa first policy. But it was out of touch with Cape Town public opinion which was partisan in favour of the empire-building of Rhodes and Jameson.

Its credibility destroyed and politically at odds with its readership, the Telegraph folded in September, 1896.

The Cape Times in contrast prospered. Although strongly pro-Rhodes, it had by demonstrating its editorial independence during the Jameson Raid crisis won the confidence of the public. But the fact that the paper was not in the pocket of any interest did not mean that it was not susceptible to other, subtler forms of control. As a result of long-standing friendship with Milner, the editor, Edmund Garrett, was prepared to give unqualified support for the aggressive policies of that disastrous figure in South African history. (It has been said that Milner and Verwoerd were the two most dangerous men in our political history.) There was no need for Milner and the mining houses to buy Garrett.

Although limited in scope, this study by Gerald Shaw shows that he is well on his way to becoming a professional historian holding his own with the best practitioners of that craft in South Africa. It enriches our understanding of the institution of the press and of the political history of South Africa.

Having had the fortune to come across one of the best finds in our historical treasure-chest of recent years, Shaw does not trivialise the event but analyses it with scrupulous attention to scholarly exactitude and in so doing enriches our historiography.

# SA Press a sort of holy cow — Wiley

RDM 27/1/81 (243)

## Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Mr John Wiley, National Party MP for Simonstown, told the Steyn inquiry into the mass media yesterday that the Press in South Africa seemed to claim immunity from criticism

He told the commission that, to many people in this country, the Press seemed to have become "some sort of holy cow"

He said he wished to make the categoric allegation that there was in South Africa internal control of newspapers by sectional and vested interests. This was unhealthy and "means we do not have a truly free Press"

Mr Wiley has been MP for Simonstown since 1966. For some years he held the seat for the United Party, and retained it under the colours of the South African Party, of which he became leader

He went over to the National Party last year when the SAP was dissolved, and again held the seat in a by-election

He told the Steyn Commission yesterday that he was not appearing before it on behalf of the National Party, he was appearing as an individual with years of experience of the Press in South Africa, into which he had done considerable research since the early 1970s

"And the more I study this subject the more convinced I become that I am correct in my views," he said

In a memorandum headed "Freedom of speech", which he first read out and then handed to the commission, Mr Wiley said Press freedom was not

a licence to the Press to do as it pleased

"It is a freedom, exercised by the Press on behalf of the society it serves — that is to say us, we who make up the component parts of the South African society

"But the Press seems to claim immunity from criticism, and to a quite astonishing degree this absurd claim is frequently acquiesced in by our society, and the Press has become to so many people in South Africa some sort of holy cow

"I would like to put it to you that there are very few people in South Africa who are exempt from criticism. The Government is criticised day in and day out, so should the Opposition be

"State officials are criticised, theatres and cinemas are mercilessly reviewed in the Press, and television and the SABC are specially monitored by the Press

"But if there is any suggestion by anyone that the Press should be dealt with in the same way, then it is bitterly resented by the Press and the cry goes up 'Press freedom is being endangered'

"Why is criticism of a newspaper always called mud-slinging? Why are critics of the Press always abused and why are their criticisms so seldom answered with facts?

"Why should everyone who criticises newspapers and newspapermen and newspaper owners be held up by the Press as being someone attacking Press freedom or else, as they

say, creating a climate of hostility in which Press freedom will be endangered?"

"Press freedom, in my opinion, has become not only a freedom to criticise but also a freedom from criticism"

Mr Wiley said he maintained that freedom of speech was a cornerstone of democratic society. It was the right of every individual — and Press freedom flowed from freedom of speech

"In my opinion the Press must be free — but it must be free from what?"

"Obviously it must be free of external interference, but I say it must also be free from internal control by sectional and vested interests

"I do not think I need motivate any case for saying the Press should be free of external influence, but I wish to make the categoric allegation that there is in South Africa internal control by sectional and vested interests which is unhealthy, to put it mildly, and which means that we do not have a truly free Press"

Mr Wiley said the only checks there were on Press freedom were the law of libel, Government security restrictions and, to an extent, the public's right of appeal, for what that was worth, to the Press Council. This was a council established by the Press, chosen by the Press and subject to a code of conduct laid down by the Press

Mr Wiley said he believed

• All journalists on South African newspapers should be bilingual and should be South African citizens,

• Any foreigners working for South African newspapers must be registered on the temporary staff of those newspapers, and their names and nationalities should appear on reports and articles,

• Where newspapers employed guest columnists, the name and nationality should appear on articles and reports they wrote,

• There should be a register of journalists, and the SA Society of Journalists should set standards of admission and of conduct as, for example, the Law Society or the Society of Chartered Accountants did,

• From a point of view of accuracy in reporting, the names of reporters, and sub-editors responsible for headings and layouts, should appear at the foot of all political news reports

Mr Wiley said radio and television programmes were monitored by the Press, and he could therefore see no reason why there should not be a programme on the radio and on TV whereby Press reports and comments could be monitored and errors and distortions highlighted

"I suppose you would have on such a correcting panel impartial judges," he added. "I do not mean Supreme Court judges, but people qualified to judge on these matters"

"Lastly, I make a suggestion that all shares in newspaper companies should be registered in the name of the actual individuals owning those shares, and under no circumstances in the names of secret trusts or nominees"

Helen Gardner Travel Prize

P F Dunckley

Sixth Year

For the best student in :-  
of Architects' Prize  
Cape Provincial Institute

ARCHITECTURE

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

Cape Provincial Institute  
of Architects' Prize  
For the best student in :-

Sixth Year

P F Dunkley

Helen Gardner Travel Prize

For a student who has  
satisfactorily completed  
1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

P A Rappoport

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize

For the best woman student  
in third year.

Miss C Tredgold

David Haddon Prize

For the best student of

Architecture (or Quantity

Surveying) in the subject

of Professional Practice.

D H Pryce Lewis

General J B M Hertzog Prize

For the best final year student.

S A Read

Osbourn Prize

For the best work in fourth

year.

D H Pryce Lewis

John Perry Prize

For the best work in

third year.

R A van Rosenfeld.

RDM 27/1/81  
Jooste 243  
resigns as  
Perskor  
chairman

MR MARIUS Jooste, doyen of the Afrikaans Press, has resigned as executive chairman of Perskor, and has been appointed deputy chairman of Dagbreek Trust, the controlling body of Perskor and its affiliates

He will also be chairman of the directorate and act in an advisory capacity to an executive management which will take over his previous duties

This was announced in Johannesburg yesterday by Mr Ben Schoeman, former Minister of Transport and chairman of the trust, which publishes Die Transvaler, Die Vaderland, Oggendblad, Hoofstad and numerous platteland newspapers

Perskor also has part-share in the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, Rapport, and publishes The Citizen, and most South African magazines

Mr Schoeman said a meeting of the trust had accepted Mr Jooste's request to be relieved of his executive duties. No reasons were given

Two other Perskor directors Mr J M Buitendag and the editor-in-chief of Die Transvaler, Dr W J de Klerk, would act as co-managing directors and be assisted by the executive management

Internal management authorisation and decision-taking would be handled by the two directors and the executive management, consisting of Dr Tom Muller, Dr Willem Coetzer, Mr Buitendag, Dr De Klerk and Mr H V Hefer who would act as consultant — Sapa

ARCHITECTURE

# Steyn wants access to evidence on Post

RDM 27/1/81

(243)

CAPE TOWN. — Mr Justice M T Steyn, chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media, wants access to information which led to Government threats to ban Post Transvaal and Sunday Post if the newspapers resumed publication.

Mr H J Coetsee, Minister of Justice, said the Commission had access to the evidence and that he was not planning to give evidence to the Steyn Commission at this stage.

However, Mr Justice Steyn said in a newspaper interview yesterday that all he had access to was "what I have read in the newspapers".

In reply to a question, Mr Justice Steyn said the Government had not discussed the threatened bannings with the commission before the threats were made.

He declined to comment on

this, but said it would be dealt with in the final report of the commission, reports Sapa.

The "Mail's" Cape Town Correspondent reports that in Parliament yesterday the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert, and the leader of the "New Republic Party, Mr Vause Raw, strongly criticised the move to close the papers.

Dr Slabbert, speaking during the No-Confidence Debate, said it was "a tragedy" the two newspapers had been closed.

He said the Government had wiped out what it had achieved in race relations by closing the newspapers.

Mr Raw said it was deplorable that the newspapers had been closed while the Steyn Commission was sitting.

He said the closure was "ham-handed idiocy".

MARIKA SBOROS reports that Mr Hal Miller, managing director of the Argus Company, announced yesterday that the company's weekly black newspaper, the Sowetan, would be published daily on Mondays to Fridays from February 2.

Mr Miller said the Sowetan would sell at 15c. It will be edited by Mr Joe Latakgomo and will be staffed by many journalists who used to work on Post Transvaal and Sunday Post.

"The company's activities in the black newspaper field will, however, be considerably reduced as a result of the closure of the Post newspapers, and it will therefore be necessary to retrench some of the editorial staff," Mr Miller said.

He declined to say how many journalists would be out of work.

General J B M Hertzog Prize  
For the best final year student.

D H Pryce Lewis

David Haddon Prize  
For the best student of  
Architecture (or Quantity  
Surveying) in the subject  
of Professional Practice.

Miss C Tredgold

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize  
For the best woman student  
in third year.

P A Rappoport

Helen Gardner Travel Prize  
For a student who has  
satisfactorily completed  
1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

P F Dunkley

Sixth Year

Cape Provincial Institute  
of Architects' Prize  
For the best student in :-

ARCHITECTURE



18/11/81  
**Banning  
of Post  
slammed**

THE ASSEMBLY — The banning of Post (Transvaal) and the Sunday Post was strongly criticised in Parliament yesterday by the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, and the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Vause Raw

Dr Slabbert, speaking during the no-confidence debate, said it was "a tragedy" that the two newspapers had been banned

Although the government had adequate legal machinery to deal with people who contravened the law it had chosen to punish hundreds of thousands of people who read the newspapers.

The government had wiped out what it had achieved in race relations by banning the newspapers, Dr Slabbert said.

Mr Raw said the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, had become "a good follower of Mugabe" by banning the newspapers

It was deplorable that the newspapers had been banned while the Steyn Commission was sitting and while South Africa's security laws were under review — PC

BUILDING

ARCHITECTURE  
(Continued)

Mrs. Thornton White Prize  
For the best work in first year.  
Miss M F J Sandilands

S A Brick Association Prize  
For the student who has made best use of bricks in his design work.  
J G Kirkman

R Stubbs Award  
For the best project in structure and design.  
M R I Ness

National Development Fund  
for the Building Industry  
Book Prizes  
For the best student in each year of study of the degree course.

First Year  
J A L Chapman

Second Year  
C S Jones

Third Year  
B de Jong

Fourth Year  
R W Kohne

George Strachan Prize  
For the best final year student of the degree course.  
R W Kohne

LTA Prize  
For the best student obtaining a first class pass for a dissertation in Building Management.  
S F Richardson

Minister of Justice 'not planning' to give evidence

# Coetsee retracts

*J. M. B. W.*  
*Q173*

day as saying that he wanted access to the information which prompted the Government to warn the Argus Company that the two newspapers would be banned if the company went ahead with its application to re-register them.

Mr McMillan will be giving evidence to the commission in Durban on February 10.

He was reported yesterday as saying that he had been creating a climate for revolution, but he has declined to say how or in what manner.

Mr Justice M T Steyn said the commission was still considering Mr McMillan's petition. It would not announce its intentions in advance because its decision would be evident.

Later he told Sapa the commission had access to the evidence and he was not planning at this stage to give evidence.

Last week Mr Coetsee said the newspapers had petition to the commission by the editor of The Natal Mercury, Mr James McMillan, to call him to give evidence, all the minister would say was 'No comment'.

Asked about an urgent any climate

CAPE TOWN—Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee said yesterday he was not planning at this stage to give evidence before the Steyn Commission about his charge that Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post were creating a revolution.

## ARCHITECTURE

Provincial Institute of Architects' Prize  
the best student in :-

Sixth Year

P F Dunkley

ten Gardner Travel Prize  
a student who has satisfactorily completed 2nd and 3rd major courses.

Rappoport

Ly Gohl Memorial Prize  
the best woman student  
third year.

s C Tredgold

id Haddon Prize  
the best student of

Architecture (or Quantity Surveying) in the subject  
Professional Practice.  
Pryce Lewis

the best final year student.

S A Read

Osbourn Prize  
For the best work in fourth year.

D H Pryce Lewis

John Perry Prize  
For the best work in third year.

R A van Rosenfeld.

THE ASSEMBLY — The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday that two black Transvaal newspapers had been closed by their owners, not by the government.

He said the owners, the Argus group, had behaved like adults when the government told them the papers would be banned if they reappeared, and had not applied to reregister Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post.

"The government did not close those newspapers. They were closed by the owners themselves who decided to cease publication."

Replying to opposition attacks on the government's action, Mr Coetsee repeated the allegation that the papers had been promoting revolution, and gave examples of activities he said had left the government no option, although

# Post papers promoted revolution — Coetsee

it was fully aware of the consequences.

He said they had been watched for more than a year, after which it was clear that drastic action was unavoidable because of "revolutionism, activism and far-left radicalism".

Politicians and journalists obsessed with the closure of black mouthpieces had not criticised black strikers who had kept the papers off the streets for months, or the owners who had let their registration lapse.

Mr Coetsee rejected accusations that impulsive, arbitrary or dictatorial action had been taken by one or two government ministers implying it was

a cabinet decision, he said a responsible government considered matters affecting state security collectively.

Detailing the allegation that the newspapers had become a threat to state security, he said:

"They had published information and propaganda about banned organisations.

A court case had disclosed that a news editor had agreed to publish certain reports to coincide with the departure of would-be terrorists from the country.

Post had published the Freedom Charter of the banned African National Congress in full last year. Further court evidence

was that Post was the meeting-place where terrorists were briefed before they left South Africa.

In one month, from September 28 last year, 900 column centimetres of propaganda had been devoted exclusively to the ANC in Post.

† This had been aimed unmistakably at inciting revolution, polarising opinion and awakening hatred against homeland leaders such as Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu.

The government had evidence that Mr Percy Qoboza, former editor of Post, had left because he could no longer endure the pressure of certain

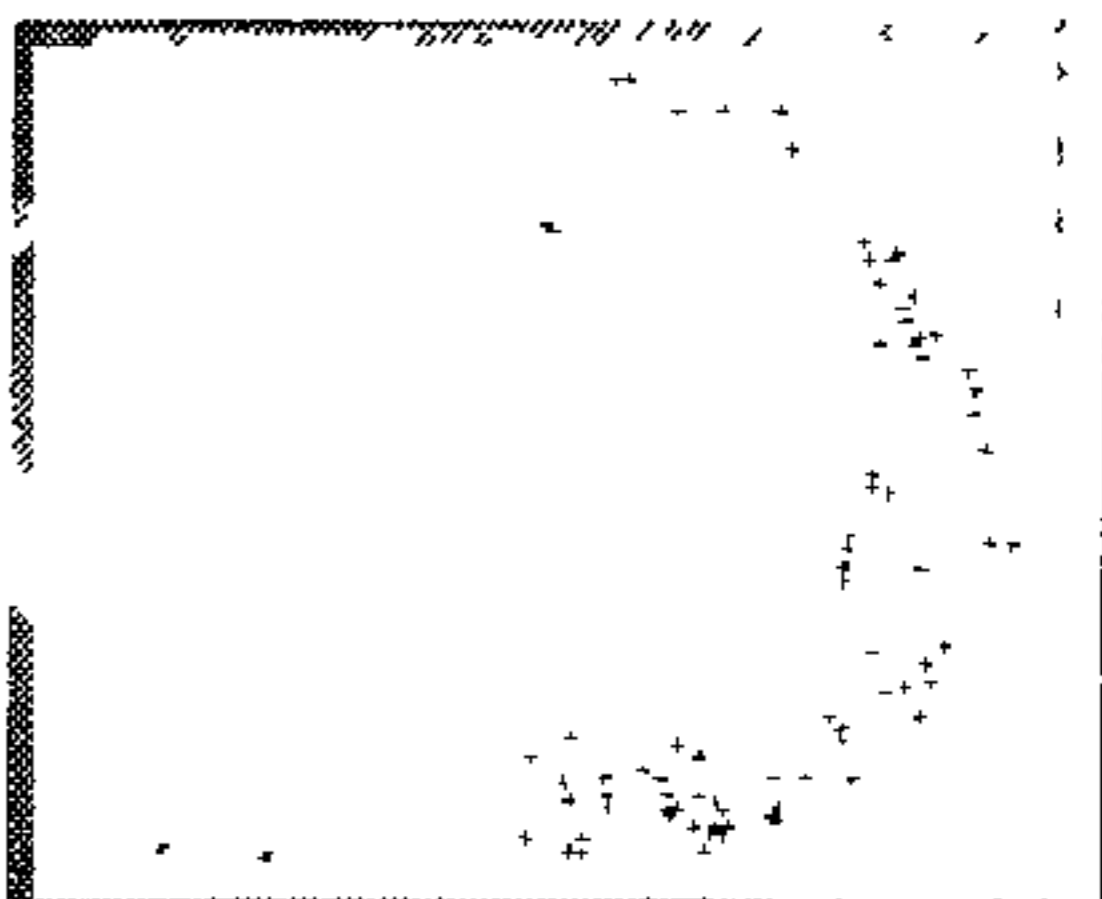
revolutionary organisations, that an organisation had already taken over Post and that there was nothing he could do about it.

"No government with that knowledge could allow organisations aimed at overthrowing the state to operate. Investors would have no confidence in the government of the day."

Asked why the government had acted against the newspapers and not individuals, Mr Coetsee said government policy was not to give reasons.

He described as "totally irrelevant, superfluous and argumentative" an opposition question about whether the Argus management or Post editorial staff had been given the opportunity to reply to his allegations.

"In terms of the Act it wasn't necessary to do so," he said — PS



MR COETSEE

1st Prize  
best work in  
year.  
Rosenveld.

1st Prize  
best work in fourth  
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Lewis

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report

Cape Provincial Institute

ARCHITECTURE

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

# Argus disputes Post inference

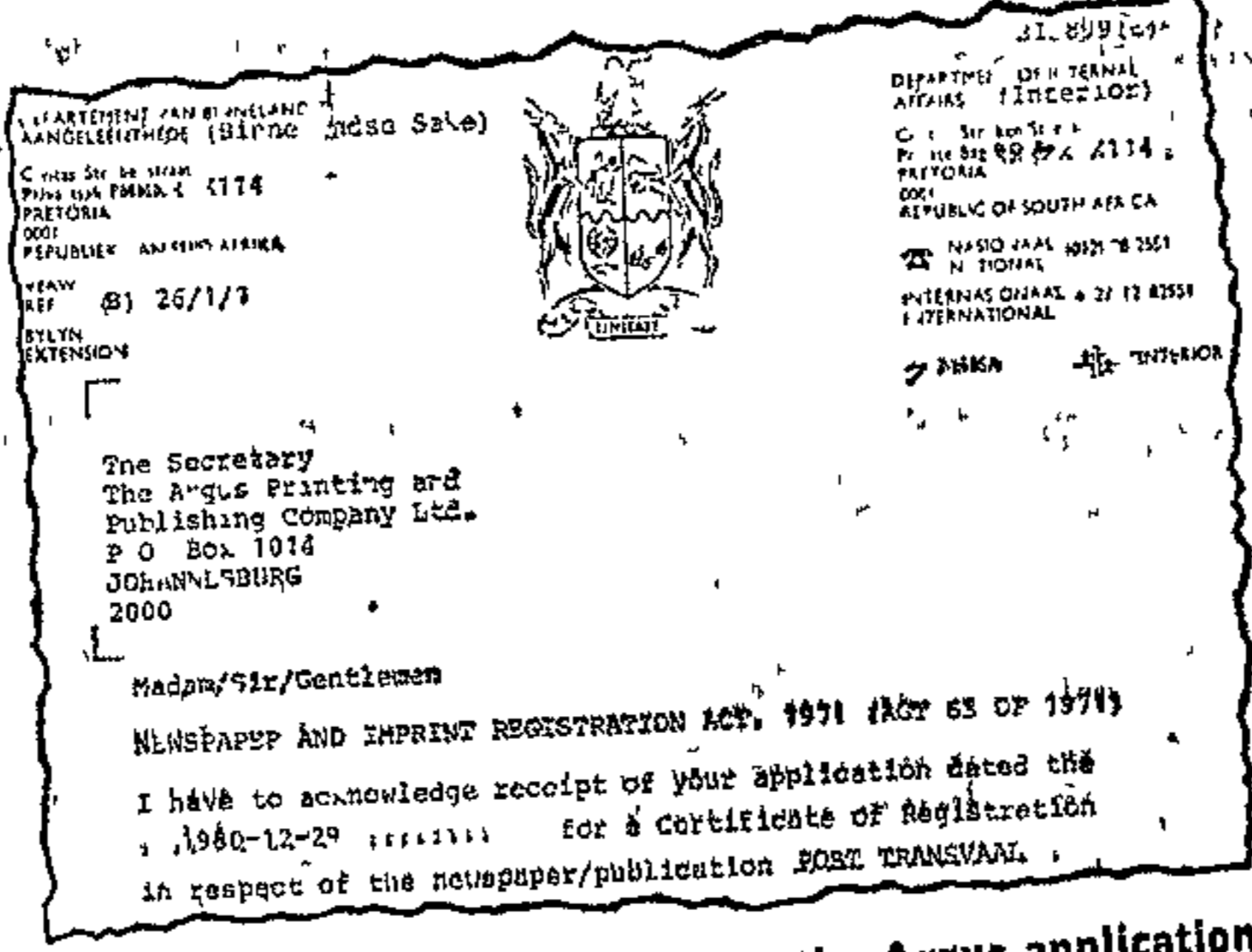
STAR 28/1/81  
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"The Argus Company applied urgently in writing either for condonation of the lapse in registration of its Post newspapers or for their registration," Mr Hal Miller, managing director of the Argus Company, said today.

The Company withdrew its application only when the Government made clear its absolute determination to ban the newspapers forthwith if they were registered and this was confirmed in a statement later.

The Argus Company did not proceed with registration because it saw no point in making a futile gesture by insisting on registration and submitting to the injustice of actual banning.

"There is an inference in the Minister's statement in Parliament yesterday, and in some Press reports, that we were fully in the picture and accepted both the



Government acknowledgement of the Argus application to re-register Post — the application that, according to Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee, was never made.

substance of the case against us and the necessity for banning.

"Nothing could be further from the facts. We were not given the information which the Minister has now described.

"We were then, and are now, utterly opposed to

banning in principle and to its application to the Post newspapers. We believe that if the Government had a valid case against us it should have tested it in the courts.

"We said at the time that we had no power to prevent the Government's

action, no redress against the course it had chosen to follow. We added that by its action it had diminished us all; that another bar had been added to the cage that is beginning to circumscribe our freedom.

There was another very valid and important reason for withdrawing our application for registration which we did not announce at the time.

## STAFF

"We wished to avoid another two newspapers being banned and so losing the titles inevitably and irrevocably in the limbo of time — as we have lost World and Weekend World. Once banned they would stay banned.

"We hoped then, and still do, that in time saner counsels will prevail and one or both papers will appear again. In the meantime, we have applied to have the titles registered in terms of the Copyright Act so that no one else can use them.

"One further point needs to be made. It would appear from the Minister's statements that the weight of his case is against individual members of the staff of Post newspapers rather than the newspapers or their proprietors. If so, those individuals should be charged in court. We have no details of what they are supposed to have done. We did not discuss them with the Minister."

## 'Terrorists briefed at Post'

Sapa and Political Staff

THE ASSEMBLY — The editorial offices of the two banned Argus newspapers — Post Transvaal and Sunday Post — were used as a venue for the final briefing of prospective terrorists before they left South Africa, the Minister of Justice, Mr Coetsee, has told Parliament.

Mr Coetsee said the owner of the newspapers, the Argus Company, had received the Government's message that it would close the two papers should they appear again, "like adult people".

The Argus Company had known what it was all about and had dropped its application for re-registration of the newspapers.

In a sharp clash with the Minister, Mr Dave Dalling (PFP, Sandton) asked "Was the management of the Argus Company or the editorial staff of Post given any opportunity to rebut the allegations prior to the banning?"

Mr Coetsee replied that under relevant sections of the law it was "not necessary to do so."

Although it had sufficient evidence to act, the Government had realised that closure of the newspapers would be counter-productive and would provide South Africa's critics with ammunition.

But towards the end of last year it became clear that action against the newspapers would be unavoidable. Mr Coetsee said in the No Confidence Debate yesterday.

The Post had published the freedom charter of the banned African National Congress in its entirety and had devoted much space to it. The newspaper's articles

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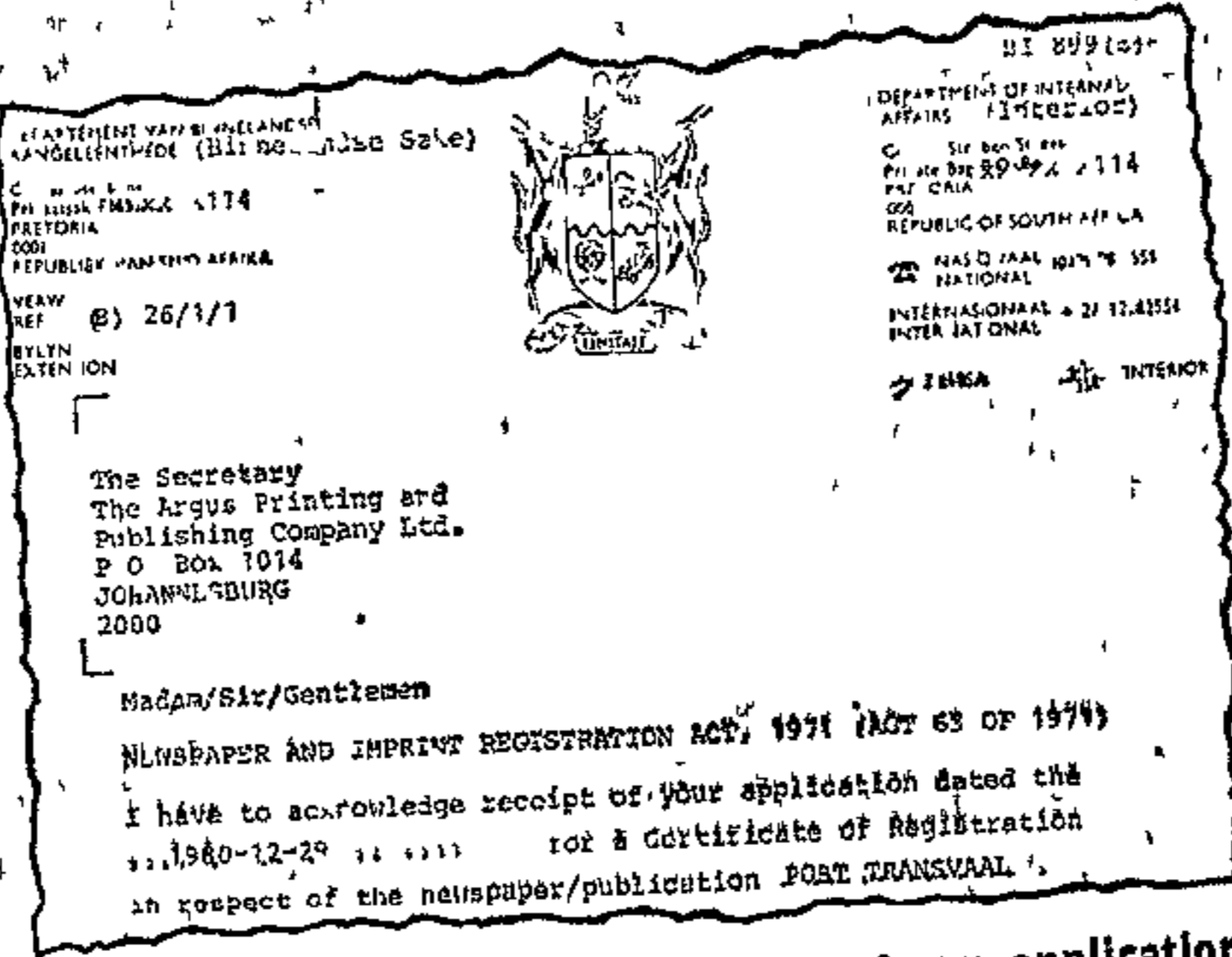
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# SABC 'should drop editorial comment'

RDM 28/1/81 (243) (167)

## Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — A retired diplomat and former member of the SABC board of control, Mr P H Philip, said in evidence yesterday before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the mass media that the service's "editorial comment" which follows some news reports on radio and television should be discontinued.

"Editorial comment involves taking sides in controversial issues," he said, "and while this is appropriate to a newspaper which is politically committed, it is not appropriate to the SABC, which should not be committed to any political party or philosophy."

He said a more determined effort should also be made to ensure that all parties to a controversy were given time to state their points of view.

—Mr Philip, who held a number of diplomatic posts abroad in his 30 years with the Department of Foreign Affairs, said the credibility of any information medium should be its most precious possession.

"At all times, and especially in times of national crisis, there must be at least one

medium which enjoys the trust of the public as a whole, and which is regarded as being thoroughly objective in its treatment of controversial issues. To gain that reputation is far more difficult than one might imagine."

He said the SABC's "Radio Today" programme came closest to the sort of objectivity he was advocating.

"This is the sort of target that should be aimed at on all programmes of the SABC and SATV."

In the Second World War, he added, the British Broadcasting Corporation had followed a policy of sticking as closely to the truth as national security would allow — even when the truth was unpalatable.

"The result was that the BBC achieved a level of credibility which was quite extraordinary — not only among its own listeners, but throughout the continent of Europe, and even in Germany itself."

"Conversely, the German radio service, which was much more selective in its presentation of news, lost credibility in the long term. Towards the end of the war it was not believed even by its own people.

"It should, therefore, be emphasised that the price which is demanded of any administration which seeks the trust and confidence of the public is a very high one indeed. But the eventual rewards in terms of credibility are well worth paying that price."

Mr Philip said a closer liaison should be established between the SABC and the Press to eliminate — "or at least reduce to reasonable proportions" — the feud at present waged so bitterly between the two forms of the media.

Mr Lawrence McCarney, a senior lecturer in the department of business science at the University of Cape Town, said in his evidence yesterday that an independent broadcasting authority should be established in South Africa.

He said such a body would invite independent television companies from the private sector to apply for the franchise to operate the transmitters in the various centres.

"The question we should be asking is: Is it socially and economically acceptable that the important new medium of television be left solely in the

hands of the State? Or should we be examining alternatives to monopoly broadcasting in South Africa?"

"With the existing television service, viewers are unable to exercise their right to choose, as there is no alternative to the SABC programming."

"This could result in a paternalistic type of service, with a 'chosen few' deciding what is 'best' for the viewing public, severely restricting viewer benefit and the natural development of the medium."

Mr McCarney, formerly a lecturer at Newcastle Polytechnic in England and a PRO for Rolls Royce, said the advantages of an independent TV system openly competing with the SABC were many.

Apart from the boost to the economy it would provide by permitting more companies to advertise on TV, there were employment opportunities for management, technicians, artists, writers and others.

"Whether we like it or not," said Mr McCarney, "we are now living in the electronic age. In many Western countries, TV has become the most important single source of information."

# Coetsee's charges

28/1/81 NM

1043 227

## Terrorists were briefed in offices of the banned Argus newspapers, says minister

CAPE TOWN—The editorial offices of the two banned Argus newspapers — Post Transvaal and Sunday Post — had been used as a venue for the final briefing of prospective terrorists before they left South Africa, the Minister of Justice, Mr Koble Coetsee said yesterday.

The Government had carefully weighed the advantages and disadvantages of shutting the two newspapers

### Pyper slams Govt over bans

CAPE TOWN—Newspapers could only foment revolution if conditions existed in the Republic which made it possible, Mr Andrew Pyper (NRP, Durban Central), said yesterday.

Post One person, Mr Pyper said, who should really know how little time there was for laughter and how really powerless the Government was, was the Minister of Justice, Mr Koble Coetsee.

ment's considered opinion, two black newspapers must be banned because they are fomenting revolution in South Africa.

confidence' Mr Pyper said if the country's safety and the security of her people depended on banning action, the Government had lost control of the situation.

would be solved 'Newspapers can only foment revolution if there exist conditions in our country which make it possible for them. This Government has failed in the past and is still failing today in providing South Africa with a programme of action which will take away the platform from which would-be investigators of revolution, be they newspapers or politicians, can operate' — (Sapa)

### Total onslaught 'is nonsense'

Parliamentary Correspondent CAPE TOWN—The Government had treated the Steyn Commission with shocking disregard by banning the Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post, Mr David Dalling (PFP, Sandton) said yesterday.

now knows where it stands — for the moment,' Mr Dalling said. The Government had claimed there was a total onslaught against South Africa but this was 'arrant nonsense'.

'In past years more and more power has been concentrated in the hands of the executive, a political body, taking political actions. And all this is clothed in the tattered mantle of democracy.'

But even worse, if there is proof of subversion, if there is proof of incitement to revolution, if there is proof of treason or illegal acts hostile to society, I ask the minister why there have been no prosecutions?

The commission had not been consulted, advised or even notified about the Government's motivations in banning the newspapers, he said.

'What there is is a Nationalist-conceived total strategy to condition the people of South Africa by every means possible to a state of total obedience, and this involves a total onslaught on civil liberties within South Africa,' he said.

Mr Dalling lashed out at the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, for not replying to criticisms of the Government's actions against the Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post.

'Why have there been no prosecutions before the courts? Are any of these allegations going to be tested in an impartial court? Why has neither of the papers been called before the Press Council?'

The commission has been treated with shocking disregard and placed in an untenable situation.

The signposts of this onslaught were the closure of newspapers, restrictions on the dissemination of news and censorship of publications and films.

He challenged the Minister of Justice, Mr Koble Coetsee, to say if he had proof, or any evidence at all, of his allegations against the newspapers.

'No, every single democratic and politically impartial legal process has been bypassed by this minister. He has set himself up as prosecutor, judge and executioner over his political opponents, over those he wishes to silence.'

'The report is clearly not needed by the Government for whatever it counts. It is now apparent that if a newspaper steps out of line, it will be summarily dealt with, without recourse to civilised law.'

Other signposts were the banning, restricting and imprisoning of people without charge, and the tendency to govern by ministerial decree

'Why has he not presented the evidence to the public of South Africa?'

'Those are the tactics — ban and smear, innuendo and unproved accusations,' Mr Dalling said.

Should we sound the

last post? Parliament yesterday got round to discussing the closure of the two black Johannesburg newspapers which coincided so conveniently with the installation of the Reagan administration in America and which so greatly dismayed the Nationalist Press.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Coetsee was quick to point out that the closure of Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post was not the Government's doing — they were closed by their owners

And nobody could fault him on the technical correctness of this (though there were gasps and groans from the Opposition) because the owners did indeed close down the newspapers — after being told by the Government that they would be banned if

# Dalling sounds the Last Post . . .

they re-registered after a lapse caused by a strike.

But it did not begin with Mr Coetsee, it began with Mr David Dalling (PFP, Sandton) who worked up a pretty good head of steam over the Post banings

Such a good head of steam in fact that he seemed to want to scald Mr Coetsee, and was irked that the latter did not react.

Why, Mr Dalling wanted to know, did this "usually rude" Minister refuse to answer questions across the floor?

Mr Speaker pulled him up on the "usually rude" bit, and Mr Dalling did not get away

with "unusually rude" either

But he did have some very hard things to say about the banings, and drew an interesting analogy with the Nationalist newspaper, Die Transvaler, which he said, had been virulently anti-Government during World War 2, had favoured the Nazis and hindered the war effort in every way possible.

Had the Government of the day banned it, Afrikaners would have been alienated from English-speakers and the Government of the day, there would have been further polarisation and many other-

wise peaceful people would doubtless have been driven to radical action, he said

Yet today's Nationalist Government was doing precisely the same to the blacks of Soweto by banning their newspapers. Deprived people, their only safety valve had now been removed.

It seemed a neat point.

Mr Dalling was in pretty good fettle, he had the grace to say that he did not regard the National Party as neo-nazi or anything like it — but warned that the tools of nazism, communism and the rest of the pestilences did not leave

much behind that was worth preserving

And just for good measure he committed the ultimate solecism in National terms — he doubted whether there was such a thing as a "total onslaught" on South Africa

It was nonsense — just a Nat strategy to condition people to local obedience, he said.

And that's like saying the emperor has no clothes

Mr Coetsee's silence was explained when he got to his feet to speak next But his tone was

## Graham Linscott Debating Points



subdued and he hardly set the place aflame with excitement

It was not a case of killing the messenger with bad news, Mr Coetsee said It was a case of putting the diseased messenger in quarantine so that a healthy one could take over His tone was one of regret But it did not im-

press, Mr Andrew Pyper (NRP, Durban Central).

If the Government had discovered this nest of revolutionaries, why, he asked with devastating logic, did it close two newspapers but allow the culprits to go free? Perhaps we should sound the last Post.

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CAPE TOWN — Dr Danie Craven, president of the South African Rugby Board, said South Africa's name in the outside world was what the English-language newspapers had made it — and South Africa was herself responsible for the attitude which the English-language press had adopted.

Giving evidence before the Steyn commission of inquiry into the mass media, he said at the heart of the problem was the "Boer-Brit struggle" which wittingly or unwittingly, directly or indirectly, had spread to the black and coloured communities — through the medium of the English language press

He proposed the establishment of a press advisory board

"This would be a committee of Boer and Brit which would serve this country and which would be supported by all the media, for the sake of a land and of a nation"

When Craven Week had gone through a period of crisis, the English-language and Afrikaans news media had stood

# Bad image blamed on press

together and helped to solve a thorny problem this spirit should be furthered

The news media should have equal representation on his proposed press advisory board, and if any members harmed South Africa's name, action could be taken against them by the board as a whole

"If we could regard the news media as part of a national team, we would get somewhere"

The chairman of the commission, Mr Justice Steyn "This advisory board you are advocating — are you saying it should promote this team spirit?"

Dr Craven "Precisely."

Dr Craven said that sport was an important means of bringing the peoples of different countries together

"In fact, you can do much more through sport in this direction than you can through the church, because sport is not divided, where the church is divided"

When he said that the Springbok rugby tour of South America last year had nearly come to grief because of what had been published in the English-language press in South Africa, the chairman asked Dr Craven to what he was referring

Dr Craven: "The Argus said we were going to banana republics and other English-language papers said things in similar vein — and it very nearly brought the tour to an end.

"My reply to that was, that we'll go to any place where they want to play rugby with us"

Mr J. J van der Westhuizen, National Party MP for South Coast, told the commission that certain South African newspapers aided a planned campaign against the country through reports sent out

"Suddenly," he said, "The smallest newspapers in the remotest corners of countries such as, for instance, Australia, published reports of the worst possible kind about Crossroads — emanating from our own newspapers"

He concluded that certain South African newspapers were not cooperating in efforts to create a healthy atmosphere of trust in South Africa, but were in fact trying to do the opposite

D H Pryce Lewis

For the best student of Architecture (or Quantity Surveying) in the subject of Professional Practice.

Miss C Tredgold

For the best woman student in third year.

P A Rappoport

For a student who has satisfactorily completed 1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

P F Dunckley

Sixth Year

For the best student in :- of Architects' Prize

ARCHITECTURE

# Newspapers RDM assisting the 29/11/81 onslaught' (243)

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Mr J J N van der Westhuyzen, National Party MP for South Coast, said in evidence before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media yesterday that in his opinion certain newspapers in South Africa had, through reports sent by them all over the world, aided a planned campaign against this country.

"Suddenly," he said, "the smallest newspapers in the remotest corners of countries such as Australia, for instance, published reports of the worst possible kind about Crossroads — emanating from our own newspapers."

Mr Van der Westhuyzen said he had concluded that certain South African newspapers were not co-operating in efforts to create a healthy atmosphere of trust in South Africa but that they were trying to do just the opposite.

These newspapers were unnecessarily bedeviling relations between the different race groups and were helping in the "total onslaught" against South Africa.

Mr Van der Westhuyzen said this type of reporting should not be allowed.

"As a result of this type of reporting there were in the world Press in 1977 more articles about human rights relating to South Africa than there were in relation to all other countries in the world combined, except Russia.

"There were 644 different newspaper and television items about human rights in South Africa and only 85 items on human rights in Uganda. There were only nine such items concerning Angola, eight on Mozambique and only one about Equatorial Guinea, where half the population was murdered or had fled."

Mr Van der Westhuyzen said he also wanted to bring to the attention of the Steyn commission a complaint he had against the Transvaal newspaper Oogendblad. A woman reporter working there had put words into his mouth this week after he had given her and two reporters from other newspapers a categorical "no comment"

when he was questioned on the "J R" affair.

It was reported this week that Mr Daan van der Merwe, Rightwing National Party MP for Rissik, had appeared before a NP disciplinary committee for allegedly calling the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, "the J R Ewing of the National Party."

The disciplinary court was held after Mr Van der Westhuyzen complained to the party hierarchy about a speech made by Mr Van der Merwe to a South Coast branch of the Rapprochings during the parliamentary recess.

Mr Van der Westhuyzen told the Steyn commission yesterday that his first reaction on being misquoted was to lodge a complaint with the Press Council, but he was dissuaded from doing so as it was pointed out that it would take months for the complaint to be dealt with.

He had then been advised to get in touch with the newspaper concerned to try to sort out the problem.

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# Bannings a grave setback for Mwasa

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA  
Political Reporter

WHO'S next? That was the question posed by the Media Workers Association of South Africa's newsletter, Kwasa, in an article late last year outlining the Government's actions against black journalists.

The answer was not long in coming. Zwiakhe Sisulu, Arimuthu Subramoney, and Athata Tsedu. Then came the effective banning of Post and Sunday Post.

Now it is the turn of two more Post journalists and trade unionists, Phil Mtimkulu and Joe Thloloe. They too have been put out of circulation for three years on orders signed by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

After Mr Sisulu's banning at the end of December, Mr Mtimkulu, a vice-president, succeeded him as Mwasa acting president. Mr Thloloe, Southern Transvaal secretary, took over Mr Mtimkulu's post in the national executive.

If Mr Sisulu was the inspirational leader of black journalists in recent years, Mr Mtimkulu and Mr Thloloe are among the major figures who first started organising black journalists into a unified body.

They were founder members of the Union of Black Journalists, formed in the early 1970s as part of the emergence of black consciousness. Mr Thloloe was president and Mr Mtimkulu general secretary when the UBJ was banned in 1977.

They are two contrasting characters with one thing in common — both are passionately committed to the black struggle.

Lanky, Sophiatown-born Mr

Mtimkulu, 32, attended Meadowlands Primary School. On matriculating from Morris Isaacson High in Soweto, he freelanced for the old Golden City Post, then joined the staff of The World in 1968.

When The World was banned, he joined the black ecumenical newspaper, The Voice, as news editor, before joining Post in 1979. He represented the UBJ at the Newspaper Guild conference in Hawaii in 1977, and the Writers' Association of South Africa at the conference of the International Federation of Journalists in Nice in 1979 when Mwasa was accepted on the IFJ executive.

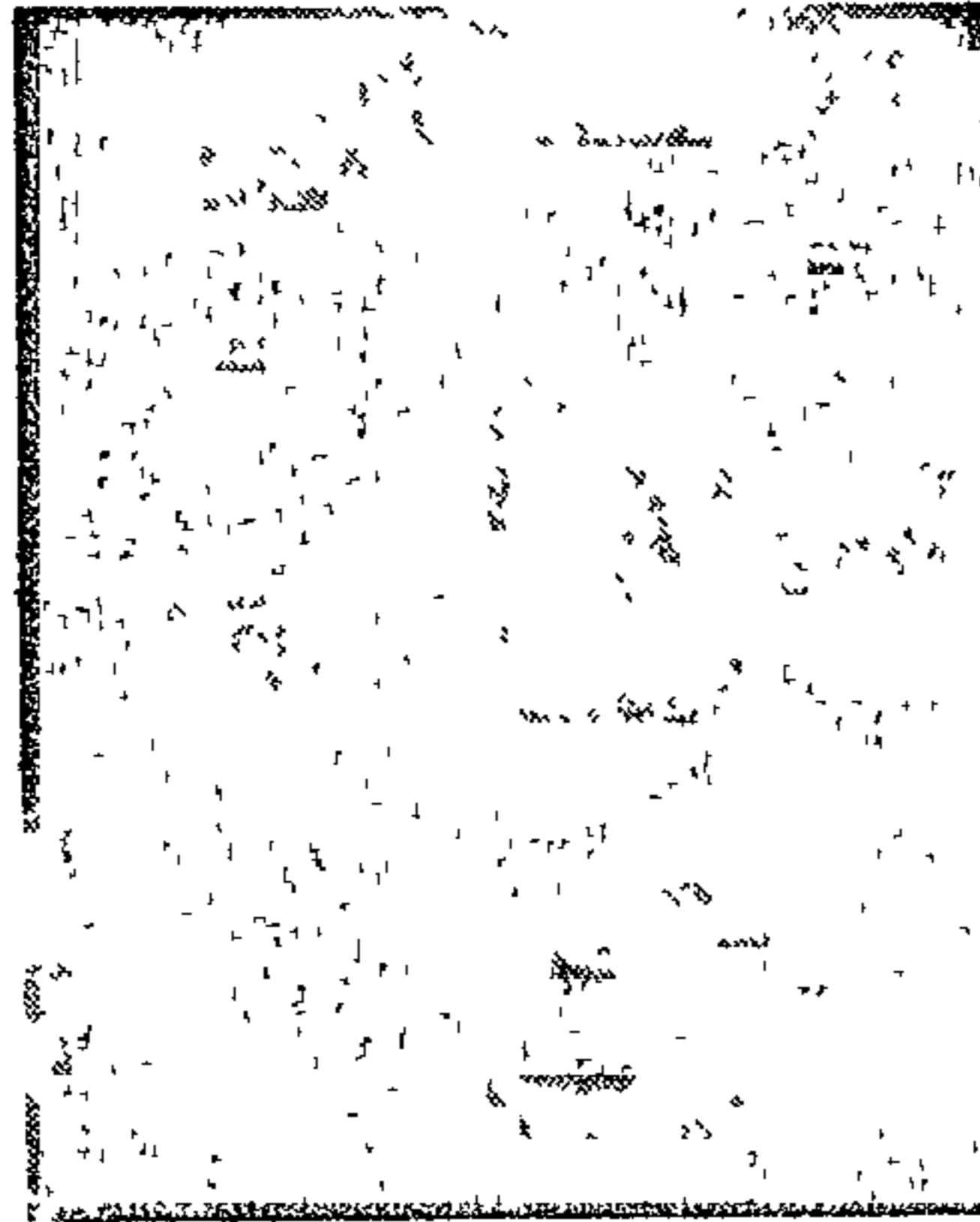
Mr Mtimkulu, who lives in Soweto with his health attendant wife Nomsa and their 18-month-old daughter Kutloano, was convicted in 1977 under the Riotous Assemblies Act when black journalists staged a march in Johannesburg to protest against the banning of The World and other organisations.

He and another banned journalist, Ms Juby Mayet, were acquitted of illegally withdrawing funds from the UBJ account without the consent of the liquidator after the union was banned.

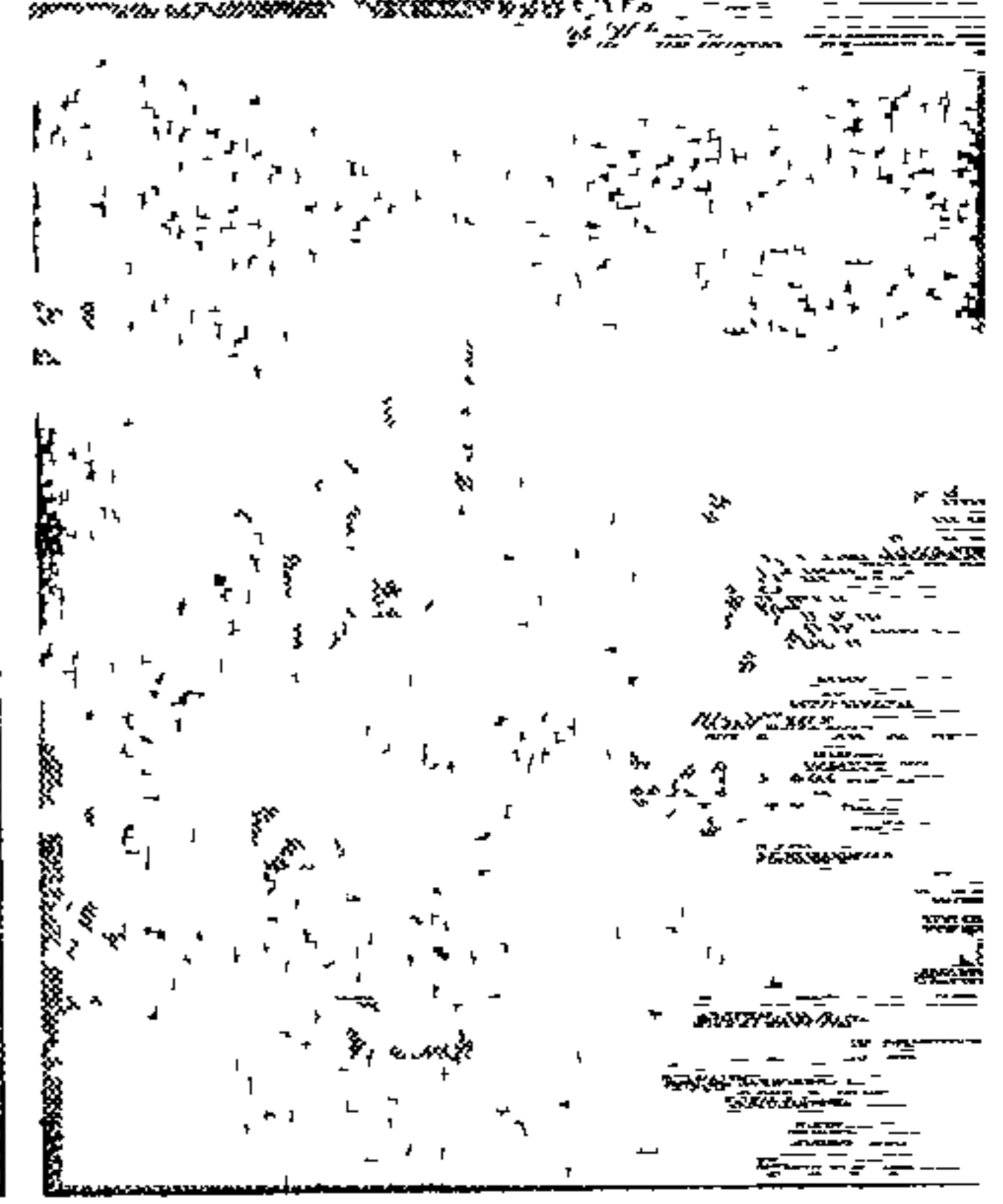
Mr Mtimkulu often played a conciliatory role in Mwasa, exerting a moderating influence in potentially inflammable situations.

Mr Thloloe, 38, is a slightly-built, shy person who came to be regarded as a respected labour writer and unionist.

He has a reputation as a fire-eating radical, although those who know him say it is undeserved. He might have earned it when, as a youth, he was jailed for nine months in 1960 for taking part in the anti-pass campaign with the then leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress, Mr Robert Sobukwe.



Mr Mtimkulu moderating influence



Mr Thloloe .. Mwasa's labour expert

It may also have had something to do with his position as president of the UBJ when its formation and its black exclusivist standpoint shocked many white journalists.

Orlando-born Mr Thloloe lives in Soweto with his wife Joyce and their two children, Letebele, 8, and Nokuthula. He matriculated from Orlando High in 1961 and joined the then Bantu World. He also worked for the Golden City Post, Drum and the Rand Daily Mail.

In 1976, he was detained for six months under the Internal Security Act, and then spent another 18 months in detention in 1977 under Section Six of the Terrorism Act.

Perhaps, more even than the banning of Mr Sisulu and the others, Mr Thloloe's banning represents a grave setback for Mwasa in particular and the black consciousness movement in general. He was a practical, hard-working unionist, Mwasa's labour expert, and highly influential in black consciousness circles.

# Most opposed to register — editor

Figus 30/1/81

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MOST newspaper editors would be opposed 'in principle and in every detail' to a suggestion that a register of journalists be established, Mr A H Heard, editor of the Cape Times, said yesterday.

Mr Heard, giving evidence before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media, said he believed it would be useful to the commission if they canvassed editors for their opinion.

A number of people who have appeared before the commission have suggested that such a register be instituted.

## POST

Questioned about the Government's closure of the Post newspapers, Mr Heard said the move had been highly damaging to South Africa.

The commission's chairman, Mr Justice M T Steyn, asked that in view of information beginning to emerge that the Post offices had been used to assist in the preparation for terrorist activities, how, if this was correct, the authorities should have handled the matter.

## HEAVY COST

Mr Heard replied that if the authorities had a cast iron case those responsible should have been taken to court.

The cost of closing a newspaper because members of its staff were found to be subversive was too heavy.

In a memorandum submitted to the commission, Mr Heard says the commission should actively investigate ways of reducing restrictions on the Press.

'Either South Africa's Press is basically responsible and these restrictive laws can be jettisoned or drastically changed, or the South African Press is irresponsible and must constantly live under the sword of Damocles, with all the implications for the public interest and the country's reputation.'

## FREEDOM

What has been known and accepted down the years as the freedom of the Press — which in essence was simply the freedom of the individual to have his own opinions — but was rapidly disappearing under the pincer effect of a growing conflict situation and moves to curb the Press.

Mr Heard said that the chances of an economically buoyant South Africa making real progress with a more receptive Western community had been put in jeopardy by such actions as the Post being silenced.

'I believe the Post suppression is a major threat to the long-term security of the Republic.'

The ideal situation is repeal of all measures that abridge freedom of expression, much along the lines of the United States where the First Amendment guarantees this, he said.

P F Dunclev

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For the best student in :-  
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FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTURE

# Craven's view of press seen as incorrect

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THE South African Press Association had "no part" in the decision by various news organizations as to what should go overseas, the Editor of Sapa, Mr E H Linington, said yesterday

In a letter to Mr Justice M T Steyn, chairman of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media, which was read at this afternoon's session, Mr Linington said that "Sapa merely supplies its Southern African news service to the South African offices of various overseas news agencies, newspapers and television networks, who themselves decide what should go overseas"

Mr Linington said he was submitting the letter to place on record the true position regarding the machinery for sending news reports overseas, in the light of the evidence given on Tuesday by Dr Dame Craven, chairman of the SA Rugby Board

Dr Craven had said it was left to "Sapa-Reuter" to decide what reports should go overseas

Dr Craven is reported to have told the commission

"If one studies the machinery for sending reports overseas, one finds there can be definite improvements, for it is left to Sapa-Reuter to decide what reports should go overseas, and often it is only the English Press that is quoted, because the staff do not have a sufficient grasp of Afrikaans"

## Afrikaans staff

Mr Linington continued that the Sapa report was not based on the English-language press alone, "as our news is supplied by English and Afrikaans newspapers, our own staff (the majority of whom have Afrikaans as their first language), the SABC and country correspondents who are also mostly Afrikaans-speakers

"Our news service is supplied not only to Reuter but also to the other three world news agencies (Associated Press, United Press International and Agence France Presse), the New York Times, ABC, CBS, The Times, The Daily Telegraph, the Washington Post and a number of other news organizations with offices in South Africa"

Dr Craven was also incorrect in implying that Sapa and Reuter were one organization or had any relationship other than a contractual one to buy and sell news services from and to each other on the explicit basis that each was an independent news agency dedicated to the ideals which news agencies in the Western democracies professed

The letter quoted Sapa's constitution "Character of News All news supplied by or to the Association, whether by or to members, or non-members, shall be independent, unbiased and impartial and shall be supplied as far as possible in such a form that it can be published by every paper receiving it, irrespective of the political views of the paper, without modification other than curtailment

## 'Free from propaganda'

"In particular, all such services shall be free from all political, social, financial, commercial or regional propaganda, except such as is inseparable from the fair reporting of public utterances by men of public importance or events of general news interest"

That paragraph, the letter said, made "quite unacceptable" Dr Craven's suggestion that Sapa should in some way take part in propagating abroad news "favourable" to SA

Dr Craven's suggestion that there should be a Press Advisory Board to promote a "team spirit" fell down as far as Sapa was concerned in another respect

"News agencies' reputations and credibility depend on their being independent, unbiased, impartial and free of propaganda

"As soon as Sapa became involved in propagating abroad news 'favourable' to South Africa, its reputation and credibility would disappear, thus rendering valueless the news service it provides. We would be as suspect as Tass and, as little valued

"Thus Dr Craven's idea would turn out to be an exercise in futility," Mr Linington said — Sapa

# Wiley was quoting

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## Chief Reporter

AT THE start of yesterday's sitting of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media the chairman, Mr Justice M T Steyn, said he wished to comment on a statement by Mr Clive Kinsley, managing director of SA Associated Newspapers, published in the Cape Times yesterday.

The statement related to evidence given before the commission earlier in the week by Mr John Wiley, MP for Simon's Town. In it, Mr Kinsley deplored a "scurrilous" attack by Mr Wiley on the London editor of the South African Morning Group of Newspapers, Mr Stanley Uys. Mr Kinsley made it clear that in the absence of the

full transcript of Mr Wiley's remarks, which he understood would become available only next month, he was commenting on newspaper reports of Mr Wiley's statement to the commission.

Mr Kinsley said in his statement: "Mr Wiley says Mr Uys's reports are 'biased' and 'dishonest', that he 'sensationalizes' and 'suppresses all news regarded as favourable to the government.' "These are extremely serious allegations to be made against any journalist and I reject them with the contempt they deserve."

Mr Justice Steyn said yesterday that what in fact had happened with regard to these remarks was that Mr Wiley, in his evidence, was quoting from the report of the Van Zijl

Commission of Inquiry into the press, which was tabled in Parliament in 1964

Mr Wiley had had extracts from this report read into the record of the commission now sitting.

Mr Justice Steyn said he and his colleagues on the commission wished therefore to correct the mistake made, that Mr Wiley's comments "appear to be based on flimsy hearsay and rumour of the most scurrilous kind".

"It was the opinion of the very well-known Van Zijl Commission whose report was tabled in Parliament 17 years ago," he added.

"I have not seen the actual report referred to by Mr Kinsley and cannot comment on the correctness of it, or otherwise.

## Steyn Commission of Inquiry

"But Mr Kinsley's statement is a factually incorrect one, and one can only trust that in matters of this kind where people quote from extracts such as from the Van Zijl commission of inquiry, the proceedings of this (Steyn) commission will be correctly and adequately reported."

● The Cape Times Chief Reporter, who is reporting on the proceedings of the Steyn commission, comments as follows

Mr Wiley, when he appeared before the Steyn commission on

# g 1964 report

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Monday, had a number of documents before him, from which he quoted during the course of his evidence.

If he did in fact quote from the Van Zijl commission's report — and this is not doubted — this constituted only a small part of what he had to say in a strong attack on Mr Uys's credibility.

Mr Wiley in fact asked Mr Justice Steyn, before he delivered this attack, for an assurance that the proceedings of the commission were privileged.

Those listening to Mr Wiley's evidence concerning Mr Uys were left in no doubt that whatever source he was quoting — and it was not clear to many people present that in part he was quoting from the Van Zijl commission report — Mr Wiley

associated himself with the comments made

He presented these comments as though they were in fact his own views concerning Mr Uys — and went on to elaborate on them.

As the allegations made by him about Mr Uys were of an extremely serious nature, Mr Wiley was approached by myself immediately after he had finished his evidence, and was asked in the interest of accuracy for the loan of the documents he had referred to during his evidence about Mr Uys — most of which related to events that occurred long after the Van Zijl commission's report was tabled in 1964

Mr Wiley was specifically asked if that portion of a letter he said he had received from

"someone in the Argus group" relating to Mr Uys's political background, and which he read into the Steyn commission's record, could be made available to the Cape Times.

Mr Wiley said this was a confidential document which he was not prepared to hand to the Cape Times, and that the Cape Times would have to get a transcript of his evidence from the commission itself

When the commission was asked for the transcript of that section of Mr Wiley's evidence relating to Mr Uys, the reply was that the tape recordings of evidence were sent to Pretoria after each day's proceedings and that the transcript would not be available till late February.

# Editors 'would oppose register of journalists'

Chief Reporter

THE EDITOR of the Cape Times, Mr A H Heard, said before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media yesterday that if the commission were to canvass the views of all newspaper editors in South Africa he was sure it would find most or all of them would be against the idea of a register of journalists in the Republic

The idea of instituting such a register has been proposed by several people who have testified before the commission. Mr Heard said it was possible the commission was interested in this concept of a register and of a statutory body to regulate the profession

"I think it would be useful to ascertain the views of editors on this," he said "I think I can say that the overwhelming majority of editors — if not all — would be opposed to this idea in every detail"

After Mr Heard had confirmed that a periodic conference of editors had taken place in Cape Town this week, the chairman of the commission, Mr Justice M T Steyn, asked, in reference to the register issue "Will anything come from the conference?"

## 'Informal grouping'

Mr Heard replied that the conference of editors was an informal, loosely-constituted grouping which met once or twice a year to deal with professional matters, but which did not take formal decisions. It had no chairman, only a

tors in South Africa who transgressed numerous laws. Even the voluntary Press Council had power to impose fines up to R10 000 — "as a result of direct pressure from the government"

Mr K P C O von Lieres, an advocate serving on the commission, put it to Mr Heard that the Press Council could not take disciplinary action against an individual journalist

"The editor takes the blame. Is that a satisfactory state of affairs do you think?" Mr Heard "Yes, I believe the editor has to discipline his own staff. A journalist doesn't operate as a doctor does, he operates under the direction of his editor. I don't see how it can be otherwise

## Take the blame

Mr Von Lieres "If I as a journalist supply incorrect information to my newspaper, why must the editor take the blame for it?"

Mr Heard "Maybe I shouldn't have hired you in the first place. I instructed a member of my staff and if he lets me down I'll probably have to dismiss him and he'll be without a job, which is a serious matter for him"

Mr J H Hopkins, another member of the commission "On dismissal a stigma would attach to such a man and presumably he would have difficulty in finding a job with another newspaper group. Is there no so-called black-list?"

Mr Heard "By word of mouth, yes"

When Dr D A S Herbst said it had been put to the commission that even leading articles in newspapers should be signed by the authors, Mr Heard replied "On the Cape Times we do not disclose who writes a particular editorial

"These are often the product of four or five minds meeting on a particular subject and they constitute the views of the newspaper, it's a process of osmosis, and it would really become ridiculously complex if we had to put names on editorials"

Questioned by Dr Herbst on the issue of loyalty to the State, Mr Heard said he conceded that in the different sections of the population, different interpretations could be placed on what constituted loyalty to the State

"My point is that as totally indigenous South Africans who are proud of being South Africans, we feel it is important to express one's own opinions, and we find it tiresome to be told we have to fit in with other people's ideas of what constitutes loyalty"

## Limits of the law

Replying to the chairman, Mr Heard said he rejected the ideas of those who felt they could achieve their objectives only by the violent overthrow of the present state of affairs and that he believed that whatever one's objectives were these should be achieved only within the limits of the law. The chairman "What you

Africa

The chairman "The information that is beginning to emerge is that the newspaper offices were being used by someone — apparently by people employed by them — for ultimate terrorist activity

"Assuming that these are the facts, when these facts came to the notice of the authorities, how do you suggest they should have handled it?"

Mr Heard "I think they had a cast-iron case to bring those people before the courts. I see

quarry into the Paarl riots some years ago, which he had reported on, elaborate arrangements had been made to protect witnesses

The chairman "In this question of the closing of newspapers, you are saying then that action should be taken against the individual, not against the newspaper itself?"

## Cost too heavy

Mr Heard "I do. The cost of closing a newspaper because members of its staff have been



Mr A H Heard

no justification for banning a municipality because that found to be subversives is too heavy, and too high"

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convenor  
In a memorandum submitted to the commission by Mr Heard, and on which he was questioned by members of the commission, he said heavy fines or jail terms awaited edi-

Mr Heard "No — and I think the Society of Journalists would object strongly to such a black-list  
Mr Von Laeres "But it exists informally?"

## Mr Gerrit Boonstra

MR GERRIT BOONSTRA has pointed out to the Cape Times that his evidence on Wednesday to the Steyn Commission into the mass media was given in his personal capacity and not as public relations officer of the Rembrandt Group of companies. He had made this clear to the commission. He said yesterday: "Rembrandt as a company has never taken up a position on the issues before the mass media commission, and therefore the views I expressed should not be construed as those of the board"

want to emphasize is that loyalty should not be limited to any particular political party, it's a matter of loyalty to the State, in its broad sense?"  
Mr Heard Yes, and in this question of loyalty to the State the lines have become somewhat blurred. It's a very tender plant in a conflict situation, and those in power tend to respond with remarkable enthusiasm when criticized  
"As an example — I think of the banning of certain newspapers recently"  
Dr Herbst "The mode adopted in dealing with these newspapers, you mean?"  
Mr Heard "Yes — I think it is highly damaging to South

municipality has been having a secret meeting"

### Subversive ends

The chairman asked Mr Heard about a situation where it may be found there was a conspiracy to use a newspaper for subversive ends, but where the people concerned could not be brought to court because they would of necessity have to disclose sources the authorities did not want disclosed  
An informant's life, or his family's lives might also be threatened  
Mr Heard replied that there were many precedents for the safeguarding of such people's lives. For instance at the in-

After being questioned about relationships between newspapers and government departments, Mr Heard said that however good relationships may be with particular cabinet ministers or departments, there was always in the background the heavy penalties that could be imposed for infringement of the law  
Mr Justice Steyn "You mean there's a Sword of Damocles dangling over you all the time?"  
Mr Heard "Yes, — and this exercises the mind wonderfully"  
Mr Heard's submission to the commission is published in full on page 12.

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# Press an 'institution in its own right' <sup>CT 30/1/81</sup> 243

This is the prepared text of a submission by the Editor of the Cape Times, Mr A H HEARD, to the Steyn commission of inquiry into the mass media in Cape Town yesterday.

HOWEVER grave the threat to the nation, whether caused by internal or external factors, the press must always be an "institution in its own right" I vividly recall the late Schalk Pienaar speaking with emphasis about this *instatusie in sy eie reg* when I interviewed him in his editor's office at Die Beeld in Johannesburg in the mid-sixties. If the press is to defer to the command or influence of the government, it becomes less of an institution in its own right. The public is the poorer. The country is robbed of a vital and independent influence. This also works ultimately to the disadvantage of the government, which can get faulty messages about the people's thinking. There must, of course, be government-press liaison. The press must be fully informed by the government on matters of the day, but it must then be free to make up its own mind, even on the most critical issues.

## Angolan invasion

An example the Angolan invasion. The government provided editors with background information. But that did not change the view of the Cape Times that the escapade was misguided and in fact a disaster. This was said in editorials. The government disagreed. Who was right? History will tell. What is important is that free people should be given a chance to arrive at their own view of what is right or wrong. And wise governments, even those convinced of their rightness on critical issues, will allow the widest possible debate. In a multi-lingual and multi-cultural country like South Africa, there will be different viewpoints on fundamental matters. A process of discussion should be tolerated and encouraged, because unity of purpose will more readily emerge from discussion than suppression of dissent. And since there are obvious threats to security, broad unity of purpose is essential.

The concept that freedom of expression is somehow "granted" to the press by some other authority is to be rejected. Newspapers in South Africa have a long and illustrious history. They fought and won their freedom against despotic English rulers many years ago. They have existed successfully for generations — 105 years in the case of the Cape Times, the oldest continuously-published daily — in times of war, pestilence,

publication — all this has nothing to do with some outside body or authority laying down standards. They are the standards observed and followed by the newspaper profession itself, for its own good. Without these, it will lose credibility. Newspapers will die. Competing media such as radio and TV will benefit. To maintain the credibility of readers is simply good business.

It might be instructive to note that Editors of the Cape Times have for more than half a century been specifically enjoined by their contracts to maintain standards of accuracy and responsibility, to avoid sensationalism, to allow those criticized to furnish their version of the facts. These and other standards are upheld, not because government officials think it an excellent idea, or even because a press council insists on them. They are upheld because the Cape Times is a century-old institution and has regard for its traditions. Similar considerations no doubt apply to other member institutions of the established press in South Africa. The rigorous standards the press lays down for itself, in its own interests, are adequate to meet the needs and challenges of this country.

Yet, we have strayed a long way from the path of free expression. Laws determine which people can be quoted, what nuclear or petroleum products can be mentioned, in effect what defence, prisons or police matters may be disclosed, what the limits should be in reporting matters that might be the subject of an inquest, what books and publications might be lawfully possessed, and so on. Ridiculous situations abound, for instance the incident over the tanker *Salem*, mysteriously sunk off West Africa after discharging oil in Durban. For weeks the world knew what was going on, but South Africans did not. The blackout on information about the Angola campaign is another celebrated case. Recently, when Mr Donald Woods criticized Mr Marais Steyn in an article in the *London Observer*, only Mr Steyn's reply could be published in South Africa. Does that further public understanding of issues? During the unrest in Cape Town in 1980 and 1976 it was necessary for the Cape Times to publish its own unofficial lists of the dead, simply because at the time the authorities would not give the names. The examples are legion. Heavy fines or jail terms await editors who

fuel to the international cry for an arms embargo and convinced many influential people abroad that press freedom had been extinguished in South Africa.

The recent suppression of the *Post* newspapers (quite apart from the implications for this commission's work) will have similar effects, ironically just at the moment when the "total onslaught" against South Africa never looked less total, with Ronald Reagan in the White House, Margaret Thatcher at Westminster and Black African nations introspective and grappling with major domestic and regional problems of their own. Chances of an economically-buoyant South Africa making real progress with a more receptive Western community have been seriously jeopardized. In South Africa we hear much talk of threats to security. I believe the *Post* suppression is a major threat to the long-term security of the Republic.

The ideal situation is repeal of all measures that abridge freedom of expression, much along the lines of the United States where the First Amendment guarantees this. It must be reluctantly accepted that the realities of the South African situation suggest something short of this, but there is a great deal of leeway to make up before the newspaper profession in South Africa can hold its head high and proclaim, without heavy qualification, that it is free. It is usually others who proclaim this freedom for the press — people who do not work in newsrooms, people who sometimes have a vested interest in proclaiming it.

## Circumscribed

Whatever use information officers and others abroad make of the so-called free press in South Africa, the battery of restrictions coupled with specific government actions banning newspapers, detaining and banning editors and journalists, give the lie to such elaborate claims. The press in South Africa has seen its freedom heavily circumscribed. This I say after empirical study of the subject over 10 years of editing. I am in disagreement with the view expressed by the commission of inquiry into the reporting of security matters (SADF and SAP), at paragraph 452, that the South African news media enjoy press freedom "in the true sense of that word". This, I respectfully submit, tends to exaggerate

Cape Times had about as much trouble with Kitchener's military censorship during the Second South African War as with Mr P W Botha's censorship over the Angola incursion)

### Loyalty obvious

For sound practical reasons South African newspapers have had to develop and maintain prudent and responsible standards of reporting and comment. They find it inappropriate to be lectured by politicians and people from other disciplines on what their standards should be. They find it almost tiresome to be instructed about what particular brand of "patriotism" to espouse. Down the years, their loyalty to South Africa has been obvious for all to see, in word and deed, in peace and war.

If South African newspapers had not observed responsible standards, they would have gone out of business years ago. The fact that a report is checked with both sides, that persons criticized are given contemporaneous opportunity to answer, that contrary opinions are given due weight (*vide* the exchange of leaders by the Cape Times and Burger), that sub-editors are trained in the meticulous checking of material they place in the paper, that material error is rectified (e.g. in a special FACTS section in the case of the Cape Times), that considerations of the public good are weighed before

body, the Press Council, was given power to fine up to R10 000 as a result of direct pressure from the government.

### Over-careful

Newspapers, in these conditions, tend to be over-careful, they subject tricky reports to a degree of meticulous checking which can mean non-publication of important material. I find it difficult to believe that, since the Gandar prisons trial ended in 1969, there have been no abuses in South African prisons for the press to reveal. In Britain, the USA and elsewhere, prison abuse is frequently the subject of independent newspaper exposé. But not in South Africa. The simple fact is that the Prisons Act makes it well-nigh impossible, and prisoners are robbed of an important safeguard. Indeed, truth emerges with difficulty from the pen of a journalist under duress.

The nub of the issue is very simple. Either South Africa's press is basically responsible, and these restrictive laws can be jettisoned or drastically changed, or the South African press is irresponsible and must constantly live under the sword of Damocles, with all the implications for the public interest and the country's reputation.

I believe that this commission of inquiry should actively investigate ways of reducing restrictions on the press, and ignore calls for further curbs. Government officials, by nature the world over, prefer to operate with minimum independent disclosure. Inquiry in places such as Israel and Ulster, where considerable threats to security exist, would, I believe, be helpful. What has been known, and accepted down the years, as the freedom of the press — which in essence is simply the freedom of the individual to have his own opinions — is rapidly disappearing under the pincer effect of a growing conflict situation and moves to curb the press. By suppressing newspapers, banning and detaining journalists, and pressurizing the newspaper industry generally, the government is not dealing intelligently or even effectively with the growing conflict situation. It is making people less informed as to how to deal with difficult problems and options ahead. It is driving underground and into exile people who, though perhaps tiresome in their strong views, are a far greater danger to security as a result. Events such as the banning (and subsequent flight) of former Daily Dispatch editor Donald Woods merely added effective new

would operate directly against the public interest. And any arrangement whereby journalists were placed on a central register, facing fine or dismissal for contraventions of a statutory code, would simply mean that South African journalists would no longer be believed. They are already battling with a credibility problem with the great mass of people who inhabit South Africa, not to mention informed opinion abroad. Is that what South Africa needs? Will it help to improve world understanding of our problems? Will it help draw investment and loans? Will it permit the press to play its vital and independent role of informing the public as the critical period of inter-racial negotiation approaches?

### Moment of truth

It seems to me that, after years of conflict between government and press in South Africa, with the newspaper industry steadily giving ground and the government inexorably piling on restrictions, the moment of truth has arrived with the appointment of this commission. Press freedom is well-nigh extinguished in South Africa. The deliberations and findings of this commission can give this great tradition the *coup de grâce* or lead to a steady revival of free expression, and equip the country more effectively to overcome its problems.

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C.T. 30/1/81

THE PRESS FM 30/1/81

## Ex-Post facto

On Monday, February 2, 1981, the Argus group's hitherto free-sheet for the African market, *The Sowetan*, will appear, substantially transformed, as a daily tabloid (price 15c) to fill the breach created by the effective banning of the *Post* newspapers. *The Sowetan* will, to all intents and purposes, be a new, serious newspaper, employing 32 of the 50 former *Post* and *Sunday Post* journalists. And the bell will sound for a fresh round in the battle between (black) press freedom and the Pretoria government.

According to *The Sowetan's* newly appointed editor and former *Post* deputy, Joe Latekgomo: "The fact that we will be serving the same market makes it imperative that we reflect the same concerns and aspirations as were reflected by newspapers such as *The World*, *Week-end World*, *Post*, and *Sunday Post* and that we continue to fight for a just society for all."

Latekgomo tells the *FM* that he will be "totally independent" editorially and that he has received no directives from Argus management beyond the company's stated editorial policy. Given *The Sowetan's* forebears, are there not fears of it, too, being consigned to oblivion? "We have our fears," admits Latekgomo, "but our consolation is that we are fighting a just cause."

□ **Postscript** Even before the appearance of the new-look *Sowetan*, two journalists already hired by the newspaper were, as the *FM* went to press, added to the list of banned black journalists, all of whom were employed by *Post*, *Sunday Post* and all members of the Media Workers Association of SA (Mwasa). Joe Tlooe and Phil Mtinkulu (respectively deputy news editor and senior journalist on *The Sowetan*) join the following banned journalists: Zwelakhe Sisulu, Mathatha Tsedu, Mono Badela, Marcus Ngani and Marie Soobramanie.

"Does the government really hope to silence the black voice by banning journalists?" Latekgomo asks in a statement following the latest bannings, which, he says, "demonstrate that government is determined to wipe out the remaining evidence of press freedom in SA. It is a total onslaught against newspapermen against whom cases which cannot be justified in a court of law have been made out."

It is a tragedy that we will never know the reasons for their banning."

Mrs. Thornton White Prize  
For the best work in  
first year.  
Miss M F J Sandilands

S A Brick Association Prize  
For the student who has made  
best use of bricks in his  
design work.  
J G Kirkman

R Stubbs Award

Project in  
design.

Development Fund  
ing Industry

Student in each  
of the degree

man

MACHINERY

Mr Linington said he was submitting the letter to place on record the position regarding the machinery for sending news reports overseas, in the light of evidence on Tuesday by Dr Danie Craven, chairman of the SA Rugby Board

Dr Craven had said it was left to "Sapa-Reuter" to decide what reports should go overseas

Dr Craven is reported to have told the commission

"Sapa merely supplies its southern African news service to the South African offices of various overseas news agencies, newspapers and television networks, who themselves decide what should go overseas."

In a letter to Mr Justice M T Steyn, chairman of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media, which was read at yesterday's session, Mr Linington said

CAPE TOWN — The South African Press Association had no part in the decision by various news organisations as to what should go overseas, the editor of Sapa, Mr E H Linington, said yesterday

Sapa has no say in handling overseas news

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20/1/81

"If one studies the machinery for sending reports overseas, one finds there can be definite improvements, for it is left to Sapa-Reuter to decide what reports should go overseas, and often it is only the English Press that is quoted because the staff do not have a sufficient grasp of Afrikaans"

Mr Linington said that Sapa reports were not based only on the English language Press.

"Our news is supplied by English and Afrikaans newspapers, our own staff — the majority of whom have Afrikaans as their first language — the SABC and country correspondents, who are also mostly Afrikaans-speakers"

Dr Craven's suggestion that there should be a Press advisory board to promote a "team spirit" fell down as far as Sapa was concerned

"News agencies' reputations and credibility depend on their being independent, unbiased, impartial and free of propaganda"

As soon as Sapa became involved in propagating abroad news 'favourable' to South Africa, its reputation and credibility would disappear, thus rendering valueless the news service it provides

"We would be as suspect as Tass and as little valued" — Sapa

Student obtaining  
pass for a  
in Building

Final year  
in Prize  
e degree course.

BUIL

# Closure of black papers 'blow to peaceful change'

5/10/68  
Solid

ing  
for  
obtaining  
course

The Star Bureau  
LONDON — Far from maintaining order and stability and counter-acting efforts at creating a revolutionary climate in South Africa, the Government's closure of Post and Sunday Post has reduced the prospect for peaceful change.

This is the view of Derrick Thema, a black journalist on the Johannesburg daily newspaper, The Star, in a feature article in The Times today.

He continues "The closure has been received with anger and dismay by blacks who, in a country where all newspapers are white-owned, regarded Post as their authentic mouthpiece

"Post staffed by a new breed of black journalists

who see themselves first as oppressed blacks before being journalists, had invariably supported Black Consciousness ideas.

"As a voice for Black Consciousness proponents, it provided a healthy platform for the pent-up feelings the aspirations, the anger and the general thinking of blacks.

"The closure of Post will widen the communications gap between Government and blacks. It will also increase black frustrations"

Thema maintains that the Government's action against Post underlines the belief that only timid blacks will be tolerated" and adds

"With the voices of reason already thinning, the Government has un-

wittingly driven even those blacks who still advocate the politics of conciliation into the militant African National Congress

"Black journalists have increasingly found that their journalistic commitments are indivisible from their political convictions. They no longer accept the concept of "objective reporting"

Second Year

J A L Chapman

First Year

course.

year of study of the degree  
For the best student in each

Book Prizes

for the Building Industry

National Development Fund

BUILDING

M R I Ness

structure and design.  
For the best project in

R Stubbs Award

J G Kirkman

design work.  
best use of bricks in his  
For the student who has made  
S A Brick Association Prize

Miss M F J Sandilands

first year.

For the best work in  
Mrs. Thornton White Prize

(Continued)  
ARCHITECTURE

# Comments by Wiley 'quotes' says judge

(243)  
RDM 30/1/81

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — When the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media sat yesterday, the chairman commented on a statement by Mr Clive Kinsley, managing director of South African Associated Newspapers, which had been published in some newspapers.

The Rand Daily Mail carried the report of the statement in one of its editions.

The chairman, Mr Justice M T Steyn, said the statement related to evidence by Mr John Wiley, MP for Simonstown

In the statement, Mr Kinsley deplored a "scurrilous" attack by Mr Wiley on Mr Stanley Uys, the London editor of the South African Morning Group of Newspapers

Mr Kinsley said "Mr Wiley says Mr Uys's reports are 'biased' and 'dishonest', that he 'sensationalises' and 'suppresses all news regarded as favourable to the Government'. These are extremely serious allegations to be made against any journalist, and I reject them with the contempt they deserve"

Judge Steyn said that what happened was that Mr Wiley was quoting from the report of the Van Zijl Commission of Inquiry into the Press, tabled in 1964

Judge Steyn said he and his colleagues therefore wished to correct the mistake made that Mr Wiley's comments "appear to be based on flimsy hearsay and rumour of the most scurrilous kind"

"It was the opinion of the Van Zijl Commission," he said. "I have not seen the actual report referred to by Mr Kinsley, and cannot comment on the correctness of it, or otherwise."

"But Mr Kinsley's statement is a factually incorrect one, and one can only trust that in matters of this kind, where people quote from extracts such as from the Van Zijl Commission of Inquiry, the proceedings of this (Steyn) commission will be correctly and adequately reported"

● The Rand Daily Mail correspondent in Cape Town reporting on the Steyn Commission proceedings, comments

"Mr Wiley had a number of documents before him, from which he quoted during his evidence"

The correspondent said Mr Wiley's quotes from the Van Zijl Commission's report constituted only a small part of what he had to say in an attack on Mr Uys's credibility.

"Mr Wiley, in fact, asked Judge Steyn before he delivered this attack for an assur-

ance that the commission's proceedings were privileged

"Those listening to Mr Wiley's evidence concerning Mr Uys were left in no doubt that, whatever source he was quoting — and it was not clear to many present that, in part, he was quoting from the Van Zijl Commission report — Mr Wiley associated himself with the comments. He presented them as though they were, in fact, his own views concerning Mr Uys — and went on to elaborate on them."

The correspondent said he approached Mr Wiley after his evidence and asked, in the interest of accuracy, if he could borrow the documents he had referred to in evidence

"Mr Wiley was specifically asked if that portion of a letter he said he had received from 'someone in the Argus group' relating to Mr Uys's political background could be made available"

The correspondent said Mr Wiley said it was a confidential document, and the reporter would have to get a transcript of the evidence from the commission.

The correspondent was told that tape recordings of evidence were sent to Pretoria, and a transcript would not be available until late in February

Cape Provincial Institute  
of Architects' Prize  
For the best student in :-

Sixth Year

P F Dunkley

Helen Gardner Travel Prize

For a student who has

satisfactorily completed

1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

P A Rappoport

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize

For the best woman student

in third year.

Miss C Tredgold

David Haddon Prize

For the best student of

Architecture (or Quantity

Surveying) in the subject

of Professional Practice.

D H Pryce Lewis

General J B M Hertzog Prize

For the best final year student.

S A Read

Osborn Prize

For the best work in fourth

year.

D H Pryce Lewis

John Perry Prize

For the best work in

third year.

R A van Rosenfeld.

C. Herald 21/1/81  
Congress  
go-ahead  
despite  
bannings

THE SOUTHERN Transvaal regional congress of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) will take place as scheduled, despite the banning on Wednesday of two key officials.

'We will not be intimidated by the Government,' a Mwasa spokesman said.

Shortly after midnight on Wednesday, the acting president of the organisation, Mr Phil Mtinkulu, and the Transvaal regional secretary, and national executive member Mr Joe Thlolo, were banned for three years.

In terms of the banning order Mr Mtinkulu and Mr Thlolo may not pursue their careers as journalists. They are house-arrested in the evenings, on weekends and on public holidays. They may not enter any factories, schools or trade union premises. They may also not be quoted and may not attend any gatherings.

This is the third time within a month that the Government has acted against leaders of the organisation.

First to be banned last month was Mwasa national president, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, together with Natal vice-president Mr Marimuthu Subramoney.

# Public 'should Nat: Free press should be watchdog' not mean a licence to lie'

MIR N W DU BOIS, a former information attache at South African embassies abroad, said before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media yesterday that "a proper press law" should be introduced in South Africa, based on well-tried principles accepted overseas and which could be adapted to conditions in this country.

Mr Du Bois said journalists overseas could not "hide" as easily as they could in South Africa.

In most newspapers in Europe there was, alongside leading articles, a so-called "Impressum" in which the name and address of each member of the editorial staff was printed.

"There is, in these countries, no such thing as journalistic anonymity, as the journalists fulfil a public function and must therefore be 'public'."

"For South African purposes I would propose that where there are foreigners on editorial staffs, their nationalities be given after their names."

Mr Du Bois said there should also be closer and better liaison between the press and the authorities in South Africa. He said that in European countries in which he had served as information attache, central and local government and other authorities went out of their way to keep the press informed on day-to-day matters.

"They build press centres, and lay on telex and other facilities — and even provide special accommodation for visiting journalists in some places."

"Journalists get special discounts on trains and other forms of transport, and one finds an excellent relationship between press and police."

"And in general there is this continuous communication between the media and the authorities, in all matters of public concern."

Chief Reporter

DR JAN MARAIS, National Party MP for Pinetown and a prominent economist and banker, said before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media yesterday that he wanted to see a free press "in the true and fullest sense of the term" in South Africa.

He added "I would like our press to have to admit that they are as free, preferably freer, than the press in any so-called model society they themselves might suggest. I would like them to be able to tell the world this."

"We need a free, responsible, truth-seeking press, always projecting the news as accurately, fully and fairly as humanly possible and aimed at creating a true and correct perspective and a balanced viewpoint."

"A free press should not mean a licence to lie — and it must be remembered that a lie can be, and often is, cleverly disguised in an infinite variety of packages."

## 'Finest in world'

Dr Marais said South Africa had some of the finest journalists and newspapers in the world. "I say this without hesitation — and I am mightily proud of it."

"These people are valuable to our society. They often play most important roles for the benefit of the community. It is good for instance that they of-

## Steyn Commission of Inquiry

ten make life difficult for the government.

"As a matter of fact they can and should do much more to analyse structural weaknesses and to point out contradictions and stupidities in our daily lives. For instance the many 'nevers' of some politicians which are certainly not 'nevers' any more."

Dr Marais said it was obvious that one of South Africa's most vital needs was "balanced viewpoint" newspapers in the English language, "free of any narrow party political propaganda features."

## 'One-sided'

For too long, he added, too many visitors had left the Republic with "a completely one-sided perspective."

"Is it not appalling that when a top South African such as our Dr Danie Craven returns from overseas, the first thing he says on television is more or less 'You shouldn't believe what you read in the newspapers'?"

Do we not hear this remark all too frequently?

"Isn't it also true that in view of our two official languages our many developing racial groups and the media division as it is, too many people are conditioned in a completely one-sided manner by the particular newspapers they read and the particular people they almost exclusively communicate with?"

communication, not isolation."

Dr Marais said all news items and articles should carry the names of the journalists responsible for them and he also proposed that the names of all editors should appear in their newspapers and that the curriculum vitae of each editor should be known and be freely available.

"The public should get to know their journalists. This will make journalists act more responsibly and they will be able to build a good name and reputation for themselves."

Dr Marais said that in reference to the press in South Africa he felt he should quote the well-known United States "anchor man" or news commentator Walter Cronkite who had said:

"As a journalist one has an enormous responsibility. I have gossip and sensation journalism which does not subscribe to this responsibility. People producing that kind of journalism are not reporters but employers of a publishing house. That is something essentially different."

Asked by the chairman of the commission Mr Justice M T Steyn if he did not think journalism was an exact science Dr Marais said he would agree that this was so.

"I submit that journalism is as exact a science as that of the engineer or the physician and words are precision tools which must be used accordingly. Words can destroy — or they can build up."

Dr Marais quoted a recent article in the Cape Times by Willem Steenkamp, this newspaper's defence reporter and said he agreed with Steenkamp that "press regulation is basically damaging."

He said "many excellent and capable journalists both English and Afrikaans" had told him how disappointed and frustrated and often disgruntled and disgusted they were with the way certain of their articles and news items were "spiked" by "the press bosses higher up — for party-political or other selfish reasons."

He had also been told that journalistic talents were being wasted through poor working conditions. Lack of secretarial assistants, poor telephone services and other facilities plus the fact that in many cases journalists were being used to fill the space between the ads were some reasons given by frustrated journalists who had left the profession.

Dr Marais recommended to the commission among other things that:

- A non-political and impartial body of personalities such as judges or retired judges with appropriate staff be appointed to observe, research report on and fulfil an educational function with reference to all media reporting.

This body which should be completely separate from the Press Council or any other media connection could be known as the Observance Research Reporting and Educational Council (ORRECO).

- Particular attention be given to the formal training of journalists
- A register of journalists on the same basis as those for doctors and teachers be instituted
- Awards for outstanding journalism be made on the basis of accuracy in reporting, comprehensive news coverage, projection of a true and realistic perspective and balanced viewpoint, investigative achievements impartially in approach and statesmanship in media function



# Lawyers

## condemn

RDM 3/1/81

## Post ban

(227) (243)  
Staff Reporter

THE Johannesburg Bar Society has stated that there is "ample legislation" for dealing with people responsible for a newspaper policy that was a danger to the State

In a statement yesterday, condemning the recent effective bannings of Post and Sunday Post newspapers, the society said "If reasonable grounds exist for suspecting that an offence has been committed by those responsible for the publication of newspapers, the Rule of Law requires they should be charged with the offence and duly tried"

If no such grounds exist, it continued, "the Minister has violated the Rule of Law by the method he has used to ensure the closure of the newspapers"

The stopping of their publication as a result of Ministerial threat of banning should be a matter of "deep concern" to lawyers in South Africa

The action constituted an erosion of one of the basic tenets of a democratic society — freedom of the Press

# Truly Free Press Needed

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Own Correspondent

TOWN — Dr Jay Marais, National Party MP for Stellenbosch and a prominent Communist and banker told the Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media yesterday he wanted to see a free press in the true and full sense of the term — in Africa.

“I would like our Press to be to admit that they are as free as they can be — than preferably free — than a society that themselves suggest”

truth-seeking Press, always projecting the news as accurately, fully, and fairly as humanly possible, and aimed at creating a true and correct perspective and a balanced viewpoint.

“A free Press should not mean a licence to lie — and it must be remembered that a lie can be, and often is, cleverly disguised in an infinite variety of packages”

Dr Marais said South Africa had some of the finest journalists and newspapers in the world — I say this without hesitation — and I am mightily proud of it.

“They often play most important roles for the benefit of the community. It is good, for instance, that they often make life difficult for the Government”

He said it was obvious that one of South Africa's most vital needs was “balanced viewpoint newspapers in the English language — “free of any narrow party political propaganda features.”

For too long, he added, too many visitors had left South Africa with “a completely one-sided perspective.”

“Is it not appalling that when a top South African, such as Dr Danie Craven returns from overseas, the first thing he says on television is more or less ‘You shouldn't believe what you read in the newspapers?’”

Dr Marais said all news reports should carry the names of the journalists responsible for them. He also proposed that the names of all editors should appear in their newspapers, and that the curriculum vitae of each editor should be known and freely available.

He said many “capable journalists”, both English and Afrikaans, had told him how disappointed, frustrated and often disgusted they were with the way certain of their reports were “spiked” by “the Press bosses high up — for party political or other self reasons.”

Asked by the commission chairman, Mr Justice M Steyn, if he thought journalism was an exact science, Dr Marais said “I submit that journalism is as exact a science as that of the engineer or the physicist, and words are precise tools which must be used accordingly. Words can destroy — or they can build up.”

He recommended, among other things that there be a register of journalists, just as there was for doctors and teachers.

legitimate Press freedom in your opinion?

Jooste: Every Prime Minister has tried to meddle with Press freedom — from Churchill to P. W. Botha. What they don't realise is that immediately they do so, the Press (by definition) disappears, because the Press is the free expression of thought. The Press cannot be messaged around. As long as thought builds South Africa, it must have its freedom but if its against South Africa...

Q: Then what do you think of the Government's threats that lay behind the Argus Company's closure of Post and Sunday Post?

A: The judgment on whether or not to close down a newspaper should not be with the Government. It should be with some body like the Appeal Court or the Press Council under Mr Justice Galgut. In that way, the matter can be clearly considered — whether the newspaper is against the rights of all the people in South Africa, not just the whites. I would suggest that if the Government tried (to close the Press), they would get such a kick in the backside it's not true.

Q: From whom?

A: From the world and from their own people. You can't govern democratically without newspapers because then it's not a democracy.

Q: But the Government banned World and Weekend World

A: I must confess I don't know the reasons But cut it this way: Why

know which way they are going.

But we are going to have lots of trouble still. And I'm of the opinion that the SAAN roup, if Mr Harry Oppenheimer does not intervene, will land in the mud not too long from now because they aren't scared.

Q: To get back: Your opinion of the Government's threat of banning?

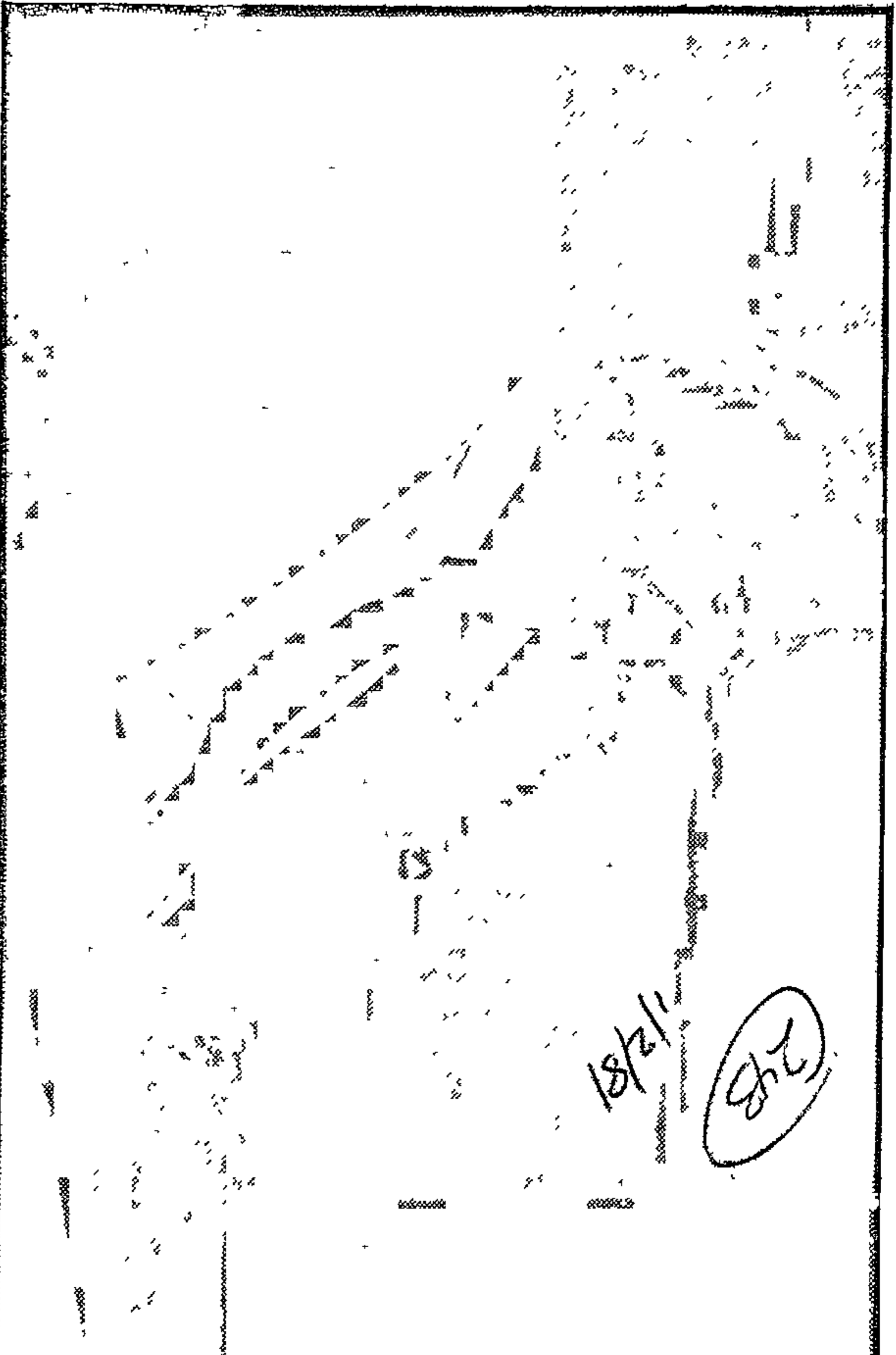
A: I'm not suggesting that they should not have closed down those black papers, but (I don't like) the manner in which they did it. And now I'm going to say something that hurts me. To close a newspaper is the work of the top man in your party, or 10 parties. It's something that needs a lot of thought and complete knowledge of what he is doing. And I say to you: That was not done in this case. The manner in which you close a newspaper is so important that you cannot get junior Ministers to do it. It's one of the most dangerous things a Government can do.

Q: Why so dangerous?

A: I have yet to see a man who has made a success of it. Closing newspapers is something children don't play with. You have got to convince the world that it was necessary.

Q: Perskor and you came under a lot of fire over the falsification of circulation figures by three Perskor papers. Are you bloodied and beaten?

A: The thing I disliked about this episode was the hatred that emanated from the Afrikaans Press and also the Rand Daily Mail from Nasionale Pers (the other big Afrikaans Press



# THOUGHTS OF GILMAN MARIUS

VADERLAND fired him when he was a young advertising executive. A few years later he took over the newspaper. After 46 years in newspapers, he doesn't mince his words, he just chooses them carefully. He will pick his nose while he talks of any South African Prime Minister since the war, most of whom have been both his friends — and political debtors.

But this week the "Boere Beaverbrook." Marius Jooste stepped aside as the executive Chairman of Afrikaans Press giant Perskor. He's going upstairs to controlling Dagbreek

Bloodied but, he says, not beaten by the years of Press and political battles — the latest being the circulation scandals at Transvaler, Vaderland and the Citizen — he spoke to the Sunday Tribune's HOWARD BARRELL this week. Among others, he expressed his misgivings about the government banning of newspapers his distress about the "hatred" between different sectors of the Press, and his confidence that the Afrikaner would still be in South Africa in 20 years time.

to court But we will see

I've had Hertzog, Malan, Struydom Verwoerd and

anything I can do to help,

A: For the black ma

Handwritten notes: 248 (circled), 12/81

do the Argus Group close down their newspapers so early. I've had the whole Government trying to kill me before, but I haven't closed down.

**Q:** But what is your opinion of the threats to ban the two newspapers, Post and Sunday Post.

**A:** (The Government) can't do it. It's impossible, absolutely impossible. I have been in the newspaper game nearly 50 years and I've seen dozens of Prime Ministers and all kinds of hoodlums try to close down the Press. I was in Paris when De Gaulle tried it and he was one of the toughest cookies ever. You get me

**Q:** But World and Weekend World were banned.

**A:** Then why did the English Press take it so easily. Why didn't they start "Tomorrow's World" the next day? Why not?

**Q:** Or the "next world"

**A:** Ag no, man. That's an answer. These fellows were using the word Azania and flogging the thought of Azania. I'm not suggesting it's wrong. But under present circumstances, it's bad manners.

What I'm getting at is: It's very peculiar that Argus is always on the

defendant because they've got their shirt hanging out of their pants. But I never knew there was such hatred in the South African Press.

You take the Audit Bureau of Circulations throwing Perskor people out. Now they want to know if I will join up with them again. Why? I was possibly the oldest newspaper person in town. Why did they do that? No, we aren't beaten.

We just had a few people here at Perskor who thought they were being very clever by handling circulations in this way. I must tell you candidly that I didn't know about it. If I did, I would say so. It's useless lying in a situation like this — the truth will out.

If 20 people in your (Argus) group did the same thing, would people go at your managing director in this way? Or would they put them in jail? I'm asking you a question. Why did they go for me and my group in that way? The man who put the dogs onto those people (reasonable) was me. Some of them are now in jail, but other people don't know that. There was a certain amount of theft.

Now they (Nasionale Pers) are suing us for R7-million and we are going

dict will happen in the circulation battle between Perskor's Transvaler and Nasionale Pers' Beeld for the Rand Afrikaans morning newspaper market.

**A:** Perskor is far too big to push around. I've got five daily newspapers in Johannesburg and they have got one. I'm also bigger than Argus in Johannesburg-Pretoria.

**Q:** So the Transvaler-Beeld battle will remain neck and neck with no prospect of amalgamation.

**A:** Or neck and tail.

**Q:** What is the reason for your resignation? Is it that political currents are changing, or the circulation scandal, or both?

**A:** There's a certain amount of truth in the first part of your question.

Vorster heading the show in my time. Now there is one (Prime Minister P. W. Botha) who is closer to Nasionale Pers. At my age I don't get the same amount of thrill in the battle. That's the best way I can put it. I leave that to my editors now.

With regard to my getting out of the fight because of the circulation backwash, the whole thing was solved while I was on the job. And, for the first six months of the year, we are declaring a profit of R6-million — that covers the period of the circulation problems.

When I was in the Cape recently, I had a bit of a raw time with my health and I've decided to come back, sit on the sidelines and to watch the people fighting. If there's

**Q:** How do you think the black Press should fight its struggle?

**A:** How did the Afrikaners ask you?

**Q:** Through disciplined struggle?

**A:** A hell of a struggle.

**Q:** But now we are dealing with a situation permeated with violence. That time wasn't so violent was it?

**A:** It was violent in that they used pieces of wood and wooden missiles etc. They "donnered" each other. But they never shot or killed.

It's the story of the Afrikaners all over again, all over again to a tee.

**Q:** What is the black struggle for, in your opi-

and the yellow man and the green man to find his feet. And this will take the next 20 years — and a lot of tough things will happen. But eventually the right thing will happen. Don't ask me what that is.

I started Perskor 46 years ago with much the same feelings that the black people have now. And now that we have got it, things are changing. But one thing is certain: The Afrikaner will still be here in 20 years' time. South Africans will be here. But I'm not so sure of the real Englishmen — I don't mean those South Africans with English forebears, because some of them are as tough as Afrikaners. The real Englishmen will run away, like some of them have done from Zimbabwe.

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1/2/81  
S. Tribune

FACULTY OF ENGINEERING

Corporation Medals

For the  
of the 2

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Miss

Third

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Fourth

P M Sc

T J Cu

D P We

J H Pe

B F Mc

Professor  
Awarded on  
examination  
student in  
Civil Eng.

J H Rens

Sammy Sack  
Awarded to  
best class  
Drawing.

L. Menegaldo

A F & C I F  
For the first  
obtaining the  
mark.

G L Cragg

CHEMICAL

By MONTSHIWA MOKOKE  
BISHOP Desmond Tutu general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, warned at the weekend that more detentions and bannings were to be expected in South Africa.

Bishop Tutu was addressing the first annual congress of the Southern Transvaal regional branch of the Media Workers' Association of SA (Mwasas) at the Dube YWCA, Soweto.

He said it was becoming increasingly hazardous to be a journalist in South Africa — and even more so to be a black journalist trying to write the truth as seen by the community.

"In less than two months five of your colleagues in Mwasas have been clubbed," he told delegates. "Why? Simply and solely because it has become an occupational hazard to be a journalist in South Africa."

"If of course that we are going to attain freedom in South Africa in five years but the cost is going to be horrendous. The struggle is going to be costly."

"Many are still going to be detained, barred, harassed."

He said black journalists had two choices: "You have to decide whether you are going to soft-pedal and survive or risk this new occupational hazard. You are now, clearly in the front line."

He said it was clear the Government regarded black people as the enemy when it spoke of the total onslaught.

"Even when we say that we are striving for and committed to peaceful change, we are regarded as the enemy. Even when all people are engaged in peaceful, democratic ways they are still regarded as the enemy."

He has seen that white people are

not prepared to fight the white hog with us. Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said he was opposed to majority rule in South Africa. Mind you he is the best that white people can offer.

Bishop Tutu expressed support for black organisations including Mwasas that were trying to remove our shackles, and not only to ease the chains from our hands."

If blacks wanted to "remove their chains" they should also be prepared to face the consequences — detentions, bannings, and other forms of oppression.

Whites in South Africa must make use of the present time to make friends with blacks, before it was too late, he said.

Bishop Tutu said he believed that South Africa would have a black Prime Minister in five to 10 years.

Mr Goba Ndlovu, chairman of the

Southern Transvaal branch of Mwasas, told the congress the Government was out to "strangle" black trade unions, Sapa reports.

He said the bannings of newspapers and Mwasas members were part of an effort to strangle the "determained, unavoidable and emergent black trade unions."

Mr Ndlovu was delivering the opening address.

Mwasas had taken its place as an independent union and brought together a rare array of intellect and articulate scholars, he said. It was an articulate organisation. It called for "maximum effort" from the working masses.

An executive member of the Black Priests' Solidarity Group, the Rev Buti Phlagale, appealed to black workers to unite and help bring about political changes in South Africa.

PDH 2/2/91 243  
TUTU WARMS UP Mwasas OF MORE CANS

STAK 2/2/81  
Tutu warns  
Mwasa on  
more action

Political Staff

Members of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) were warned at their first annual congress at the weekend that the Government would move against them unless they applied self censorship

The warning was given by the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, when he addressed the congress on Saturday morning

He said: "You journalists have only two options. You can write what pleases the Government or write the truth about the plight of blacks as you see it

"The second option will definitely put you in trouble because the Government will take exception and will act against you as they have acted against your colleagues

"There will be more detentions, bannings and trials," he said.

Bishop Tutu said Mwasa members had, in the past, represented the truth with regard to black issues

STAR 2/2/81  
Sowetan.  
(775) (243)  
'mirror of  
our society'

"Without fear or favour"  
— the great rallying cry  
of the British Press — was  
evoked in a front-page  
editorial of the Sowetan  
today, out on the streets  
to replace Post.

The Sowetan, which will  
circulate throughout Pre-  
toria, the Witwatersrand  
and Vereeniging, starts  
off with an unequivocal  
statement of intent

Says the editorial "We  
are a newspaper that will  
serve YOU, the black  
majority of this country

"Our objective is to give  
you honest, independent  
and responsible reporting  
We will not pander to per-  
sonal or sectional interests,  
but will be concerned  
solely with the public in-  
terest

"We will serve as the  
mirror of our society We  
will reflect our aspirations  
— political, educational,  
economic and social

" to that end we will  
fight injustices wherever  
they may occur We will  
expose exploitation of our  
people We will expose so-  
cial political and economic  
ills in our country without  
fear or favour

# 18 Post journalists (243) 2/2/81 are retrenched (243) 2/2/81

A total of 18 editorial employees of the now-defunct Post and Sunday Post newspapers have been retrenched.

Mr John Gittins, manager of the Sowetan, said the retrenchments were made necessary because of the closure of Post, and the way the Sowetan, Post's replacement, would be run.

Retrenchments started last Monday and 18 editorial staff members were affected, he said.

The retrenched members included reporters, sub editors, and photographers. Mr Gittins said no members of the editorial

staff were transferred to other Argus newspapers.

A report read at the annual congress of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) said the Government was trying to cripple the union by banning its elected leadership.

However, the union would continue to show the Government that it "might ban the people, ban organisations, but they could not ban their ideas".

Five members of Mwasa, the black journalists' union, have been banned.

96

CHEMICAL

L Menegaldo

Drawing.

Sammy Sacks Memorial Prize  
Awarded to the student with the best classwork in Engineering.

J H Rens

Civil Engineering.

Professor George Menzies Prize  
Awarded on results of final examinations to the best male student in Land Surveying or

B F McClelland

J H Rens

D P Weeks

T J Cumming

P M Salmon

Fourth Year (Gold Medal)

Miss N.C. Davidson

Third Year (Silver Medal)

Miss G. C. Littlewort

Second Year (Bronze Medal)

Corporation Medals  
For the best student in each of the 2nd, 3rd and final years.

FACULTY OF ENGINEERING



# 'Ombudsman needed as watchdog over Press'

STAR 3/2/84 (243)

**Own Correspondent**  
CAPE TOWN — An ombudsman should be appointed to settle disputes between newspapers and individuals or bodies quickly and cheaply

This is the view of the head of the department of political science at the University of Cape Town, Professor Anthony de Crespigny

Such an ombudsman should be independent of both newspapers and the State.

Giving evidence yesterday before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media, Professor de Crespigny, a member of the President's Council who described himself as a liberal in the old English tradition, said that if such a system was not brought into being, it was not improbable that the freedoms which newspapers enjoyed would be substantially diminished by legislation

"This would be an enormous loss with unfortunate repercussions," he said.

An ombudsman system should be vigorous and

effective and constitute a real deterrent to the misuse of Press freedom.

The Press Council did not seem to provide sufficient protection of the public's legitimate interests.

"The University of Cape Town's board of reference is also insufficiently protective," he said

While not denying the importance of Press freedom, Professor de Crespigny said that when it competed with other social values — such as

security — a decision should be taken as to which had precedence.

Journalists, like academics, had no right to spread propaganda or carry out indoctrination by inventing favourable facts and suppressing inconvenient ones

Journalists and academics should act honestly and responsibly. This duty became particularly important in South Africa's deeply divided society

Professor de Crespigny said that a degree of

diversity of viewpoints aroused reflection which promoted stability.

He said the Government did not have an unqualified right to censor, and censorship remained wrong

On the dangers of the high degree of politicalisation at South African universities, he said it led to glaring injustices and indoctrination in socially controversial departments

It adversely affected academic study and was an insult to students.

## Freedom 'a sacred cow'

CAPE TOWN — Dr J S Gericke, vice-chancellor of the University of Stellenbosch, said in evidence before the Steyn Commission yesterday democracy in most Western countries was being robbed of its muscle-power by "a sort of liberalism which sees every form of freedom as a sacred cow"

South Africa was one of the countries that could not afford this "luxury" threatening its survival

Dr Gericke said control measures should be seen as a protection of democracy "Democracy can only survive if it has two legs on which to stand — freedom and responsibility.

"If we don't want this to become a crippled country, the State and the media must ensure the freedom leg does not grow faster than the leg of responsibility."

Dr Gericke said South

Africa was in an extremely delicate and dangerous position, both in its external and internal relationships

"This places certain restrictions on every citizen of the country, in what he says, writes and does. If such restrictions, where they are not respected, have to be given the force of law, this must be welcomed by everyone — including the media"

## Control over journalistic standards needed — Raw

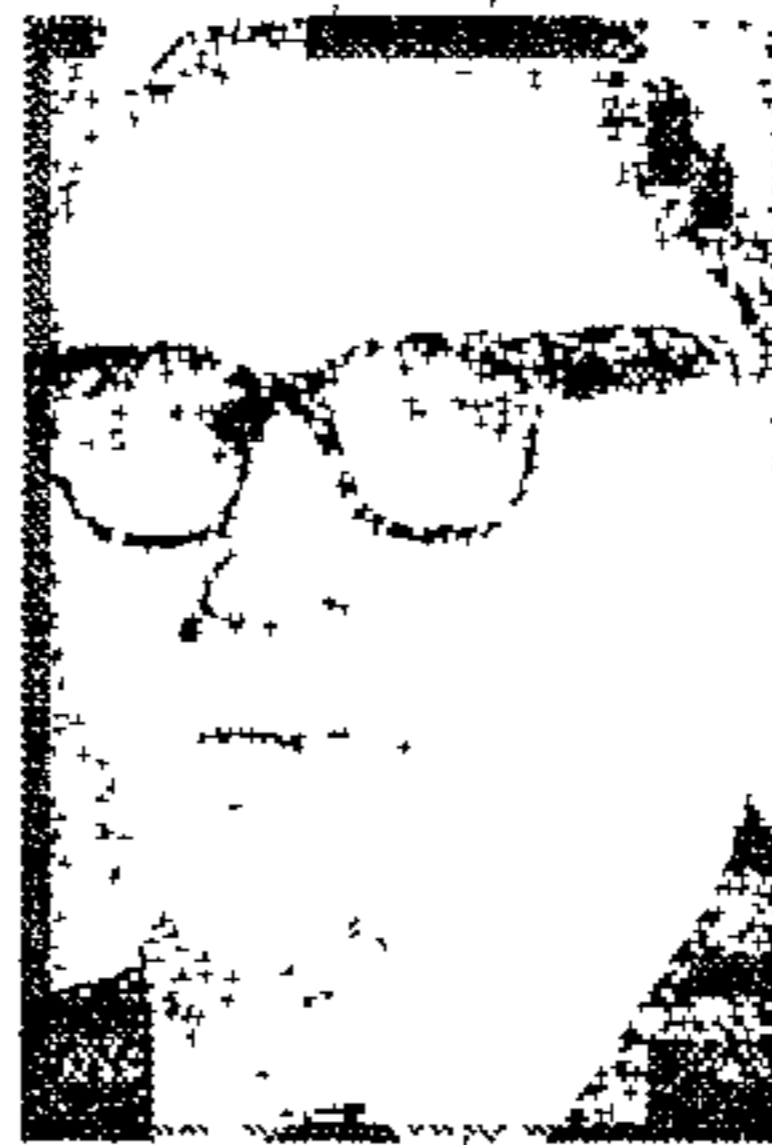
CAPE TOWN — The newspaper industry should work out and administer some form of statutory control over journalistic standards, the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Vause Raw, told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media yesterday.

Giving evidence before the commission he said the NRP stood committed to the fundamental democratic principle of the freedom of the Press. This, he said, required recognition that:

- The freedom of the individual was indivisibly linked to his right to express freely his opinions in the public media;

- The right of the public to be informed truthfully and accurately on matters of public interest was equally important in a free country, and

- That the only limitation to these rights should be confined to universally accepted conditions such



MR VAUSE RAW

as libel, subversion of the legal authority, incitement to crime, violence or racial conflict, pornography and demonstrable misrepresentation.

### INFLUENCE

It was not disputed, he said, that the mass media wielded tremendous power in influencing public thinking and it was axiomatic in democracy that the exercise of power was subject to direct re-

sponsibility to the people.

"Since power without responsibility is a negation of democracy, when the only responsibility of a newspaper is towards its shareholders, who are primarily interested in profits, some other method of establishing responsibility for public conduct is necessary

"Control should not be in the hands of government in a democratic country," Mr Raw said.

Earlier, Mr Raw said the only final solution to violent revolution was the elimination of the causes of discontent through political action.

He said the media had to evaluate their role in the achievement of peaceful change and the price to themselves of failure to achieve such change — Sapa.

# Inquiry told of 'sacred cow of liberalism'

243 CT 3/3/81

## Chief Reporter

DR J S GERICKE, vice-chancellor of the University of Stellenbosch, said in evidence before the Steyn commission of inquiry into the mass media yesterday that democracy in nearly all Western countries was being robbed of its muscle-power by "a sort of liberalism which sees every form of freedom as a sacred cow"

South Africa, he said, was one of the countries that could not afford this "luxury", which was threatening its survival

Dr Gericke, speaking in a private capacity, said control measures must be seen as a protection of democracy

"Democracy can survive only if it has two legs on which to stand — freedom and responsibility

## 'Freedom leg'

"If we don't want this to become a crippled country, the State and the media must ensure that the freedom leg does not grow faster than the leg of responsibility

"The solution must be found in a healthy balance between the two. And there are few bodies that can make a more significant contribution towards achieving this objective than the media itself — if they would just try to, in all seriousness and honesty"

Dr Gericke, a former moderator of the general and synods of the Ned Geref Kerk, said that South Africa was in an extremely delicate and dangerous position, both in its external and its internal relationships

## Restrictions

"This places certain restrictions on every citizen of the

## Steyn Commission of Inquiry

country in what he says, writes and does. If such restrictions, where they are not respected, have to be given the force of law, then this must be welcomed by everyone — including the media"

Dr Gericke said that if legislation were introduced to ensure that press freedom was not misused, this would not be a diminution of press freedom

The occupation of journalism should be raised to professional status, and that in all professions specialist training was essential. The University of Stellenbosch had accepted this fact and it was for this reason

that a department of journalism had been established there

## 'Formidable'

The journalist's calling was one of formidable responsibility, and he was in great measure involved with the welfare of a country and its people. The high calling and the important task of the newspaperman surely justified the demand for spe-

cialist training

State control over the media could be justified only in an emergency situation

"It must, however, be remembered that such a situation is not only created by a disaster such as, for example war, but also by the actions of the media itself

"There are examples of this in history"

Dr Gericke said that so far as he was concerned, the Newspaper Press Union's argument that a journalist could not be defined in the way other professional people could be defined "simply does not hold water"

"Noone must come and tell me that his profession defies

definition"

Dr Gericke concluded by saying that he had never prayed so hard for a commission, in its deliberations, as he was praying for the Steyn commission

Mr Matthys Botha, a retired diplomat who at one time was South Africa's ambassador to the United Nations, said that every effort had to be made to neutralize the extraordinary international attack on this country which had continued for 35 years and which had in recent years intensified

The media in South Africa could play a major role in this regard

"This does not mean to say they will be expected to give anything but the factual truth about events, but twisting and misrepresentation, and exaggeration motivated by internal political considerations, must be avoided, in the light of the fact that such reports find their way overseas

"Our friends and supporters overseas do not expect a picture of us in which everything is made to look rosy — but they do long for encouraging news, of progress in our race relations, and there is so much we can tell them about in this connection"

● The Steyn commission is expected to finish its Cape Town sitting tomorrow

## Control mass media — Raw

### Chief Reporter

MR VAUSE RAW, leader of the New Republic Party, said before the Steyn commission of inquiry into the mass media yesterday that journalism was not regulated as other professions were and some form of statutory authority to provide control of standards was necessary.

This, he added, should be worked out and administered by the industry itself, as was the case in other fields such as medicine, engineering and architecture

"Control should not be in the hands of government in a democratic society."

Mr Raw said that the mass media itself should create voluntarily an effective regulatory body and a comprehensive code of conduct which would ensure that the high moral and ethical standards claimed by the press in general were not breached by "weak brothers" who placed other objectives first — whether these were political aims or merely the expanding of circulation

There was also obviously a need for much better liaison and co-operation between state departments and the media, which could eliminate much of the present criticism.

"Demands for state control will not change this weakness. Neither will the present situation be improved and recurring threats of state control be eliminated unless the present inad-

equated sanctions against abuse are considerably strengthened."

Mr Raw said it surprised him that there was "such violent opposition" by journalists to any suggestion that their profession be granted the status and statutory recognition to enable them to regulate their own affairs and ethics "in the same way that other professions — for example teachers — fought hard for and are still fighting for proper 'teeth'.

"I do not consider journalism as a 'profession' but rather as an 'occupation'. In the same way I do not consider being a member of parliament as a profession. It is nevertheless a public service occupation which demands certain standards and ethics.

"I believe any occupation that confers particular privileges and rights should be subject to adequate and effective control over the exercise of those rights."

Professor Anthony de Crespigny, head of the Department of Political Science at the University of Cape Town, who also gave evidence before the Steyn commission yesterday, said disputes between newspapers, individuals and bodies should be settled by an ombudsman, independent of the newspaper industry and of the state

An ombudsman system should be vigorous and effective, and constitute a real deterrent to the misuse of press freedom.

The existing Press Council, he said, was not enough as it did not seem to sufficiently protect the legitimate interests of the public

# Quality 'Mail' <sup>(243)</sup> RDM grows 4 1/2% steadily

THE Rand Daily Mail has made significant gains in circulation since the drop it took in July last year when it was re-designated as a higher quality newspaper at an increased price of 25c.

At the end of October when the "Mail" took out an interim Audit Bureau of Circulations figure to disclose its position, the average daily sale since the price increase was 104 191.

The latest ABC certificate shows that the "Mail" averaged 107 000 in October, 117 500 in November and just under 113 000 in December.

December's figure was achieved despite the traditional drop in circulation caused by school vacations and the holiday exodus from the Transvaal.

# SAP deny former Perskor boss' <sup>ROM 4/2/31</sup> 'jail' statement <sup>(243)</sup>

By MARTIN FEINSTEIN

THE Commercial Branch of the South African Police has denied a statement by the former chairman of Perskor, Mr Marius Jooste, that some of those involved in the publishing company's circulation scandal last year have been jailed.

In an interview with a Durban newspaper this week, Mr Jooste said "Some of them are now in jail, but other people don't know that. There was a certain amount of theft."

Mr Jooste, who left Perskor last week to head its controlling organisation, Dagbreek Trust, was referring to last year's inflation of the circulation figures of three of Perskor's Witwatersrand daily newspapers — The Citizen, Die Vaderland and Die Transvaler.

However, the heads of both the national and Johannesburg sections of the Commercial Branch, Brigadier Theo Scherman and Colonel "Nollie" Hulme, said as far as they

knew there had been no prosecutions stemming from the scandal.

Asked to confirm his statement yesterday, Mr Jooste said it was "true."

"They are up for that kind of thing because there was theft involved," he said, but refused to elaborate.

In the interview, Mr Jooste said he had known nothing of the figures swindle.

"We just had a few people here at Perskor who thought they were being very clever by handling circulations in this way."

"I must tell you candidly that I knew nothing about it. If I did, I would say so. It's useless lying in a situation like this — the truth will out."

Mr Jooste also disclosed in the interview that Nasionale Pers, Perskor's rival publishing house, was suing the company for R7m.

"We are going to court. But we will see," he said.

# Nat MP accuses Press of 'unbridled excesses'

CAPE TOWN — "Unbridled and offensive excesses in the Press" could not go unchecked, Mr G P D Terblanche, MP for Bloemfontein North and Chief Information Officer for the National Party, told the Steyn Commission into the Mass Media

He said these excesses have had to be endured already and were "self-destructive."

If the Press went "completely out of control"

and allowed self-discipline to go by the board, the Government would have no choice but to act, however reluctantly, he said

Mr Terblanche, the last person to testify before the Commission at its Cape Town sitting, prefaced his evidence by saying he was speaking in his private capacity, and as a former newspaperman.

Full Press freedom did

not exist anywhere "and in every Western country, even in the super-democracy of the United States, newspapers and other news media are subject to the laws of the land

Nowhere in the world freedom from restraint.

The Government valued Press freedom and that "we have all got reason to be proud of the high

degree of freedom that is enjoyed by the Press in South Africa, as in only a handful of countries of the world

"It will be a sad day when this high degree has to be curtailed because a few mavericks in the Press world refuse to bow to discipline"

## DUTY

Journalists must make it their task to ensure that the South African community had a "responsible, ethical and decent" Press so that the Government would be spared the unpleasant duty of interfering in Press affairs

Mr Terblanche said that what was basically wrong with "some of our newspapers" was that Press freedom and responsibility were not being held in balance, and a section of the Press must restrain itself in its hatred of the Government, and must stop seeking confrontation with it

"These reckless newspapers must, to make peace with the Government, in future show greater discretion and reasonableness in their attitude" — Sapa.

# Stringers fan hate, says ex-envoy

## Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — While overseas, he had always been proud of the South African Press, the quality of whose coverage was among the world's best, Mr M Botha, a retired ambassador, told the commission.

He said the big "sinners" were stringers who either because of their hatred of the Government or because of their interest in the publication of their reports in the overseas media, made those reports as sensation-

al as possible.

Often, Mr Botha said, the stringer compiles reports which are not dated.

They could be used by anti-SA newspapers to negate favourable reports from South Africa or even to neutralise unfavourable reports from other parts of Africa.

South African newspapers tended to be divided, with the Afrikaans Press putting the Government view and the English Press that of the opposition.

Mr Justice Steyn asked if this were true in all

matters, or only in politics. "For instance, what is your view on the coverage of the flood tragedy in Laingsburg, and the other affected areas of the Karoo?"

Mr Botha replied "Both the English and Afrikaans Press have made a fine job of this, and appear to have put aside any differences in reports of an extremely high standard"

Mr Justice Steyn said "They have also started funds to which they have donated generously and shown the plight of the victim."

# One Press law needed—editor

## Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The multitude of laws which affect the media in South Africa should be contained in one Press law which would make the task for editors and journalists considerably easier, Mr Claude van Wyk, editor of the NRP publication Volkstem told the Steyn Commission into the Mass Media yesterday.

Giving evidence before the commission, he said close co-operation in the

should be sought with bodies such as the Newspaper Press Union.

Mr van Wyk said a free Press was necessary to maintain South Africa's image as a democracy overseas

If this freedom was curtailed it could neutralise all the effects overseas of reforms in this country, he said

South Africa could not afford a Press which was subject to State control and was obstructed in its duty to properly inform

In any event, he continued, every writer saw situations in a different perspective and this would probably be the case with different newspapers.

Conflicting versions of events would remain unavoidable, Mr Van Wyk said, but any control must be restricted to legislation which would make prosecution possible for flagrant misrepresentations, purposely telling untruths, irresponsible reporting

and racial or group hatred.

Under "irrepressible reporting," Mr van Wyk said, would be incidents where reasonable steps to verify allegations were not taken

It was easy to force a newspaper to apologise for wrongful reporting, but that did not neutralise the damage caused by the original report

Reporting such as this must be discouraged by the strongest steps he

News items should be translated: lecturer

## Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—A political science lecturer at the University of Cape Town has suggested to the Steyn Commission into the Mass Media that the State fund a digest of English translations of leading items in Afrikaans papers countrywide.

Mr Peter Collins, who told the commission he had been in South Africa for five years, said should the complaint be made that such a weekly would be an instrument not of true free opinion but of National Party propaganda the State should also fund a digest translated into Afrikaans of the main items in the English Press

## ALTERNATIVE

An alternative scheme, which would have the advantage of overcoming the parochialism of South Africa's Press, would be a State-funded dual-language digest of the main items in all newspapers

"In either case, the principle applies that a truly free Press requires competition"

He said it was also manifestly bad for overseas opinion of South Africa to be disproportionately moulded by a partisan, English-language Press.

## OMBUDSMAN

Mr Collins also mooted the establishment of an independent, judiciary-based ombudsman system to which private citizens could have an entrenched right of access

Private citizens were particularly vulnerable to the Press Not only could they typically not afford litigation when they were unjustly damaged by journalists but such litigation

4/2/81 (245)

'Govt  
RDM  
should  
4/2/81  
work  
with  
media'

243

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Mr Claude van Wyk, editor of the Volkstem, mouthpiece of the New Republic Party, told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media yesterday the Government should be persuaded to work more closely with the media in providing information that was in the public interest. "I believe further it should be possible for an editor to approach the Advocate-General or a similar authority if he is convinced a responsible official is trying to conceal information or facts."

Mr Van Wyk said it was also desirable that the Prime Minister or the Information Minister should hold discussions with heads of the media, and take them into their confidence on the background to current events.

"This would also afford an opportunity to air different viewpoints and complaints in connection with news coverage, and would thus be in the interest of better understanding between the Government and the media."

Mr Van Wyk said a free Press was essential if South Africa were to maintain a democratic image abroad. If this freedom were to be curtailed this would neutralise the positive results that any steps towards reform would have overseas.

Reports in the media that were irresponsible or calculated to create ill-will between the races or sections of the community could be dealt with through normal legal procedures.

Mr Van Wyk submitted that all legislation affecting the media should be consolidated in one statute.

Mr Peter Collins, a lecturer in political science at the University of Cape Town, said Press freedom was always desirable but was not the only social good and must always be to some extent curtailed when it conflicted with other overriding values. The requirements of justice in relation to court reporting and the laws of libel were clearly cases in point.

Freedom, said Mr Collins, re-

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freedom. "It is manifestly bad for opinion about South Africa abroad to be disproportionately moulded by a partisan, English-language Press which reflects the views of a majority neither of whites nor of blacks. On the other hand the vigour with which the Government allows itself to be attacked is a major diplomatic asset in its relations with the West."

FACULTY OF ENG

# Steyn <sup>CT</sup> 5/2/81 hearings move <sup>(243)</sup>

## Chief Reporter

THE Steyn commission of inquiry into the mass media has completed its two-week Cape Town sitting, and its hearing of evidence in public will be continued on Monday in Durban, after which the commission will move to Bloemfontein

The commission's first public hearing of evidence was in Johannesburg last month

A total of 21 people testified before the commission at its Cape Town sitting, including representatives of the four major newspaper groupings on a Newspaper Press Union delegation that put the NPU's viewpoint

Others who testified included MPs of the National Party and the New Republic Party, academics, two retired diplomats, a public relations officer and two newspaper editors, Mr A H Heard of the Cape Times, and Mr Claude van Wyk of the Volkstem, the monthly mouthpiece of the NRP.

The chairman of the commission is Mr Justice M T Steyn, a former administrator-general of SWA/Namibia Other members are Mr K P C O von Lieres, Dr D A S Herbst, Mr J H Hopkins and Mr Basil Landau

CHEMICAL

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Land Surveying or  
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Professor George Menzies Prize

B F McClelland

J H Rens

D P Weeks

T J Cumming

P M Salmon

Fourth Year (Gold Medal)

Miss N C Davidson

Third Year (Silver Medal)

Miss G C Littlewort

Second Year (Bronze Medal)

of the 2nd, 3rd and final years.

For the best student in each

Corporation Medals

FACULTY OF ENGINEERING

● CILLA DUFF talks to the man in the new hot seat of black news . . .

# Joe's <sup>5/12/81</sup> ~~sw~~ walkings <sup>2/23</sup> the thin line <sup>2/23</sup>

Down in Blumber Road, Joe Latakomo is walking the thin line of publish and be damned

First the issue of his gutsy new tabloid, Sowetan, hit the street on Monday, February 2, three sharply silent months after its predecessor, Post, fell victim to the countrywide malaise of strikes and was subsequently banned

Latakomo, now in former Post editor Percy Qoboza's hot seat, introduced the new daily with a fearlessly pungent leader page article on the problems of the black Press

"Must a black newspaper not mirror society because the Government does not like the images it sees?" he challenged. "Indeed, the Government's attitude has been If we don't like the images we see in this horror, we will smash it"

In the spartan editorial offices of the old Post, still smelling of fresh paint and showing a cheerless absence of pictures and potplants, Latakomo spent a 14-hour pre-publication Sunday, pulling together his peppy 24-pager and tapping out a viewpoint piece at 45 words a minute

"It is perfectly clear why the Government is so scared of a black Press which reflects black society," he wrote "The Afrikaner's history is riddled with incidents of press manipulation, starting up their own newspapers to counter the

English influence, and using those newspapers in their battle to get into power"

He continued "But having done that themselves, they must live with the constant fear that this is what blacks are up to In fact, if the Government tries hard enough, this is exactly what will happen"

Joe Latakomo (37), is noaving revolutionary Neither is he an insolent hokky-hater with his feet lodged in idealism and his head in a fog of illusion

A political moderate, Pretoria-born Latakomo is one of the increasingly shrinking number of blacks who believe there is still time and hope for a fair deal for all in South Africa

### TRAGEDY

But really, people like me are becoming more and more irrelevant in the private sector We're not only running out of moderates, we're also running out of credibility"

Joe Latakomo background is the traditional tragedy of the impeccable "location" household of seven children supported solely by a long-suffering mother At Hornsey High, Joe was elected school librarian

He went on to write fiction, his short stories appearing in most local black publications He talks wistfully now of putting together an anthology of his work

It was while working as a clerk in an attorney's office that Joe sold a story to The World where he was hired as a sports reporter in 1967

By 1972 he had become the paper's news editor In 1977, The World was banned

After 18 months of hell and harassment at the hands of security police and various government ministers," said editor Percy Qoboza, the paper was being closed down

Some of the reporters on the 132 000 circulation daily had been detained without trial, others were jailed

The reason for the banning, said the then Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kluger, was that "The World had published matter calculated to endanger public order and the State"

Technically, The World died But in spirit it was alive under the new masthead of Post, where Joe Latakomo was assistant editor

And when Post was banned Sowetan sprang up yet another reincarnation of The World, with Latakomo taking the reins and pledging to "fight injustices wherever they may occur

"We will expose exploitation of our people We will expose social political and economic ills in our country without fear or favour

"We will strive for the achievement of justice for all the peoples of this country

"Yes, we will not compromise on the highest traditions of journalism honesty and fair reporting



Joe Latakomo

"Afrikaner's history is riddled with incidents of Press manipulation"

Brave words Words he's prepared to stand by come hell or high water

If it happened it's not to be reported resolutely tugging at the joints of his waistcoat

Ruminating in 1981, one more deflated Latakomo operates in dependence of his paper's all-white management

You'll among his 40 editorial staffers is high the challenge beckons — but he knows he's walking a tight-rope

We all are even you whites he grins

We understand your problems but we need more support from the white Press

Everytime we get banned that's another chip off the principle of the freedom of the Press"

Latakomo says he's probably 100% but he plans to keep his paper on the streets telling it like it is

Does he have a target date for reaching Post's circulation figure of 120 000

Yes beams Joe Latakomo Tomorrow"



Health', recorded 15 Nov. 190 ; <sup>minutes of</sup> a City Deep Ltd. 30 Nov. 1910; Mines and Works Regulations, 1911, 143(2) Union Acts, Miners' Phthisis Act, No. 19 of 1912, 26(2)(b).

(166) Figures given in Fraser and Irvine, op. cit., p.31 table X; Irvine(a), op. cit., pg. 14-15.

(167) Figures given in Fraser and Irvine, op. cit., p.31, table X.

(168) R.M.C. 1903, p.19, qq.63-64, evidence of Dr. L. Irvine; FERMRC 1910, v.2, p.263, evidence of Dr L. Irvine; BRA, Crown Mines Ltd. Chief Medical Officer's Annual Report 1916.

(169) Transvaal Mines Department Half Yearly Report of the Government Mining Engineer ... ending December 31st, 1901, p. 11; Transvaal Mines Department Report of the Government Mining Engineer for ... the year ending June 30th, 1902, pp.8-9.

(170) P.M.P.C 1903, p.19, q.63, evidence of Dr L. Irvine.

## R2-m plan to start new black paper

By Andrew Walker

Businessmen plan to raise R2-million to launch a black-owned newspaper on the Reef.

The Reef Times, to be owned and run by blacks, would be based in Soweto, and would "aim to be the friend of and reflect the views of the people," said Mr Arthur Shiplana, a member of the steering committee formed to establish the paper.

With an initial target circulation of 50 000, the paper is expected to be distributed throughout the Reef and Soweto.

Mr Shiplana said it was "a little early to say when The Reef Times would be launched, but it will definitely be before the end of the year. We are looking for backers from all sections of the community to have as broadly based a newspaper as possible."

As the project was "still in the planning stage," he was not able to say whether the publication would be an afternoon or morning newspaper. Plans were going ahead to register the company, which would print the newspaper on its own presses, he said.

The proposed newspaper is the brainchild of Mr Clifford Ranaka, who is the publishing and editorial adviser on the steering committee.

The Reef Times, says the committee, would "strive to work in peace and harmony with the authorities."

Farrar to H. Strange, 31 Jan.  
No.98, 'Mine Accidents.'  
Memo of Sub-Committee of Medical  
Irvine and Macaulay, op. cit.,  
of the WNTA, 7 and 22 Nov. 1904.  
Report of Mortality amongst Natives  
employed on the mines of the Witwatersrand.

(177) BRA, Crown Mines Ltd. Chief Medical Officer's Annual Report, 1916.

(178) Fraser and Irvine, op. cit., p.30, table X.

(179) Irvine and Macaulay, op. cit., p.365; FERMRC 1910 p.50; CHA, WLF, Memo of Mr B. Madew, 1912; BRA, Rand Mines Ltd. First Annual Report of the Department of Sanitation for the year, 1915; Grey, op. cit., p.53, G.P., 5.8072 1937, Union of South Africa: The Prevention of Sillicosis on the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg, 1937), p.4.

(180) Irvine and Macaulay, op. cit., p.365; Einbrodt, H.J., 'The Influence of Dust Elimination and the Effects on the Development of Pneumonia', in Shapiro (ed.), op. cit., pp.300-301.

(181) MIC 1897, p.43, evidence of E. Way.

(182) FERMRC 1910, v.1, p.50.

(183) Grey, op. cit., p.148; Katz, op. cit., p.350.

(184) Grey, op. cit., pp.143-144. See also Irvine and Macaulay, op. cit., pp.348-349.

(185) Irvine and Macaulay, op. cit., p.354.

(186) Ibid., p.344.

(187) G.P., S.8072, 1937, p.4.

(188) R.M.P.C, p.20, q.69, evidence of Dr L. Irvine.

(189) Katz, op. cit., pp.72-76 passim.

(190) Truscott, S.J., The Witwatersrand Goldfields: Banket and Mining Practice (London, 1898), pp.288-388.

(191) CHA, WLF, 14 Feb. 1912, H. Bokstein and Company to COM, 14 Feb. 1912.

(192) Minutes of the City Deep Ltd., 29 May 1913.

(200) Cartwright, op. cit., pp.31-43 passim; Simons, H.J., and Simons, R.E., Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950 (Harmondsworth, p.85).

(201) Cartwright, op. cit., p.137.

(202) Girwood, A.I., 'The Medical Examination of Native Labourers on Engagement at the Gold Mines of the Witwatersrand, in IOSC 1930, op. cit., No.12.

(203) Ibid., p.4.

(204) Ibid., pp.5-7.

(205) Ibid.

(206) Orenstein and Webster, op. cit., p.326.

(207) Irvine(a), op. cit., pp.3-5. Africans who were referred to the Bureau were identified by fingerprints. See ibid., p.5. A well-known specialist, who does not wish to be identified, has told me that the examination of the physique of a miner is tantamount to a 'well-informed guess.'

## Six apply to give evidence to Press inquiry

Mercury Reporter

THE Director of Indian Education, Mr Gabriel Krog, will be among the six individuals who have applied to give evidence before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media in Durban next week.

Mr Krog will appear before the commission on Thursday, February 12

The editors of two Durban daily newspapers will be giving evidence. Mr James McMillan, editor of The Natal Mercury, will appear before the commission on Tuesday, February 10, and Mr Michael Green, editor of the Daily News, will give evidence on the afternoon of Thursday, February 12.

A spokesman for the commission said yesterday that it was possible that more individuals would apply to give evidence next week.

The commission will spend five days in the province and will start its deliberations with a visit to Ilanga newspaper in Umgeni Road on Monday morning at 10 30

The editor of Ilanga, Mr Obed Kunene, has declined to appear before the commission because of the Government's decision to ban two black newspapers, Transvaal Post and Sunday Post, should they have decided to apply for re-registration.

He said the Government's action had reduced the commission to a 'mockery' and it was now questionable whether the commission's findings would ultimately carry any weight in Government circles

203

NM

6/2/81

# Post journalists lose their jobs

(243)

C. Heald 7/2/81

EIGHTEEN workers from the banned Post Transvaal and Sunday Post have lost their jobs, while the rest are working on the Sowetan, a Johannesburg paper which started publishing as a daily this week.

Those dismissed include reporters, sub-editors and photographers, according to a report in The Star on Monday

The daily Sowetan is expected to fill the void left by the banning of Post.

The editor is Mr Joe Latakomo, former acting editor of Post and Sunday Post

The Sowetan looks similar to the banned Post with its tabloid size and the popular cartoon character, Jo Jo, gracing the leader page

In a front page editorial, the Sowetan says it will reflect the aspirations — political, educational, economical and social — of the black majority of this country

'We know it is not going to be an easy road. We are conscious of the problems that beset this country, and our people in particular'

CHEMIC

L Menegaldo

Drawing.

Awarded to the student with the best classwork in Engineering  
Sammy Sacks Memorial Prize

J H Rens

Awarded on results of final examinations to the best male student in Land Surveying or Civil Engineering.  
Professor George Menzies Prize

P M Salmon  
T J Cumming  
D P Weeks  
J H Rens  
B F McClelland

Fourth Year (Gold Medal)

Miss N C Davidson

Third Year (Silver Medal)

Miss G C Littlewort

Second Year (Bronze Medal)

For the best student in each of the 2nd, 3rd and final years.  
Corporation Medals

CT 9/2/81  
**Natal reporter**

**detained** (243) (320)

MARITZBURG A Natal  
Witness reporter, Miss Nalini Naidoo, was detained at her home by security policemen early on Saturday and taken to Alexandra Road police station for questioning

Colonel B J Beukes of the security police confirmed that Miss Naidoo was being held under Section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act

After obtaining a BA degree in journalism at Rhodes University, Miss Naidoo joined the staff of the Natal Witness as a reporter

Apart from her general news duties, she writes the column "Helping Hand", which contains news on charities in the city — Sapa

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For the best student in each  
of the 2nd, 3rd and final years.

Second Year (Bronze Medal)

Miss G C Littlewort

Third Year (Silver Medal)

Miss N C Davidson

Fourth Year (Gold Medal)

P M Salmon

T J Cumming

D P Weeks

J H Rens

B F McClelland

Professor George Menzies Prize  
Awarded on results of final  
examinations to the best male  
student in Land Surveying or  
Civil Engineering.

J H Rens

Sammy Sacks Memorial Prize  
Awarded to the student with the  
best classwork in Engineering  
Drawing.

L Menegaldo

A E & C I Prize

For the first year student  
obtaining the highest average  
mark.

G L Cragg

CT Reporter <sup>337</sup>  
Released <sup>243</sup>

MARITZBURG — Miss Nalini Naidoo, 24, the Natal Witness reporter detained for questioning on Sunday, was released last night 36 hours after security police fetched her from her home

Miss Naidoo was held in custody under section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act in terms of which she could have been detained till today — Sapa

CHEMICAL

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For the best student in each  
of the 2nd, 3rd and final years.

Second Year (Bronze Medal)

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<sup>RDM</sup>  
Ilanga <sup>10/2/81</sup>  
editor  
rejects  
Steyn <sup>243</sup>  
hearing

DURBAN — Members of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media held informal talks yesterday with Mr Obed Kunene, editor of the Zulu-language newspaper, Ilanga.

After the hour-long meeting at the newspaper's offices, Mr Kunene confirmed that he still stood by his earlier decision not to give evidence before the commission.

This was because of the Government's forced closure of the two black newspapers, Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post.

The meeting, held before a tour of the premises of the Durban-based newspaper, was also attended by Mr Jolyon Nuttall, manager of Argus newspapers in Durban.

"We had discussions on my earlier decision," Mr Kunene said.

"I was asked whether I wished to reconsider it. We did not reach finality.

"I will have to give it some more thought and come to finality later.

"At present my earlier decision not to give evidence still stands," he said.

Mr Justice Steyn, chairman of the commission, declined to comment on Mr Kunene's decision.

The commission starts hearing evidence in Durban today.

"I am glad to have met the core of black journalists in Natal," Mr Steyn said.

"I think it is important to meet the black media community.

"Our discussion related to Ilanga and the role this newspaper plays in Natal and among the Zulu people.

"We also discussed the role Ilanga is playing in improving the use of the Zulu tongue by giving readers a chance to know and use the language," he said.

Other commission members present were Dr D A S Herbst, Mr J H Hopkins, former head of Kearsney College, and Mr Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau.

The fourth commissioner, Mr Basil Landau, executive director of Union Corporation, was not present.

Later in the day, the Commission had lunch with Mr Michael Green, editor of the Daily News, and then toured the editorial offices of Scope magazine — Sapa

Black editor <sup>UWA</sup> won't give evidence <sup>10/2/81</sup> 243

Mercury Reporter

THE editor of Ilanga, Mr Obed Kunene, is sticking to his decision not to give evidence before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media, which starts hearing evidence in Durban today

Mr Kunene was originally scheduled to give evidence this week but changed his mind after the Government announced its intention to ban Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post

This morning the Steyn Commission will hear evidence from conservationist Mr T C Robertson, and this afternoon Mr James McMillan, editor of The Natal Mercury, will make known his representations on the media.

# Natal journalist held by police

EDM 10/2/81  
 243 279

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA  
 Political Reporter

A JOURNALIST on the Natal Witness, Miss Nahm Naidoo, is still being detained for questioning by the security police in Maritzburg

Miss Naidoo, 24, who is also Maritzburg representative of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa), was detained at her flat in the Natal capital early on Sunday morning, a colleague at the Witness said yesterday

She is believed to have been held under Section 50 of the Criminal Procedures Act, which provides for 48 hours' detention

The Natal Witness yesterday quoted Lieutenant-Colonel B J Beuks of the security police in Maritzburg as saying Miss Naidoo was being held in relation to an investigation in an-

other centre

Col Beuks, confirming the details in the Witness, declined to comment further yesterday

Miss Naidoo, who holds a degree in journalism from Rhodes University, joined the Witness in January 1979

She is the second Mwasa woman member and Rhodes graduate to have been detained in recent months

Miss Zubeida Jaffer of the Cape Times was detained under the Terrorism Act last year before being charged for possessing banned literature

Miss Jaffer is due to appear in court again later this month

Recently, five top Mwasa members were banned under the Internal Security Act. They are Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, Mr Phil Mtumkulu, Mr Marimuthu Subramoney, Mr Mathata Tsedu and Mr Joe Thloloe

average  
 lent

being

CHEMICAL

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Awarded on results of final  
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For the best student in each  
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# 'Mail' refused permission to visit prisons

RDM 4/2/81

243

By CHRIS MARAIS

THE Rand Daily Mail has been refused permission to visit various Transvaal prisons

The request was made after a statement to the Hoexter Commission by the Chief Deputy Commissioner of Prisons, Lieutenant-General M C P Brink, that the 30-year-old accommodation shortage was worsening, and that an alternative to prisons should be looked into

The Prisons Department replied by telex to the "Mail" request "In view of the various visits by representatives of the media to prisons in the past two years and resulting reports in the Press, a visit to prisons for the purpose of Press coverage on the issue of overcrowdedness cannot be approved at this stage

"It must be added that the Minister of Justice gave his full attention to the matter of overpopulation in South African prisons in a Press statement on 5 February, 1981, and detailed precisely what steps are to be taken to alleviate the problem

"In this regard, the following aspects are emphasised for your benefit

1 - During May 1980, an

interdepartmental committee, consisting of senior officials of the South African Prison Service and other departments involved, was appointed by the Minister of Prisons to undertake the implementation of the recommendation of the Viljoen Commission which also deals with the question of overcrowded prisons This committee has not yet completed its task

2 - Recently, it was decided by the Minister of Justice, the Director-General of Justice, and the Commissioner of Prisons to arrange a departmental seminar to discuss the matter on a broad basis

3 - The Minister of Justice also decided to appoint a working group to give attention more specifically to actions aimed at solutions

"In the last instance, as also stressed by the Minister of Justice in his statement, Lt-Gen Brink's evidence before the Hoexter Commission was aimed at bringing the picture of overcrowded prisons to the attention of the commission so that the commission could take note thereof in its investigation into the functioning of the courts"

# Steyn inquiry to investigate Post banning

RDM 11/2/81

243

## Own Correspondent

**DURBAN** — The chairman of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media, Mr Justice Steyn, said the commission had called for the evidence on which the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, had banned two black newspapers, Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post.

He was replying to a point made by Mr James McMillan, editor of The Natal Mercury, that the credibility of the commission would be in danger unless it examined this evidence.

The judge said the question of who would appear before the commission depended on who had the necessary information.

He also said steps had been taken to investigate whether there was any substance in complaints that the existing Press Council was a failure.

"If it (the commission) finds fault with the Press Council, it must find ways of improving the matter."

Mr Justice Steyn said it would be improper for the commission to go into the merits of the actual findings, and Mr McMillan emphasised that he

was not suggesting the commission should sit in judgment on the decisions of the Press Council.

Mr McMillan told the commission that he had received a letter from the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) indicating that the Steyn Commission had received 33 complaints from Government departments against various newspapers.

The judge said an arrangement had been reached with the NPU whereby it would be able to make its own transcript of the proceedings of the commission and inform the different editors of specific complaints before they gave evidence.

Mr McMillan said the machinery had evidently broken down, and promised to raise the matter with the NPU.

Legislation to create a Guild of Press Writers, with powers to issue, cancel or suspend licences to member journalists, was advocated yesterday by conservationist and former journalist, Mr T C Robertson, in evidence before the commission.

Mr Robertson is the author of several books on conservation.

He said it was evident from changes in the country that journalism, like law and medicine, should be organised in a manner which recognised its importance as a calling and its potential to serve, lead or harm the progress of society.

The main aim of such a guild would be to create an elite corps of writers, who were adequately remunerated and who enjoyed a status equal to that of other professions.

In a memorandum to the commission, Mr Robertson said an enormous demand for high quality talent had arisen in the South African mass media in the past two decades, and journalism had now to compete for the intelligence of graduates.

Calling for greater research into the quality of journalism, he said the ethical code of journalism should be regarded as an evolving concept, and could be the subject of continual research by a fulltime board of social scientists and practising journalists — Sapa.

# Steyn inquiry to look at Post closure

263  
Steyn  
11/2/81

## Own Correspondent

DURBAN - The chairman of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media, Mr Justice M T Steyn, said yesterday it had called for the evidence on which the Minister of Justice Mr Coetsee, had stopped the publication of two black newspapers, Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post

He was replying to a point by Mr James McMillan, editor of the Natal Mercury, that the credibility of the commission would be in danger unless it examined this evidence.

Mr McMillan emphasised the need for a thorough investigation by the commission of complaints by the Government and others against the Press Council.

He said he believed the commission would conclude that no case could be made against the council to justify any further legislative restrictions against the Press.

In a memorandum submitted to the commission at its hearing in Durban, Mr McMillan said the commission should establish

whether there was any substance in complaints that the council was a failure

Without such evidence, the commission would be dealing with unproven complaints and subjective opinions

Mr Justice Steyn said steps had already been taken to investigate the allegations

Mr McMillan said that in the Government's view the Press needed to be disciplined, and it hoped the commission would produce a weight of accusations to support its viewpoint

He, however, believed that the Press would be vindicated

The commission, he said, had been set up as a result of Government "arrogance and contempt for accountability" during its 32 years in office

"Scandals stretching back over the years and culminating in that which ended in the demise of a State President, an aspiring Prime Minister and several senior Government officials is what, to my mind provoked this onslaught"

CT. 10/2/81

# Newspapers get bomb threats

(213) (214)

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Mercury newspaper building in Devonshire Place was put under round-the-clock police surveillance yesterday afternoon within minutes of a bomb threat having been made against the newspaper

The threat, which is linked with Saturday's bomb blast in Field Street, was made at 1.30 pm yesterday in an anonymous telephone call to the Station Commander of the Durban Central SA Police precinct, Colonel Gideon Venter

A man speaking with an Indian accent — either real or assumed — said "The Mercury is one of the next targets to be bombed," then he rang off

The Republican Press at Mombeni was also named as a target

The police immediately put an anti-bomb plan into operation. Special foot patrols were moved into the area and the Mercury building was put under observation. Other details of police action cannot be disclosed for obvious reasons

After the police had informed the editor of the Mercury, Mr James McMillan, of the bomb threat he ordered a thorough

search of the Mercury building. No bomb was found on the premises

Referring to the Mercury bomb threat, the Chief of the Port Natal Division Security Police, Brigadier J R van der Hoven, said in Durban yesterday that the threat could have come from a 'crank' but police were investigating it as being genuine

Meanwhile, at police headquarters in Pretoria the consensus was that the African National Congress organization was responsible for the time-bomb, of Eastern-European origin, that exploded in a dustbin in the Durban city centre on Saturday afternoon

Major-General Johan Coetzee, Chief of the Security Police in South Africa, said yesterday that the ANC would, therefore, be reluctant to claim responsibility because the three victims of the blast were blacks

Police were also in possession of information, which they would not disclose at this stage, which ruled out the possibility that two white men — one dressed in camouflage uniform — could have been involved in planting the Field Street bomb

CHEMICAL

Professor George Menzies Prize

B F McClelland

J H Rens

D P Weeks

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Fourth Year (Gold Medal)

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For the best student in each

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FACULTY OF ENGINEERING

# Chicken Prices Plunge 25 pc

2449 Areas 11/2/81

WHOLESALE chicken prices in the Western Cape plunged this week, with Rainbow Chickens, the country's largest poultry producer, dropping its prices countrywide to R1,50 a kilogram, 25 per cent below the Christmas price level.

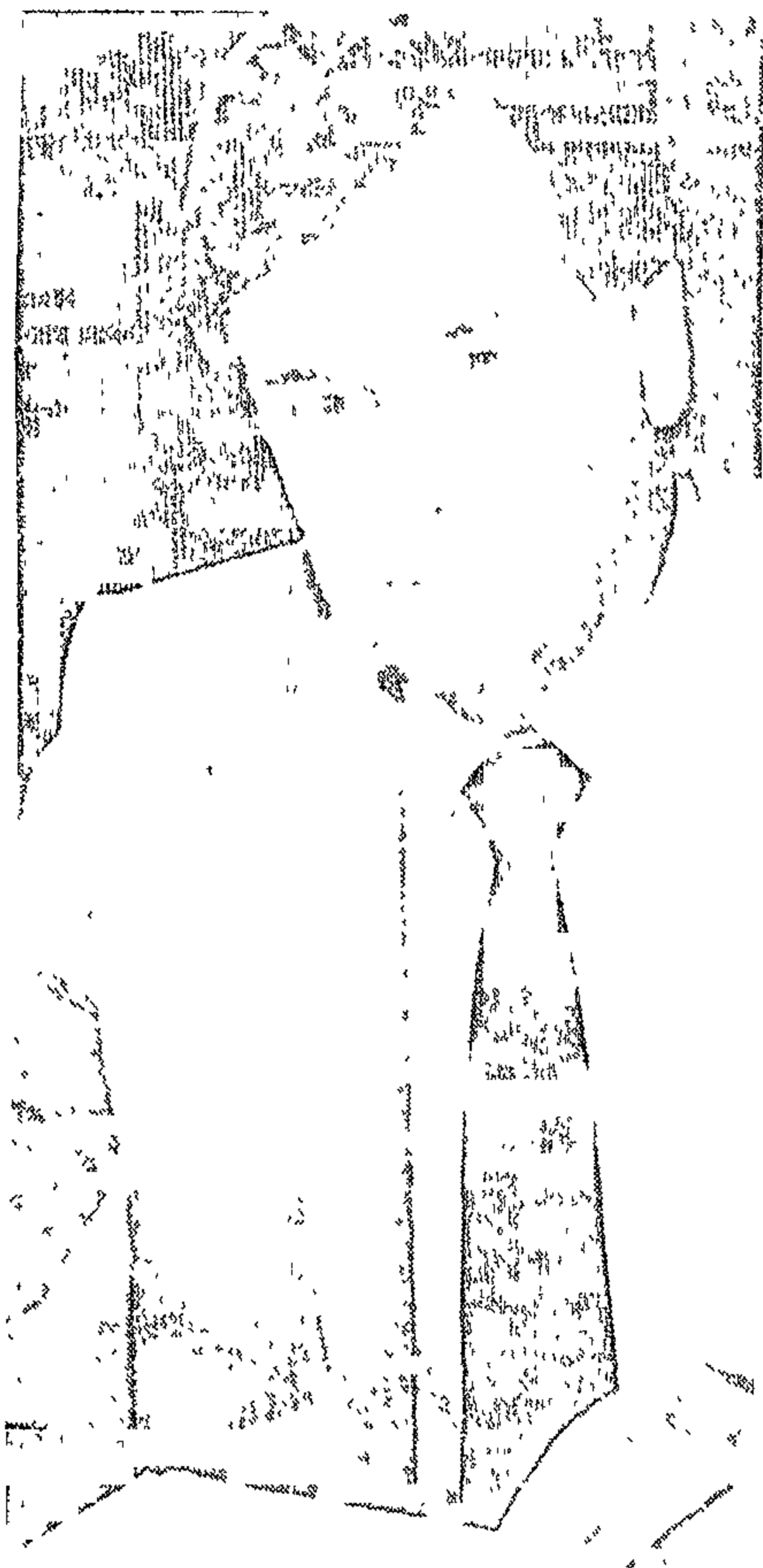
This is the third time in as many weeks that Rainbow has cut its prices. At the beginning of last month they were selling at R1,95 a kilogram, wholesale which was reduced to R1,70 in early February and to R1,50 this week. The price drop affects

both fresh and frozen chickens. While the housewife was paying more than R2 a kilogram for frozen chicken during the festive season, producers have massive surpluses and are being forced to cut prices. Mr Raymond Ackerman,

the Managing Director of Pick 'n Pay said yesterday that there had been a distinct change in the chicken market. He confirmed that his retail prices had dropped dramatically during the past few days, to about R1,58 a kilogram for fresh

stock, and predicted that the price would stay down for a while. The main reason, he gave for the price drop were overproduction and the fact that suppliers had stopped exporting. 'The market is now far better for the consumer,' he said.





THE editor of The Natal Mercury, Mr James McMillan, giving evidence before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry in Durban yesterday

## Probe into Press Council

Natal  
11/2/81

### Mercury Reporter

MR JUSTICE M T Steyn chairman of the commission revealed that steps had been taken to investigate whether there was any substance in complaints that the existing Press Council was a failure.

The existing machinery must be examined and the efficacy of the operation must be gauged.

If the commission finds any faulty perception of these matters, this commission should disabuse men's minds, he continued.

If it itself finds fault with the Press Council, it must find ways of improving the matter.

Justice Steyn pointed out that it would be improper for the commission to go into the merits of the findings. Mr McMillan said that he was not suggesting the commission should sit in judgment on the Council's decisions.

Mr McMillan told the commission that he had received a letter from the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) indicating that the Steyn Commission had received 33 complaints from Government departments against various newspapers.

Justice Steyn said the NPU, as arranged, would be able to make its own transcript of the commission's proceedings and appraise the editors of the complaints before they gave evidence.

Mr McMillan replied that the machinery had evidently broken down.

# Council received four complaints in 1980 <sup>11/2/81</sup> Natal

## Parliamentary Correspondent

CAPETOWN One-four Government department complained to the Press Council about new reports during 1980

This was disclosed yesterday by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Hani, when he answered

a question which had been tabled in the House of Assembly by Mr Noel Wood (MRP). One of the complaints was rejected by the Press Council and three were settled to the satisfaction of the complainant.

The former Secretary for Indian Affairs complained

about a report in the Natal Post, but this was rejected by the Press Council. The Commissioner of Police made two complaints against the Rand Daily Mail and Rand Daily Mail (Extra) and one complaint against the Transvaal, but all three were settled to the satisfaction of the complainant.

# Professional status <sup>11/2/81</sup> Natal for journalists proposed

## Mercury Reporter

THE introduction of legislation to facilitate the formation of a Guild of Press Writers so that journalists enjoyed a status equal to that of other professions was suggested yesterday by Mr T C Robertson, a well-known conservationist and former newspaper editor.

He was giving evidence before the commission in Durban.

Mr Robertson said the functions of the guild would include the definition of entry examinations for new members and the setting of papers and organisation of examinations.

The guild would also be responsible for issuing licences to successful applicants and as part of its disciplinary powers for suspending or cancelling such licences.

Further, the guild would lay down a code of ethics which would ensure that the quality, integrity and self-discipline of

journalism was maintained.

Another function of the guild, Mr Robertson said, would be to set up and administer a journalistic standards board which would have the power to define and enforce measures to improve the technical excellence of the profession.

It would also be responsible for creating opportunities for the achievement of the highest quality work by means of special travel and study bursaries.

Mr Robertson said he had been astounded to hear that the Southern African Society of Journalists was opposed to the acquisition of professional status by journalists.

The society had indicated, he said, that journalism would grind to a halt if it were recognised as an established profession.

Cross-examined by Mr Justice Steyn, Mr Robertson said he saw journalism as a profession rather than a trade.



# Press is behind more enlightened mood—editor

DURBAN — The Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the mass media was told today that the present more enlightened and realistic mood in South Africa on racial issues had been brought about largely as a result of information provided by the Press.

"There is no doubt in my mind about that," Mr Michael Green, Editor of the Daily News, told the commission in a written memorandum.

Mr Green said the Press played an essential communicative role in providing information, as best it could, about all South Africa's people and in making that information available to a very wide spectrum of readers.

"The suggestion, made by some witnesses, that the Press is in various ways stirring the pot, or rocking the boat, just does not hold water, if I may add one more metaphor to the mixture," he said.

"What newspapers are trying to do is to report what is going on in our disparate society. It is not an easy task, but it must be undertaken.

## SUPPRESSION

He could think of nothing more dangerous than the suppression of "bad news" — perhaps a report about discontent in some section of the black community — on the ground that publication would foment further trouble.

The classic case was that of the now-banned World newspapers, which in 1967 published warnings of impending trouble in Soweto before the outbreak of civil disturbances there.

The warnings were ignored, as was a warning carried personally by the editor of the newspaper to a Government Minister.

"And we all know what happened," added Mr Green.

He told the commission that he would not publish reports that were inflammatory, but it was a very different matter to convey to the authorities, and the public at large, information about what was going

## More restraints will weaken SA

### Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The imposition of further restraints on the South African Press would do more to weaken the country's reputation than any "adverse" news reports sent abroad, the editor of the Daily News, Mr Michael Green, said today.

In a written memorandum to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media, Mr Green argued that the poor reputation of the country was the responsibility of people other than those who worked on newspapers.

"It is not the journalists who pass laws which are regarded with dislike, distaste or repugnance by just about every other country and which are still on the Statute Book, even though some of them are more or less a dead letter now," he said.

It was worth pointing out that South Africa's relatively free Press — relatively because of the many laws that inhibited newspapers — was widely regarded overseas as one of the two strongest pillars of civil liberty in this country, the other being the judiciary.

Further Press restraint would do more to weaken the country's image than adverse news reports sent abroad.

Dealing with the alleged reluctance of the English-language Press to report what was called the "positive side," Mr Green said the present Prime Minister had had a better Press

than any of his predecessors

His moves towards political and social reform had generally been welcomed and encouraged.

He pointed out that radical critics abroad already regarded the South African English-language Press as "docile," though this was a view not shared by most responsible and well-informed people.

Equally, there were black radicals in this country who disparagingly referred to papers like his own as "the system Press"

He mentioned this to show papers like his own as "the system Press"

He mentioned this to show that criticism of the English language Press was by no means confined to white politicians and public servants

"Virtually all English-language newspapers are in fact middle-of-the-roads, and like anybody in the middle of the road they get bumped from all sides."

Mr Green also pointed out to the commission that while various witnesses had argued that foreign correspondents based here derived their news and views from the English-language papers because they did not understand Afrikaans, he understood that most, if not all, foreign correspondents based in Johannesburg and Pretoria subscribed to a Daily News service which provided copious extracts from the Afrikaans Press — in English.

CHEMI

## Gag on Post 'an act of contempt

Natal  
12/2/81  
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direct knowledge.

In South Africa, with its racially, culturally and linguistically diverse population, it was particularly important that the Press be free to publish accurate information about all sections of the community

## of Steyn probe'

DURBAN — The Government's action against Post Transvaal and Sunday Post was grossly contemptuous of the work of the Steyn Commission and an indication of the low premium it placed on the freedom of the Press

This observation was made in Durban yesterday by Mr Richard Steyn, editor of the Natal Witness, when testifying before the Steyn Commission of inquiry into the Mass Media.

Mr Steyn said if the Government seriously wished to determine how the media met the needs and interests of the community, it would not have taken arbitrary action against two newspapers serving an important section of the community during the course of the Commission's inquiry.

There was considerable cross-questioning of Mr Steyn regarding this aspect of his submissions by both Mr Justice Steyn and another of the commissioners, Mr Klaus von Lieres

Mr Steyn said, in reply to a question from Mr von Lieres, that the commission should be entitled to comment on the manner in which the matter had been handled.

### GUIDELINES

Mr Steyn said the Government should not have closed down the newspapers concerned but should have taken action against the allegedly guilty journalists.

Mr Justice Steyn asked the editor if the commission should devise future guidelines as to how the Government should proceed when it came to its notice that certain journalists were abusing their rights and duties.

Mr Steyn replied that he would be in agreement with such an approach although he was not prepared to spell out exactly how this should be done. He was of the view that the editor and the owner of a newspaper should be

consulted in cases where individual reporters had ostensibly transgressed

"It is a depressing feature of our society that after the Press has so effectively demonstrated its value in keeping public administration clean, it should find itself under siege as never before," he maintained.

Mr Steyn said he did not take the view that the newspaper industry was above criticism. An aspect which caused concern was that ownership of the major South African newspapers was concentrated in too few hands.

Just as there should be diversity in ownership in radio and television services, so there should be diversity in the print media.

"I would hope that this commission will recommend that there should be no further merging of interests between and within the major groups in the English and Afrikaans Press," he urged

Mr Steyn said it was unfair that the English Press should be singled out for criticism on account of its supposed similarity of political viewpoints.

"I have never heard a Government spokesman criticise the blanket support given to the National Party by the Afrikaans Press, or the indirect support given the Government by our radio and television services," he pointed out

The editor declared that a second point of concern was the secrecy surrounding newspaper shareholdings. "It seems to me that if any industry should play cards with the public, it is the newspaper industry.

"I am not suggesting there is anything inherently sinister about the practice of nominee shareholdings in newspaper companies, nor do I have any reason to believe that any shareholder, secret or otherwise has any direct influence over the content of any newspaper."—Sapa.

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Professor George Menzies Prize  
Awarded on results of final examinations to the best male student in Land Surveying or Civil Engineering.

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Sammy Sacks Memorial Prize  
Awarded to the student with the best classwork in Engineering

Drawing.

L Menegaldo

A E & C I Prize

For the first year student obtaining the highest average mark.

G L Cragg

# Journalist body plans to broaden its base

Labour Reporter

The Media Workers' Association of South Africa meets in Soweto this weekend to decide how to change from a craft to an industrial union.

Mwasa members said that its national executive committee is largely composed of journalists but that it wished to give the association a broader base to include members from all sides of the newspaper industry including drivers, messengers and printing staff.

Mwasa came into being in October last year in Cape Town after members agreed to change their association's name and guidelines from Wasa (Writers' Association of South Africa).

Before Wasa was founded the Union of Black Journalists represented journalists before its banning in October, 1977.

### UNABLE

The meeting also has to deal with a leadership problem. Three Mwasa executive members, including its president, have recently been banned.

They are Mr Zwelake Sisulu, Mr Phil Mtinkulu and Mr Joe Thlooe.

The general congress of the Southern Transvaal branch of Mwasa is meeting again because the earlier congress held two weeks ago in Dube was unable to complete all its reports.

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# Wanted for Free Press

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mm 12/2/81

Mercury Reporter

THE Government's action against Post Transvaal and Sunday Post was grossly contemptuous of the work of the Steyn Commission and an indication of the low premium it placed on the freedom of the Press.

Mr Richard Steyn, editor of the Natal Witness, giving evidence before the commission in Durban yesterday.

Ident  
Average

This observation was made in Durban yesterday by Mr Richard Steyn, editor of the Natal Witness, when giving evidence before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media.

Mr Steyn said if the Government seriously wished to determine how the media met the needs and interests of the community it would not have taken arbitrary action against two newspapers serving an important section of the community during the course of the commission's inquiry.

Mr Steyn said in reply to a question from Mr. Von

would be an agreement with such an approach although he was not prepared to spell out exactly how this should be done. He believed that the editor and the owner of a newspaper should be consulted in cases where individual reporters had ostensibly transgressed.

The Natal Witness editor said that as far as a free Press was concerned the country could not have it both ways. It could not have a watchdog and expect it to operate with a muzzle on.

It is a depressing feature of our society that after the Press has so effectively demonstrated its value in keeping public administration clean, it should find itself under siege as never before, he maintained.

### Criticism

Mr Steyn said he did not

above criticism in a speech which caused concern, was that ownership of the major South African newspapers was concentrated in too few hands. Just as there should be diversity in ownership in

by our radio and television services, he pointed out

### Secrecy

The editor declared that a second point of concern was the secrecy surrounding the newspaper industry.

It seems to me that if any industry should play cards with the public, it is the newspaper industry.

I am not suggesting there is anything inherently sinister about the practice of nominating shareholders in newspaper companies, nor do I have any reason to believe that any shareholder, secret or otherwise, has any direct influence over the content of any newspaper.

But I do think the public is entitled to as much reassurance as possible on this account, and that the newspaper industry should place itself beyond criticism.

Mr Steyn recorded his strong opposition to both statutory Press Council and a system of State licensing of a register of journalists

### Influence

as a result of reports that the Government might not like, the upshot is going to be a lame and cowed Press unable to function effectively.

Mr Steyn invited the commission to consider whether the information scandal would have been uncovered had a statutory Press code and a register of journalists been in force at the time.

In answer to a question from Mr J H Hopkins, said he thought the idea of an independent television service an excellent one. Such a service should be independent of both the Government and the Press.

Replying to a question from Mr D A S Herl

Mr Steyn said he would have no problem with every single news reporter carrying the by-line of a journalist who had written it.

Lieres, that the commission should be entitled to comment on the manner in which the matter had been handled

Mr Steyn submitted that the Government should not have closed down the newspapers concerned but should have taken action against the allegedly guilty journalists

#### Agreement

Mr Justice Steyn asked the editor if the commission should devise future guidelines as to how the Government should proceed when it came to its notice that certain journalists were abusing their rights and duties.

Mr Steyn replied that he

radio and television services, so there should be diversity in the print media

'I would hope that this commission will recommend that there should be no further merging of interests between and within the major groups in the English and Afrikaans Press,' he urged

Mr Steyn said it was unfair that the English Press should be singled out for criticism on account of its supposed similarity of political viewpoints

'I have never heard a Government spokesman criticise the blanket support giving to the National Party by the Afrikaans Press or the indirect support given the Government

Once there was a statutory Press council, with Government nominees on it, the one had, in effect, a Government-influenced Press

'If the Press is to perform its watchdog role satisfactorily, it has to be entirely free from Government influence,' he said

He termed the proposal that there should be an official register of journalists 'abhorrent'. It was essential that a journalist should be allowed to do his job without fear of official restraint.

#### Topic

'If a journalist is to face the prospect of being struck off a State register

12/2/81

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# Press does not make the 'repugnant' laws

RDM 13/2/81 (243)

DURBAN — The imposition of further restraints on the South African Press would do more to weaken the country's reputation than any "adverse" news reports sent abroad, the editor of the Durban Daily News, Mr Michael Green, said yesterday.

In a written memorandum to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media, Mr Green said the poor reputation of South Africa was the responsibility of people other than those who worked on newspapers.

"It is not the journalists who pass laws — which are regarded with dislike, distaste or repugnance by just about every other country — and which are still on the Statute Book, even though some of them are more or less a dead letter now," he said.

South Africa's relatively free Press (relatively, because of the many laws that inhibited newspapers) was widely regarded overseas as one of the two strongest pillars of civil

liberty in the country — the other being the judiciary, he said.

Dealing with the alleged reluctance of the English-language Press to report what was called the "positive side", Mr Green said the Prime Minister had had a better Press than any of his predecessors. His moves towards political and social reform had generally been welcomed and encouraged.

Mr Green said radical critics abroad already regarded the South African English-language Press as "docile", though this was a view not shared by most responsible and well-informed people.

Equally, there were black radicals in South Africa who referred to papers such as his as "the system Press".

He said he mentioned this to show that criticism of the English Press was by no means confined to white politicians and public servants.

"Virtually all English-lan-

guage newspapers are, in fact, middle-of-the-roads — and like anybody in the middle-of-the-road, they get humped from all sides."

Mr Green also said that while various witnesses had argued that foreign correspondents based in South Africa derived their news and views from the English-language papers because they did not understand Afrikaans, he understood that most, if not all, foreign correspondents based in Johannesburg and Pretoria subscribed to a daily news service which provided copious extracts from the Afrikaans Press — in English.

Mr Green said he did not regard himself as infallible and did not resent criticism. Nor did he think that newspapers were without fault.

But what he did deny strenuously and resent was the imputation often made that newspapers deliberately distorted news, that they were not prepared to accept criticism, and

that they wilfully or unwittingly damaged social harmony in South Africa and the image of the country abroad.

He said he did not believe that any South African newspaper editor would deliberately distort, manipulate or angle the news to create a false impression.

Mr Green said he had repeatedly emphasised to his staff the need to present news in as dispassionate and as factual a manner as possible. He had gone to considerable lengths to ensure that reports in the Daily News were fair and accurate — especially in the field of political and public affairs.

He would not permit the publication of any statement known to be false, even if the person making the statement had been accurately reported.

If he found that any person on his editorial staff was manipulating the news for personal or political ends, he would dismiss that person.

# Steyn tells of Saan holdings

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DURBAN — The chairman of the Steyn commission of inquiry into the mass media, Mr Justice M T Steyn, said yesterday that he understood that the names of the principals of between 20 and 25 percent of the shareholding in South African Associated Newspapers were undisclosed

Speaking during a sitting of the commission here, Mr Justice Steyn said he believed there had been substantial disclosure of the shareholding of the Argus Group of newspaper companies

He was responding to a statement by Mr Michael Green, editor of the Daily News, that he had been advised by Mr L Slater, chairman of the Argus Group, that the company had gone to a great deal of trouble 18 months ago to ask all nominee shareholders to disclose their shareholding in the company to the government. There had been a 98 percent response and the names had been given to the government

Mr Green said Mr Slater had told him that Saan shareholders had, similarly, apparently disclosed their shareholding to the government

Mr Green was referring to submissions made yesterday by Mr Richard Steyn, editor of the Natal Witness, that there was concern regarding the secrecy surrounding newspaper shareholdings

The Director of Indian Education, Mr Gabriel Krog, told the Steyn commission of inquiry yesterday that the only alleged aims of the Broederbond to "blunt the system of Indian education" of which he was aware were those he had read about in the newspapers

Mr Krog was being cross-examined by Mr Justice Steyn after a complaint made by him

against an article in the Sunday Tribune of June 1, 1981

Mr Krog said the newspaper had claimed that both he and Professor S P Olivier, rector of the University of Durban-Westville, were members of the Broederbond and that one of the aims of the organization was to "blunt the system of Indian education"

Asked if he knew of any organization aimed at blunting the system of Indian education, Mr Krog replied that he supposed the article was inferring that, because he was white, he would not give Indian pupils a fair deal

Mr Justice Steyn suggested the establishment of a press liaison officer. He said such a body had been previously recommended for the South African Police

Mr Krog said that if the press published incorrect facts when they had the correct facts at their disposal, then no liaison officer would help the situation. Mr Justice Steyn pointed out that this would be a fit subject for ultimate resort to the Press Council

Mr Krog cited 14 examples of what he termed "emotional and unsubstantiated reports" as well as "misleading captions and reports". The Natal Mercury was not mentioned

He said that, as an educator, he was deeply concerned with the way in which his pupils were being utilized and indoctrinated by some people with political motives, into the so-called political struggle in South Africa

"The news media, in my opinion, have helped to foster the process of indoctrination and helped to disrupt learning in my schools"

He accused the media of "utilizing education as a playground for political motives at the time of the schools boycott"

The organizers of the boycotts only needed to announce their intentions to these media, he asserted, and they then undertook the necessary dissemination of information for them

Mr Krog advocated the passing of legislation to bring jour-

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tion Medals

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established and organised professions. A board of control should lay down codes of ethics and conduct for members of the profession

● Editor rejects insinuation, page 9

# Probe to hear evidence from Press Council

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Wm

## Mercury Reporter

THE Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media is to hear evidence from the Press Council on the procedure adopted by it

This was disclosed yesterday by Mr Justice M J Steyn, chairman of the commission, when Mr Michael Green, editor of the Daily News, made his submissions

Mr Justice Steyn said the commission did not intend to sit in judgement on the Press Council and he doubted whether the chairman himself, Mr Justice Galt, would be called. It was likely that the registrar would explain the workings of the council to the commission

Mr Justice Steyn questioned Mr Green on allegations that the Press Council possessed a tarnished image among the ranks of the well-informed public.

had not heard that specific complaint and that people tended to generalise

The chairman also questioned Mr Green about complaints that there was a fear of financial consequences for the complainant if he had to pursue his complaint to the Press Council to its final conclusion

It appeared that the loser in any complaint lodged would have to bear the costs himself and that there was no machinery for the successful complainant to recover them

## Power

Mr Green replied that, in respect of the 14 complaints lodged against his newspaper with the Press Council, there had been no personal appearances. The cases had all been settled in terms of correspondence

In answer to a suggestion by Mr Justice Steyn that the Council did not

have sufficient teeth and that it did not have the power to act of its own accord if a matter meriting attention was brought to its notice, Mr Green said this aspect was being considered by the newspaper industry

He would accept the notion of extra powers being given to the council to act of its own volition provided certain safeguards were built into the procedure. There was no point in the Press Council hounding newspapers without reason

Mr Green told the commission he had no doubt that the present more enlightened and realistic mood in South Africa on racial issues had been brought about largely as a result of information provided by the Press

'I can think of nothing more dangerous than the suppression of "bad news", say a report about discontent in some section of the black community, on the ground that it would

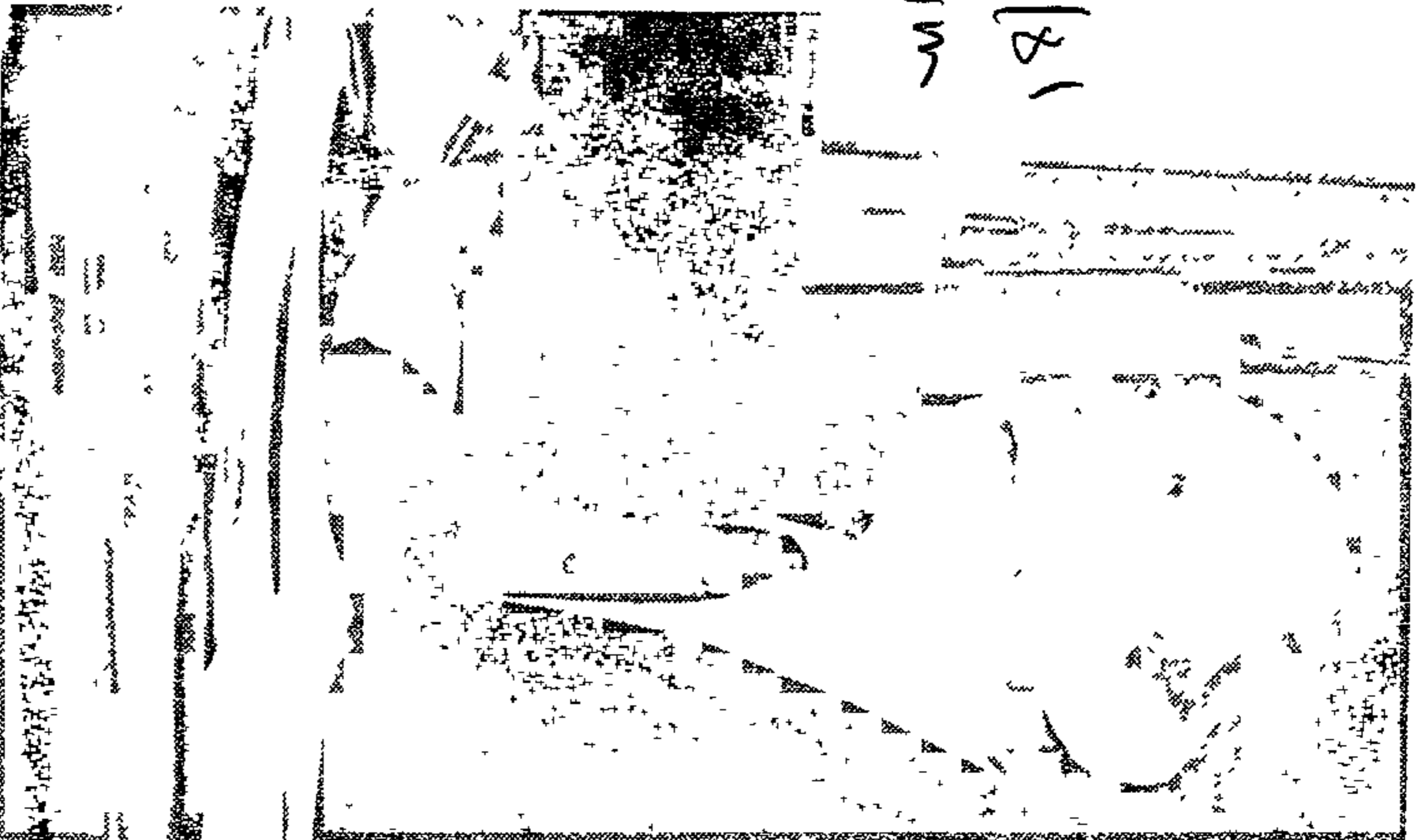
would foment further trouble,' he added

'I have read some of the newspaper reports placed before the commission by people who argue that the English-language Press always emphasises the bad side. I suggest that these references are highly selective and that it would be just as easy to assemble a dossier of published reports about the many examples of inter-racial goodwill and co-operation in South Africa'

## 'Dislike'

The poor reputation of South Africa, Mr Green maintained, was the responsibility of people other than those who worked on newspapers

'It was not the journalists who passed laws which are regarded with dislike, distaste or repugnance by just about every other country and which are still on the statute book, even though some of them — job reservation for example —



MR Michael Green, editor of the Daily News, appearing before the Steyn Commission yesterday

are more or less a deadletter now,' he said. On the question of South Africa's image, it was worth pointing out that the country's relatively free Press — relatively because of the many laws which inhibited a newspaper — was widely regarded over

seas as one of the two strongest pillars of civil liberty in the country, the other being the judiciary. The imposition of further restraints on the Press would do more to weaken the country's reputation than any 'adverse' news reports sent abroad



# 'Blunting' of education denied

Mercury Reporter

THE Director of Indian Education, Mr Gabriel Kroger, told the commission yesterday that the only alleged aims of the Broederbond to 'blunt the system of Indian education' of which he was aware were those he had read about in the newspapers.

Mr Kroger was being cross-examined by Mr Justice M T Steyn, the chairman of the commission, following a complaint made by him against an article in the Sunday Tribune Herald of June 1, 1981.

Mr Kroger said the newspaper had claimed that both he and Prof S P Olivier, rector of the University of Durban-Westville, were members of the Broederbond and that one of the aims of the organisation was to 'blunt the system of Indian education'.

## Blunting

Asked if he knew of any organisation aimed at blunting the system of Indian education, Mr Kroger replied that he supposed the article was inferring, because he was white, would not give Indian

pupils a fair deal

Mr Justice Steyn suggested to Mr Kroger that the appointment of a full-time Press Liaison Officer in the department might be a constructive move in view of the fact that the department had not, in the past, contacted individual newspapers when incorrect articles had been published.

Mr Justice Steyn said a Liaison body for the South African Police had been suggested by a previous commission and this recommendation had been accepted by them.

Mr Kroger agreed that the creation of such a post might serve a useful purpose.

'I am not getting the cooperation from the Press that I would have expected by having an open-door policy,' he added.

## Examples

Mr Kroger said that if the Press published incorrect facts when they had the correct ones at their disposal then no Liaison officer would help the situation.

Mr Justice Steyn pointed out that this would be a fit subject for ultimate resort to the Press Council.

Mr Kroger cited 14 examples of what he termed 'emotional and unsubstantiated reports' as well as 'misleading captions and reports'. The Natal Mercury was not mentioned.

He said that, as an educator, he was deeply concerned with the way in which his pupils were being utilised and indoctrinated by some people with political motives, into the so-called political struggle in South Africa.

'The news media, in my opinion, have helped to foster the process of indoctrination and helped to disrupt learning in my schools'.

He accused the media of 'utilising education as a playground for political motives at the time of the schools boycott'.

The organisers of the boycotts only needed to announce their intentions to these media, he asserted, and they then undertook the necessary dissemination of information for them.

Mr Kroger advocated the passing of legislation to bring journalism into line with other established and organised professions. A board of control should lay down codes of ethics and conduct for members of the profession.

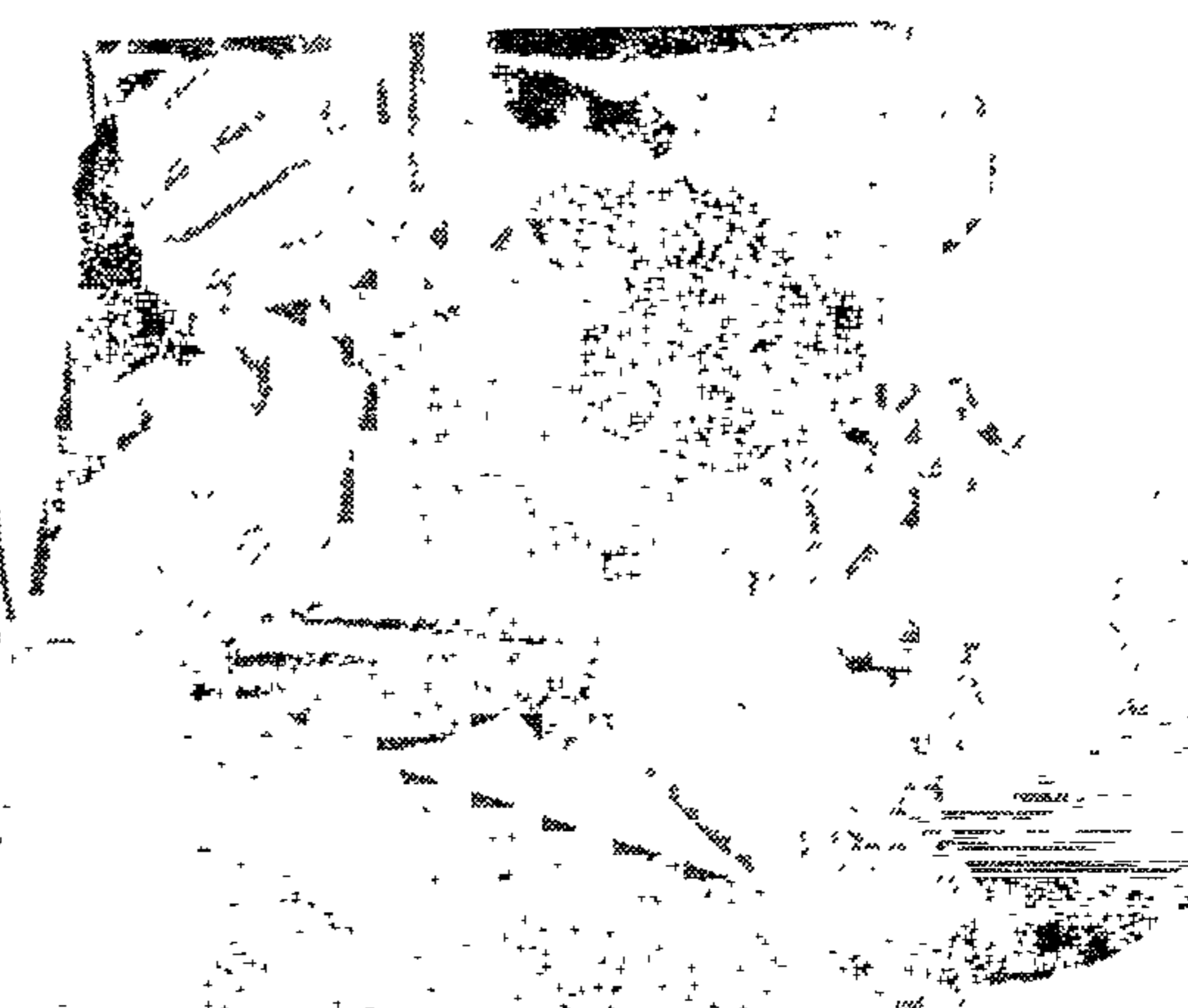
## Not all shareholders known

Mercury Reporter

THE chairman of the commission, Mr Justice M T Steyn, said yesterday that he understood that the names of the principals of between 20 percent and 25 percent of the shareholding in South African Associated Newspapers were undisclosed.

Speaking during a sitting

MR Gabriel Kroger, Director of Indian Education, talks of Broederbond reports



shareholders had, similarly, apparently disclosed their shareholding to the Government.

Mr Green was referring to submissions made on Wednesday by Mr Richard Steyn, editor of the Natal Witness, that there was concern regarding the secrecy surrounding newspaper shareholdings.

group, that the company had gone to a great deal of trouble 18 months ago to ask all nominee shareholders to disclose their shareholding in the company to the Government.

There had been a 98 percent response and the names had been given to the Government.

Mr Green said Mr Slater had told him that SAAN

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obtaining the highest average  
mark.

G L Cragg

# Editor <sup>RDM</sup> tired <sup>18/2/81</sup> of being caught <sup>(243)</sup> in the crossfire

BLOEMFONTEIN — Afrikaans newspapers were getting tired of being held accountable for irresponsible reporting by other newspapers, the editor of Die Volksblad, Mr Henne van Deventer, said yesterday.

Giving evidence before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the media, he said the collective term "the Press" was a convenient way of getting at all newspapers

It frequently happened that Afrikaans newspapers found themselves in the cross-fire between two protagonists.

At times the Afrikaans newspaper found itself on the side of the Government, but at other times — such as in the recent case of the banning of Post — it protested alongside English papers

In Press circles it was sometimes said that Afrikaans newspapers did not fully subscribe to Press freedom, while the Government sometimes accused them of having a common cause with "the enemy".

Mr Van Deventer said editing was an ungratifying task and he wished he could rid himself of the double role. He also referred to an "unsavoury Press psychosis" in South Africa

It could be stated that the Government did not get on very well with the Press and frequently found it necessary to reprimand, threaten and even to appoint commissions of inquiry to turn the Press inside out.

Regarding the closing down of Post, Mr Van Deventer said a dispensation of greater trust would hopefully bring an end to such "painful ad hoc actions"

In this case, the Government had acted out of the blue in the eyes of the Press. The impression was that shots were fired first and questions asked afterwards

In a dispensation of greater trust, one could hopefully make use of other methods of action

He called for a new era of greater tolerance on both sides, which he hoped would come about after the commission produced its report

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G L Cragg

~~Caretaker~~  
 leaders for  
 Mwasa <sup>SIAE</sup>

Faced by a leadership crisis, the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) has decided to use Southern Transvaal branch executive members as "caretaker" leaders.

After the banning of Mr Z Sisulu, Mwasa's national president, and Mr P Mtshkulu, its acting president, the organisation elected Mr Goba Ndhlovu and Mr Q Patel to the national leadership without spelling out their roles.

Mr Ndhlovu is a trained trade unionist and was earlier regarded by Mwasa members as a moderate.

His inclusion in the national executive is seen as an attempt to ward off the Government's attempts to crush the Mwasa leadership.

**TRAVELLED**

Mr Ndhlovu information officer of the SACC, is widely travelled.

His last trip was to the United States, where he studied trade unionism.

Other officials of the Southern Transvaal region elected yesterday are Mr M Phalaise, treasurer, and Mr J Masokwemeng.

Mwasa is to hold a national convention at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre on the May 31 long weekend.

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L Menegaldo

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For the first year student obtaining the highest average mark.

G L Cragg

CHEMICAL

By GERALD REILLY  
Pretoria Bureau  
TRANSVAAL Nationalists were clearly ashamed of Perskor and apparently conceded its circulation "fiddles" were indefensible, Mr Joel Mervis (MPC Orange Grove), said in an interview yesterday.

He was commenting on the fact that National Party leaders in the provincial council had carefully avoided making reference to Perskor in this week's council debates. "Their silence is significant because Perskor's malpractice was not the only target of my attack in the Part Appropriation debate." And the NP regime itself was also criticised "for its part in this deplorable event".

Mr Mervis said he had attacked the National Party for its failure to bring a prosecution against Perskor for its falsification of circulation figures. "One would have expected some reply, if not in defence of Perskor, then at least in defence of the Nationalist regime's dilatoriness".

The party's silence could be accepted as a clear admission by them that Perskor's activities were indefensible. Because Perskor was such a hot potato, the Nationalist leaders had presumably decided it was wiser to leave the entire subject alone. They had made no attempt to

defend the Government against the charge that Perskor, publisher of Nationalist newspapers, enjoyed an apparent immunity against prosecution. "The apparent immunity granted to Perskor contrasts strangely with the zeal shown in State prosecutions of newspapers which supported the Op-

position," he said. "The matter would not be allowed to rest," Mr Mervis said. The Department of Justice was being brought into dispute by the failure to act against Perskor. "There are no secrets here. The facts are not only public property, but have been admitted by Perskor itself. What is the Government waiting for," Mr Mervis asked.

**Nats 'clearly ashamed of Perskor'**

26/2/88

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(4.3) Indirect objective costs

The indirect objective costs considered in the study are the costs of transport to the hospital and of the waiting time of patients to receive treatment.

(4.3.1) Transport costs

The cost of transport to a hospital is a function of distance and mode of transport. Not only must the transport costs borne by patients be considered but also the costs of transport provided by the Provincial Administration. The ambulance service is a responsibility of the local authorities. The CPA is the only provincial administration in South Africa to provide a system of transport for indigent sitting patients to and from the hospital (both Day Hospitals and general outpatients department).

The service is put out to tender by each hospital so there is no centralization of the service. Private companies run the service for each hospital on varying terms under each contract. Payment is either according to the number of patients carried or according to mileage. Bus coupons are also provided especially to old age pensioners who use public transport, to cover the cost of their trip to the hospital. One of the problems is that each hospital does not have a clearly defined area which it serves. This results in a criss-crossing of transport paths to hospitals. Attitudes of hospitals towards the provision of hospital transport vary - some hospitals feel that any patient that is indigent and unwell warrants the facility whilst others feel that hospital transport should be reserved for those who are incapable of using public transport.

The Transport Research Centre at the University of Stellenbosch is currently conducting a study of the hospital transport system for the CPA. The study is considering whether this system should be continued; whether the need for this service arose because the public transport service was inadequate and more particularly whether there is a relationship between this and that the bus service in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth is provided by a private company - City Tramways.

The frequency surveyed is

Table (4.7)

MODE

Mode
+ Public
Private
Hospital
Walking
(+ Public)

The location of Tygerberg Hospital.

The real cost of the Day Hospital this assumed transport mode

The cost to account outpatient di journey is 26 of the 26 doc may have to t that exists v marginal util holds for 'wh made to allow

cost for each of the hospitals

frequency)

Day Hospitals

23,3

11,8

THE PRESS **243** Starting over

FM 20/2/81

The desire by blacks for their "own" newspapers refuses to die down in the wake of the Post closures. Hot on the heels of Argus's Sowetan comes news that at least three black-oriented publications are in the pipeline.

A group of blacks is working towards establishing a weekly for the PWV area to be called *The Reef Times*. And, though a date has not yet been set for the first

publicans should also be taken. The Day Hospitals and 'non-white' instance and the cost of the than to the Day Hospitals. yed, 21 are 'white' so they s. However, any greater cost s to these doctors the s. The same argument Also every effort is Hospitals nearest their homes.

issue, and secure financing is still some way off, the announcement of the venture has generated much excitement.

The working committee consists of black executives, professionals, businessmen, and one journalist - Clifford Ranka, the prime mover. The black community is expected to contribute to the R2m target through an offer of shares, augmented by possible loans from financial institutions. The committee insists that proprietorship, management and all editorial positions will be held by blacks.

The wish to establish an independent black press runs through the black community. In the early Seventies black consciousness activists and community leaders, such as Dr Nthato Motlana on the one hand, and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, collectively registered The Black Press organisation with this objective. The offshoot was *The Nation*, now an Inkatha mouthpiece which started out in Johannesburg and was later moved to Durban, and *The Voice* a Johannesburg church-sponsored weekly.

*The Reef Times* spokesmen are guarded about editorial policy. It is, however, likely that they would adopt a much less aggressive tone, than the former *World* and *Post* lest they share the fate of the banned publications.

Meanwhile, though Argus has not yet replaced *Sunday Post*, a company spokesman tells the *FM* a replacement is likely soon. And there are also reports that one of the oldest publishers of black papers and magazines is considering starting a Sunday paper.

# Horwood

NM 20/2/81

## hits out 243

## at Natal ~~243~~

# newspapers

**ORMANDE POLLOK**

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—Nationalist leader Owen Horwood yesterday launched a generalised attack on Natal's opposition Press and denied reports that the National Party would change the province's traditional way of life.

But members of the opposition rejected his promises and said that the Government was doing just that.

Without being specific, Mr Horwood, replying to the mini-budget debate, also accused The Natal Mercury and the Daily News of being 'negative and at times completely un-South African'.

He did not give details of his charge.

Mr Horwood also accused Mr Frank Martin, leader of the Provincial Council, of being 'obsessed' by fears that if the Nationalists took over control they would interfere in Sunday sport and other issues.

Mr Horwood: "What Mr Martin says is that if we take over Natal we are going to interfere with Natal's traditional participation in Sunday sport, something which we have not done if we were going to do that

why would we not have thought of ways and means of doing it?"

Mr Brian Page, (NRP, Umhlanga) 'You have done it before, why should you not do it now?'

Mr Horwood: 'That Member is going to have his hands really full in this coming election. He should conserve his energy.'

Mr Page 'Good, are you going to stand against me?'

One newspaper had suggested that the Nationalists might interfere with parallel-medium schools, which was 'complete nonsense'.

'It is also said that we would apparently transfer the control of the Natal Parks Board to Pretoria,' said Mr Horwood.

Mr Nigel Wood, (NRP, Berea) 'That is what you are trying to do right now.'

Mr Horwood said that the Nationalists had no intention of doing these things and said if the Natal newspapers continued 'harping' on it the National Party would do extremely well in the province.

Referring to a newspaper report, he quoted Mr Martin as saying 'promises won't fool voters in Natal'.

Opposition members: 'That's right.'

Mr Horwood then referred at length to reports about attempts by the Opposition to reach some agreement on which seats to fight in Natal to keep the Nationalists out of power in the Provincial Council, but, he said, if there was anything which assisted the National Party in Natal it was the 'antics' of the newspapers.

Mrs Helen Suzman, (PFP, Moughton): 'Then why did you try to buy The Natal Mercury?'

Then, looking directly at a grinning Dr Piet Koornhof, who had been involved in attempts to buy the newspaper during the Information debacle, she said: 'Yes you.'

'As I have said before, let them continue to do what they have done in this particular case, let them continue with their negative and at times completely un-South African approach and we shall gain all along the line,' Mr Horwood said amid loud interjections.

'I just want to make it clear to my friends opposite that we are in this election to fight and that we intend to fight. Nobody must come to us and try to make a deal. I hope that is well understood.'

# Hertzog's Press criticism upheld

RDM 23/2/81 (243)

**COMPLAINT** by Dr. Albert Hertzog that the Sunday Times had incorrectly stated that when he was Minister for Posts and Telegraphs he had reduced the telephone service to a hopeless mess has been upheld by the Press Council. The council reprimanded the newspaper.

The council's judgment accepted that the service was in a mess in 1968. Dr Hertzog was Minister from 1958 to 1968. But it found that the Sunday Times had not shown that he was responsible.

In his complaint, Dr Hertzog admitted the Post Office had difficulties, but ascribed them essentially to the restrictions under which it had to work.

He said the Post Office then could not generate its own capital or funds — all income went to the Treasury and only a small part was returned to the Post Office.

The judgment gave a summary of the points under which the Sunday Times case was argued. These included:

- That the achievements of the two Ministers who succeeded Dr Hertzog — Mr. Basie van Rensburg and Mr. Marais Viljoen — showed what could be done.
- That the efforts of Mr. Louis Rive, when Postmaster-General, showed what could be done.
- That the failure to obtain necessary capital for expansion resulted in the mess which existed then, and Dr Hertzog had to share the blame that the Cabinet had failed to see the need for such expansion.

The council's judgment said that without autonomy, which was not granted until after Dr Hertzog's time as Minister, neither Mr. Van Rensburg nor Mr. Viljoen could have run the Post Office on business lines, nor could they have raised the necessary capital.

On the assumption that Mr. Rive did achieve a miracle, it would appear the great financial management ability of Dr. Charles Boyce (appointed Deputy-Postmaster for Finance and Planning in 1972) was to a very large extent responsible for the so-called miracle.

CHEMICAL

Professor George Menzies Prize  
Awarded on results of final  
examinations to the best male  
student in Land Surveying or  
Civil Engineering.

- P M Salmon
- T J Cumming
- D P Weeks
- J H Rens
- B F McClelland

Fourth Year (Gold Medal)

Miss N C Davidson

Third Year (Silver Medal)

Miss G C Littlewort

Second Year (Bronze Medal)

For the best student in each  
of the 2nd, 3rd and final years.

Corporation Medals

# How black journalists see Press 'objectivity'

KDM  
26/2/81  
243

The Government recently banned five more black journalists and effectively shut down two newspapers aimed at black readers. And doubts have been expressed in various quarters about the objectivity of "activist" black journalists because of their political standpoint of commitment to a "liberated South Africa". AMEEN AKHALWAYA, who is a senior official of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa), outlines a black journalist's approach and his view of "objective journalism".

TO BE "objective" means that one starts from a basic premise and then reaches a conclusion after examining all the available data on a given topic

The objectives of a newspaper are to inform, educate, reflect varying views, debate, champion causes and even titillate

Such is the nature of the medium, which receives hundreds of reports and photographs daily, that a newspaper has to achieve a balance to fulfill its objectives

This is not always achieved. Since objectives in this context are such an abstract concept, it is left to a few individuals to decide what ultimately will appear in the newspaper

If 20 people are murdered in a Soweto weekend, most newspapers will not regard it as very newsworthy. This is because it is regarded as a usual weekend

If 20 people are murdered in a Hillbrow weekend, it is major news. The newspapers may start a campaign for a clean-up and protection for residents.

Surely, the murder of 20 people, whether they live in Soweto or Hillbrow, is a matter of grave concern to those who believe in the sanctity of life? It becomes a question of who is involved rather than how many. Thus, because of the country's racially compartmentalised set-up, "news value" often becomes dependent on the race of those involved.

Another example — a story of five blacks killed in a mining accident is worth a few paragraphs in most newspapers. Five whites killed is major news, leading to interviews with their families, sketches of the mine set-up, causes of the disaster, etc

This does not speak very highly of objectivity

The argument of those in charge of newspaper content is that a death in Soweto is of little interest to white readers, while a murder in Parktown is of no interest to black readers

Hence the establishment by white-controlled newspapers of "extra" editions aimed at blacks. The Rand Daily Mail's news and sub-editors' departments are now integrated. Elsewhere, though, the "extras" are generally staffed by black reporters and photographers, but with whites usually having the final say

The general editions, aimed at whites, are staffed almost exclusively by white reporters and photographers. At the same time, more white journalists cover "black" events than blacks cover "white" events

Now if black journalists are to reflect the views of their communities, they have to observe the same rules as their white counterparts — to balance their news reports with opposing views

Last August, for example, employees at Post newspapers went on strike. Black journalists from other newspapers naturally sympathised with their Post colleagues. But they reported the news straight — giving both points of view

No black journalist will get away for long with one-sided, biased reporting. He is only too well aware he will be branded a propagandist, and black journalists certainly do not want to carry such a mark.

Black journalists do not view themselves as isolated, neutral units. They see themselves as being an integral part of their societies. So when such religious leaders as Bishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Alan Boesak call on them to be part of the liberation struggle, they are by no means calling for propaganda

"Neutrality in the struggle," says Dr Boesak, "is a crime which the community will not forgive." When it comes to politics, there is hardly any newspaper in the country which is neutral. Some are for the preservation of white domination and rule, others are for the restructuring of the system

"Liberation" from the bondage of apartheid is what blacks desire, and to reflect this does not make propagandists of journalists. "Objectivity" needs a basic premise, a starting point. Because the black journalists reflect the views of their communities, liberation from apartheid is their starting point

And it is within this framework that they operate

The Rand Daily Mail, for example, is a campaigner for human rights. Within this framework, it can also be said to be fighting for liberation from apartheid. How the "Mail" views liberation and how blacks view it are different matters. The "Mail" supports the idea of power sharing, while many blacks speak of a unitary, Westminster-style nonracial state

Liberation, of course, takes on different forms — psychological, physical, economic, moral — and it is by no means achieved only through violence

But for a black journalist to work from the liberation standpoint does not mean he has to stop reporting on anything he considers to be anti-liberatory. Black journalists are opposed, for example, to the community councils. Yet they have to report on the proceedings

On the other hand, they may agree with the broad principles of Dr Nthato Motlana or the Azanian People's Organisation, but that would not preclude them from writing reports critical of them

And it is ludicrous to suggest that a conspiracy exists among black journalists to "manipulate" or "manufacture" the news to suit a specific political theory. None of the black journalists' unions, past or present, has had a policy setting out what members should or should not write about

There is a vague "commitment to liberation", which means different things to different people. In fact, far from there being a conspiracy, black journalists compete with each other for "scoops". So any lies or manipulation would be quickly exposed

context of their society's situation. In other words, interpretative reporting from a basic concept, and correcting misconceptions

Facts can sometimes lie when they are not given in their proper context, and it is this that has to be corrected if one wants to achieve a balance. An example: Government apologists and propagandists say there is one-man one-vote in the country, that every adult, black or white, has the vote

If Chinese South Africans are excluded, that is a fact

But if one has to compare the meaning of universal franchise as applied in other parliamentary systems, the South African example becomes a lie because different races here have to vote for separate but unequal institutions

And if the "objectivity" of black journalists is questioned, why doesn't the same apply to white journalists?

The objectivity of black journalists is questioned because they have come out openly in support of the struggle. Yet, apart from the workings of the SABC and the Afrikaans Press, white English-speaking journalists rarely turn the spotlight on themselves

Ask black journalists — or perhaps black readers — and they will list many instances of articles by whites which are totally biased or unobjective

I would even suggest that in many cases, the bias and propaganda displayed by white writers often lead blacks into the same position when they attempt to counter-balance those reports

Again an example of "objectivity" depending on the basic premise: the nonracial SA Rugby Union, far and away the biggest black-controlled rugby body, is described as "rebel", because it refuses to co-operate with the Government's sports policy or with the white SA Rugby Board. From the black point of view, the white union should be tagged "rebel" because its set-up is not in accordance with accepted nonracial practice

When Dr Craven insists that there is no apartheid in South African rugby, how many white journalists would probe the truth of the statement? Or does it become a question of "don't rock the boat" because a tour is in the offing?

The London-based Sanroc is often tagged "anti-South African". It can equally be argued that Sanroc is pro-South African because it wants all South Africans to get a proper sporting deal

How often have we not heard about "attacks on South Africa", or about "anti-South African moves", when in fact the action is against the policies of the National Party?

At the moment, whites are preparing for the general election in April. Almost every white English and Afrikaans language newspaper will openly side with one of the political parties involved

White newspaper analysts argue that this is a tradition evolved from Britain, where during election time, a newspaper can support any party. If that tradition is accepted, then why cannot black journalists support any political group of their choice?

After all, the black struggle in South Africa is not confined to the short duration of an election campaign, but is a part of their everyday lives

So it brings us back to the question of objectivity, and really how objective South African newspapers can be, given the racial set-up and the restrictive laws

Is it being "objective" to publish prominently

- The views of someone who favours added foreign investment in South Africa when the law prohibits publication of the views of those in favour of economic sanctions?
- An attack on a banned person or organisation when their reply cannot be published?
- Official reports about prison conditions when severe limitations are placed on reports of adverse conditions?
- Official reports of Defence activities when limitations are placed on contrary reports?

The answer is no

This is not always the fault of newspapers, but it immediately places a question mark over objectivity, and more important, balance

The very nature of a newspaper's operations immediately negates its aim. Unless an article in its introduction spells out that it is giving two views on a given topic and then spells both out, within reason, objectivity becomes blurred. By starting an article with the given view of one party only, it becomes "an angle" from a specific viewpoint, and to then deliberately give the opposing view little or no space makes its objective questionable

Objectivity is desirable, it is essential

But in South Africa, the ground rules of what constitutes objectivity are not clearly defined precisely because there is no consensus on the basic premise and the ultimate aim. They boil down to the political — even racial, social and economic — outlook of the participants and to their differing ultimate aims

The best one can hope for in the circumstances is balance and black journalists, like the rest, have to go about this as objectively as possible within a consensual framework

In short, objectivity in an article would depend on how views a situation — in an election, whether the National Party won or the Progressive Federal Party lost or vice-versa; whether Kaizer Chiefs won a soccer match or were defeated; whether South Africa is a unitary state made up of all inhabitants or can be partitioned into "white" South Africa "independent" homelands

In other words, if a glass contains 50% water and 50% air, the objective view of it would ultimately depend on whether



GILLY influential African newspaper editor yesterday let strongly against Government control of Press through legislation.

William de Klerk, editor of Die Transvaler said at very strongly that if the Government close the path of further control through power it would be tampering with the African system of enjoining political aspirations in South Africa and the in balance through a free Press which was sub- ject to strict application of a code, he told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the

# De Klerk Opposes Press Control

(243) 16/11/18

mass Tuesday sitting in Johannesburg

He said that while the State could justify close control of a newspaper if had to allow its case to be tested by the Press Council a competent tribunal or the Supreme Court

He revealed that before the black newspaper The World had been banned, he had been given the motivation — in confidence — for the banning. He told the commission he had remained totally unconvinced

about the motivation Dr De Klerk did not reveal who had spelled out the reasons for the action

In his submission, Dr De Klerk said

The Press itself should build in further controls to strengthen its political responsibility

Charges were required in the workings of the Press Council and its composition, including the speeding up of the handling of charges and broadening its panel to include assessors from different sectors

Extending the application of the Press Council's Code of Behaviour by developing better channels of information and liaison

In addition to mutual recognition and preservation of freedoms it was necessary for the Government and the Press to reach an agreement in the light of the tensions in South Africa

Dr De Klerk also outlined in principle steps that could be taken against individual journalists who contravened the behaviour code in extreme cases

But steps should also be taken to protect journalists from persecution and slander, because there is always someone who is angry with journalists and wants to 'break' them

He also told the commission that training registers and so forth were no guarantees as minimum requirements for journalists — "responsibility and maturity" were very essential

Dr De Klerk prefaced his submissions by stating his starting point which he said, he did not want to discuss, as they were 'generally accepted'

These were

The freedom of the Press in a democracy and the responsibility for the Press which is party to it.

The extreme caution which the Government must exercise not to further limit, through legislation, the freedom of the Press

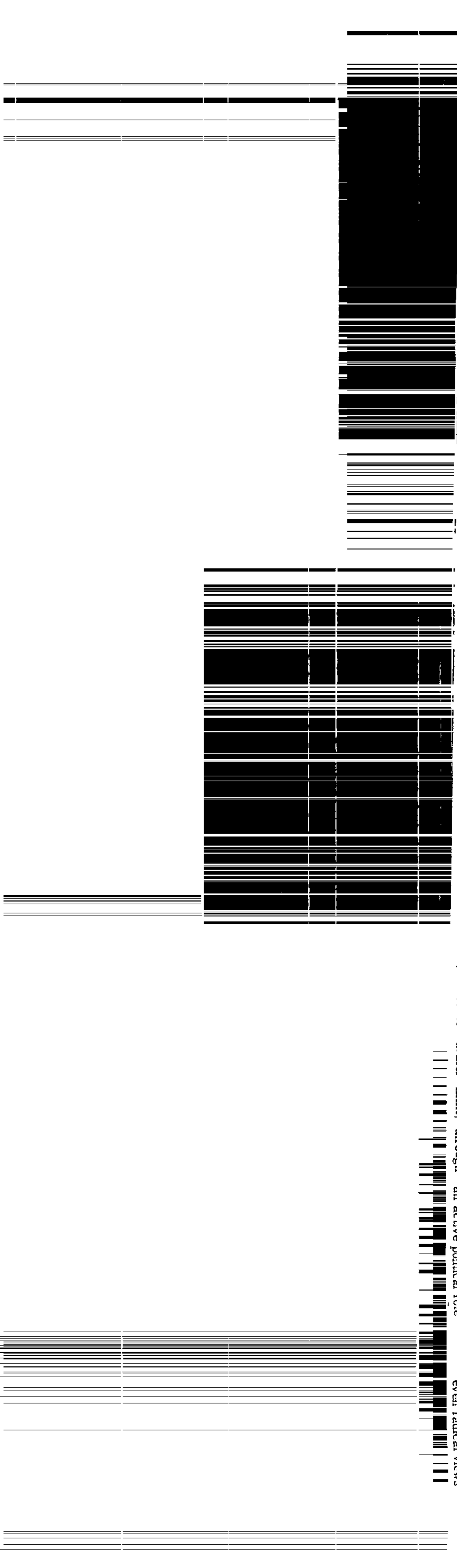
Press and Government in South Africa must reach an agreement over the security of the State, because there is an onslaught against the country which is extensive, planned and undermining

He said none of the recognised daily newspapers in the country was politically neutral in practice. It was the intention or goal of newspapers to play an active political role

There were two newspaper camps — those more or less associated with, or who sympathised broadly with Government policy, and those who were opposed to it. The difference were ideological and philosophical

The newspapers unquestionably, had political influence. When English-language news papers carried the standpoint of their Afrikaans counterparts there was a tendency towards carrying items which criticised the Government or which could be interpreted as anti-black

Answering a question Dr De Klerk agreed it was necessary for readers of Afrikaans news papers to be given black views even radical views



(243) sim 26/2/61

# Editor against tighter gags on Press freedom

By Mike Derry

An Afrikaans newspaper editor yesterday came out strongly against more legislative controls on Press freedom in South Africa

But Dr Willem de Klerk, editor of Die Transvaler, told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media he was, in favour of a strengthened Press Council and a Code of Ethics.

He told the commission the Press and the Government would have to come to a "political agreement."

"It is the State's right and duty to bring newspapers to a greater sensitivity on South Africa's political development," Dr de Klerk said

"Newspapers have also the right to protect their political freedom"

He said the Press would have to give its approval to finding a way of putting the Press Council in the position of looking at the intensity and spirit of reports or comment in

newspapers and coming to a finding on them

Changes would have to be made in the working of the Press Council — such as more speed in the handling of complaints, clearer guidelines on the prominence of the placing of the council's findings on charges against newspapers, and clearer guidelines for holding hearings in camera.

He also called on the State to improve its information channels to newspapers, and to establish a decentralised information service.

He said a spokesman for the Cabinet should also be empowered to brief key members of the Press where it was necessary

On the Government's closure of newspapers, Dr de Klerk said the State had the legal right to do so and it could be a justifiable step

But this should be done only after the arguments for closing a newspaper had been tested in front

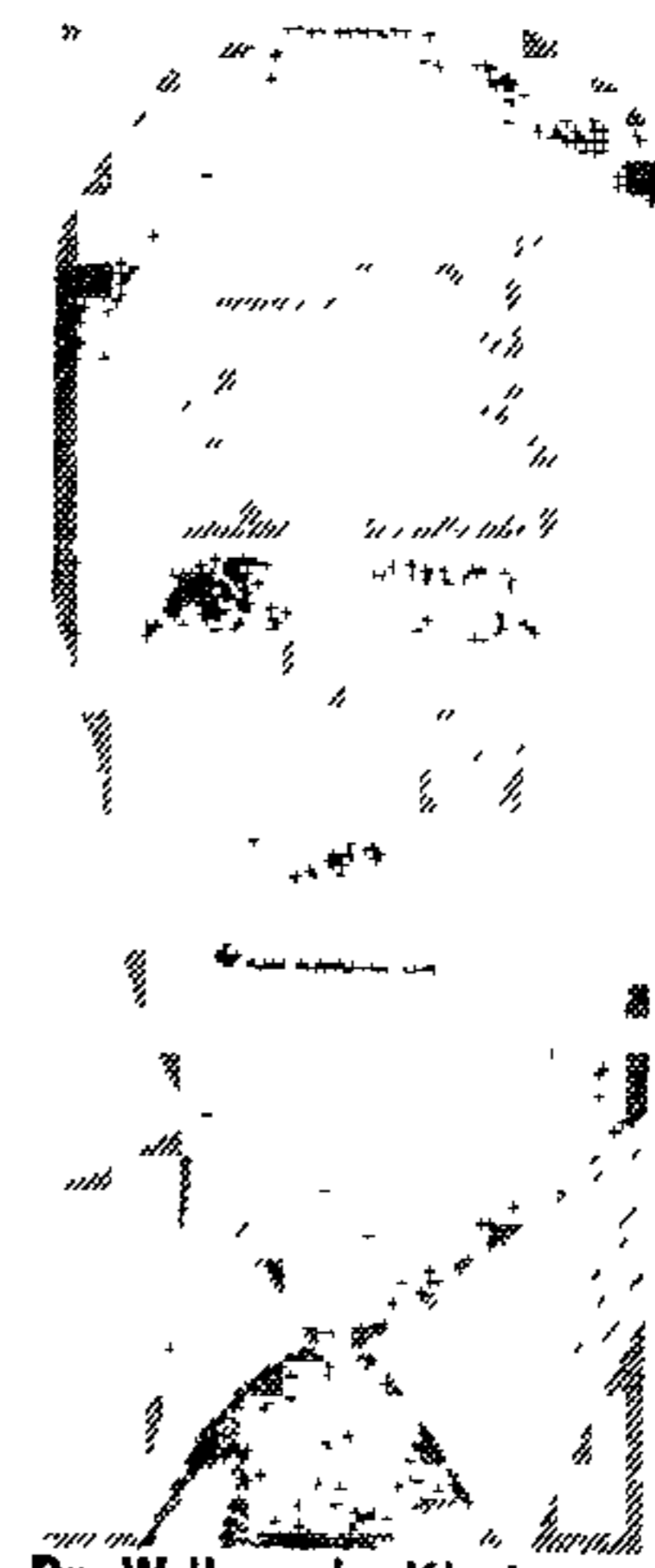
of the Press Council or another tribunal, or even in front of the Supreme Court

Where necessary for reasons of security, such hearings could be held in camera, Dr de Klerk said

He agreed with Mr Justice Steyn that the greater the power the more carefully it should be wielded

Dr de Klerk also came out strongly against the professionalisation of journalists He said that in case of the finding of a contravention against the Code of Ethics, the Press Council should have the right to point out the responsible journalist and to call the editor to a hearing on the case

Minimum qualifications for journalism would serve no purpose Journalism is a talent, a gift, that qualified a journalist more than formal training, he said



Dr Willem de Klerk... protagonist of Press Council strength.

Journal of Political

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## Plea for open information flow

The disclosure of information to the public by the Government should be the general rule rather than the exception, the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media was told yesterday.

The commission was hearing evidence from Mr David Hilton-Barber, a public relations consultant.

"It should be stressed that the open, careful and efficient use of information programmes by Government is not propaganda Government itself has the power to counter the stigma and to approve the free flow of information if it accepted certain principles," Mr Hilton-Barber said.

The principles included those that all individuals had open rights of access, that the burden is on government to justify withholding information, and that individuals denied access to information had the right to seek redress in the courts

"Accepting the fact that a government is obliged

to communicate with its citizens, and that this task cannot be left to the media alone, the course taken by most governments is to institute information programmes," Mr Hilton-Barber said.

"The coverage of public affairs would be improved and a better sense of perspective provided if information is properly issued by the Government," he said.

Mr Hilton-Barber said both the media and the authorities might be better served by the development of better information programmes on provincial and local government levels.

He suggested the Government should accept professional counselling for a communications policy, the individual briefing of Ministers and heads of departments on the principles of media relations, and advice and guidance in the framing of a communications programme at times of crisis.

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GOVERNMENT officials and others have recommended that a statutory register of journalists should be introduced

Support for this proposition is based mainly on the precedent set by the medical profession which has a Medical Council and a register of medical practitioners

The medical system, it is contended, works efficiently and effectively with doctors put forward that the system would work equally well with journalists

The so-called parallel between the medical and journalistic professions is without substance when viewed against the background of the commission's terms of reference, the standards now being proposed for the journalistic profession, and the attitude of open hostility to the Press shown by the Prime Minister and other Government leaders

The commission should not merely reject the proposal for a register of journalists it should give a positive warning to the Government that the introduction of a register would not only be seen to be a threat to Press freedom, but would in fact have the direct effect of emasculating Press freedom

The following are among important Government officials who have recommended that a register of journalists and a statutory body similar to the Medical Council be established to discipline journalists who contravene the ethics of their profession (1) Mr J J Grobelaar, a senior official of the Department of Education, claimed that some newspapers misled their readers in order to increase circulation, and that they were intensifying, rather than defusing, the conflict situation in South Africa

(2) Senior representatives of the Department of Manpower Utilisation recommended that journalists should be made to register, and could then have their registration certificates withdrawn if they abused their profession. I refer the commission to the evidence of Mr Jaap Olliers, Director-General of Manpower Utilisation, who recommends, first, a register for journalists and, second, a proviso that where they misuse their profession they be struck off the register. This recommendation comes from a State official who, among other things, accuses the Press of distortion, suppression, deliberate incitement and an apparent attempt to stir up revolution. It is for the commission to decide whether this official, whose salary is paid by all the taxpayers, approaches the problem with an open mind. I would suggest that he appears to approach it with an open mouth.

(3) Mr A L Schlebusch, former Minister of Justice, proposed that journalists who broke the code should be banned permanently, or at least temporarily. Gerard van Rooy, of the Defence Force, suggested to this commission that a statutory body similar to the Medical Council be established to discipline journalists.

I note with alarm that, according to a report in the Rand Daily Mail (November 28, 1969), the chairman of this commission appeared to see merit in Brigadier Van Rooy's proposal. On that occasion the chairman commented: "Such an arrangement could protect journalists from manipulation by either the State or newspaper proprietors." With respect, I submit that as far as Brigadier Van Rooy and his other colleagues are concerned, the

gravamen of their proposal is not that the State should manipulate the Press, but that the Press should be beaten into docile submission.

Nor is there any suggestion, as far as I am aware, that newspaper proprietors are in the habit of manipulating their journalists. There appears to be no urgent need to provide safeguards against such an alleged threat.

I draw the attention of the commission to the fact that the standards upon which medical activity are measured and judged are, for the most part, clear, unequivocal and readily ascertainable. What is even more important, they deal with issues that are far removed from matters of public controversy.

By contrast — and I refer, inter alia, to the terms of reference of this commission — the standards by which it is proposed journalists' activities should be judged and measured are anything but clear. The proposed standards are vague, equivocal, tendentious, and unascertainable. Indeed, they are so indefinable that they could not produce even a modicum of unanimity among editors of either language group when it came to applying those standards in practice.

Because of the comparisons so freely made with the medical profession I consider it essential to draw the commission's attention specifically to medical disciplines. I mention two relevant clauses of the Medical and Dental Act No 56 of 1974. . . . Section 41. The (Medical) Council shall have power to institute inquiry into any charge of improper or disgraceful conduct of any person registered under the Act.

# A subtle medicine for sedating the Press'

243  
RPH  
29/2/81

Mr Joel Mervis, the International Press Institute's (IPI) official representative in South Africa and former editor of the Sunday Times, yesterday gave evidence before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the mass media. Today the 'Mail' publishes his testimony

appears to the court that there is prima facie proof of improper or disgraceful conduct on the part of a registered person, or of conduct which, when regard is had to such person's profession is improper or disgraceful, the court shall direct that a copy of such portion thereof as is material to the issue, shall be submitted to the Council.

The Medical Council has drawn up many rules governing the standards and ethics of the profession certain minimum standards of education are required, scales of tariffs are laid down, the kind of advertising, if any, is defined, the jobs a doctor can apply for are defined, doctors may not associate with unregistered persons, issue a false certificate or overcharge a patient.

Acts or omissions in which council may take disciplinary steps involve business advertisement, name plates, letter-head and account forms, tutoring, fees, partnerships, covering (lacking with a person who is unregistered), financial interest in sick benefit clubs, dental clinics, hospitals, improperly impeding a patient from getting a second opinion, "grabbing" someone else's patient, reflecting on the skill or ability of a fellow practitioner, maintaining professional secrecy and confidentiality.

A guide as to what is expected has been provided with devastating clarity by the Prime Minister himself. I quote excerpts from Hansard, April 20, 1979, from column 4613 onwards. The Prime Minister discusses the Press, indicates, at the very least by implication, the kind of "responsibilities" he would expect to be binding on the Press.

Prime Minister P W Botha but for months now the public has been subjected to an unbridled campaign of innuendo, suspicion, mistrust and disparagement without precedent in my recollection. It is as though a devil of political destruction has possessed the pens of some writers who wish to spare no individual, no State organisation and no public process.

I want to emphasise that what is essentially at issue here is the negative, destructive and anarchistic attitude in part of the Press.

The list can of course be extended. I have mentioned a relatively large number of items to illustrate the general nature of the ethical code for doctors, and to illustrate also that the directives given to doctors clearly have the same meaning for all doctors. It would only be in rare cases that a doctor would complain that a regulation was ambiguous, or unclear, or reasonably capable of alternative interpretations.

of the Western world, that journalism is a profession sui generis. While journalism cannot, and does not, claim a licence to do as it pleases, the nature of its work necessarily places it in the special category that dignifies it, in every democracy, as the "Fourth Estate" — an implicit recognition that a free and unfettered Press is one of the four pillars of a democratic State.

This status for the Press is recognised and accepted by every democratic government in the Western world. This is what distinguishes it from other professions, and from the medical profession in particular.

Apart from the commission's own tendentious terms of reference — which, in my respectful submission place the commission in an impossible position either as an investigator or as an arbiter — we have further guides to the kind of climate in which a journalist would carry on his profession under the new dispensation that is being proposed to the commission.

By contrast — and this really goes to the heart of the matter — the tests applied to the standards of journalistic work are often vague, political, subjective, tendentious, partisan, emotional and sometimes even malicious. It should be accepted, as is done in all great democracies

" a pernicious spirit in part of South Africa's public information organs. "helping to put an end to a situation that has become unbearable "so far and no further."

I refer briefly to threats against the Press made by the then Minister of Justice, Mr Schlebusch, in September, 1979. He proposed fines of up to R10 000 plus the closing down of newspapers "for a set period or indefinitely" in the event of an alleged contravention.

My submission is that the commission must necessarily find that the Press is an essential part of the political, democratic process, and that its operation bears no comparison to that of the medical profession.

In political matters — and newspapers are essentially and inherently political matters — bona fide partisan attitudes are not only inevitable and unavoidable, but are in fact necessary and desirable. In a democracy every person (and hence every newspaper) should be free to place his own interpretation on what he considers to be "the national interest" or "the demands of the times". It follows that in a democracy there is no way of laying a hard and fast rule or an objective standard as to what constitutes "the interests of the South African community" or "the demands of the times".

One way to enforce such "responsibility" would be by direct legislative action, in which the gagging, muzzling or direct censorship of the Press was introduced.

In my submission the Government is anxious to avoid taking such a drastic step. I believe it seeks to obtain control over the Press (with elimination of Press freedom as an essential ancillary) by more devious and subtle means.

The proposed register of journalists, which provides a direct threat to the livelihood of journalists, is in my view the Government means by which to achieve its purpose. On the one hand a register of journalists will not appear to operate as a gag on the Press, yet the creation of a register of journalists will go a long way to achieving that result.

I specifically draw the commission's attention to the Steve Biko case to show even the smoothly working medical system can be distorted by the intrusion of a political issue. The Biko Inquest proceedings disclosed beyond a reasonable doubt that the conduct of Drs Lang and Tucker, who attended Mr Biko while he was in jail, was at least open to censure.

When the matter came before the Medical Council it was not the usual straightforward case involving only doctors and the medical profession. The matter had political overtones that aroused worldwide interest. In my submission the Medical Council (many of its members Government nominees) were influenced or persuaded by political considerations in their refusal to order a full inquiry into the alleged callous, improper and unprofessional conduct of Dr Lang and Dr

Tucker. The commission should note accordingly that even in the one rare political case to come before the Medical Council, dispassionate judgment flew out of the window when partisan factors came in at the door.

The commission should also note that this single political case of Steve Biko was rarely for the Medical Council. We saw also that the opinions, however honestly held, were sharp and dramatically conflicting, and largely based on ideological rather than medical considerations.

The commission should also note that while political issues in the Medical Council are a rarity, the Press operates every day in a minefield of political, contentious and controversial matters, and that these are the rule rather than the exception.

In such a controversial, highly-charged field of operations, journalists on a register would be at the mercy of all the bias, partisanship and menace that characterises political activity. To place journalists in jeopardy with such a system would effectively destroy Press freedom.

Because I regard the proposed journalists register as highly sinister and dangerous, I repeat my warning that the Government sees in this register a subtle means of subduing the Press.

The Government favours this plan, as I have indicated, because it avoids the stigma of introducing, by legislation, direct Press control, such as is to be found in South America and African dictatorships not to speak of Russia's Pravda and Izvestia.

I accordingly urge the commission to reject out of hand the proposal to set up a register of journalists in South Africa.

# Journalist register (243) KOM 27/2/81 'to control Press'

By ARNOLD GEYER

THE PROPOSED statutory register for journalists was a "subtle and devious" attempt by the Government to control the Press and if implemented, would effectively destroy Press freedom in South Africa.

The Steyn Commission into the mass media was told this yesterday by Mr Joel Mervis, official representative in South Africa of the International Press Institute and former editor of the Sunday Times and the Sunday Express.

He said the clampdown on the Press in SA was a "logical sequence" of apartheid and should be seen as part and parcel of the Government's denial of human rights to millions in the country and of such practices as detention without trial.

"I regard the proposed register as highly sinister and dangerous and repeat my warning that the Government sees in such a register a subtle means of subduing the Press," he said.

The Government favoured this plan, he said, because it would avoid the stigma of introducing direct Press control by legislation as is found in dictatorships.

There could only be one "inescapable inference" from Government proposals and statements — "it does not want Press freedom", Mr Mervis said.

"The commission should not merely reject out of hand this proposal, but go further and give the Government a positive warning that the register's introduction would not only be

seen as a threat to Press freedom, but would in fact have the direct effect of emasculating this freedom," Mr Mervis said.

The basic problem regarding Press freedom was that the Government wanted the more than 20-million blacks to read and hear only what it deemed fit.

"When you have a majority with no democratic or political rights and not represented in the decision-making of the country then it is the duty of any honourable newspaper to act as voice of these unrepresented millions," he said.

He told the commission the parallels between the medical and journalist professions used by the supporters of a register, were "false and without substance".

The standards now being proposed for journalistic activities were "vague, equivocal, tentative and unascertainable", he said.

"Indeed the standards are so indefinable that they could not produce even a modicum of unanimity among editors of either language group when it came to applying those standards in practice."

To place journalists, who were working in a "controversial highly charged field of operations", on a register would place them at the mercy of all the "bias, partisanship and menace that characterised political activity."

And this would provide a direct threat to the livelihood of SA's journalists, Mr Mervis said.

## 'Meeting with Govt would be pointless'

Staff Reporter

A MEETING between newspapermen and the Government would be pointless as there were too many conflicting interests between the two parties. Mr Joel Mervis yesterday told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media.

"To get together could only lead to censorship because the only agreement between editors and the Government could be not to publish something," he said.

While governments wanted to "conceal and suppress news" it was the view of newsmen that they had to "reveal and expose", he said.

When the chairman, Mr Justice M T Steyn, asked Mr Mervis whether the relationship between the Press and the Government should not be improved, he said all evidence pointed to the Government's determination to bring to an end Press freedom as it was traditionally known.

Mr Mervis was repeatedly cross-questioned by commission members about measures to

ensure strict adherence to the Press Code of Conduct. Each time he answered that there were already sufficient means to ensure responsible reporting.

"But now we are faced with possible temporary or permanent bannings as well as being struck off some roll — this is what we are objecting to," he said.

In a lengthy discussion on the limits of Press freedom, Mr Mervis said the publication of some news, even if it contravened the law, could be seen as being in the public interest.

He pointed out that during the Second World War the government of the day exercised much more tolerance towards the Press than was the case today.

"Even at a time of war when people were totally divided on the government's war efforts newspapers were allowed to show open support for the enemy and rejection of the government's policies."

# Mervis accuses Govt of bid to subdue Press

243  
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27/2/51

**By Mike Derry**  
The Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media was urged yesterday to reject proposals for a register of journalists.

Mr Joel Mervis, former editor of the Sunday Times and the Sunday Express and official representative in South Africa of the International Press Institute, told the commission that the proposed register was highly sinister and dangerous.

"I repeat my warning that the Government sees in this register a subtle

means to subdue the Press," he said.

Mr Mervis said that the standards by which it was proposed to judge and measure journalistic activities were vague, equivocal, tendentious, and unascertainable.

He said that while journalism could not, and did not, claim a licence to do as it pleased the nature of its work inescapably placed it in a special category.

Mr Mervis said the Government was anxious to avoid such a drastic

step as gagging, muzzling or directly censoring of the Press.

"I believe it seeks to obtain control over the Press, with elimination of Press freedom as an essential ancillary, by more devious and subtle means," Mr Mervis said.

In his view the proposed register of journalists was the subtle means by which the Government hoped to achieve its purpose.

## LOGICAL

Mr Mervis said that the Government's disposition to clamp down on the Press and Press freedom was a logical sequence of its apartheid policy.

Once a large majority of people had been deprived of their rights all other conflicts, with democratic procedure flawed from that such conflicts included detention without trial, Mr Mervis said.

The more repressive the Government's actions became the more it considered there was a total onslaught on the country, the greater became the temptation to reduce Press freedom and the greater became the temptation to describe the curbing of Press freedom as an abuse of Press freedom, he said.

The Government was alarmed at what blacks might read in newspapers and wanted to prevent the Press from publishing news it felt blacks should not read.

This was demonstrated by the banning of three black newspapers because the newspapers concerned clearly had an interest in publishing what their black readers wanted to see.

When a situation arose, as in South Africa, where a large majority of the population had no right of democratic rights it was the duty of newspapers to some extent to act as the voice of those unrepresented millions, Mr Mervis said.

## Imports rise by R244-m

Pretoria Bureau

South Africa's imports rose by more than R244-million during January this year while exports were down by R102,8-million, it was announced today.

According to preliminary statistics released, South Africa's exports dropped in all major trading regions with the exception of Europe.

Imports from these regions generally rose with Europe taking the lion's share of R561-million to South Africa compared with R404,9-million last January.

Both imports and exports, to and from other African countries dropped during January.

Goods worth R18,3-million were imported in the first month of this year compared with R21,3-million last year. Exports for January 1951 were valued at R77,5-million, compared with R79,3-million.

HOW CAN ECONOMICS IMPROVE PLANNING FOR HEALTH ?

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper owes much to discussions held over the last two years with two groups of medical and economics students, on problems of providing health care in Southern Africa. I am indebted to all who took part. It has also been informed by the work of the Edinburgh Medical Group on the allocation of resources in health care, in particular that of Michael Porter. A publication is shortly to appear from the group.

# Methodists against more Press restrictions

28/2/81  
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The Methodist Church of Southern Africa would be deeply concerned if there were moves to further restrict the South African media the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media was told yesterday.

A memorandum submitted by Mr T Coggin, information officer, and the Reverend A Massey, general secretary of the Christian Citizenship Department of the church, stated:

We recognise that we live in a tense and polarised society in which differences are deep.

It is no good introducing legislation to restrict or prohibit the expositions of these differences.

Very often the argument may be forwarded that publication of certain news is not in the public interest — an argument one might be tempted to support in our weakness as human beings.

They added: "While there may be some merit in the delaying of the

release of news which is deemed not to be in the public interest there can be no lasting Christian argument to deny the release of news altogether.

As a Christian church we believe communication is the key to peace.

"We believe this to be even more the case in our own country with its well-known divisions and war situation."

They said many of the restrictions imposed on the Press should be lifted.

We find it unacceptable that an institution such as the Press should have close on 100 statutes which affect its activities in some way or another."

Mr Coggin added: "Perhaps the Newspaper Press Union in consultation — where possible — with organised journalists, should institute a formal training programme for all cadet journalists, culminating in a diploma or similar form of recognition which is recognised by one or more educational institutions in the land."

\* Suggested for the nasty reader

# Big demo planned on SA Press threat

(243) RDM 3/3/81

By MARGARET SMITH  
London Bureau

A DAY of protest action throughout the Western world is planned by the International Federation of Journalists as part of a campaign against threats to freedom of the Press in South Africa

A resolution on the campaign, taken at an IFJ bureau meeting in Hamburg, will be put into effect by affiliated journalists' organisations representing 97 000 members in 26 countries

Mr Theo Bogaerts, secretary-general of the IFJ, said in Brussels last night that the federation was extremely concerned about threats to Press freedom in South Africa

"We want the South African Government to know that the eyes of the free world are on the Press and journalists in

South Africa," he said

"We are alarmed and concerned over action that has been taken against South African journalists, and we will be taking a keen interest in any action that might follow the recommendations of the (Steyn) commission of inquiry into the media"

The day of action is to draw attention to the plight of journalists and the threat to Press freedom in South Africa

Journalists in countries throughout the West will hold vigils and public meetings, and picket consulates and embassies

The IFJ has campaigned against the threatened Press in countries such as Russia, Czechoslovakia and Latin-American states under dictatorships

It has also taken up specific

Press issues in many other countries, including Britain and France, where the IFJ considered the liberty to report was under threat

Meanwhile, the British National Union of Journalists (NUJ) will deal with a proposal at its annual conference later this month for a campaign calling for British publishers to refuse advertisements submitted by the South African Government or its State institutions

If this is adopted — an almost certain step — Fleet Street newspapers will be under extreme pressure to refuse the type of advertisement that has been taking up half-pages in which "South Africa puts its case"

Some militant NUJ members will urge that publishers be

asked to ban job advertisements for such organisations as South African Airways and Sasol and other State-aided institutions

Increased attention has been focused on the Press-Government issue in South Africa since the airport incident in which the NUJ secretary-general, Mr Ken Ashton was barred from entering South Africa earlier this year

In the House of Lords, the Foreign Secretary, Lord Carington, has been asked about the Ashton affair and is expected to give a reply soon to Lord Brockway, who raised the issue, and to the Trades Union Congress

The powerful TUC had appointed Mr Ashton to assist black journalists in obtaining trade union recognition for the

# Register needed for control

By Michael Phalaise  
Political Staff

## media — Inkatha

Only South Africa's journalists, like its doctors and lawyers, must be made to register so they can be controlled, said the secretary-general of Inkatha in Johannesburg today.

Dr Oscar D Dhlomo made the recommendation when he gave evidence before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media.

## Press victim of 'overkill,' says editor

By Iain Macdonald

There was far too much legislation hampering the Press, and this was a kind of 'statutory overkill,' the editor of the Financial Mail, Mr Stephen Mulholland, told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into Mass Media yesterday.

Giving evidence before the commission, Mr Mulholland said that there was an element of 'paranoia' in the way the Press was being treated.

In addition to paranoia there is also a gross lack of knowledge about the Press functions, he said. He added that the proposal of a register for journalists conflicted with the thrust of the Prime Minister's commitment to the principles of free enterprise.

I ask the commission to consider how the banking industry would react to such a proposal.

Journalist associations, these were not as well organized and strict as those of doctors and lawyers.

Journalist associations were not multiracial and did not have codes of ethics. There was no way an incompetent journalist could be dealt with.

In the doctor and not the hospital he works for, he held responsible for any act of professional misconduct.

In the journalistic profession, the newspaper, or at times the Editor is usually held responsible, Dr Dhlomo said.

Journalists should bury their differences and form a multiracial association to monitor their professionalism.

In Inkatha's view the mass media was not sufficiently representative of the South African community and its needs, because

There was not a single black newspaper in the country. There were a few white-owned newspapers that employed black journalists.

English and Afrikaans newspapers, without exception, have allowed themselves to be replicas of the political polarisation taking place in white politics today.

PROPAGANDA  
If a black man reads any English or Afrikaans newspaper today he cannot escape the feeling of being subjected to political propaganda that is either for or against the Government.

Many newspapers do not bother to report any news that does not pertain to white people. Dr Dhlomo said the SABC was doing the country a disservice by giving biased reports, especially in regional news bulletins.

The media were using the term 'terrorist' unfairly.

Dr Jonas Savimbi's Cnta was seeking to overthrow the Angolan Government through the use of violence but the South African Press did not report this.

black journalists  
These newspapers covered news that was of interest to the black community only.

English and Afrikaans newspapers, without exception, have allowed themselves to be replicas of the political polarisation taking place in white politics today.

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The media were using the term 'terrorist' unfairly. Dr Jonas Savimbi's Cnta was seeking to overthrow the Angolan Government through the use of violence but the South African Press did not report this.

Few black patients were willing to pay the fees of a private doctor in order to avoid waiting or to gain rapid admission to the hospital in Bloemfontein. Sometimes a farmer would pay for a labourer to ensure quick attention. However, many blacks did consult private doctors when they could have obtained medicine at State expense, usually

There was some indication that the ailments of women on farms are less obvious than those of the men, because they could escape the notice of the farmer unless specifically brought to his attention. If the husband does not think a



RDM 4/3/81 (243)

# More freedom, less law — editor

## Inquiry ponders 'enmity between Govt and Press'

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA  
Political Reporter

THE editor of the Financial Mail, Mr Stephen Mulholland, said he would not publish anything he deemed to be contrary to the "national interest"

He made this point to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the mass media yesterday when he called for less Government regulation and greater freedom for the Press

Mr Mulholland agreed there could be no freedom without responsibility, that certain regulations were necessary in a well-ordered society and there were certain things newspapers should not be allowed to write.

"For example," he said, "I would in no way wish to jeopardise oil supplies to South Africa. If we get the information, we will not publish."

He said the "less law" the country had, the better, and called for more understanding by the Government that South Africa had a responsible Press, that the Press was not out to sabotage the country and that "we in the media are responsible and reliable people who are not out to damage the country's interests".

"If that were so, there would be plenty of evidence before the courts," he added.

In his submissions and in reply to questions, Mr Mulholland

- Praised the "sophisticated understanding" between State officials dealing with financial and economic policies, and his newspaper and other financial journalists;

- Slammed the "attitude of mind" of civil servants who believed it was none of the Press' business to make inquiries about their work,

- Rejected the idea of a register for journalists

- Rejected suggestions that individual journalists should be acted against

- Suggested that the market place was the "acid test" of which newspapers people wanted to buy

In his argument, he rejected Government fears that in wielding the power of the printed word, the Press would exacerbate an already uneasy situation. The Cillie Commission into the Soweto upheaval had exonerated the Press

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA  
Political Reporter

THE Steyn Commission and some members of the media were concerned about the "running enmity" between the Government and the Press despite numerous attempts over the years to resolve it

This was said yesterday by the chairman of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media, Mr Justice M T Steyn, when he questioned the editor of the Financial Mail, Mr Stephen Mulholland

The judge, referring to the "arsenal of laws", made his remarks when he asked Mr Mulholland whether, because of such "profound enmity and mutual mistrust", he did not see the need to ponder a new point of departure

In turn, Mr Mulholland asked if the commission should then not examine the attitude of the Government

Mr Steyn replied that that was what the commission was doing. Its terms of reference were wide enough to include the Government. For example, Mr Joel Mervis had repeatedly attacked not only the terms of reference of the commission, but also the intentions of the Government

To a certain extent, the

judge said, it appeared from Mr Mervis' submission that there was profound enmity and distrust. It might be that the commission would have to find the reasons

If the commission found a "shortfall", it might be that the Government itself was "a large and contributory factor", the media might be to blame, or the fault could be on both sides

Mr Mulholland submitted that the commission had been set up by one side, but Judge Steyn replied that by doing so, the Government had also put itself "into the box" — Government representatives had also been questioned by the commission

Mr Mulholland placed the blame for the conflict on public servants who felt they were not answerable to and who did not see the watchdog role of the Press. He pointed out that all Government activities were financed by the people

Asked by the chairman if the whole structure should be re-investigated, Mr Mulholland said it would require an entire submission. But, he said "I think there is far too much legislation which hampers the Press in the performance of its duty"

6/3/61

STUM

243

# Press Institute

## concern over SA

Own Correspondent

NAIROBI — The International Press Institute, which represents more than 1800 editors from over 60 countries, has protested against the South African Government's "continuing acts of repression against the Press and harassment of journalists"

Reviewing the problems of the media at the closing session of the annual assembly here last night, the Institute's director, Mr Peter Gallinern, said the situation in South Africa, among others, had caused great concern

The Institute expressed alarm at the South African Government's establishment of a State commission of inquiry into the media and calls for the licensing of journalists.

It also protested against the closing of the Post and Sunday Post newspapers, the banning of black journalists and the imprisonment of journalists without trial.

While the South African Press was still one of the freest on the continent, it said, all these actions suggested that the South African Government wished to force it to conform to its own views and policies

243 100 5/3/81

# Press 'must cater for wide opinions'

By Iain Macdonald

There was a lack of imagination on the part of newspaper management to cater for a diversity of opinion across the board, the chairman of the Constitutional Committee of the President's Council, Dr Denis Worrall, told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media.

Giving evidence before the Commission in Johannesburg today, Dr Worrall said it was "sad to see newspapers committing themselves almost hysterically to a cause"

He said the English language newspapers cast themselves in the role of "watchdogs" of the Government, but said the question could be asked as to whether opposition to the present Government had not become a habitual thing

The senior journalists on English language newspapers were mostly post-1948 in political consciousness, and "had no first-hand experience of having to bend principle to practice — as their predecessors had to do," he said

He added that they understood "very little of

the anguishing which goes with the exercise of power"

Questioning Dr Worrall, Judge Steyn asked whether the English language Press did not find itself "spiritually incarcerated" by having a "closed circle of think-and-do-alikes" who tended to write not for the public but for those on the inside of their own newspaper

Dr Worrall said that like a university, newspapers ought to embark on a policy of diversity of opinion

He made several recommendations to the Commission including

● That a single Press law to consolidate all the provisions and regulations presently governing the media should be attempted to be introduced

● That newspapers be required from time to time to publish details of their readership, with population breakdowns

● That newspapers should be required to indicate prominently who is responsible for specific editorial commentary and political and financial reporting

Dr Worrall also said that the media ought to articulate and raise the level of debate on issues in society

# IPI slams Press probe

NAIROBI — The International Press Institute yesterday expressed alarm at the South African Government's establishment of a State commission of inquiry into the media as well as calls for the licensing of journalists

A resolution distributed on the final day of the IPI's general assembly protested against "continuing acts of repression against the Press" and "harassment of journalists"

It also protested against the closing of the Post and Sunday Post newspapers, the banning of black journalists and the imprisonment of journalists without trial

The IPI said it was alarmed by the establishment of a State commission to inquire whether the South African media "meet the needs of the times", and by calls for licensing of journalists

"While the South African Press is still one of the freest on the continent, all these actions suggest that the South African Government wishes to subjugate it and force it to conform to the views and policies of the Government," the IPI said

The IPI also said governments that supported Unesco moves to licence journalists were the same governments behind the jailing, torture and murder of journalists

The London-based Press-freedom group declared that most of the abuses against journalists were inspired by governments that sought to avoid criticism

"IPI has no confidence that these same governments, through an intergovernmental organisation such as Unesco, can be trusted with the right and task of protecting journalists," the resolution said

"Protection must be meaningful and not an excuse to exercise governmental control — not a way to protect the governments from the journalists"

The United Nations educational, scientific and cultural organisation, sponsor of proposals for global guidelines for news, distribution, held an inconclusive meeting in Paris two weeks ago on establishment of an international register of journalists as a means of protecting them

Backers of the journalists' register are largely Soviet bloc and Third World countries who seek greater regulation of the flow of news in order, they say, to give developing nations a better chance to tell their story.

Opponents, largely in the West, say governmental intervention in news distribution

# State actions 'undermined' Steyn Inquiry

RDM 5/3/81 (243)

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA  
Political Reporter

THE Inkatha movement said yesterday that the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media was not representative of all the population groups in South Africa

And it added that the credibility of the commission had been undermined severely by recent Government action against black journalists and newspapers serving black readers

Giving evidence before the commission in Johannesburg, Inkatha's secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said "The members of the commission are South African citizens of white descent, and yet they have been charged with the responsibility to investigate a matter that affects the South African community as a whole, regardless of colour"

He cautioned that in future, Inkatha might be compelled to refuse to give evidence before Government commissions which were racially exclusive

Referring to recent Government actions, he said "We are indeed left wondering why the Government appointed this commission in the first place if it believes the best way to deal with journalists and newspapers, that are critical of its policies, is to ban them"

Inkatha strongly condemned "the utter disregard for human rights that has over the years been characteristic of Government actions", and demanded that the banned journalists be charged in court if they were suspected to have committed any crime against the State

The appearance by Inkatha representatives — including Mr Gibson Thula and Mr Peter Davidson — was the first by blacks before the commission

Inkatha proposed various steps — including the registration of journalists — to "put the journalistic profession on a sound professional footing"

In reply to a question by Mr Klaus von Lieres, Dr Dhlomo agreed that the "manipulation" of journalists could be avoided by making journalism a "proper profession"

Mr Von Lieres read out a transcript of an SABC interview with the Inkatha president, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who claimed that members of the Writers' Association of SA — now the Media Workers' Association of SA (Mwasa) — "manipulated" news as far as he was concerned

Later outlining "serious

He added "This is because a particular attitude group of journalists has come to dominate the field of black writing and reporting in the Press

"This has almost become a recent tradition of black journalism, encouraged vigorously by Mwasa, which tends strongly to favour the black consciousness/liberal-radical positions at the expense of pragmatism"

In his submissions, Dr Dhlomo said

● The mass media were neither sufficiently representative of the South African community — consisting of "black and white people who live in all areas of South Africa" — nor sufficiently skilled to articulate and/or to identify the true needs and interests of that community.

● Inkatha gained the impression that the Government did not want to tolerate any newspaper that expressed black opinion, particularly against Government policy,

● There was a serious imbalance in the Press, in that black views were generally not presented in as much detail as white views

For this reason, Inkatha suggested the establishment of a permanent nonracial commission of political experts who would identify significant viewpoints in black and white politics, monitor and evaluate the performance of the Press, and report back to an annual conference of editors

Dr Dhlomo suggested these other steps by journalists to put journalism on a sound professional footing

● They should be expected to subscribe to a code of ethics, clearly spelling out what constituted professional misconduct,

● An "association of journalists" should be given statutory powers to enable it to exercise full control over the professional conduct of its members,

● Attempts should be made by journalists to sink their differences and form one multiracial association. If this was impossible, provision should be made for the representation of all associations in the body responsible for exercising the powers

Dr Dhlomo accused the mass media of, not exercising their rights or performing their duties properly. They were insufficiently representative in these respects

● All newspapers were owned by "white financial interests",

● English and Afrikaans newspapers, without exception, "have allowed themselves to be replicas of the political polarisation taking place in white politics today" A black reader reading these newspapers could not escape the feeling of being subjected to either pro- or anti-Government propaganda,

● Many South African newspapers did not even bother to report news that did not pertain to whites. By this, they were rendering a disservice to the country because they deceived readers that South African society consisted only of whites

This was also true of SABC-TV, which "studiously avoids" showing black faces, particularly if they were regarded as opponents of Government policy

Dr Dhlomo said in some respects South African newspapers allowed themselves to be used as exponents of Government policy by describing people in racial terms

More black journalists should be appointed as reporters on white newspapers

Dhlomo said the most serious one emanated from "the fact that the Inkatha view, or the stance of its leader, Chief Buthelezi, is criticised more frequently in statements appearing in the English-language Press than there are attacks and criticisms of other black viewpoints"

# Court doors close for newsman's appeal case

By John Allen

BLOEMFONTEIN — Appeal Court judges today ruled that the appeal of a senior South African journalist against convictions and sentences under the Official Secrets and Defence Acts should be heard behind closed doors.

Deon Jean du Plessis, assistant editor of The Sunday Tribune and formerly assistant editor of The Star's Africa News Service, brought an appeal before Mr Justice Corbett, Mr Justice Trollop and Mr Justice van Heerden.

Last year Mr Justice Fritz Steyn of the Rand Supreme Court imposed an eighteen-month jail sentence, three six month sentences and a R250 fine on Mr du Plessis after convicting him on five counts under the Official Secrets Act and one charge under the Defence Act.

He was sentenced to an effective jail term of six months.

Mr Chris Human, for the State, today applied for an order that the appeal hearing be in camera. Mr Justice Corbett granted the application and ruled that no information should be published other than that already authorised by the court.

that Mr du Plessis had received a file of secret military signals sent between SWA/Namibia and Pretoria and that he had made allegations of illicit South African involvement in the Zimbabwe/Rhodesian war in the manuscript of a book.

He was found to have given the signals to a

police officer of what was then Zimbabwe/Rhodesia, and sentenced to a suspended sentence of six months. He has petitioned for leave to appeal conviction on this charge.

He today appealed against a sentence of eighteen months, of which twelve months were conditionally suspended for five years, on two charges relating to the signals.

The other three charges which form the subject of the appeal relate to a manuscript on the Zimbabwe/Rhodesian war in 1977 and 1978.

Mr du Plessis is appealing against a conviction for offering the manuscript to a London publisher. He was cautioned and discharged on this count.

Mr du Plessis is applying for leave to appeal against a conviction for communicating secret information to the publishers Jonathan Ball. He was fined R250 (or one month) and sentenced to six months jail, which was suspended, on this count.

The trial judge revealed

5. Undefined

'Subsequent choice of fault, choices' at 2uro gave assistance as first, or giving expert with (without. At 41st rent was more pr did not more suo doctors elsewhere Satisfac ion w report- weis cat relief, some re was permanent, Alt treatment. Alt

52.

i.e. towards doctors. Women of working age were the main clinic attenders.

Those who had chosen to go first to the clinic did so for family planning or gynaecological reasons or because it was cheaper, or nearer, or because they considered their ailment to be minor. There was also a feeling in some women that clinics could cope adequately with children's diseases but that for their own they could prefer a doctor.

Table 5. Subsequent choices

	Harare	Swarburg	Lansneba	Total
Subsequent choice <sup>1</sup>	42	21	13	87 (70%)
% of cases where subsequent choice made.	2 (29)	5 (22)	2 (46)	8 (42) 38 (50%)
Clinic	5	1	4	10
Nearest doctor	3	6	4	13
Doctor elsewhere	3	4	4	16
Hospital	1	1	2	4
At treatment or home care	2	3	2	7
Other practitioner				1
Total subsequent choices	14	6	15	35

1. Referral was not counted as a subsequent choice.

PRESS COMMISSION (243)  
Vital issues FM 6/3/81

The editor of the *Financial Mail*, Stephen Mulholland, this week told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media that he saw no point in the introduction of yet more legislation to govern the press. A wide body of laws already existed and as long as these were, in the words of the noted Harvard University legal theorist John Rawls, "impartially and regularly administered in accordance with the principle of legality", then neither society at large nor the press need have any fears about infringements of their liberties.

New legislation flowing from the Commission "will be an indictment not of the press but of the legislative and executive branches of the state," implying that "the vast body of law promulgated over decades has failed to achieve the objectives of the 'well-ordered society,'" said Mulholland.

The maintenance of personal liberty and the Rule of Law, and the national interest of SA were two issues that should be borne in mind by the Commission, Mulholland said. These issues "are vital to the peaceful survival of our nation and to orderly progress towards a more just society."

Mulholland drew on Rawls' theory to show that rules backed up by effective coercive powers are necessary to ensure liberty and justice even in a well-ordered society. "The principle of liberty leads to the principle of responsibility," he quoted. However, any law that sought to enforce "objectivity" would be an ass, since total objectivity was not possible because "we are all products, some might say victims,

of our backgrounds and heritage."

"Let us also ask ourselves what need there is for this Commission to exist at all," Mulholland said. "Publishing is a business. It sells information printed on paper. Nobody is compelled to buy the product, just as nobody is compelled to buy a specific toothpaste or bar of soap that is left to the market to decide."

The difference between newspapers and soap is that the former are invested with a great deal of power to influence — "provided, of course, that people are prepared to buy their products."

"However, even when circulation is limited, a state which is basically unsure of itself will be afraid and will act, as is the case of the Russian *samizdat* produced by dissidents."

Newspapers in SA are governed by a "highly efficient (some would say too efficient) body of law administered by experts," he said.

Mulholland pointed out that the Prime Minister "has himself repeatedly stressed SA's commitment to the principles of free enterprise. Such commitment presupposes a move away from regulation and control and towards less government and greater freedom of individual choice." He suggested this is the spirit in which the Commission should conduct its activities.

Turning to the "national interest", the editor said he appreciated the "difficult balancing act" involved in running a diverse country and the fears that the press could exacerbate the situation. It is doubtful that these fears are justified. "For example, the Cillie Commission of Inquiry into the 1976 Soweto upheavals exonerated the press. It is alleged that, had the authorities paid heed to warnings in the press, the Soweto affair may well have been avoided or mitigated. In other words, a free and responsible press can act as a valuable source of information to the government." Mulholland submitted that this was the case in SA and, further, that "it is in the national interest that the press be perceived, both here and abroad, as being free within the limits of such laws as presently exist. There is simply no evidence to support allegations that the SA press is irresponsible and needs to be further fettered."

A register of journalists would be seen as a means to intimidate and thereby control journalists. The concept of a register, said Mulholland, raised numerous control problems, some of them of almost "Kafkaesque dimensions." It also struck at the very heart of press freedom. "It is a device which can be used to stifle free expression. It is no good protesting that this is not the objective. It will be the result."

The suggestion that journalists be subject to outside punishment erodes the authority and responsibility of the editor and places others in a position to pass judgment on his staff. Editors in SA had,

by and large, acted responsibly and it was impossible to prove otherwise, Mulholland submitted. He said he believed the com-

mission would not recommend more press curbs in the belief (to use the words of Adam Smith) that the Commissioners

were "men of humanity and benevolence" as opposed to being "men of system wise in their own conceit."

# Secrets Act appeal closed to public

BLOEMFONTEIN — An appeal by Deon Jean du Plessis, an Argus Company journalist, was held in camera in the Appeal Court yesterday after an application by the State

Du Plessis is appealing against various sentences and convictions under the Official Secrets Act and Defence Act

At the time of his convictions, he was an assistant editor of the Argus Africa Bureau. He is now assistant editor of The Tribune, Durban

His appeal and petition were heard by Mr Justice Corbett, and Acting Judges of Appeal Mr Justice Trollip and Mr Justice Van Heerden

Du Plessis was convicted by Mr Justice Fritz Steyn in the Witwatersrand Supreme Court on September 26, 1979. On the first two charges, treated together for sentence he received 18 months' jail, with 12 months suspended for five years. The charges referred to a quantity of secret documents handed to him by a cadet reporter, Mr Jimmy Beaumont, who had done his national service as an operator in the Signals Corps

Further conviction under the Official Secrets Act involved attempting to publish in London a manuscript on the Rhodesian terrorist war. For this, Du Plessis was cautioned and discharged

On a charge under the Defence Act, he was sentenced to six months' jail, suspended for three years

Du Plessis has appealed against his sentence on the two charges under the Official Secrets Act, against the further conviction under the Official Secrets Act, and against the conviction and sentence under the Defence Act

He has also petitioned the court for leave to appeal against his conviction on two more counts under the Official Secrets Act, and against sentence on one of the two.

The first count on which he petitioned the court for leave to appeal was that he communicated certain of the information he received from Mr Beaumont to a police officer in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). For this, he was sentenced to six months' jail, suspended for five years.

The other count was that he communicated secret information on military matters contained in the manuscript on the Rhodesian war to a Johannesburg publisher. For this he was fined R250, or a months' jail, and six months' jail suspended for three years.

yesterday, counsel for the State, Mr A.C. Human, asked for the proceedings to be heard in camera. Mr E.M. Wentzel, SC, who is appearing with Mr P. Coetsee for Mr Du Plessis, had no objection.

Mr Justice Corbett made an order that the further proceedings be in camera.

The court further made an order in terms of Section 154 of the Act that no information relating to the proceedings should be published — other than the report by Sapa (the South African Press Association).

Judgment was reserved. Sapa.

# New prisons chief wants Press truth

## Pretoria Bureau

All enquiries into the Prisons Department will be dealt with open mindedly and investigated thoroughly, according to the new Commissioner of Prisons, General Johan Otto

In an interview in his office today, the General said he did not mind if anything was written or said in the media about the Department of Prisons, just as long as it was truthful and correct

But he also pointed out that his department had to protect the prisoners and their families because they were not to be put on public display like show horses

"Such publicity does not help us with our rehabilitation and training programme," he said

General Otto felt quite strongly about the reason for a prisoner's con-

finement, stating that each had a problem which had to be dealt with individually and scientifically

"We do not want to take a man from society, keep him locked up then send him back the same as he was, or worse, we want him to be a better person," the General said.

Rehabilitation of prisoners relied on firm discipline and to get them to become responsible and self-disciplined, he said

There was a Prison Department team consisting of disciplinary wardens, psychologists, prison chaplains and social workers which played an integral part in the rehabilitation and training programme for each prisoner

General Otto also stated that though South African prisons were overcrowded, they should be seen in perspective to conditions in other countries



# Profits for newspaper group

NM 6/3/81  
~~241~~ 243

**PORT ELIZABETH**—The Port Elizabeth-based Eastern Province Newspapers group has increased profits after tax by 43,7 percent for the year ended December 31, 1980, and has declared a final dividend of 17,5c a share (14c in 1979) for a total dividend of 22c (18,5c). The group publishes the Eastern Province Herald, Evening Post and Weekend

**Post.** The supermarket war in Port Elizabeth generated extensive advertising campaigns and helped to push up profits before tax by 33,5 percent, from R901 000 in 1979 to a record R1 203 000. The audited results show that tax took R460 000 (R384 000), leaving a net trading profit of R743 000 for the year, compared to R517 000 in 1979, but there was a tax relief of R59 000

(R155 000) arising from investment allowances on capital expenditure for the electronic editing and printing system. The scrapping of obsolete hot metal composing equipment and letterpress printing presses led to a non-trading loss of R107 000. After paying an unchanged R11 000 to preference shareholders, the income attributable to ordinary shareholders amounted to R684 000 (R658 000).

45,97  
 66,13  
 79,03  
 84,68  
 89,52  
 91,94  
 00,00

25  
 57

0 - 5,00  
 5,01 - 10,00

Value of payment, R per year      Number of workers      Cumulative %

Distribution of workers according to Christmas payment in kind, R per year.

TABLE 15

The value of these items is reflected in the table below (again, farmers' own estimates of value have been used).

Most farmers gave 'presents', or a 'bonus in kind' to workers and their families at Christmas. Articles usually given included clothing for women and children, cool-drinks and sweets, wine, cake or cake ingredients, lengths of material for furnishing or clothing, occasionally toys and household articles like clocks or crockery.

(vi) 'Presents'

The worker who has 30 goats and can sell, say, six of them for R90 a year would presumably not prefer to collect the equivalent value of the grazing - R21,60 a year - in cash.

# Mwasa rejects Steyn Inquiry

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7/3/81 S 277A

The Media Workers Association of South Africa will not give evidence to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Media until banning orders on all its members are lifted and Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post are allowed to resume publication

Mr Justice M T Steyn, chairman of the commission, has reportedly written to the Minister of Justice asking him to relax the ban on Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, former president of Mwasa, to allow him to testify before the commission

Mr Sisulu was the first official of the organisation to be banned and partially house-arrested. Four more members have since been banned.

The national executive of Mwasa said in a statement today "We cannot allow the Government to lift the banning orders served on our members to suit its own ends

### PROBING

"Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post must also be allowed to resume publication unconditionally before we are approached to give evidence. We believe the whole exercise of the commission is aimed at probing the role of black journalists"

Recently, in submissions made to the Steyn Commission by both Inkatha and the Editor of Beeld, Mr Tom Vosloo, Mwasa came in for sharp criticism

Inkatha recommended to the commission that South African journalists be registered in the same way as doctors and lawyers

Mr Justice Steyn said in January "We have been trying to reach Mr Sisulu to give evidence but have been unable to get hold of him"

# Steyn wants

# Govt to relax

# gag on Sisulu

RDM 7/3/81 (120) (228) (243)

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA  
Political Reporter

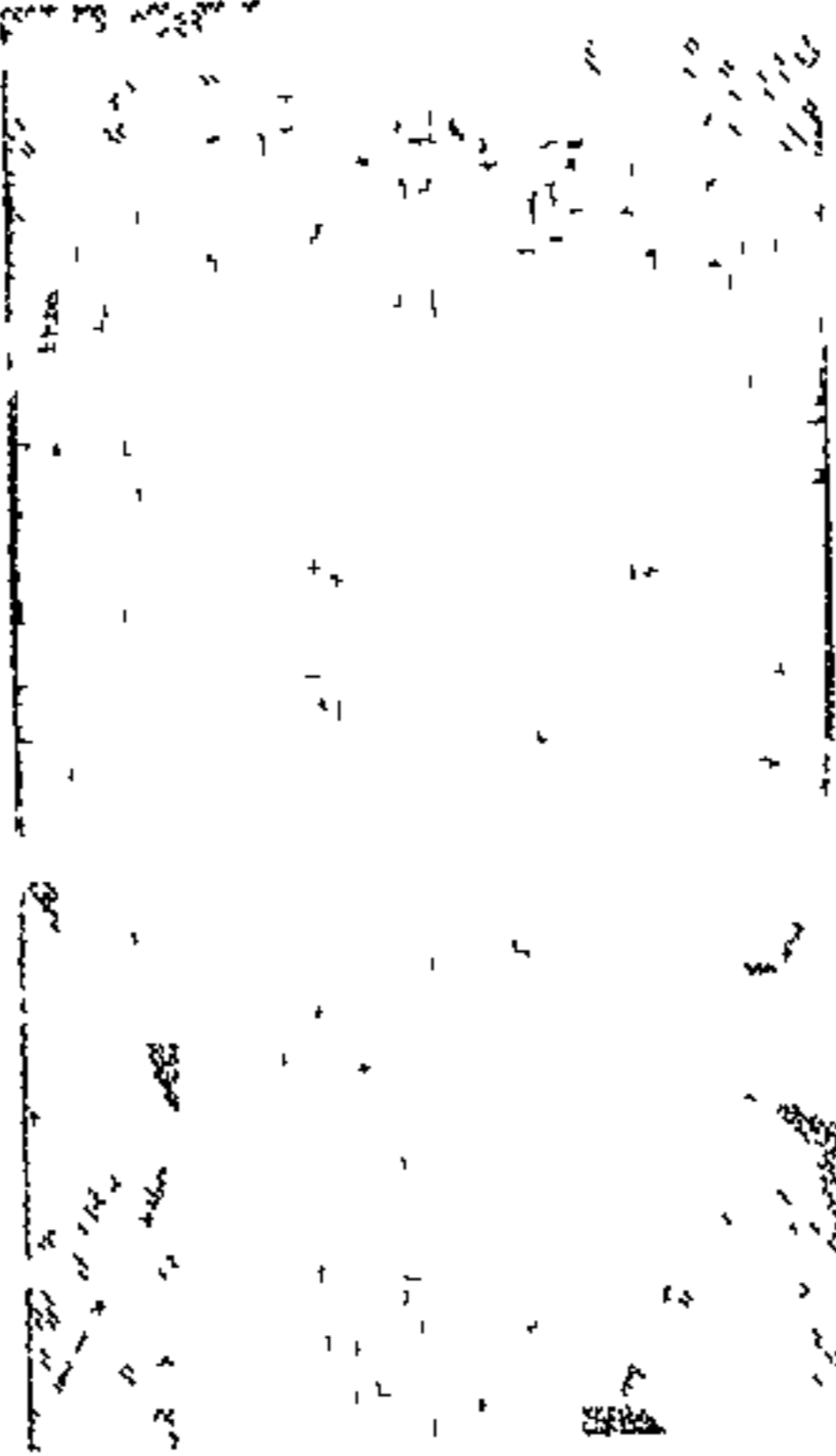
THE Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the mass media has asked for a temporary relaxation of the banning orders imposed on Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, former leader of black journalists, to enable him to appear before the commission.

The chairman, Mr Justice M T Steyn, said in an interview yesterday that the commission had written to the Minister of Justice making the request to allow Mr Sisulu to testify and for his submissions to be published by the Press.

Mr Justice Steyn also disclosed he had invited the Media Workers' Association of SA (Mwasa) to send representatives to appear before the commission.

He said that if permission was received from the Minister of Justice, he would invite Mr Sisulu to appear.

Mr Sisulu, former news editor of Sunday Post — one of two newspapers effectively shut by the Government recently — was president of Mwasa when he was banned for three years under the Internal Security Act last December.



ZWELAKHE SISULU  
... under three-year ban order

So far, Inkatha representatives have been the only blacks to appear before the commission.

But Mwasa is unlikely to accept the commission's invitation. Its senior vice-president, Mr Charles Nqakula, said yesterday:

"We have not yet received the invitation. When we do, our executive will have to discuss it."

"But our standpoint is clear — we cannot accept the temporary lifting of banning orders for the system to pursue its selfish ends. The banning restrictions on all our people must be unconditionally lifted and the banned newspapers must first be unbanned before we would even consider giving evidence or advising our former president to do so."

After restriction orders were served on Mr Sisulu, four other Mwasa officials were also banned. They are Mr Phil Mtimkulu, Mr Marimuthu Subramoney, Mr Mathata Tsedu and Mr Joe Thloloe.

In its submission to the commission, Inkatha sharply criticised some Mwasa members. Mwasa also came in for criticism from the editor of Beeld, Ton Vosloo, in his submissions.

Mr Sisulu cannot be quoted because of his banning order. The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, could not be contacted for comment last night.

# Mwasa snubs inquiry

THE MEDIA Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) said on Saturday that it would not give evidence to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the media until banning orders served on all its members were unconditionally lifted, and POST Transvaal and SUNDAY POST were allowed to resume publication.

Mr Justice M T Steyn, chairman of the commission, has reportedly written to the Minister of Justice asking him to relax the ban on Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, former president of Mwasa, to allow him to testify before the commission.

Mr Sisulu was the first official of the organisation to be banned and partially house-arrested. Four more members have since been banned.

The national executive of Mwasa said in a statement today: "We cannot allow the Government to

lift the banning orders served on our members to suit its own ends

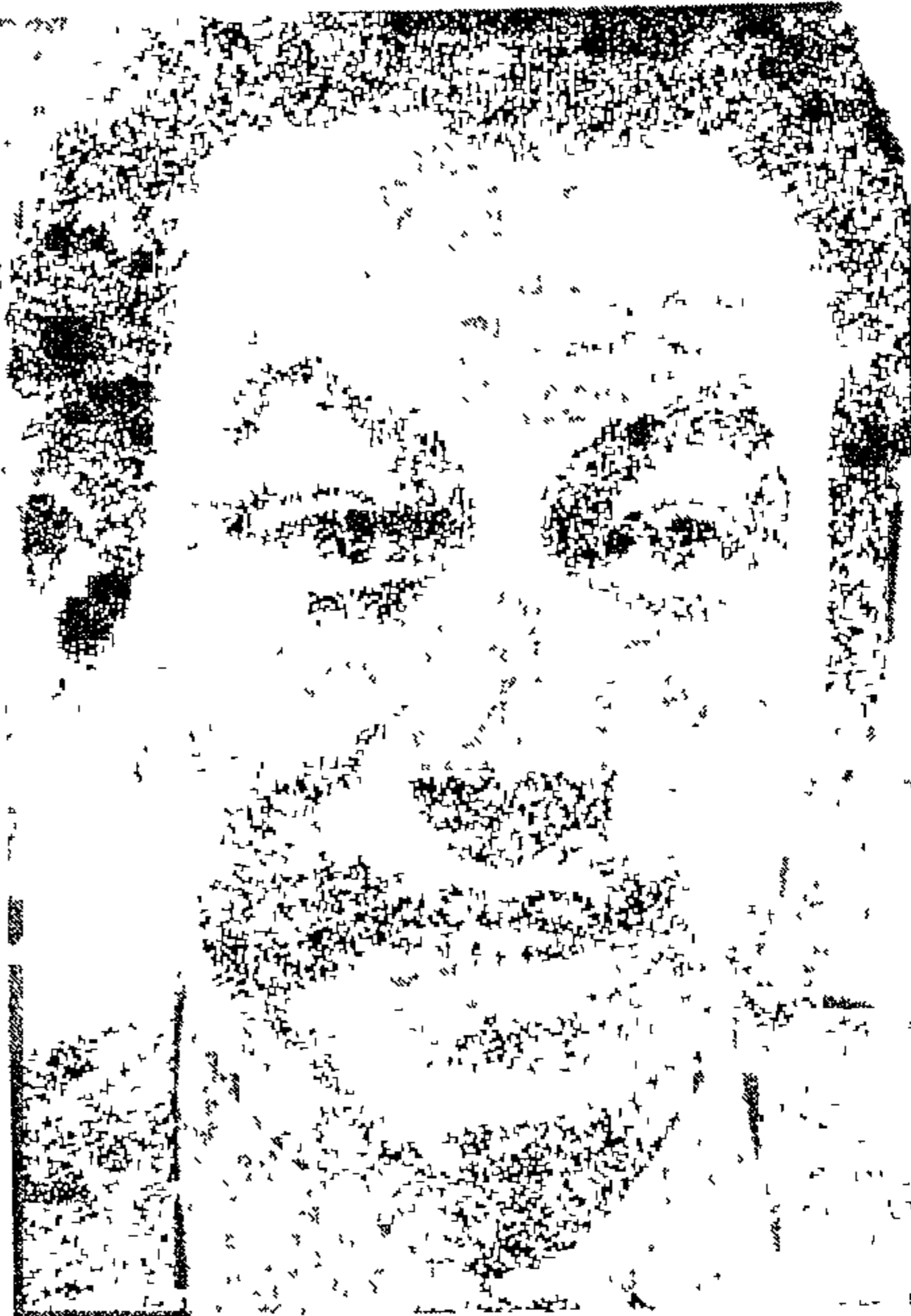
"POST Transvaal and SUNDAY POST must also be allowed to resume publication unconditionally before we are approached to give evidence. We believe the whole exercise of the commission is aimed at probing the role of black journalists.

## STANDPOINT

"Our standpoint is clear: we cannot accept the temporary lifting of banning orders for the system to pursue its own end," the executive said.

Mr Justice Steyn said in January that "we have been trying to reach Mr Sisulu to give evidence but have been unable to get hold of him.

Another prominent black journalist, Mr Obed Kunene who edits Ilanga in Durban, has refused to testify before the commission.



Zwelakhe Sisulu . . . banned Mwasa president.

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**Mwasa will  
not be subpoenaed**

The Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) will not be subpoenaed to give evidence to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Media, the chairman of the commission, Mr Justice M T Steyn, said yesterday.

He told The Star that if Mwasa was unwilling to give evidence, the commission would not subpoena them because they would not make a worthwhile contribution.

Mwasa has said that it will not give evidence to the commission until banning orders served on all its members are unconditionally lifted, and Post (Tvl) and Sunday Post are allowed to resume publication.

Mr Justice Steyn had said he had written to the Minister of Justice asking him to relax the ban on Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, former president of Mwasa, to allow him to testify before the commission.

Mr Sisulu was the first official of Mwasa to be banned and partially house-arrested. Four more members have since been banned.

The national executive of Mwasa said "We cannot support the Government lifting the banning orders served on our members to suit its own ends."

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SEM  
10/3/81

THE National Party Press wanted the utmost degree of Press freedom, Professor Piet Cillie, head of the University of Stellenbosch Journalism Department and former editor of Die Burger said yesterday.

Professor Cillie was speaking at a symposium on the responsibility of the Press in South Africa. The symposium was organised by the Cape Town Jewish Reform Congregation at the Temple Israel in Cape Town.

He was the first of four speakers in a lively discussion which produced a number of conflicting views.

**TENSION**

Professor Cillie said many newspapermen had an urge to reform society and this resulted in tension between them and all forms of authority.

Today, with the country's internal peace and security in danger, pressmen had a graver responsibility than at other times and this had heightened tension between the security authorities and some newspapers.

# Conflicting views about freedom of the Press

Argus 10/3/81

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Professor Piet Cillie



Mr Tian van der Merwe

Both sides would have to 'play the game'.

He said the primary function of Government was to maintain law and order. Its decision was final in times of tension and danger. Although formal war had not been declared in South Africa, subversion was present.

stands between them and destruction.

Mr Tian van der Merwe, PFP MP for Green Point, said Press freedom was an extension of democracy, of the public's right to know what was happening and to inform each other of opinions.

It was the business of the Press to inform, to take a stand on events, and the Press knew better than anyone else how this should be done.

If the Press was inaccurate there were measures of recourse such as common law, laws of libel and the Press Council.

Mr van der Merwe questioned whether the Government was in a position to decide whether the Press was wrong.

Too much control of the Press could lead to a situation where one had to read in overseas newspapers about events in one's country. This embarrassing situation had already arisen.

Mr Humphrey Tyler, assistant editor of 'The Argus, said that slander spread about newspapers alleging they 'put the Government's back up deliberately' was contrary to the tradition of English newspapers in South Africa.



Mr Humphrey Tyler



Dr Denis Worrall

newspapers for fact, not fiction,' he said.

It was also important to remember newspapers had a fundamental interest in the stability of their society.

groups were 'incredibly ignorant' about each other as result. Newspapers also provided a forum for democratic expression in a country that had failed to supply political expression for most its population. Dr Denis Worrall, chairman of the President's Council constitutional committee, said the Press and politicians were adversaries. In a democracy, politics was a very uncertain thing. A politician knew where he wanted to go but with so many factors influencing him on the way he was unable to clearly state his goals. However, the Press wanted him to state the truth and conflict arose.

**MODESTY**

Dr Worrall said that who wrote editorials ran newspapers were completely unaccountable to anyone and presented nobody. The Press wanted to see itself as an institution, and what one expected of the Press was modesty which humbly brings in an institution would bring to bear, particularly in understanding political problems.

The Prime Minister was a reformist, those who wrote editorials should exercise more modesty in relation to what was extremely important function in human territory. (News by Jackie Bell 122 George's Street Cape Town)



“I firmly believe in freedom of the press, but

These words seem to preface a good portion of the testimony given to the Steyn Commission of inquiry into the mass media After paying lip service to the idea of freedom of the press, many witnesses then proceed to bind the concept with qualifications and strictures inimical to Western notions of a free and unfettered press Those strictures often come down heavily on the side of further controls and more government intervention into press operations

From the perspective of one who has taught US press law to a generation of journalism students, and of American constitutional law, I find that South Africa enjoys very little press freedom indeed due to existing legal restrictions unknown to most democracies.

Imbedded in a series of United States Supreme Court decisions are a number of principles and concepts considered fundamental to freedom of the press in the US. I would like to outline some of these principles which I hope will contribute to the current debate in South Africa on press freedom

I have heard people say the Western principles of freedom of the press cannot be successfully woven into the complex social fabric of South Africa This country's problems, stemming from its diverse populations, are so enormous and unique, this argument runs, that the same standards of freedom of the press of other Western, more homogeneous countries cannot apply

In my view, these Western concepts are relevant to South Africa All governments and societies face difficult problems, they are different problems, but no less enormous for that A fettered press makes them no easier to solve — in South Africa or anywhere else

Fundamental to a free press, the US court has held, is the right to publish Any prior restraint or prior censorship of the Press is presumed to be a denial of

# Freedom of the press as US sees it

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10/3/81

free expression and thus is illegal. The banning of the World and more recently Post and Sunday Post newspapers are classic examples of prior restraint in its most draconian form

By the same token, laws requiring registration of newspapers and licensing of journalists are presumed to be unconstitutional Such restraints as the

**WILLIAM A. HACHTEN, professor of journalism at the University of Wisconsin and who is on a visit to South Africa, outlines the legal and constitutional guarantees of American press freedom.**

newspaper registrar on law here (requiring a R20 000 deposit) would not stand up in US courts because it would discourage small, political journals of opinion and discriminate against the weak and poor

With freedom to publish, it follows that words or any form of expression are protected by the First Amendment to the US Constitution Only actions can be proscribed. As a rule, only words so closely linked to criminal actions that they become part of it can be considered criminal. The classic example is falsely yelling “fire” in a crowded theatre

By contrast, South African laws seem to assume that any words considered seditious, blasphemous, obscene, or harmful to group relations are in and of themselves harmful and can be prohibitable. Equally fundamental to US press freedom is the concept that freedom of the press is a right en-

joyed by all citizens and is particularly a right of minorities or the politically powerless Again and again, the Supreme Court has stressed that the First Amendment protects the outcasts of society, the poor, the weak, and the despised, including political radicals of the far Left and far Right. The importance of this constitutional protection

is crucial to free expression since it is not a particularly popular concept Public opinion polls in the United States often show that a majority do not favour press freedom for extremists such as communists, anarchists, or the Ku Klux Klan

In South Africa, on the other hand, the law provides the politically disenfranchised with very limited rights of expression Ironically, here the groups that most need protection of their rights of expression have the least. This right of minority expression encompasses the idea that a free society must countenance irresponsible, reckless, tasteless expression in order to protect the rights of all As Benjamin Franklin once said, “Abuses of speech ought to be suppressed, but to whom dare we commit the power of doing it?”

This long-standing suspicion and fear of letting the government do what it thereby intervening into the press is a right en-

characterises US public life in South Africa. I find a good deal of willingness to have the government step in and make the papers more “responsible”, more “professional”

This desire — and therefore the danger — is to make the press more responsible to, and thus more supportive of, government, not to the people whom the press serves — which of course was the point Franklin was making

Above all, the “right to talk politics” is central to press freedom, and this means the right to criticise government, laws, and officials. Politically relevant speech is what press freedom is all about. Yet here it is apparent that most political-relevant speech coming out of the black community is not permitted. In fact, the more relevant the political talk is, the less likely that it will be tolerated

But press freedom, like free speech, is indivisible, it cannot be denied to one segment of society and be retained by others. If an individual or group is denied rights of expression, then the rights of all are in jeopardy. The restrictions on black press freedom followed by the increasing legal restraints on white newspapers here would seem to support the truth of this principle

Further, Afrikaners papers appear to realise that their rights are being circumscribed as well. Also crucial to US press freedom is the fundamental precept that no person may be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law This key clause of the

ing glare of publicity is the justice system. The press must scrutinise the entire criminal justice procedure from arrest, through trial and including imprisonment Crime news and court trials have long been a staple of US newspapers, and rightly so because people are worried about crime and want to know what is being done about it

The potential abuses, whether of official corruption or abridgement of defendants' rights, are so great that many journalists agree with US Judge J Skelly Wright that more, not less, press coverage of the entire criminal justice system is needed

South African law, however, seems to be headed in the opposite direction with the press increasingly cut off from police activities Some civil libertarians feel that the greatest single threat to liberty exists when a government has the power of secret arrest, secret trial, and secret imprisonment.

Above all, diversity or a variety of voices competing in the market place of ideas is essential in a free society. This principle is highly valued and best expressed by US Judge Hand. “That the newspaper industry serves one of the most vital of all general interests — the dissemination of news from as many different sources and with as many different facets as is possible

It presupposes that right conclusions are more likely to be gathered out of a multitude of tongues, than through any kind of authoritarian selection To many this, and always will be, folly, but we have staked upon it our all”

In South Africa, the English and Afrikaners newspapers and SABC provide a healthy diversity and clash of views of white opinion But the majority of people lack voices in the print or electronic media that express their desires. The market place is lily white Freedom of the press in South Africa, when

measured against these principles comprising press freedom elsewhere, is deficient indeed Though South Africa still enjoys the freest press in Africa, it is the least free among Western democratic nations

Having said all this, however, the visitor is still impressed by how wide a range of public affairs news and vigorous criticism manages to sieve through the mesh of restrictive laws It is a compliment to the perseverance and dedication of South African journalists

If asked, I would urge the government to consider seriously the recommendation of the Newspaper Press Union to the Steyn Commission that the enormous range

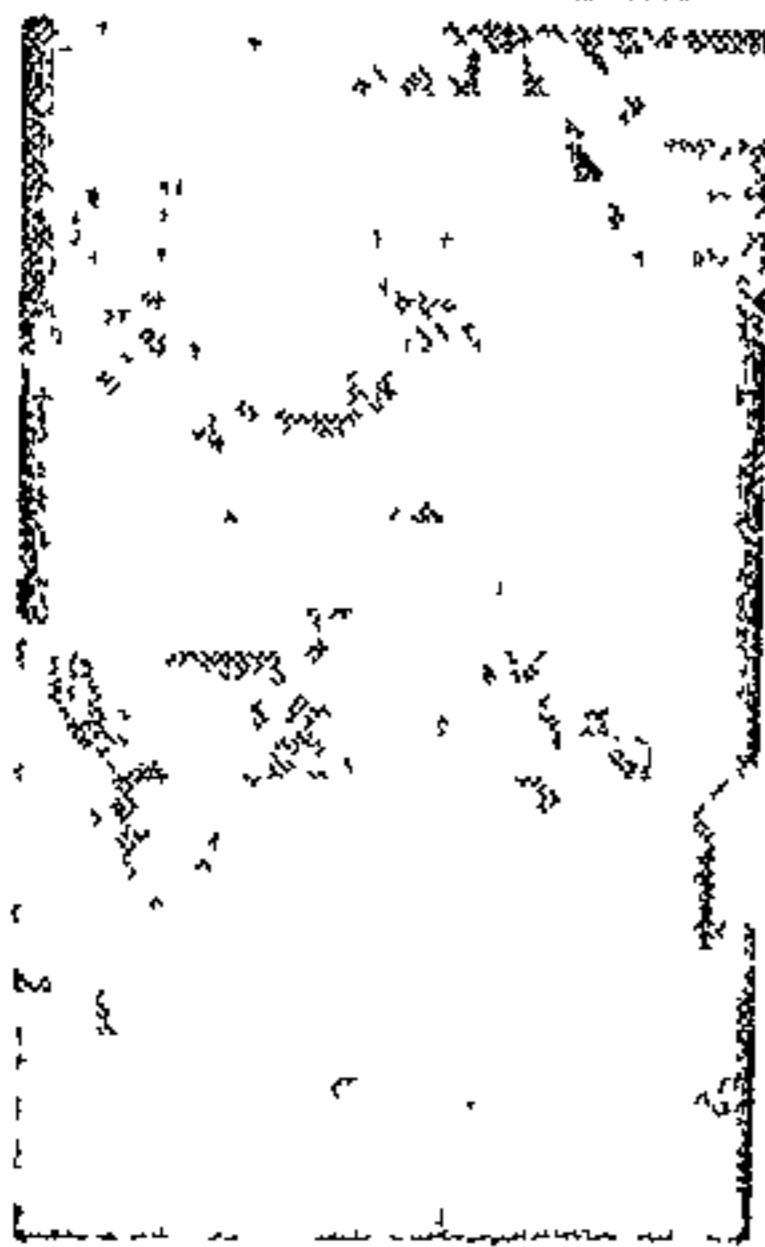
**The duty of the journalist is to present to his readers not such things as statecraft would wish them to know, but the truth as near as he can attain it.**

of laws restricting publication of information in the media be reviewed and amended or eliminated from the statute books where possible The guiding principle should be the encouragement of a free flow of information

Such a revision would better enable the press of South Africa to carry out the primary purpose of a free press That purpose was well stated over 100 years ago by an editor of The Times of London

“The first duty of the press is to obtain the earliest and most correct intelligence of the events of the time, and instantly, by disclosing them, to make them common property of the nation The duty of the journalist is to present to his readers not such things as statecraft would wish them to know, but the truth as near as he can attain it”

That statement of purpose is as appropriate today as it was in the 19th Century And it is not getting any easier to attain



John O'Malley

WE touch down at Jomo Kenyatta international airport, Nairobi, shortly after midnight, bed down at the New Stanley Hotel two hours later, and at 9 am are breakfasting on the hotel's terrace cafe watching the Nairobi world go by

We are part of a group of eight South African editors and two wives and are in Nairobi to attend the 30th General Assembly of the International Press Institute

It is almost as difficult for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle as it is for a white South African to gain admittance to independent Kenya.

But, we were told, it was a condition of holding this distinguished and influential gathering in Nairobi that South African members of IPI should be admitted also

And certainly, from arrival to departure, our black Kenya hosts made no distinction in their treatment of the South African delegates. Their behaviour was impeccably, even warmly, courteous

# Kenya courteous to white S Africans

Argus 10/5/81

#3243

But to take up the chronological threads again of our modest but absorbing venture into the interior, we — a fellow editor and myself — are picked up after breakfast and driven north into the terraced hills of Kikuyu-land by a journalist who, for 26 years, has covered virtually the whole of Africa from his base in Nairobi

The landscape, normally green and lush, is dry and sere. There is a drought and the rains are anxiously awaited

The land has been parcelled out in mostly five acre lots. On these Kikuyu families grow enough for their needs and sell the rest on the market. The proceeds buy the odd luxury or, more important, a university education for a bright child

It was land hunger that was at the heart of the Mau Mau rebellion. It has been appeased but only partly. Too much land has passed from wealthy white to wealthy black hands — to the Wabenzi, as the owners of the coveted Mercedes are called, in and around the seats of power. And the pressure on the game reserves mounts ominously

We leave the coffee, sisal and pineapple plantations of Kikuyu-land behind and travel north into more open country, to Nyeri and the Outspan Hotel for lunch

It was in a modest cottage in the grounds of this green enclave with its sweeping views of the Aberdare Mountains that

Lord Baden-Powell, of Siege of Mafeking and Boy Scouts fame, lived out his last years. To him it was the loveliest place on earth.

Then, with snowcapped, cloud-feathered Mount Kenya continually in sight, on to Nanyuki and Isiolo, through still white-owned and white-managed

**JOHN O'MALLEY, Editor of The Argus, gives his impressions of Kenya, where he and other South African editors attended the general assembly of the International Press Institute.**

farms of wheat, barley and cattle. Sleek, prosperous looking farms reminiscent of the Caledon, Bredasdorp, Swellendam area

And finally, a dramatic drop from the escarpment to the Samburu game reserve below — an austere, compelling landscape, stripped of all pretence

To see, as we approach, a splendid lion and lioness padding along next to the roadside. And, once inside the reserve, a superb variety of game including, of particular interest to South African eyes, the beautiful gerenuk with its

extraordinarily long and delicate neck, stretched to full, muscle quivering height as it cropped leaves high above the ground

Overnight at the game lodge, an establishment providing creature comforts and a faint spice of danger for jaded Europeans and Americans fleeing the northern winter and attired in the latest in safari suits from Macys and Harrods and their European equivalents

And then a last, entrancing swing around the reserve before setting out on the return journey to Nairobi via the Mount Kenya Safari Club

Here, 7000 ft up at the foot of that fabled mountain, the rich — Americans, Germans and Scandinavians mostly — disport themselves

The luxurious clubhouse, manicured lawns, ornamental ponds, swish bungalows and sculpted landscape simply ooze money

Wealthy, wrinkled old cronies and potbellied tycoons stretch out at the poolside to tan their winter white skins, and come away with sunburn

Tall, black coated Maribou storks perch in the trees around the swimming pool like expectant undertakers waiting for a heart attack victim. And, to judge from the appearance of some of those below, with reasonable hope of success

Lunch on the veranda overlooking it all and back to Nairobi for the start of the IPI conference

(To be continued)



# Steyn men study mass media in 4-nation tour

Argus Correspondent  
BONN. — Two members of the Steyn Commission on the Mass Media have started in West Germany on a four-nation tour in an attempt to get an overview of the laws and practices regarding the media and its relations with the

governments in those countries.

Mr K P C O von Lieres and Wilkau, Deputy Attorney-General of the Transvaal, and Dr A S Herbst, director of the Southern African Forum, said that after concluding their study in West Germany, they would go on to Belgium, Britain and the United States.

They stopped only briefly in Israel en route to Germany.

'We are studying comparative systems,' Mr von Lieres said. 'Obviously a system that works well in one country is not necessarily applicable to another country. We want to get an overview and general impressions of the systems in the countries we are visiting.'

Mr von Lieres and Mr Herbst were told that the West German basic law of 1949 barred the State from

preventing any individual publicly expressing and disseminating his opinion with the help of the printing press or any other means of reproduction.

The pertinent laws specifically declare that Press activities, including publishing, may not be rendered dependent upon any form of registration or admission.

Broadcasting, however, is governed by public rather than under private law.

The public broadcasting corporations are free of State control. At the same time, newspaper publishing corporations organised under private law may not enter broadcasting.

Mr von Lieres and Mr Herbst learnt that the Federal Government accredits any foreign correspondent carrying an appropriate letter of assignment from his editor, without regard to the publication's politics.

## English Press 'ready to sink S Africa'

Argus Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. — The English-language Press's 'seemingly pathological hatred of the Government' was so deep it was even prepared to sink South Africa to try to unseat the Government or discredit the Afrikaner, the Steyn commission was told yesterday.

This evidence at the inquiry into the mass media was given by Paarl businessman Mr Arnim Koch.

The English Press never praised the Government and newspapers seemed to want to be 'judge, jury and prosecutor, instead of recorders of opinion,' he said.

He called on The Argus Group to 'obviously divest

itself of all its holdings and cross-holdings in SAAN'

There could not be a free Press if all newspapers were controlled by a monopoly.

'A Press controlled by only one group or company makes a complete mockery of the freedom of the Press,' added Mr Koch.

All shareholdings in newspaper companies 'must be made public' and the public had a right to know who controlled and owned the newspapers so they could give credence to the news.

Journalists should be registered and anyone who objected to this, 'I feel must have something to hide.'

# 'Nothing to stop newspaper bans'

Own Correspondent

CAPETOWN - Some 'judicial process' including a proper hearing and the weighing of evidence should have preceded the effective closing of two black newspapers in the Transvaal recently, says Professor Piet Cilliers, head of the department of journalism at the University of Stellenbosch and a former editor of the *Butcher*.

Speaking at a symposium in Green Point on 'The Responsibility of the Press in South Africa Today', Professor Cilliers said he was sure the Government had had good reasons for its action but that he would have liked to have seen this action preceded by 'some judicial process'.

Emphasising that the 'first function' of government was to maintain law and order, Professor Cilliers warned that there was nothing in principle to prevent newspapers being shut down if the Government felt they were a danger to the State.

But, he insisted, this authority must 'show that it acts in good faith'.

Mr Tiaan van der Merwe, PFP MP for Green Point, another speaker on the four man panel (which included the Nationalist MP for Gardens, Dr Dennis Worrall and Mr Humphrey Tyler, assistant editor of the *Argus*) pointed to freedom of the Press as an essential prerequisite to its carrying out its responsibility to society.

Press freedom, he said, was an 'extension of democracy' which in turn was an extension of the public's right to be kept fully informed of the news and prevalent opinions.

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# Press seen as 'private prosecutor'

The English Press in South Africa plays the role of "private prosecutor", Professor P. van Warmelo of Unisa's law faculty told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media yesterday.

He said in evidence before the commission that "we forget the power of the Press, radio and TV in the modern world". It is enormously strong and if used for good ends it can have an enormously commendable influence. It is a pity that TV, radio and the Press are used for propaganda.

He drew a picture of modern society in which bureaucracy was gaining more power — nowhere more than in Russia — and where there was an undermining of norms and standards of behaviour.

As an example he said the standard of teaching in South Africa had retrogressed. Students were taught parrot fashion but were not able to fully grasp many subtle points, and this was indicative of a "universal lowering of standards". He observed also that in South Africa, the distinction drawn between groups is sharper than in many countries.

# GOVT MUST PUT HOUSE IN ORDER, SAYS EDITOR

By Iain Macdonald

The Government's prime need in dealing with the mass media was to put its house in order, the editor of the Sunday Express Mr Rex Gibson, told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media yesterday.

Mr Gibson said in evidence the Government had become "so secure — not to say arrogant — in power as to feel a decreasing need to account to the public for its use of it".

He denied there was a "pathological hatred of the Government the African Kanner or any other segment of South African society" in the English-language Press.

"I don't hate any fellow South African. I disagree vigorously with Government policy".

He said the Press had not misused its power but that the Government had "undeniably used — or abused? — its power over a number of years to inhibit newspapers by law and threat".

He said he believed a vigorous, dissenting Press offered a better safeguard than a tame one by encouraging debate — even ferocious debate — as a

real alternative to violence. A bland Press under the thumb of the Government "would be mirroring a lie".

The closing down of newspapers like Post was a national tragedy.

Because of bargains and sweeping legislation, South African newspapers are unable to reflect the full spectrum of political attitudes," he said.

Some important views are being suppressed and are being suppressed and as a result many South Africans are kept in dangerous ignorance of the depth of feeling in some black circles," he said. He added he was totally opposed to a Press register.

Not because I am against higher standards but because of what such a register will certainly do.

It would place a "weapon of great power in the hands of those who sought to fetter the Press, creating the means for ultimate control of news journalists — and so the ultimate control of news."

He suggested that all laws which restricted the public's right to know should be reviewed if the corporation was to find that the prime need was for the Government to put its house in order. These laws included the Prisons Act, the Internal

## Inquiry goes abroad

Two members of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media have gone overseas to investigate media procedures in Western countries.

A spokesman for the commission said in Johannesburg yesterday that Advocate Klaus von Lieres and Dr D

Herbst "are overseas for a month, visiting Western countries and investigating overseas newspapers".

The two members of the five-man commission are due to return to South Africa in early April and will report their findings to the commission.

Security Act, the Terrorism Act, the Gambling Act and the National Key Points legislation. Much official criticism was phrased as threat and was clearly designed to intimidate newspapers and journalists, Mr Gibson submitted.

### DESIRE

He said the tenor of evidence by top public servants showed that the Public Service had become impregnated with the political ideals of the Government and no longer different-ated between Government and State interest, and that there was a strong desire in the bureaucracy to withhold basic information from the public.

The commission will, in my view, be serving the best interests of the country if it seeks to dispel such attitudes in Government and bureaucracy as vigorously as it can.

## Chetty in bid to <sup>243</sup> ~~clear~~ <sup>clear</sup> name

The Star's Africa  
News Service

GABORONE — Mr Shun Chetty, the South African lawyer who represented the Steve Biko family, has arrived here from Thailand to consult with South African lawyers in a bid to clear his name after allegations of fund mismanagement.

Shortly before fleeing South Africa it was alleged in South Africa that Mr Chetty had mismanaged funds entrusted to him by the families of political offenders he had defended.

Mr Chetty has now called this "a deliberate, concerted and structured attempt to smear me" and intends to take the matter to court in South Africa through other lawyers.

Mr Chetty now works in the legal section of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in Thailand.

# 'Probe the Govt — not the Press'

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"And in our estimation that wording (of the terms of reference) indubitably also admits to a finding that the Government (or its bureaucracy) is to be blamed for anything in fact found to be wanting, and that the situation can and ought to be improved by Government (or its bureaucracy) mending its ways and setting its own house in order" — From the Steyn Commission ruling on an application to disband itself.

REX GIBSON, EDITOR OF THE SUNDAY EXPRESS, YESTERDAY GAVE EVIDENCE BEFORE THE STEYN COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE MASS MEDIA HERE IS A RECORD OF HIS TESTIMONY

IT WILL be the submission in the memorandum that the commission has ample grounds to support a finding that the prime need is for the Government to put its own house in order in its dealings with the mass media, and not the reverse.

over for talking A bland Press increasingly under the thumb of the Government would do the country a gross disservice because it would be mirroring a lie

the ultimate control of journalists, and so the ultimate control of news I submit that it would be naive of the commission not to take account of why the Government is so anxious for a Press register to be created

and Development proposed the creation of a statutory body to discipline newspapers — with the State represented on it

privilege indicates a commitment to keeping the public in the dark

Such as a finding would require that:

## SERVING THE COMMUNITY

In my view the terms of reference of the commission cannot be divorced from political attitudes The question is a political one Whether the mass media meets the needs and interests of the South African community and the demands of the times

## INDICTMENT OF GOVERNMENT

I come now to the role of Government and bureaucracy, and my reasons for saying they are deserving of the censure of the commission

The spokesman for the Department of Health was quoted by Beeld as saying "Die Pers behoort vasgevat te word"

The cumulative effect of what I have read of the evidence offered by public servants is devastating It is still more devastating to realise their attitudes have been inculcated by Government

**A:** All laws which restrict the public right to know should be reviewed, with the object of removing restrictions which have nothing to do with State security or national interest, objectively determined

Early in its proceedings the commission asked witnesses to address the following question "What is the nature and composition of the South African community?" My answer is that it consists of all people born in this country, plus those who have adopted it. It is white, black, brown and yellow It has interests both divergent and convergent

**1:** The commission has had its attention drawn to the formidable array of laws which inhibit the Press Some of these have nothing to do with State security and public interest. For example, the Police Amendment Act simply protects the police from criticism The Prisons Act does the same for prisons.

The commission could find no reason to accede to requests from spokesmen for the Prisons Department and the Department of Foreign Affairs to have certain aspects of their evidence dealt with in camera The mere fact that they requested this

The commission will, in my view, be serving the best interests of the country if it seeks to dispel such attitudes in Government and bureaucracy as vigorously as it can

**B** The bureaucracy should be forcefully reminded that they have a duty to account to the public that employs them, and that the mass media are proper vehicles for transmitting such information

Even the most objective newspaper — and South African newspapers generally strive for objectivity — could not meet all its diverse interests Hence the need for diversity in the Press

When all are considered together they constitute a deliberate, sustained attempt to subjugate the Press and deprive the public of information. It was no accident that news of bad overcrowding in prisons was made public by chance It was not intended to come out at all

That is not to say the Press is without fault, nor that the Government can do no right as far as the Press is concerned

It is to argue that, when it comes to apportioning blame for the present climate of mistrust and tension, Government must bear most of it

Public statements by Cabinet Ministers and public servants, recommendations made to the commission and a clear pattern of legislation reveal an alarming predilection on the part of officialdom to reduce the amount of information available to the public and to circumscribe the national debate on the country's future

If all newspapers began to serve the sectional interests of only one segment of this community — if they all went into the laager — they would all become discredited The Government would be left with no means of disseminating its own information that

**2:** Cabinet criticisms of the Press are generally non-specific, couched in vague terms which defy analysis. This invites the conclusion that specific examples are harder to find, and I would respectfully urge the commission to reach this finding

**3:** Much official criticism is

That is the house that needs to be put in order

~~secretly in which the only~~  
window is controlled by a public relations official trained in the arts of conveying a minimum of information with a maximum of self-righteousness"

The tendency, of course, grows stronger with tenure. Our Government and bureaucracy operate in a historical climate which virtually ensures an ever-increasing degree of official reticence.

South Africa is what may be termed a stagnant democracy. The same party has been in power for more than 30 years. There have been none of the power shifts inherent in the normal workings of democracy. The inevitable consequence, I submit, is that the Government has become so secure (not to say arrogant) in power as to feel a decreasing need to account to the public for its use of it.

Bureaucrats, of course, follow suit. More sheltered than politicians, less in the public eye, it would surely be startling if they were to exhibit a greater desire to be called to public account than their political masters.

It will be shown later in this memorandum that this observation is born out in startling fashion by the evidence given by some top public servants to the commission.

The concept seems almost to have been forgotten in South Africa that democracy only works if those who act for the people recognise that they must report back to them too.

I believe that the Press, generally speaking, has not and does not misuse its power. If it had, there would surely be something more substantial on record than mere Ministerial rebukes — say, numerous legal convictions, Press Council punishments and the like.

Newspapers operate in the glare of a public spotlight. Their mistakes cannot be easily hidden and can usually be quickly corrected. No newspaper has been convicted of a serious criminal offence in recent history, though numerous laws dictate what may be printed. The Press Council record shows a re-

step closer to anarchy. That is why closing down newspapers like The Post was a national tragedy. It reduced the diversity. It set new borders of permissibility. In the minds of some black people it drew white newspapers a little more into that dangerous laager of conformism mentioned above by implying that they were close enough to the white establishment to be allowed to survive.

The opposition Press has a proud record of serving community interest, often under harassment (I distinguish between opposition and Government-supporting newspapers here, not for political reasons but because they have a different role to play. In general I subscribe to the belief that any diminution of any newspaper's freedom is a diminution of all Press freedom).

It was the opposition Press that pioneered the use of the word "African" instead of more offensive appellations prevalent in official circles. For this it was labelled "communist". This Press paved the way for public acceptance of mixed sport by advocating it long before the Government could bring itself to consider it. It smoothed a path to social mixing. It initiated campaigns for equal wages. All were labelled "disruptive" and worse at first, all are regarded as desirable goals now and have become official policy.

### PRESS FAULTS

In one area, however, I believe newspapers are failing in their task. Largely because of bannings and sweeping legislation, they are unable to reflect the full spectrum of political attitudes.

They are forced to present a distorted picture, fostering an impression that the debate in South Africa is being conducted only by a segment of our society. Some important views — unpopular though they may be with the establishment — are being suppressed.

As a result many South Africans are kept in dangerous ignorance of the depths of feeling in some black circles. They do not have the necessary information to respond

clearly designed to intimidate newspapers and journalists. The Press would be failing in its duty if it cowered before mere bombast, as Dr Verwoerd said when editor of Die Transvaler. Newspapers may not give their own freedom away.

I might add that, in a democracy, no one else is entitled to take it away either. There is no doubt that official bullying has an insidious effect and will slowly stifle Press freedom.

4: Mr Schiebusch, then Minister of the Interior, said in 1980 that "members of the public and organisations were constantly lodging serious complaints about the way in which information was being handled by the Press, and that the Government also has cause to complain about this."

Press Council records do not reflect widespread Government discontent. In 1980 only four Government departments complained about news reports.

The Press Council was established at metaphorical gunpoint — the Cabinet demanded action, and accepted a Press Council. It is headed by a former judge. Its constitution and the code of conduct it enforces were found acceptable by the Prime Minister at its inception.

I believe the commission ought to find either that the Government has been remiss in not using a tool created under compulsion from itself, alternatively the newspapers have not provided cause for more frequent complaint.

I believe that the Government is acting in bad faith when it seeks to dismiss the Press Council as unsatisfactory simply because it doesn't deal as harshly with the Press as the Government would like.

5 The Cabinet has demonstrated contempt for the Commission in two visible ways:

- a: It closed down two newspapers without so much as referring to the commission.
- b: The Minister of Police, speaking in his official capacity in October last year, officially labelled several newspapers "disloyal", "irresponsible" and "venom-

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markably low rate of favourable findings

The Government, on the other hand, has undeniably used (or abused?) its power over a number of years to inhibit newspapers by law and threat

If there has been a deterioration in relations, then I suggest it is not because the Press has grown less patriotic or less responsible but that the definitions of patriotism and responsibility have become narrower. There is much less tolerance.

In this context, the umbrella justifications of "total onslaught" and "total strategy" are emotional humbug for they are slogans created by politicians to cloud national judgment not clarify it

As yet, there is no total onslaught. If there were it would certainly come from within our borders as much as from without. It would not be defeated — it would be fanned — by a docile, lackey Press which did not serve a traditional function of acting as a safety valve.

The broadcast media do not attempt this function. The Government has made it increasingly difficult for newspapers to fulfill it

I do not minimise the dangers and problems that lie ahead for South Africa. But I believe a vigorous, dissenting Press offers a better safeguard than a tame one by encouraging debate — even ferocious debate — as a real alternative to violence

An artificial silence now would invite the dangerous conclusion that the time is

There are two other areas in which I think newspapers could be improved. The first is in training. The company that employs me — South African Associated Newspapers — is making renewed efforts to do that

The other is to discourage any further tendency to monopolies. Ideally there should be more diverse control. Unfortunately, simple economics seems to preclude it:

I am far from complacent about Press standards. We do make too many stupid mistakes (but not, I think, the sinister ones imputed to us).

The profession has to be upgraded. In an increasingly complicated world, it needs higher skills from journalists. The industry is acutely aware of this, and is generally seeking candidates of higher educational levels and improving its training methods.

But I am convinced that any attempt from outside the industry to impose these higher standards will constitute, sooner or later, an inroad into Press freedom

Some people have suggested that a Press register is the answer. I cannot understand the argument that this will, of itself, raise standards. But that is not the main concern.

I am totally opposed to a Press register not because I am against higher standards, but because of what such a register will certainly do.

It will place a weapon of great power in the hands of those who seek to fetter the Press.

It will create the means for

wait for the commission's findings. That argues strongly that the Cabinet has prejudged an issue the commission was required to consider. 6: The tenor of evidence given by top public servants has shown two things clearly.

That the civil service has become imbued with the political ideals of the Government and no longer differentiates between Government interest and State interest, and that there is a strong desire in the bureaucracy to withhold basic information from the public.

The fact that several officials paid lip-service to the ideal of Press freedom cannot obscure the fact that most proposed a diminution of it

One official was somewhat more blunt. He declined to answer a question on the grounds that it would force him to say whether he was in favour of Press freedom or not

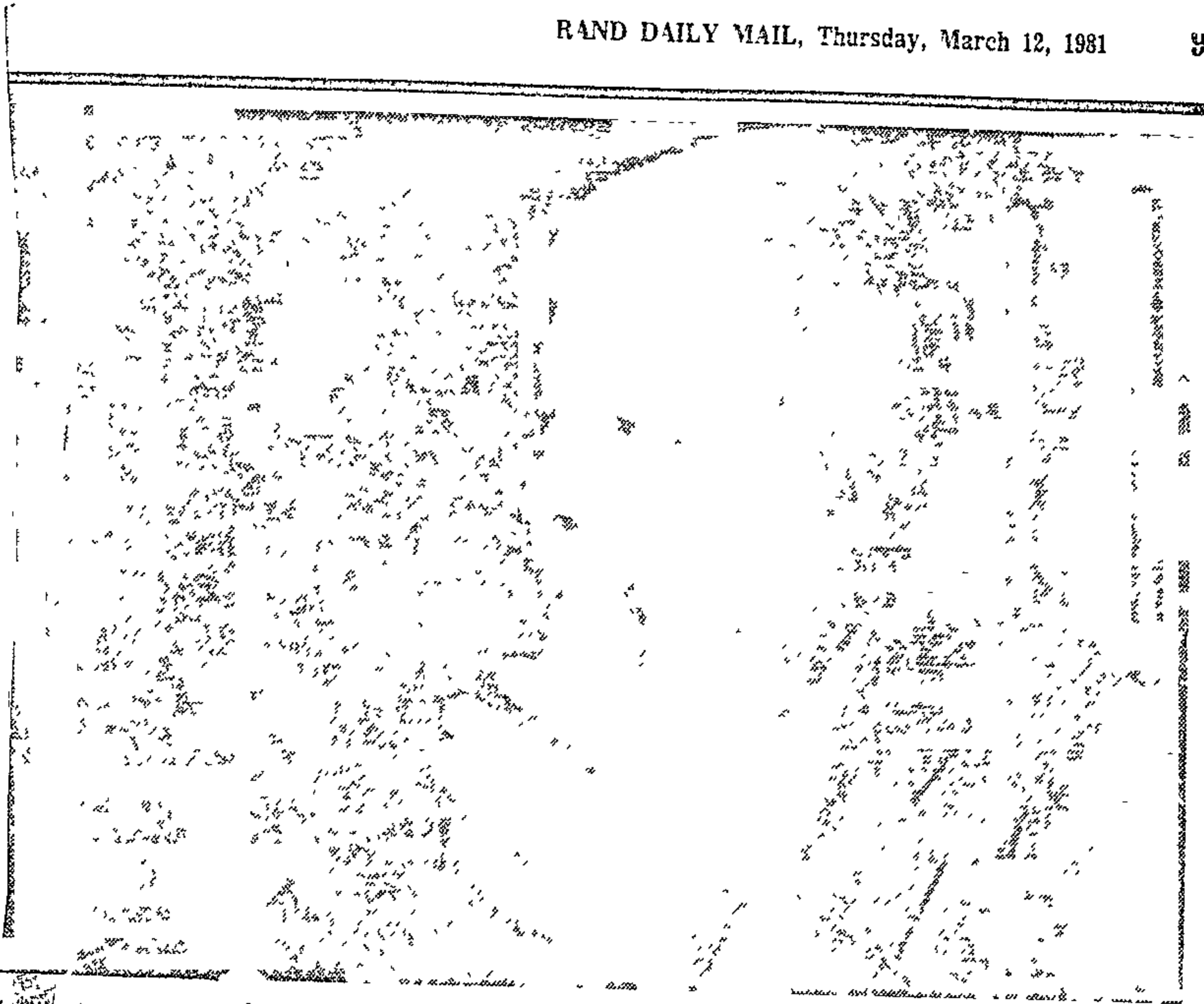
The previous Steyn Commission (into defence and police reporting) heard recommendations from both Defence Force and police spokesmen that would, in effect, have insured that the Press published nothing of which either force did not entirely approve.

The Security Police spokesman made allegations against the Press that were indistinguishable from political statements. He objected to some groups operating constitutionally in South Africa expressing their opinions because they were "too strong".

The representative of the Department of Co-operation

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2/3/81



will place a weapon of great power in the hands of those who seek to fetter the Press"



# Commission faces a dilemma, says judge

By AMEFN AKHALWAYA  
Political Reporter

MR Justice M T Steyn yesterday spoke of the dilemma facing his commission which is probing the mass media over how the Government would treat its recommendations.

"It is very rarely that the Government will adopt the recommendations of a commission in toto.

"A commission's task is one of public importance. While it reports to the Government, it acts in the interests of the public," he said while questioning the editor of the Sunday Express, Mr Rex Gibson, in Johannesburg.

Mr Gibson had accused the Government of demonstrating contempt for the Steyn Commission and placing it in an invidious position by closing down two newspapers without referring to the commission.

Further, the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, had labelled several newspapers "disloyal", "irresponsible" and "venomous" without waiting for the commission's findings.

Referring to the remarks by the Minister of Police, Mr Justice Steyn said that, prior to the setting up of his commission, there had been uncertainty about its position on matters

it had been called on to adjudicate.

This had been cleared up by the finding of Mr Justice Coetzee in the Erasmus Commission SA Associated Newspapers case, that there was no such thing as contempt of commission.

Mr Gibson conceded his accusation of contempt did not apply in a strictly legal sense.

Expressing misgivings about the fact that the Cabinet would adjudicate on the the adjudicator", Mr Gibson the Government could have called a moratorium on actions until the commission had made its findings.

His anxiety was reflected by the fact that the Government "prejudges".

Mr Justice Steyn said Mr Le Grange's remarks had not been made on behalf of the Cabinet.

He believed Mr Le Grange was in effect saying what the Prime Minister had said in Parliament in April 1979.

If the commission then made a particular finding, "they should be the last to complain".

Mr Gibson said the judge had put a "very kind construction" on the Minister's view.

Without suggesting that the Government should have closed the newspapers, Mr Gibson

said it should at the very least have consulted the commission.

In his main written submission Mr Gibson said the commission had ample grounds to support a finding that the prime need was for the Government to put its own house in order in its dealings with the mass media "not the other way".

Asked by the chairman whether there was not a need for the media to organise itself in view of the "fractured" nature of the profession and thus protect itself, Mr Gibson said this had to be determined by journalists themselves.

"Professionalisation" of journalism would have its advantages, but the dangers of solutions imposed from outside were so great, they might outweigh any advantages.

Mr Justice Steyn also made reference to a submission by an MP, Mr Mias van der Westhuizen, who wanted to take up a complaint with the Press Council but had been discouraged from doing so by Mr Neville Krige, the Prime Minister's Press secretary.

Mr Gibson commented "It is thoroughly irresponsible of someone in Government to advise someone to ignore the mechanisms of something it ordered us to set up almost at gunpoint."

# Steyn tells of his dilemma

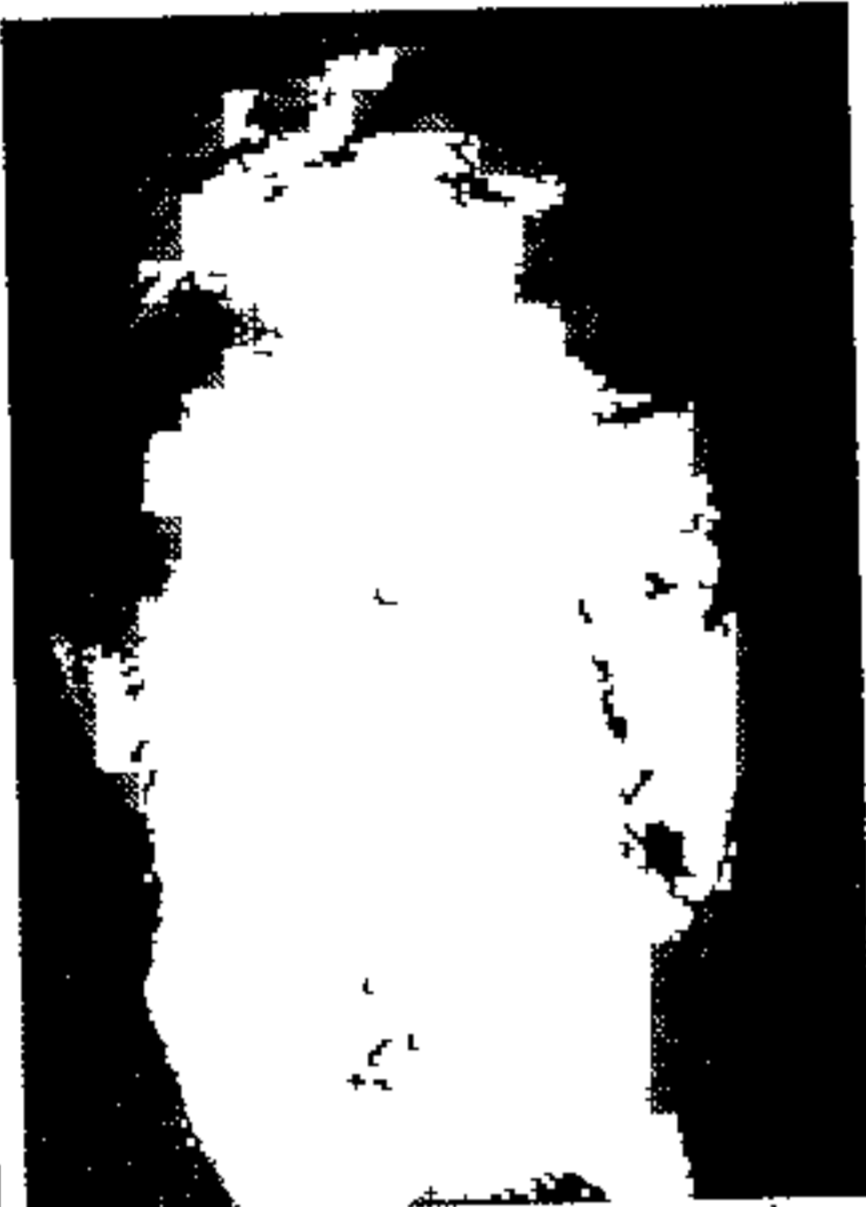
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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Justice M T Steyn yesterday spoke of the dilemma facing his commission, which is probing the mass media, over how its recommendations would be treated by the government

"It is very rarely that the government will adopt the recommendations of a commission *in toto*

"A commission's task is one of public importance. While it reports to the government, it acts in the interests of the public," he said while questioning



Mr Rex Gibson

the editor of the Sunday Express, Mr Rex Gibson, in Johannesburg

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This had been cleared up by the finding of Mr Justice Coetzee, in the Erasmus Commis-

sion-SA Associated Newspapers case, that there was no such thing as contempt of commission. The mere expression of an opinion did not amount to contempt of commission

Mr Gibson conceded that his accusation of contempt did not apply in a strictly legal sense

Mr Gibson, expressing misgivings that the Cabinet would "adjudicate on the the adjudicator", said the government could have called a moratorium on actions until the commission had made its findings

His anxiety was reflected by the fact that the government "prejudges"

Mr Justice Steyn said Mr Le Grange's remarks had not been made on behalf of the Cabinet. He believed Mr Le Grange was in effect saying what the Prime Minister had said in Parliament in April 1979

The government could have been saying "Here are our views that we will keep on repeating during your investigation. Ultimately, we want your (commission's) views," the judge said

If the commission then made a particular finding, "they should be the last to complain"

Mr Gibson said the judge had put a "very kind construction" on the minister's view

Without suggesting that the government should have closed the newspapers, Mr Gibson said it should at the very least have consulted the commission

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# SA has no Press discipline - farmer

(243) STAR 13/3/81

A Vryburg farmer yesterday told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media that South Africa's national pride was "so low that we allow people from all over the world to tell us what to do"

Mr Z P Oberholzer asked the commission to consider "how many Bram Fischers, Donald Woods, reds, pinkos or those they had misled are in the South African media today?"

"One can almost call it the 'Mess Media' What a mess," he said

"We are in a state of

war against all the leftist elements in the world which are stirred up by the Kremlin

"In South Africa there is no Press discipline, and because we are in a state of war it is necessary that the media should be censored

"We must keep food and help out of countries such as Zambia and Zimbabwe. If we keep supplying them, they look on us with disgust

"The media should be censored so that the enemy can't get information, be aware of our

future plans, nor know how many national servicemen died or who they are

"Overseas they are not concerned whether blacks play sport together with whites. What they really want for South Africa is the domination of whites by non-whites

"We have given Peter Hain all the integration he asked for in 1969

"The peace in South Africa is shattered the day there is integration

"As I sit here, I am one of the silent majority, especially in the country,

who thinks like this," he said

He also lambasted SABC television for showing the recent school boycotts "from which flowed further boycotts and later even strikes. The organisers could have had no better liaison," he said

An advertisement for a certain brand of chocolate showing a white girl sharing a bench with a black man indicated the "subtle use of TV and other media to condition us for integration"

Black newspapers did not promote race relations in South Africa, he added

# Journalists' register 'smacks of censorship'

By Iain Macdonald

If a statutory register for journalists was set up, society "might as well burn all newspapers and books because of dissenting views"

The editor of the Pretoria News, Mr Andrew Drysdale, expressed his view to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into

the Mass Media

In an addendum to evidence submitted to the Commission yesterday, Mr Drysdale said the setting up of a register for journalists "smacks of censorship, and the dangers in it are akin to controlling thought process"

"To impose a register would inhibit free-

thinking journalists and if we accept statutory control we would be doomed to the dictates of authority"

Earlier he had told the commission that "the level of tolerance shown by the deprived sections of our community has been remarkable, and the restraint has been remar-

kable"

"If anything, newspapers have given scant coverage to those who are not white. The future of this country depends on taking into account the concerns of non-whites, and we should be able to adequately reflect those worries"

In his evidence he said that laws restricting reporting should be "rescinded or relaxed so as to afford the Press and the public they serve, more, and not less, information"

## FREE

"If the Press is to discharge its functions fully, it must be left free to say what others may be reluctant to say, perhaps what they cannot afford or dare to say

"We cannot, and should not, adopt and accept willy-nilly the standards and opinions of those in authority without properly investigating them and challenging them where need be

"Freedom of the Press must be recognised as one of the most important freedoms of a democratic society as important as freedom of religion, language, speech and peaceful assembly

## TREATS

"While it is true there are instances where the media itself exposes its own limitations and faults in recording events the means of communication are so varied and

In Nepal malaria barrier in the area along the Southern border had for centuries reinforced the country's isolation. Control measures in the late 1950s initiated a wave of local migration from the overpopulated hillsides, leading to economic and social development of the region. In Ceylon eradication of malaria was accompanied by migration from the crowded third of the island to what had been the malarious two-thirds. In Ghana oncocerciasis (river blindness) has driven farmers from the fertile North to the less fertile central and southern regions of the country.

"All along the retreating frontier of settlement there is a pervading atmosphere of decline and decay. Few of the houses are well maintained although land is abundant because of limited population. To the lay observer of minor infections when one visits the help feeling the and western sections border of the blind. Beginning along the land has been abandoned at the rate of one mile every seven to fourteen years for the past 45-50 years. While other diseases may have played a role, the primary agent is indisputably river blindness.

Medical Review, 1966.

E = illiteracy

(The coefficients for labour, infant mortality, and population per doctor differ significantly from zero at least at the 0.02 probability level).

C. By clearing otherwise uninhabitable areas it makes possible the use of natural resources that could not otherwise be used.

NOTES ON

TABLE 7. WAITING TIME

% patients waiting.	McCords	Umlazi	Masana	Mount Coke
Less than 1 hr	13	34	35	5
1 hr +	21	34	16	12.5
2 hrs +	41	25	13	12.5
3 hrs +	21	7	16	27
4 hrs +	2	1	2	25
5 hrs +	2		18	19
Total no.	195	179	83	64

Mean waiting time at Groote Schuur was 3 hrs 45 minutes.  
 Mean waiting time at Day Hospitals was 2 hrs 2 minutes (ranging from 95 minutes at Dr. Abduruman to 139 minutes at Heideveld)

TABLE 8. PREVIOUS CONSULTATIONS

% of patients who had previously consulted	McCords	Umlazi	Masana	Mt. Coke
G.P.	31.5	8	15	8
Hospital or clinic	9.5	12	14	5
Indigenous practitioner	11*	3*	8*	3*
No other consultation +	55+	79	70	84
Total no.	195	179	83	64

\*These figures appear to grossly underestimate consultation of other practitioners.

+ Percentages do not add up because some respondents had previously consulted more than one type of other facility.

TABLE 6. TIME TAKEN IN TRAVEL\*

Percentage of patients taking:	McCords	Durban G.P.'s	Umlazi	Masana	Holy Cross	Mt. Coke
Less than 1/2 hour	0 - 55 mins					
1/2 - 1 hr	1hr - 119 mins					
1 - 2 hrs	2hrs - 179 mins					
2 - 3 hrs	3hrs - 239 mins					
3 - 4 hrs	4hrs - 299 mins					
4 - 5 hrs +	5 hrs +					
Total no.						
* One way journey						

8 (a)

IN THEIR OPINION

FM 13/3/81

243

Does the press go out of its way to incite confrontation with the authorities and even inspire revolution? Many government departments think so judging by memoranda submitted to the Stern Commission of Enquiry into the Mass Media

Documents have been submitted by the departments of Manpower Utilisation, Defence, Education and Training and National Education alleging journalistic sins ranging from subtle attacks on the morale of the Defence Force to attacking the government and its officials

Most of the departments quoted specific examples of what they saw as irresponsible, inaccurate or unfair reporting

Thus the Department of Manpower Utilisation charged that certain newspapers used the Johannesburg municipal workers' strike to incite confrontation with the authorities and revolution, and not to try to improve working conditions. The important

facts that the strike was illegal and that legislation had to be complied with in the settlement were ignored, the department said

The Department of Education and Training quoted headlines such as 'Thousands wait for matric exams' (referring to 1,000 out of 13,000 students) as examples of misleading journalism

Allegations of reporting aimed at the state's security instruments submitted by the Department of Defence included report of ANC attacks on police stations and feature articles which the department alleged strongly favoured the ANC

The Defence Department also said some reports on conscientious objection exemplified subtle psychological attacks on the morale of the SADF

According to the Department of National Education, contradictory reports about sports policy showed irresponsible reporting causing confusion after government policy statements

# Press backs 'one world' order, says Fred Shaw

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The director of the Christian League, the Rev Fred Shaw, denying that he was a government agent or front man, yesterday accused "elements" in the press of backing an internationally orchestrated plan to create a "one world" order.

Addressing the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the mass media, he included the SABC as one organization infiltrated to a small extent by such elements

At the end of his oral submissions Mr Shaw, who was accompanied by his attorney, was allowed to make further submissions in camera

He admitted that the Christian League had received secret government funds — but without his knowledge initially. He also accused some newspapers of seeking to split Afrikanerdom by pressing for speedy reform while giving extensive coverage to the far right. He accused the press of using blacks as "cannon fodder"

The establishment of a "one world" order, he said, was backed by the United Nations and the World Council of

Churches among others. Their aim was to destroy all loyalties and religious structures in order to create a unified world system. This would require removal of all racial and ethnic differences, elimination of regional and national boundaries, redistribution of wealth and so forth

It was the task of the media to convince people of this and to bring to a "pitch the death phobia" In this process, any change would offer hope and be grasped.

In South Africa's press, the problem lay in "propaganda by omission"

"There is a freedom of the press we must uphold at all times," he said, but the freedom "not to report" could not be upheld. "It is the omissions that are giving a lopsided view of this country and the tremendous progress it has made"

He said obstacles had been put in his way when he wanted to appear on SABC religious programmes. There was always a "technical problem", and at one stage an audition tape he had made got lost

At a conference in Jamaica it was decided that the ecumenical media should focus on the Info scandal. As a result, articles had appeared about him in remote parts of the world. They tried to make him out as a "government agent and front man — I refute that"

The government may have given him funds, "but it has never given me any instructions on what to say or do"

## Five-point plan

Mr Shaw outlined his background leading up from his role in the Methodist Church to the formation of the Christian League in 1974, how his politics had been liberal but his theology conservative, how politicians had tried to use him when he had drawn up a five-point plan opposing apartheid in the 1950s

While studying at Rhodes

group which decided the only way to bring change in South Africa was to infiltrate the Dutch Reformed Church, in the belief that because the DRC exercised such massive influence on the government, Afrikanerdom could be divided by infiltrating it.

He became disillusioned with people who called themselves "liberal" yet refused to listen to other views

Mr Shaw also accused people in the SA Council of Churches of exercising "legal terrorism" by threatening Christian League members with legal action

After relating how church officials had tried to avoid discussion on events in northern Mozambique, Tanzania and Uganda, he said "From that moment, I was determined to make known that the kind of regime they are trying to bring to South Africa needs careful scrutiny, and if they are trying to have human rights of the kind north of our borders, then God have mercy on us"



# Shake-up looms for Transvaal Afrikaans Press

S. Express 15/3/81

243

THE pending R6 850 000 claim by the Afrikaans newspaper giant Nasionale Pers against Perskor, its arch rival in the bitter Transvaal circulation war, has led to fierce behind-the-scenes negotiations between the two groups which informed sources believe will lead shortly to a drastic re-organisation of the Afrikaans Press in the Transvaal.

Sources close to the negotiating table disclosed that the R6-million claim by Nasionale Pers — for losses incurred through the circulation scandal in which Perskor inflated the circulation figures — is being applied as a "lever" to extract alternative undertakings of compensation from Perskor.

The Transvaal-based publishing house is under severe pressure to withdraw from the Afri-

## HUGE CLAIM MAY FORCE PERSKOR'S DAILIES TO MERGE

By KITT KATZIN

kaans morning market by switching Die Transvaler, the official organ of the National Party in the Transvaal, to the afternoon market, and so leave a clear way for Beeld, which has lost millions in its circulation battle with Die Transvaler in the morning market.

Perskor, I understand, is seriously considering this alternative.

Sources say Die Transvaler will be merged with Die Vaderland, Perskor's afternoon daily,

and that the group's morning paper in Pretoria, Oggendblad, will suffer the same fate. It will be merged with Hoofstad.

This leaves Beeld free to circulate unchallenged throughout the Transvaal, even though there is no possibility, I was told, that it would replace Die Transvaler as the National Party's official organ in the Transvaal.

Unlike its sister paper, Die Burger, the Nationalist official organ in the Cape, Beeld would

not consider a similar status in the Transvaal because of its deep-rooted differences with the party's conservative provincial leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, on vital ideological policy issues.

"It just isn't on — and to say the least, it would be too embarrassing," one source said.

Nonetheless, Nationalist political observers see this as an opportunity for Nasionale Pers, which is close to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, to spread its political influence even further among Right-wing Transvaal Nationalists.

Perskor's three dailies are still suffering severe circulation and financial losses as a result of the fiddle to inflate their daily sales figures — and Nationalist sources say that this factor, together with the waning political influence of Die Transvaler and Die Vaderland, in relation to the raging verligte-verkrampte battle in the Party, will undoubtedly compel Perskor to introduce a drastic reorganisation programme.

On the other hand, Beeld, which, as a result of the circulation scandal emerged not as second runner to Die Transvaler, but as front runner, has since continued to outstrip its competitor in terms of both circulation and advertising revenue.

Informed sources say that Nasionale Pers chairman Mr Piet Cillie made it clear in confidential talks recently to Mr Ben Schoeman, the former Cabinet Minister and chairman of the Dagbreek Trust, which controls Perskor, that if negotiations between the two groups foundered, Nasionale Pers would institute their claim.

Mr Cillie informed Mr Schoeman that Nasionale Pers would put its claim of R6 850 000 against Perskor in writing.

But Mr Cillie had also discussed with Mr Schoeman the question of a "re-allocation" of Perskor's Transvaal dailies.

(The R6 850 000 claim by Nasionale Pers was described as a conservative figure and indications are that it could eventually be much higher if negotiations between the groups break down).

But this, sources in both camps told me, was unlikely. Senior Perskor journalists have accepted the fate of Die Trans-

valer and believe it is only a matter of months before a formal announcement is made.

Rapport, the Sunday paper, would continue as a joint Perskor-Nasionale Pers venture.

● The circulation battle between Die Transvaler and Beeld is estimated to have cost the groups R20-million each.

By Nelson Duncan

The English-language Press of South Africa is alleged to be manipulated by the Government in the coverage of news relating to black development, according to the Black Sash.

This was one of many accusations levelled at all sections of the country's Society — business Government and private — during the four day national conference of the liberal women's organization in Johannesburg. The conference ends today.

The attack on the English language Press, which is more frequently charged with hostility and opposition to National Party policies came in a 43 page analysis by SACT vice-president Mrs Jill Wentzel.

The study covered more than 200 articles in the five leading newspapers — The Star, the Rand Daily Mail, the Sunday Express, the Sunday Tribune and the Sunday Tribune.

Mrs Wentzel said the Press reflected a desperate desire for change which led to newspapers "leaning over backwards to give Government the benefit of the doubt at times when political changes were announced."

She accused English-language newspapers of being naive but said their naive was "enough aged" by the Government "presenting its legislation in a way which lent itself to immediate, euphoric reaction."

At least one Johannesburg editor was surprised by the charges — which he described as "a complete reversal of the usual accusations" — that he asked Mrs Wentzel to submit the report to the Press Council and to the Stern Commission investigating the mass media.

Mrs Wentzel refused. I told him if he wanted it submitted he could do it himself. I felt it was no part of my job to do anything like that.

# Press allows itself to be manipulated by Govt—Sash

*file 3*  
*S. V. W. 12/3/51*

homeland, resettlement, economic and pass-law policies. Business was indicted for its attitude towards black women.

And South Africans generally were criticised for their ignorance and apathy particularly in relation to the 1980 legislation on fingerprinting and identity documents to be applied to all races.

In the education field, the Sash disclosed that the shortage of coloured teachers had led to temporary recruitment of whites, Indians and qualified Defence Force members.

For other reports see Page 4

at least one pair of boots, a sometimes an overcoat each year. Payments to the farmer is shown

TABLE 12

Distribution of workers according to R per year

Value of clothing, R per year	Number
0 - 10,00	
10,01 - 15,00	
15,01 - 20,00	
20,01 - 25,00	
25,01 - 30,00	
30,01 - 35,00	
35,01 - 40,00	
> 40,00	
total	
unknown	
Mean: R20,70	
Range: 0 to R5	

The seven workers in the 10 new clothing at all, although 6 workers 'fully supplied' with u

The amounts listed above re. own estimates of the value of c.

attempt has been made to check t wholesale or co-operative shops the fact that farmers who said t generally quoted similar values





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# Press 'caused black anger'

Pro-Government reporting by the English-language Press in South Africa — which was “leaning over backwards to give Government the benefit of the doubt” — had contributed to black disillusionment and anger over unfulfilled promises.

This is the conclusion of Black Sash national vice-president Mrs Jill Wentzel, after analysing more than 200 Press cuttings over five years from five main English-language newspapers — including The Star — which are more usually accused of being anti-Government.

Her report was presented to the Sash's national conference today.

She based the study on articles in the Rand Daily Mail, the Sunday Times, the Sunday Express, the Sunday Tribune and The Star.

Some reports from The Citizen, Rapport and Beeld were used for comparison.

Said Mrs Wentzel: “This analysis shows up a disastrous pattern of hope and letdown brought about by a combination of Press wishful thinking and

the Government's indecision, inherent reluctance, or cynicism or fear of its right wing.

“The reports quoted in this analysis show the English Press, at times of announcement of change (and these are key times) leaning over backwards to give Government the benefit of the doubt and not to emphasise negative comments.

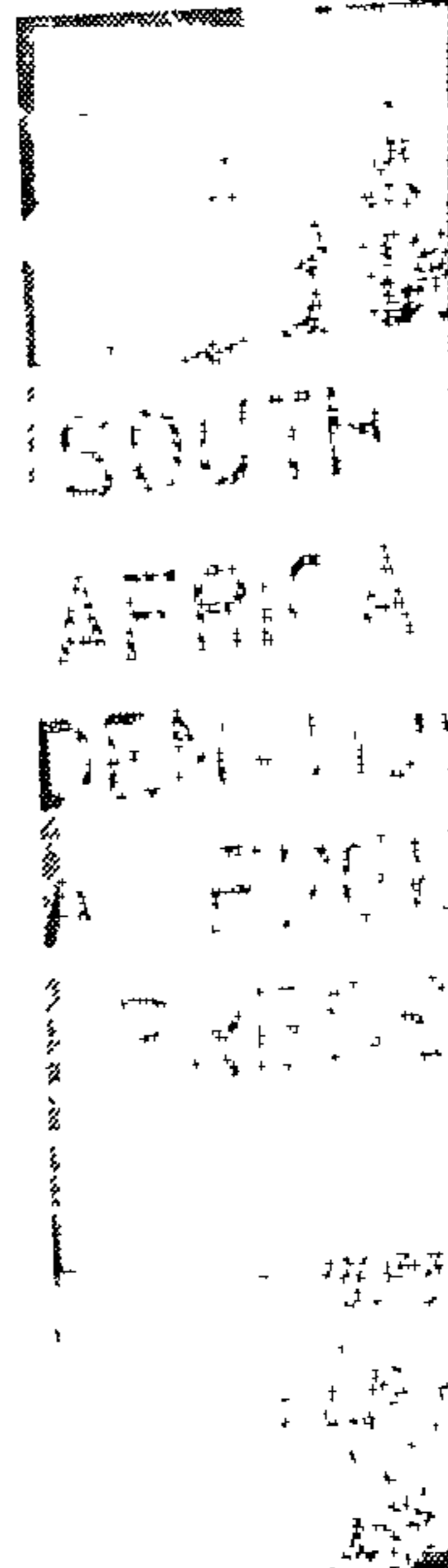
She said English newspapers were “naive” in their eagerness to believe Government promises — a naivete fostered and encouraged by the way in which the Government presented new legislation

“Among blacks, these overtly optimistic reports must surely have contributed to disillusionment and anger.”

Among her examples was: **HOMELAND BLACKS TO GET OWN HOMES** (The Star, October 29 1975)

“A more positive way of headlining a nasty trick one can hardly imagine.

“The first sentence is ‘It is official. Every urban black who wants to buy his home must first become a citizen of a homeland’.”



A member of the Black Sash demonstrating against the revision of the Press code in 1974. The English-language Press “contributed to black anger,” a Sash report said today.

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The Commission's report does not give details as to how

workers were interviewed. (1)

Retnet, Gordonia and Vredendal, in which 87 farmers and 128

the survey focussed on the districts of George, Graaff-

magisterial districts, including Graaff-Retnet and Middelburg;

and 68 workers in that district. Area 5 contains 39

on Calvinia as 'study district' and interviewed 45 farmers

BeaufortWest and Fraserburg. The Unisa survey focussed

Area 4 contains 24 magisterial districts, including

or magisterial districts were chosen as 'study districts'.

# English Press is pro-Nat - Sash

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“The reports quoted in this analysis show the English Press, at times of announcement of change (and these are key times) leaning over backwards to give the Government the benefit of the doubt and not to emphasise negative comments — even those made by Government officials.”

She said English newspapers were naive in their eagerness to believe Government promises: a naivete fostered and encouraged by the way in which the Government presents new legislation.

“Among blacks, these overtly optimistic reports must surely have contributed to disillusionment and anger, but one must not forget that the main

ment’s for its inability or “unwillingness to carry out its promises,” said Mrs. Wentzel.

# Perskor gives reason for banning PFP ad

AD 17/3/81 (243)

JOHANNESBURG — A spokesman for Perskor said here yesterday there was no question of the group placing a "blanket ban" on advertisements on its newspapers by opposition political parties.

He was responding to a statement by Mr Joel Mervis, PFP Provincial Council candidate in Edenvale.

Mr Mervis said both Nasionale Pers and Perskor had refused to publish PFP advertisements.

The newspapers involved were Die Transvaler, Beeld, Vaderland, Volksblad, Die Burger, Oosterg and Rapport.

"I am surprised at this action in the light of the evidence given by the Nationalist editors to the Steyn Commission

"All those editors, without exception, spoke up strongly in favour of press freedom."

Mr Mervis said part of press freedom was not to

discriminate against advertisers on political grounds. The editors might not have been aware of the ban, and unless they protested, their public protestations about press freedom were worthless, he said.

The Perskor spokesman said "Our policy is that during election times advertisements from the PFP, HNP, NCP and NRP are judged on merit individually

"The condition is that the advertisements must be of an announcement nature and not propaganda"

Mr David de Villiers, managing director of Nasionale Pers, said it had been his company's policy for many years not to accept "propaganda" advertisements from parties other than the National Party

(News by D Brier, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg) and Sapa

Wages (cents an hour)	Number of workers	Cumulative %
0 - 5	7	16,28
6 - 10	18	58,14
11 - 15	3	65,12
16 - 20	5	76,74

TABLE 31

Hourly cash wages of the 43 women whose working hours are known are below.

Type of work	Hours a week	Cash wage (weekly, R)	Payment in kind (daily)
Unknown	?	1,50	?
	?	2,31	?
	?	3,46	?
	?	3,46	?
	?	3,46	?

In addition to meals, many women get other items of payment in kind - working clothes, food, materials for dresses and other 'presents' at Christmas. Except for working clothes, these payments are included - with the cash wage of the women - in estimates of 'total family income' above.

# Saan profit, payment doubled

17/3/81 RDM

243

By DAVID CARTE

Deputy Financial Editor

**SOUTH African Associated Newspapers, publishers of the Rand Daily Mail and other major newspapers, more than doubled profits and its dividend in the year to December**

The directors "look forward to another successful year" in the preliminary report published today

With advertising and circulation revenue outstripping costs, Saan, which publishes the Rand Daily Mail and other morning papers, the Sunday Times, Sunday Express and Financial Mail, hoisted pre-tax profit 105% to R9 771 000 and taxed attributable profit 109% to R5 845 000

While operating profit was 97% ahead at R8 913 000, investment income from associates, Pretoria News and Robinson & Co, leapt 130% to R847 000. A R130 000 fall in the interest bill contributed

Earnings a share rose in line to 301c (1979 144c)

A final dividend of 100c has been declared, making 120c for the year. This is a 166% improvement on the 45c paid last year

The directors say "Trading so far this year suggests that unless unforeseen circumstances should arise, the group can look forward to another successful year"

They say that although operating and distribution costs rose significantly, the gain in revenue outdistanced expense

All Saan publications increased their cover prices during the year, providing a big boost to circulation revenue. Demand for advertising, and therefore advertising revenue, has never run higher

At the interim, Saan earnings were 317% ahead of a depressed first half of 1979. The group was up against a good second half of 1979 and the

directors forecast that second-half earnings would "closely approximate" the R2 318 000 achieved in a buoyant second half of 1979

It turns out that second-half earnings, at R3 900 000, were 68% better than the interim target

**COMMENT: At 750c, the share yields 16% on the new dividend and the share price is only 2.5 times earnings**

This suggests these results were far better than the market expected and the share price could go stronger

Management is not yet elaborating on its forecast of "another successful year", but that statement suggests that the much higher level of earnings and dividends established in 1980 can be maintained, if not improved on in the current year

Publishers hope that newsprint prices this year will rise more modestly than in the previous three years

All costs can only rise, but it seems likely fuel, and therefore distribution costs, will also rise more moderately than in previous years. But labour costs will no doubt continue to spurt ahead.

With the growth rate set to slow from 8% to 5% and the consumer sector likely to feel the cooling most of all, it is hard to see advertising revenue making much progress on last year's exceptional level — especially with black TV ahead

Because higher cover prices were effective only from May 1980 and circulations are tending better, circulation revenue should make further progress

All things considered, the group will do well merely to maintain these earnings in the year ahead. But it is liquid and has few capital commitments, so the dividend seems quite safe. This alone should lead to a rerating of the share.

(143) (243) 15/11/41  
Wage talks at Allied  
STAR

By Tony Davis,  
Labour Reporter

Wage talks are being held this week in Johannesburg between Allied Publishing and the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union

The union is demanding a pay rise after last November's strike

Mrs Emma Mashinini, secretary for the union, has accused Allied of trying to insure itself against a strike threat by taking on outside staff to deliver newspapers

Allied management has denied the allegations and

said that Press campaigns for delivery staff and newspaper depots in Johannesburg suburbs were initiated by the newspapers themselves

#### PRECAUTION

Both the South African Associated Newspapers (Saan) and The Star have advertised for delivery staff

A Star advertisement last month called for drivers and street sellers "as a precaution against any future disruption of delivery and distribution services"

Mrs Mashinini has criticised the advertising campaign for taking away jobs from black workers

# Call for professionalism in 'new information era'

By Iain MacDonald

The responsibility of journalists would increase enormously in the next two decades and journalists should prepare for this, Dr A S de Beer from the Rand Afrikaans University told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media.

Appearing with Professor P G W du Plessis, Dr de Beer proposed the setting up of an institute for Press ethics, which would be attached to a university

Such an institute would research aspects which could lead to a qualitative raising of standards in the Press, as well as offer facilities for advanced studies in Press ethics.

It could also issue a critical magazine and annual report on media activities

"We have a new information era and journalists should prepare now for that responsibility."

Dr de Beer said

"I don't see why teachers, librarians and theologians have training but not journalists

"Journalists should have at least a diploma. We must have a professional Press

"Journalism is not a recognised profession such as medicine or law, but it can be called a professionalised vocation which must give attention to specific tasks

"Professionalism is sometimes seen not as a carrot, but as a stick by South African journalists.

"Registration is the last aspect of professionalism, and not the first," he said.

He also proposed that specialist journalists should have greater access to sensitive information

In questioning Dr de Beer, Judge Steyn stressed that "journalists as a group have no one at ministerial level who can

talk for them."

There appeared to be a pejorative connotation on the word "register," but if journalism was found to be a profession it should have a roll.

"The higher the profession, the more strictly it is organised," he said.

Earlier, Professor du Plessis had said that "we are interested in good journalism — not just a higher circulation, but the quality of journalism."

He said journalism could not be practised outside of the defined social context, and that there was "a laboratory of culture in South Africa"

"It should be a feast for a journalist to work in this laboratory," he said.

He also said that journalists should ask themselves what was "a good community life within which to exercise their profession and how they could contribute towards that community"

# Call for press institute

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Appearing together with

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"We live in a new information era and journalists should prepare now for that responsibility," Dr De Beer said.

ere seen who had absconded from the 5 in the control group). Reasons for from 14 of them, the most common reasons me who were uncared for and pregnancy ed why they had not given these reasons home (perhaps making arrangements rent time), the guardians said either air requests were rejected or else, ere too scared to ask. absconded, and 3 others who had not, ides of clinic nurses who, they said, rrectly apportioned all blame for on them - they resented the implication".

r leaving the NRU was not related to this or weights of the children.

ash income of the sample guardians r month, with an income per person ily R2,50 per month. Comparison family income revealed a higher ner proportion of falls in percentage ver proportion of gains in percentage iver income group (less than R10 per

practicalities of IPU teaching, and Guardians' Suggestions

"I don't see why teachers, librarians and theologians have training but not journalists. Journalists should have at least a diploma.

"We must have a profession press. Journalism is not a recognised profession such as medicine or law, but it can be called a professionalised vocation which must give attention to specific tasks.

"Professionalism is sometimes seen not as a carrot, but as a stick to South African journalists," he said.

In questioning Dr de Beer, Judge Steyn stressed that "journalists as a group have no one at ministerial level who can talk for them.

"There appears to be a pejorative connotation on the word register," he said. But if journalism is found to be a profession it must have a roll.

Irrigate fields and their yields: Twenty nine of the 36 sample Guardians had fields, with an average yield of 11 bags per year, while 6 of 7 control Guardians had fields with an average yield of 9 bags per year.

## Diets of the Children

Figure 1 shows the foods which had been given to the children the day before each child was seen, and other foods given to the children at other times. (The lower numbers in the control groups must be noted.) The figure shows few differences between the sample and control groups at Holy Cross; a slightly higher proportion of diets in the sample included eggs, milk and fish. The majority of sample guardians giving eggs and green vegetables to their children were obtaining these from their own fowls and gardens. The milk was bought powdered milk in 75% of cases.

Eight of the 36 sample Guardians (22%) claimed to have made changes in their children's diets since returning from the NRU, while 1 of the 7 control Guardians (14%) claimed to have made dietary changes since the child returned from the hospital.

## Nutritional and Health Knowledge

All 36 sample guardians seemed to understand that Protein Energy Malnutrition is a nutritional disease. Only 1 Guardian (who had stayed at the NRU for 4 days) did not know what foods were necessary to prevent kwashiorkor. No Guardian seemed to understand the infective nature of gastro-enteritis and only 1 knew of the need to keep the child with diarrhoea well hydrated. All but 1 Guardian volunteered that they had learnt about vegetable Gardening at the NRU (the exception having absconded on her second day at the NRU), and 30 Guardians volunteered that they had been taught about hygiene.

Of the 7 control Guardians, only 3 knew that Protein Energy Malnutrition is a nutritional disease. No Guardian knew anything about the cause or management of gastro-enteritis.

## Dissemination of NRU Knowledge

Twenty-five of the 36 sample guardians (70%) claimed to have told others of what they had learnt at the NRU, and 16 of these (44%) claimed that others had implemented changes as a result.



# Assocom is against clamps on media

By PATRICK LAURENCE

INTERFERENCE by the Government in the freedom of the media would harden foreign attitudes toward South Africa and trigger disinvestment at a time when it was needed. Assocom (the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa) told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media yesterday.

"Past experience has shown that any action on behalf of the authorities which can be regarded as an intrusion into the rights of individuals or the free enterprise system has hardened the attitudes of foreign governments and businessmen toward the Republic," Assocom said in a written submission.

One outcome was withdrawal of foreign capital on which South Africa's sustained economic growth and continued social stability depended — and through these, resolution of black unemployment.

"In view of past experience,

Assocom is convinced that any direct interference by the authorities in the 'free' mass media will have similar consequences."

Assocom, which has about 20 000 members, accepted the principle that 'power must be matched by responsibility', but advocated self-policing by the media to ensure fair and balanced reporting.

It said that would be in line with the expressed belief of the Prime Minister that the demands of our time require that private initiative should be utilised wherever possible to seek solutions to any problems within the framework of the private enterprise system."

In an earlier submission, the Afrikaanse Calvinistiese Beweging, represented by Professor P. G. du Plessis and Dr A. S. de Beer, of Rand Afrikaans University, recommended that attention be given to the establishment of an 'Institute for Press Ethics'.

It should be attached to a university to facilitate 'prima-

ry research" as a means to improve standards in the news industry and equip it to investigate specific problems within its own ranks.

Journalists should be trained to face the moral questions posed by war, violence, revolution and change, especially as it affected South Africa. Prof du Plessis said in oral evidence.

Dr De Beer, a former journalist, argued for a formal training scheme and entrance qualification for aspirant journalists.

Asked by the commission chairman, Mr Justice M. T. Steyn, if he would settle for a professional diploma course, Dr De Beer said "At least a diploma, but preferably a university training."

He said there was no agreement among journalists on the definitions of "news" and "objectivity", and referred to a project in which he asked 20 senior journalists to define news — and got 20 different responses.

1936 STAR  
ASSOCOM

warns  
on curbs

Assocom would like to see a body representing the entire Press industry and believed that self policing by journalists would ensure fair and balanced reporting. Assocom representatives told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media yesterday

Any direct interference by the authorities in the "free" mass media would harden the attitudes of foreign governments and businessmen towards South Africa and would result in foreign disinvestment they told the commission

"Assocom recommends that the solution to problems in reporting by the mass media should be resolved through direct consultation and negotiation with the media industry as a whole," the panel submitted

This would be "with a view to determining guidelines, and not through the introduction of direct controls"

Individual members of the panel said there appeared to be "no harm in journalism becoming more professionalised"

Entry into journalism, however, should not be a closed shop and made too difficult for some to enter

Asked by Mr Justice Steyn if Assocom had "really pondered the question of the professionalising of journalism," the panel said it had not really done so

# The 'Mail's' vital role in our

*"To inquire into and report on the question whether the conduct of, and the handling of matters by, the mass media meet the needs and interests of the South African community and the demands of the times, and, if not, how they can be improved"*

— Terms of reference of the Steyn Commission.

FOR the past 20 years the newspaper of which I am now Editor has been a prime target of the Government's long campaign against the Press in this country

It will therefore be the purpose of this memorandum to state the case of this newspaper, and to submit that it has in fact met "the needs and interests of the South African community and the demands of the times" more fully than most — but for this very reason has incurred the special displeasure of the Government and its bureaucracy

To the extent that restrictive Government practices inhibit the Rand Daily Mail and other newspapers from meeting these needs and interests of the community and demands of the times more adequately than they do, this memorandum will also submit that the Commission should find the Government (and its bureaucracy) blameworthy and call upon it to mend its ways — as the Commission itself has already decided it is entitled to do under its terms of reference

In doing this, however, I must state that I don't imagine for a moment that my testimony stands the slightest chance of improving the position of the Press in South Africa, or even of stemming its slide into greater confinement. This is not because I believe the Commission itself does not have an open mind on the subject, but because I believe the Government is already resolved to increase the restrictions on the Press

I am satisfied that this was the Government's motive in appointing this Commission — it hopes it will be able to find something in the Commission's report that it can use as an apparent judicial justification for introducing new restrictive legislation — just as it used

The whole country is a honeycomb of cellular group ghettos, full of ghetto attitudes of "us" and "them", and with little understanding of the other groups. Empathy is not a flourishing commodity in South Africa

In this extraordinarily divided society, the Rand Daily Mail is a unique institution. It provides the single most significant channel of communication between all these segregated groups, telling each something of the attitudes and activities of the others. No other institution is able to do this on the same scale.

Most newspapers are also predominantly group orientated. World and Post, which have both now been closed by the Government, were extremely important newspapers in that they provided blacks with a platform of their own. But they did not tell whites about the black community because whites did not buy them, nor did they tell blacks about the white community because their reporting was devoted almost exclusively to black affairs

Similarly the Afrikaans newspapers do not tell the Afrikaners much about blacks or blacks much about Afrikaners.

Several of the major English newspapers stretch across a wider spectrum, but none equals the Rand Daily Mail for its universality.

Readership surveys show we have nearly a million (885 000) readers a day, a little more than half of whom are black. A quarter of our white readers are Afrikaners, the rest English-speakers and members of the various immigrant communities. We also have substantial numbers of coloured and Asian readers

About a fifth of our total editorial staff are blacks, and they are fully integrated in all departments. Blacks and Afrikaners, English and Asians, Jews, Muslims and Christians, people with Nationalist, Progressive and Black Consciousness inclinations, all work side by side on our editorial staff. We are a living microcosm of the South African community which we serve

We editorialise between country and metropolitan, and between white and black areas. We are not altogether happy about this because it perpetuates the image of racial separation, but normal newspaper contingencies such as pressure

of space and the need to cater for local interest make it necessary for us to continue doing so for the time being

However we are at pains to ensure that the news mix is the same through the editions and that the difference is only one of emphasis. Our whole objective is to provide each group with news about the others, as well as of itself

We believe this is the primary role we must try to play — to provide a channel of communication between all these segregated groups in a tension-ridden society. We pay particular attention to our Letters Page, giving it as much space as we can afford so that it can be a platform for a public debate between all South Africans — a debate which is not taking place anywhere else in the country.

The purpose of this role is to increase intergroup awareness and understanding. We also provide black people with just about the only opportunity they have to state their opinions on national issues, and to express their aspirations and grievances, in a medium which brings them to the attention of the ruling white community — and through which whites in their turn can respond

The need for this in our ghettoed society is, I submit, vital. Greater intergroup understanding and empathy is essential if we are to avoid deepening conflict. To appreciate this we have only to recall the recent experience of our northern neighbour.

Rhodesia, before it became Zimbabwe, was reduced to a bloody torment because its whites imagined they knew what the blacks were thinking when in fact they had no idea. Right to the end they genuinely believed Bishop Abel Muzorewa was going to win the election when in fact he had negligible black support. It is one of history's most startling examples of an in-group delusion — and they did not even have apartheid the way we have it.

It is therefore my submission that the Rand Daily Mail is meeting the needs and interests of the South African community more fully than any other part of the mass media

## The Demands of the Times

It is surely common cause that the single most important

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The Editor of the Rand Daily Mail, Allister Sparks, yesterday gave evidence before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the mass media. Here is an edited record of his testimony.

demand of modern times in South Africa is that our existing socio-political order of racial discrimination and minority-group domination be changed. Opinions may differ as to how the change should be undertaken, and what form the new dispensation should take, but that there must be change is now a matter of widespread agreement

I submit that the media in general, and the Rand Daily Mail in particular, have been pioneers in arousing public awareness of this need for change — and thus of meeting the most important demand of the times in our country

Let me cite some examples of this pioneering role

1 All change begins at the level of articulation. Race discrimination stems largely from race prejudice, and the first step in reducing the degree of prejudice in a society is to change its use of pejorative racial terminology

Twenty years ago the terms "kaffir" and "Native" were in common usage in South Africa, and both were deeply resented by the black community. In 1959 the Rand Daily Mail became the first newspaper to campaign for the use of terms acceptable to the people concerned. It pioneered use of the word "African" in place of "Native", in the face of bitter criticism from our own readers and the Government

In time all other English-language newspapers followed suit, and this set the pattern for the Government itself to adopt more acceptable terminology and for society as a whole to be more sensitive on the subject

Today the more offensive appellations have all but disappeared from our public vocabulary

2 The Rand Daily Mail has been a pioneer in promoting greater social justice. Newspapers should be particularly concerned about the more vulnerable elements of society. To this end the Rand Daily Mail has consistently sought to focus attention on such things as the treatment of prisoners, poverty and malnutrition in the rural areas (one of our early campaigns led to the foundation of Kupugani), hardship caused by Group Areas removals, the splitting up of families as a result of influx control regulations, and white poverty as well (two of our reporters won the SFW Award for Enterprising Journalism in 1971 for an investigation of white poverty in Johannesburg)

3 Time and again the Rand Daily Mail has presented timely warnings on the need for change in key areas of public policy. Throughout the Sixties it warned that proper geographical consolidation of the tribal "homelands" was a physical impossibility. This has now been acknowledged by Mr Henne van der Walt, chairman of the Government's Consolidation Commission

4 Throughout the Sixties and earlier it warned that a meaningful separation of the races, physically and economically, as prescribed by Dr Verwoerd, was not possible. This is now widely acknowledged and the search is on for an alternative version of the policy

5 Throughout the Sixties it warned that the permanence of

the urban blacks would have to be accepted. This has now been officially acknowledged

6 Throughout the Sixties it warned that black workers would have to be given full trade union rights. This is now being done

7 Throughout the Sixties it called for the scrapping of Job Reservation. At last the need for this is acknowledged and it is gradually being done

8 Throughout the Sixties it warned that there would have to be greater economic integration of blacks, that this was essential to maintain a satisfactory economic growth rate and enable the free enterprise system to flourish to the benefit of all South Africans. While it was urging this, official Government policy was based on Dr Verwoerd's dictum that South Africa would "rather be poor and white than rich and multiracial". Today Government policy is coming around to accepting the need for greater economic integration and the importance of giving the free enterprise system its head

9 Throughout the Sixties the Rand Daily Mail called for the integration of sport right down to club level. Today this is being accepted

10 Throughout the Sixties and earlier the Rand Daily Mail called for compulsory education for all races. At last this is beginning

11 Throughout the Sixties the Rand Daily Mail called for the readmission of blacks to the formerly "open" universities and for the voluntary integration of schools. This is now gradually being permitted



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# divided society

12. Throughout the Sixties, in the face of intense hostility, the Rand Daily Mail called for reform of the Pass Laws and Influx Control Regulations. After a false start, the Minister of Cooperation and Development is now indicating his willingness to do this

The demands of the times have required other things as well. When the same political party has been in power for 33 years, there is a heightened need for public vigilance against the abuse of that power. That length of one-party rule, culminating in the holding of 148 seats in a Parliament of 176, comes very close to being the kind of absolute power of whose corrupting influence Lord Acton warned.

This makes the watchdog role of the Press in South Africa more important than ever.

It is my submission that the Rand Daily Mail has played its part in fulfilling this role. We have specialised in investigative reporting, and as a result have won more awards for enterprising journalism than any other South African newspaper.

Particularly noteworthy in this regard was the Rand Daily Mail's role in exposing the Information Department scandal — in itself, I would submit, a major contribution to serving the interests of the South African community and meeting the needs of the times.

I would suggest that the Rand Daily Mail's steadfast campaigning over the years to keep alive the principle of the Rule of Law in the face of security legislation that has placed more and more arbitrary powers in the hands of the Executive, has also been in accordance with the needs of the times.

## Fallibility

While we are ardent advocates of the Freedom of the Press, we are also conscious of the responsibility that must accompany it — and acutely aware of our own fallibility. Newspapers are produced at high speed and under great pressure, with the result that all make too many mistakes. The Rand Daily Mail is no exception. But largely because we have been a primary target for so long, we are perhaps more sensitive than most to the need

to attend to complaints and correct errors.

We have a specially appointed Assistant Editor in charge of reader contact, whose duties include the prompt and detailed investigation of all complaints.

We run a daily "Matter of Fact" column, and when an investigation shows that we have erred we unhesitatingly publish a correcting statement in this column — usually in a form agreed to by the complainant.

We employ an outside Ombudsman whose findings we undertake to publish unchanged. If, after investigating a complaint, we do not agree that we have erred we will offer to submit the complaint to the Ombudsman for his independent adjudication. Sometimes when disagreement is voiced within our own staff on a particular editorial decision we will also submit that to the Ombudsman for his adjudication, which will then be published. The Ombudsman is also free to take up points on his own initiative where he believes the paper has shown error of judgment, and he frequently does this.

Finally, we submit ourselves to the jurisdiction of the Press Council. But perhaps because of our readiness to correct errors when these are drawn to our attention, the Rand Daily Mail has in fact been involved in remarkably few hearings before the Press Council. There have been only six hearings in the four years since the Press Council in its present form was constituted.

## Government obstruction of the Press

I have dealt at length with the role my newspaper has attempted to play as a channel of communication between the ghettoed groups of this country, as a sounder of timely warnings, and as a watchdog against the official abuse of power.

I believe it is an important role. But it is not always a popular one. We face the problem that much of the time we are telling people things they would rather not hear.

We also face the fact that a Government grown authoritarian and arrogant with too much power held for too long does not like what we are doing. It does not like to have its failures and its iniquities exposed.

It sees our very existence as an institution advocating and practising integration as being in conflict with its own concepts of separate development, and it is less and less willing to tolerate such dissention.

Indeed, so intolerant did the Government become of our role that it went to the extraordinary extreme of trying, by clandestine means, to buy our controlling company for the obvious purpose of either closing down or radically altering the Rand Daily Mail.

And when this stratagem failed it resorted to the even more extraordinary one of irregularly using R32-million of taxpayers' money to launch a competing newspaper under false pretences, with the intention of driving the Rand Daily Mail out of business.

These must rank among the most sinister and grotesque attempts to undermine Press Freedom ever seen in any country professing Western democratic principles. We who were its intended victims must be forgiven a feeling of cynicism when we see the same governing party which perpetrated such abuses appoint a Commission of Inquiry to investigate our conduct.

The pattern of a diminishing tolerance of dissent and an increasing desire for official secrecy on the part of both the Government and its bureaucracy is continuing.

Frequent public statements by Cabinet Ministers, recommendations made to this Commission by senior public servants, and a clear pattern of legislation over the years all reveal a desire to restrict the Press and thus limit the amount of information that is made available to the South African community.

Already whole areas of important news are blanked out. Of these, the most serious for a newspaper trying to cover the whole socio-political spectrum are the bans placed 21 years ago on the important black political parties, the ANC and the PAC. We cannot quote them or their leaders, which means we simply cannot report the black political scene adequately.

Other particularly serious laws which force us to censor the news include the wide-ranging Official Secrets Act and the Defence Act, the Police Amendment Act and the Prisons Act, the National Key

Points Act, the General Law Amendment Act of 1962 (Sabotage Act) and the Terrorism Act.

Among the most difficult of all are the provisions making it an offence to cause feelings of hostility between the races. These provisions are contained in the Riotous Assemblies Act, the Second General Law Amendment Act of 1974, the Bantu Administration Act of 1927 and the Terrorism Act.

This is a matter which cannot be precisely defined, which means newspapers tend to err on the side of caution and too often excise material which might give the public vital advance warning of rising hostility between the races. The lead-up to the 1976 Soweto disturbance is a classic case in point. The Government was unaware of the mounting anger of blacks in Soweto over the enforced use of Afrikaans in their schools, and ignored urgent warnings of this. Subsequently it accused the Press of having incited this anger — although the one-man Commission of Mr Justice Piet Cillie exonerated the Press on this score.

Restrictive laws often prevent us from giving a balanced picture. We cannot give a banned person's reply to a Government attack on him, or a black party's response to a Government announcement. We cannot leave out the announcement because we have an obligation to cover the news, but we are troubled by the imbalance caused by our inability to give the other side.

To this extent we fail in our obligation to report the total socio-political scene fully and fairly to the South African community.

We are compelled by Government restrictions to present an incomplete and sometimes even distorted picture, which is not in the interests of that community. To the extent that the enforced withholding of information and consequent distortion of impressions given may prevent the South African public from making the correct decisions during this difficult period of socio-political change, it is clearly not meeting the demands of the times.

I therefore urge that the Commission find that the Government is wanting in this respect, and that it more than the Press should mend its ways and put its own house in order.

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part of the first Steyn Commission's report as the justification for introducing the Second Police Amendment Act, one of the most seriously restrictive pieces of legislation which the Press now faces in South Africa.

So why am I here? Simply because there are occasions in an epic struggle when you must stand up and say your piece, for the sake of the record and of history.

It is also important — again for the sake of the record — to make sure that accountability is laid where it belongs. The Government's objective all along has been to find ways of restricting the Press without itself incurring the stigma of Press censorship. It much prefers what I would call enforced self-censorship, or conformity through intimidation.

I may not be able to stop the introduction of measures that bring this about. But I and my fellow journalists can make sure that when they are introduced, it is on record that this was not done with the connivance or in accordance with the wishes of our profession.

### The Nature of the South African Community

The Commission has asked witnesses to address themselves to the question: What is the nature and composition of the South African community?

My answer is simple and straightforward: *The South African community comprises all the people, of whatever race, colour or creed, who live within the geographical boundaries of the Republic of South Africa.*

That is the composition of the South African community, but what of its nature?

It is a community that has been subjected to probably the most systematic and comprehensive programme of enforced compartmentalisation in history, and this has inevitably shaped its nature.

The result is that South Africa is an extraordinarily cellular society. Not only are we a highly heterogeneous community, with a great number of different race and language groups, but each of these is isolated from the others to a degree that is unparalleled in the world.

The influence of apartheid has gone beyond the separation of white and black. Even within white society, the English and Afrikaner language groups tend to be isolated from each other to a surprising degree. Their children go to separate schools, where they even play in separate sports leagues, so that they seldom meet.

This early estrangement within our white community continues into later life, as most of them go to separate universities and grow up reading separate newspapers, listening to separate radio channels, and to a degree even living in separate suburban areas, working in separate businesses and belonging to separate clubs, churches and cultural institutions.

The blacks are not only separated from the whites but also from the coloureds and the Indians and the Chinese, and to a lesser extent even from one another according to their ethnic classifications.

# A front for further restrictions — Sparks

By Iain MacDonald

The Government was "looking for some basis on which it can take further action against the Press without it looking too crude," the Editor of the Rand Daily Mail, Mr Allister Sparks, told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media yesterday

He said he believed the Government was "already resolved to increase restrictions on the Press.

"I am satisfied this was the Government's motive in appointing this commission — it hopes to find something in the commission's report to use as an apparent judicial justification for introducing new restrictive legislation

"I do not believe my testimony before the commission stands any chance of improving the position of the Press in South Africa," he said

## TARGET

The Commission should "find the Government and its bureaucracy blameworthy, and call upon it to mend its ways — as the Commission itself has already decided it is entitled to do under its terms of reference"

The Rand Daily Mail had been "a prime target of the Government's long campaign against the Press in this country"

South Africa was "a honeycomb of cellular group ghettos, full of ghetto attitudes of 'us' and 'them' and with little understanding of the other groups"

The Rand Daily Mail provided a channel of communication "among all these segregated groups in a tension-riddled society"

"Because of Government obstructions, we are not able to do our job as we should do it," he said.

He told the commission that "the single most important demand of modern times in South Africa is that our existing socio-political order of racial discrimination and minority group domination be changed.

"The media in general and the Rand Daily Mail in particular have been pioneers in arousing public awareness of this need for change — and thus of meeting the most important demand of the times in our country."

He said he would like to see "a better Press council," and that he op-

# Register will be a weapon, Editor warns

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By AMEEN AKHALWAYA  
Political Reporter

THE Steyn Commission was warned yesterday that any proposal it might make about a register of journalists would be used by the Government as a pretext for action to limit Press freedom further

The warning was sounded by the Editor of the Rand Daily Mail, Mr Allister Sparks, when he elaborated before the commission in Johannesburg on his written testimony

Mr Sparks, adding his voice to those of other editors who have strenuously opposed the idea of a register, was questioned on views that journalists needed an organised structure because of the "fractured" nature of their profession.

He said "This seems to me the very nucleus of the fears I have about this commission I believe there are enormous dangers for journalists and journalism in South Africa in any proposal this commission might put forward about a register of journalists"

He believed the Government would use it as a pretext for taking further action to limit Press freedom

He and most journalists he knew were deeply apprehensive of the interest the commission was showing in such a register.

If there were a need for "professionalising" journalism, the move should come from journalists themselves

"What is the need for it?" he asked "Journalists don't want

it, and if we don't want it, why is it anybody else's business to force it on us?"

Even in an ideal situation, he would be opposed to a register, but in South Africa it had to be seen in the context of a "sustained, unrelenting campaign against the Press" by the Government

Questioned about the fact that there was a register of journalists in Italy, Mr Sparks pointed out that it had been introduced there by Mussolini's "fascist government as part of its fascist system", and had been followed by Franco in Spain

The system survived in both

□ To Page 2

Register will be a weapon, Editor warns

Editor warns

countries but in Spain particularly there was growing opposition to its continuation from editors leading that country's return to Press freedom

Communist countries were waging a major campaign for what they called "a new world information order", which would have an international register of journalists on which all foreign correspondents would have to be registered

"Unfortunately they have succeeded in winning UNESCO to their cause and the International Press Institute now sees this as the greatest single threat facing the free dissemination of news worldwide

Do we in South Africa really want to lend credibility to this sinister, communist backed campaign?" Mr Sparks asked

Quite apart from his political misgivings, he said, he would hate to see journalism turned into "a closed shop ivory tower that would distance itself from the people"

Mr Sparks said newspapers were an essential vehicle for an ongoing public debate — and instead of shutting out the lay public, he believed they should try to open up their columns more to the public, to get greater participation in that debate

Mr Sparks outlined the position of the "Mail" in relation to the commission's terms of reference

South Africa, he said, was a "honeycomb of cellular group ghettos"

In this extraordinarily divided society, the "Mail" was a unique institution, providing the single most significant channel of communication between all these segregated groups, "telling each something of the attitudes and activities of the others"

Mr Sparks added "We believe this is the primary role

we must play — to provide a channel of communication between all these segregated groups in a tension-ridden society"

Referring to the restrictions placed on Press reporting on organisations such as the banned African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, he cited the commission's own experience

The commission has asked for Government permission to allow Mr Zvelakhe Sisulu, banned former president of the Media Workers' Association of SA to give evidence before it

"Clearly the commission feels it must hear that evidence if it is to form a balanced judgment on the issue it must decide on"

If the commission could not form a balanced judgment without that evidence he asked how could the South African public form a balanced judgment on the issues it had to decide on if it was deprived of information from sources that were banned or otherwise blocked by Press restrictions?

Mr Sparks, referring to the R32 million secret funding of The Citizen, said it must rank among the "most sinister and grotesque attempts to undermine Press freedom ever seen in any country professing Western democratic principles"

While he was unhappy about the "trend towards monopoly" in the cross-shareholding between the Argus Company and SA Associated Newspapers — owners of the "Mail" — he blamed the Government for it

The clandestine attempt by the Government — fronted by Mr Louis Luyt — to take over SAAN had forced "an emergency defensive operation" to prevent it

See Page 11

# Journalist gives name of source

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Mr Justice Eloff, chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into the Meat Industry, today allowed a journalist to give evidence in camera to protect her sources from embarrassment

On Thursday Miss Charlene Beltramo, a journalist of The Star, refused to reveal to the commission all the sources who gave her information about the illegal distribution and sale of meat to

controlled areas

She was contacted by the secretary to the commission on Friday and told to telephone Mr Justice Eloff today

The judge said there would be no need for her to appear before the commission and she could give evidence in camera by telephone

Miss Beltramo gave the judge the name of a source who had agreed to being named



# Ex-Rhodesian MP's ROM 21/3/81 (B62) (243) action against papers

## Court Reporter

THE editor of the Sunday Times, Mr Tertius Myburgh, the editor of the Sunday Express, Mr Rex Gibson, and SA Associated Newspapers were sued in the Rand Supreme Court for R30 000 damages yesterday by a former Rhodesian MP

The suit followed an article published in 1978 on an alleged Rhodesian Defence Fund fraud scandal.

The plaintiff is Mr Rodney Guy Swayne Simmonds, a former Rhodesian MP, listed in papers before the court as a businessman of Mount Hampden, Salisbury.

The case is being heard by Mr Justice Melamet.

The court was told that on July 16, 1978, an article appeared on the front page of the Sunday Times under a large headline: "Arms scandal — inside story" It was bylined Eugene Hugo

On the same day an article, headlined "Secret Trial — three men named" by Derek Taylor, appeared in the Sunday Express, the court was told

Mr Simmonds claimed readers

would have understood the articles to mean he had been involved in a defence fund fraud scandal involving the misappropriation of Rhodesian Government funds

The court was told these funds were earmarked for the procurement of sanctions-busting arms and equipment

As a result of the articles Mr Simmonds was injured in his good name and reputation and sustained R30 000 damages, he claimed

In papers before the court, Mr Myburgh and SAAN claimed Mr Simmonds had never required a reputation in South Africa "whether as a businessman or at all". They denied the article was defamatory.

A Zimbabwe attorney, Mr R H Wood, said Mr Simmonds and two co-directors of his company, a Mr Ford and a Mr Wood, were arrested in June 1978 on charges under exchange control regulations

Their business was involved with French aircraft spares. "It was actually involved in sanctions-busting," he said Mr Simmonds used to travel overseas in

connection with military equipment.

The three men were found guilty of exchange control charges and fined in the Rhodesian High Court in July 1978.

There had been no suggestion that Mr Simmonds or the other two were guilty of embezzlement and theft, Mr Wood said.

It would be totally unfair to suggest they were involved in a "swindle"

At about the same time three other men — also involved in sanctions-busting — were arrested in Rhodesia for the embezzlement of funds, Mr Wood said.

The hue and cry about the matter grew in Rhodesia and eventually the then Prime Minister, Mr Ian Smith, made a public statement in which he said six people, including two civil servants and a former MP, had been involved in a sanctions-busting scandal involving about 1-million Rhodesian dollars.

Mr Wood admitted that Mr Simmonds was one of the six people mentioned

The case continues on Monday

# Prisons Act 'does not stop reports'

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By CHRIS FREIMOND

CLAIMS by journalists that the Prisons Act prevented reporting of conditions in South African prisons were strongly denied by Colonel S P Malan, head of the Prisons Service information section, yesterday

Giving evidence in Johannesburg to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the mass media he said Section 44(1)(f) of the Prisons Act placed no restriction on factually correct reporting and left "sufficient space" for the media to initiate reports on prisons

The section of the Act places the onus on the Press to prove that "reasonable steps" were taken to verify information before publication

It has been severely criticised before the Commission by both the Editor of the Rand Daily Mail, Mr Allister Sparks, and the Deputy-Editor, Mr Benjamin Pogrund

Col Malan said the Prisons Service decided to testify "to put the issue in perspective" after reports of Mr Pogrund's evidence last December

The objection of many journalists to Section 44(1)(f) was that it was difficult to judge when action taken to check their facts was "reasonable"

"The solution is that if there is any doubt, the authorities must be approached. If (the journalist) gets no answer — 'no comment' — he may publish, if he gets a negative answer he can publish his side of the issue and in the same report the answer from the authorities. There is therefore no question of Section 44(1)(f) placing unreasonable restrictions on Press freedom"

A formal inquiry to the Prisons Service Press liaison section implied that a journalist had taken reasonable steps to check the factual accuracy of his report, he said

If a newspaper was sure of its facts it was not even necessary to approach the Prisons Service for verification before publication, he said

Mr Pogrund's claims that 44(1)(f) could be abused by the authorities to hide malpractices or irregularities were re-

jected. There were "various channels" through which prisoners could air their grievances, including contact with family, friends and legal representatives

The only restrictive action of 44(1)(f) was on the publication of false information, he said

Section 44(1)(f) aimed at objective and accurate reporting of the truth irrespective of the consequences

Section 44(1)(f) was of benefit to prisoners, the authorities and the community and there was no justification to question the "honest and efficient" application of the section by the Prisons Service, he said

A "high premium" was placed on the watchdog role of the Press and the Prisons Service would co-operate fully with the media to ensure that public interest was served

For this, the Prisons Service had a 24-hour Press liaison section which dealt with 355 inquiries in 1979-80

On Monday afternoon the Commission will hear evidence from the Rapporteurs

# Prisons Act curb on media defended

By Iain MacDonald

The South African Press was not prevented from reporting on prison affairs by Article 44(f) of the Prisons Act, a senior spokesman for the Department of Prisons told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media yesterday.

Giving evidence before the commission, Colonel S P Malan, chief liaison officer for the department, said it was "not an unreasonable restriction to say that the media can publish anything as long as it is the truth."

"False information about the experiences of a prisoner, which is freely published and against which a member of the prison services is not protected, can reduce his, and the prison service's, credibility and seriously impair effective functioning.

"Negative publicity and falsehoods about a prisoner and his conduct inside the prison can have a negative influence on him.

"The Press must come upon the truth in a responsible manner. The onus for verification of the truth rests with the media," Colonel Malan said.

"The prisons service appreciates the media's role of serving as watchdog over the community's interests and will give full co-operation towards end objectives and correct reporting on prison affairs."

Colonel Malan said that "in summing up, the way in which Article 44(f) of the Prisons Act is administered offers no restriction to factual, correct reporting by the news media in connection with prison affairs and leaves ample space for the initiation of reporting by the media."

PAS. (12gr/day) 16.8c.

Z (2gm/day) 13.44c.

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P.7. "For the first time the Department is now in possession of reliable expenditure figures in connection with specific services ...."

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"The number of beds has gradually been decreased over the past few years and now stands at 12057."

(See also annexure 12, P.66.)

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sity

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(8) I.U.A

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# English Press should toe the line — Cillie

By Caroline Braun

The English language Press was dangerously negative in its criticism of the Government, said Professor Piet Cillie, head of the Department of Journalism at the University of Stellenbosch

Addressing the Steyn Commission of Enquiry into the Mass Media yesterday (Wednesday), Professor Cillie said the Opposition Press should not write inflammatory statements which endan-

gered the safety of the State.

"We are living in dangerous times, and the English-language Press should have a greater sense of responsibility towards the well-being of the State and its citizens," he said

"The Press has a function to be critical of authority, but this criticism should be positive and constructive. The English Press should stop harping on negative aspects and rather give recognition and support to the Government for the

changes and reforms it is implementing"

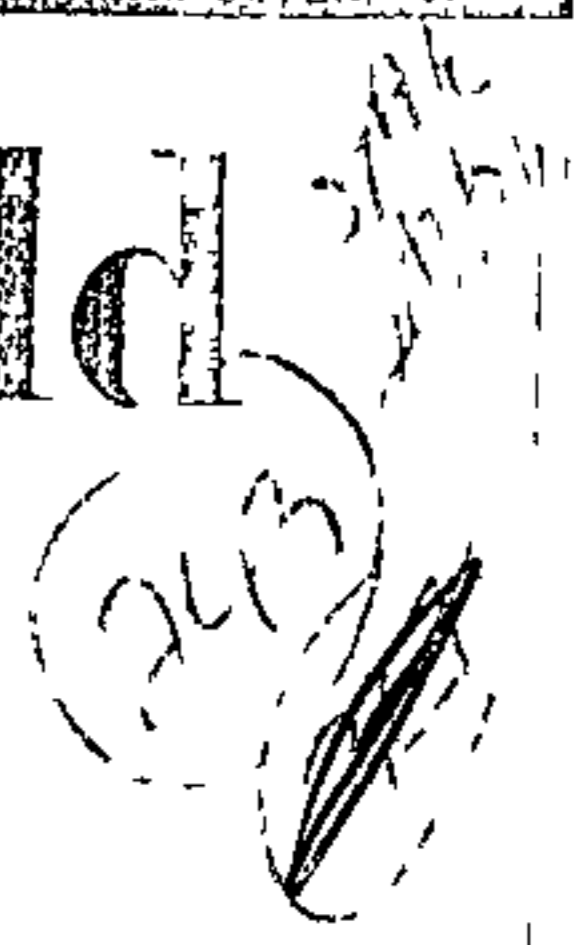
Professor Cillie, chairman of Nasionale Pers and former editor of Die Burger, said unless the English Press changed its ways, there was a danger the Government would clamp down on the whole Press. Afrikaans included

"The Afrikaans press would then suffer although it would be totally innocent

"The English Press should toe the line because there is no way you can win against the Government. If there is a confrontation between the

Press and the Government, the English Press must not expect the Afrikaans Press to support it. We cannot support anything that endangers the safety of the State"

Professor Cillie said the idea of forming a central controlling body for journalists, was worth investigating, but because the English and Afrikaans Press had totally divergent views on what they considered "good" and "bad" journalism, there would be difficulty in drawing up a code of conduct



S. Times 22/3/81  
**Former Rhodesian MP sues papers**

243  
Sunday Times Reporter Associated Newspapers for defamation.

A FORMER Rhodesian MP, Mr R G S Simmonds, is suing the Editor of the Sunday Times, Mr Tertius Myburgh; the editor of the Sunday Express, Mr Rex Gibson; and South African

Mr Simmonds is claiming damages of R30 000 after front-page reports in both papers alleging that he had been involved in a multi-million-rand currency scandal.

The reports, published on July 16 1978, claimed that the scandal involved Rhodesian defence funds.

Mr Simmonds, of Good Hope Farm, Mount Hampden, Salisbury, claimed in court that he had suffered damages from publication of the reports.

The case is being contested on the grounds that Mr Simmonds never acquired a reputation in South Africa, either as a businessman or in any other way, and that there was no intention to defame him.

In evidence before Mr Justice O'Donovan in the Rand Supreme Court, Mr Simmonds's attorney, Mr R H Wood, denied his client had been involved in the "defence fund scandal".

Mr Wood claimed that a certifi-

cate issued by the joint Ministers of Justice in the interim Zimbabwean Government prohibited disclosure of anything relating to another case involving Mr Simmonds and two other men in Rhodesia before the stories were printed.

His application that the information was privileged was turned down, and Mr Wood told the court how Mr Simmonds and two co-directors of his company, a Mr Ford and a Mr Wood, had been arrested at the end of June 1978.

They were charged with contravening Section 6 of the Rhodesian Exchange Control Regulations.

Their company, Rhotair (Private), was involved in sanctions-busting operations overseas. It received commissions on spare parts for aircraft taken into Zimbabwe.

Instead of repatriating the commissions to Rhodesia as laid down by law, they had banked the money in separate Swiss accounts.

to direct projects to benefit the very poorest people, it will often find that the entrenched

the local level government those

and which work.

Thus, even considering the restrictions on how far projects can develop (vide Part I), involvement in them in the present situation is worthwhile at least as a learning process for all concerned.

One must not, however, make the mistake of believing that one can judge the potential of what will happen in a future society by what is happening in projects at the moment. There are so many restrictions imposed on projects that one cannot know how they would have developed had these not been there.

ose the workings of the present system and to look for places in the existing social order in the reserves where there seems to be potential for change.

(b) To try to discover through experience and assessment, types of projects which foster equitable development

# Many people lie to papers, says reporter

322  
248

2 T9K 23/3/78

**By John Murray**  
**Chief Court Reporter**  
Many people lie when approached by newspapers for information, a Sunday Times reporter said at the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.  
Mr Eugene Hugo, head of investigations at the newspaper, had been explaining why he relied only on first-hand information during a currency

scandal which shook Rhodesia in 1978.  
He was appearing in a R30 000 defamation action before Mr Justice O'Donovan.  
His newspaper and the Sunday Express were alleged to have independently written articles incorrectly implicating former Rhodesia Front MP, Mr Rodney Simmonds in a multimillion Rand Defence

Fund fraud.  
The court heard at the time the articles appeared on July 16, 1978, there were two separate police investigations in Rhodesia, one into fraudulent currency contraventions and another not involving fraud.  
Mr Hugo said he had ignored reports in The Star and Rand Daily Mail on July 13 and 14, 1978 to

this effect, preferring to go on information he had gained from his own contacts.  
"Many sources lie," he told the judge, "and these articles could have been incorrect. Connie Mulder lied that there had been no Government money in financing The Citizen, and that was in Parliament."  
He said his Salisbury contacts, whom he refused to name, indicated only one investigation into allegations of Defence Fund fraud.  
Mr R D Levin, appearing for SAAN, owners of the two Sunday papers, told the judge reference to documents on Mr Simmonds trial was "vital".  
The judge ruled that Mr Levin should be allowed to see the documents.

(Proceeding)

S. Express  
 22/3/81 (243) (262)  
**Saan sued for  
 defamation**

By MEG BRITS

FORMER Rhodesian MP, Mr R G S Simmonds, is suing the Editor of the Sunday Express, Mr Rex Gibson, the Editor of the Sunday Times, Mr Tertius Myburgh, and South African Associated Newspapers, for defamation

The case arises out of reports which appeared on the front pages of both newspapers on July 16, 1978, in which it was alleged that Mr Simmonds had been involved in a multi-million rand currency scandal involving Rhodesian defence funds

In documents before the court, it was stated that Mr Simmonds, a businessman of Good Hope Farm, Mount Hampden, Salisbury, was injured in his good name and reputation and sustained R30 000 damages as a result of the reports

The case is being contested on the grounds that Mr Simmonds never acquired a reputation in South Africa, either as a businessman or in any other way, and that there was no intention to defame

Mr R H Wood, Mr Simmond's Zimbabwe attorney, gave evidence before Mr Justice B O'Donovan this week

In answer to a question from Mr R D Levin, for the defendants, he said Mr Simmonds had not been involved in a "Defence Fund scandal"

Mr Wood claimed information about the difficulties in which Mr Simmonds and two other men had found themselves with the Rhodesian authorities, prior to the appearance of the newspaper reports, was privileged. He said a certificate issued by the joint Ministers of Justice in the interim Zimbabwe Government had prohibited the disclosure of anything relating to the case.

But Mr Justice O'Donovan refused the application

Mr Wood told the court how Mr Simmonds and the two co-directors of his company, a Mr Ford and a Mr Wood, had been arrested at the end of June, 1978. They were charged with contravening Section 6 of the Rhodesian exchange control regulations, and their initial appearance, on July 13, 1978, was reportedly held in camera

Their company, Rhotair (Pri-

vate) Ltd, was involved in sanctions-busting operations overseas. It received commissions on spare parts for aeroplanes brought into Zimbabwe

These commissions were not brought back to Rhodesia, as was required under the regulations, but were paid by the directors into separate Swiss bank accounts

Mr Simmonds had failed to repatriate R\$17 000, he said, and was fined \$(Rhod)35 000 for contravening exchange control regulations

Mr Wood said the trial had been held on July 19 or 20 of 1978, and told the court Mr Eugene Hugo, then of the Sunday Times, had telephoned him prior to that. He was aware, he said, that a Mr Brand and a Mr Pitard had been arrested "at or about the same time" as Mr Simmonds and his co-directors

He said when Mr Hugo asked him whether he was acting for Mr Brand or Mr Pitard, he had said, "no". When Mr Hugo had asked him if he was acting for Mr Simmonds, he said, he had replied "I can't tell you who I'm acting for"

He said he had endeavoured to make it clear to Mr Hugo that his clients were not involved in the scandal surrounding the arrest of Mr Brand or Mr Pitard for alleged embezzlement of funds

Mr Wood claimed Mr Simmonds had suffered damages as a result of the South African newspaper reports because his name had been linked with that of Mr Brand, Mr Pitard and a Mr Muller, who were accused of "embezzlement, fraud or theft", while Mr Simmonds had merely been charged under a currency regulation

In a report in the Rhodesia Herald prior to the trial of Mr Simmonds and his co-directors, a Cabinet Minister, Mr R Cronje, was quoted as admitting in Parliament that "several people, including a member of an opposition party, were involved in a massive currency swindle case involving defence funds"

Mr Simmonds was an MP for the Rhodesia Action Party, then in opposition to Prime Minister Mr Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front

The case continues on Monday

all the families earning R100 at Abalimi have a man involved in the garden  
 Lack of marketing is also obviously significant in limiting production.  
 As Gill Westcott (14) points out for staple crops (e.g. mealies) while  
 women may decide that it is not worthwhile to farm a product on a large  
 scale (i.e. in terms of results not covering inputs) they will generally  
 try to produce enough to be fairly secure in terms of amounts for home

1.1 The gardens are often started and supported by Zenzele clubs and one  
 must remember that usually all the teachers, nurses and women from better  
 off families in an area will be members and thus will join the communal  
 garden project. These women join as a matter of course as the project  
 is "for the sake of development". As I discuss later it is more likely  
 that educated people with more contact with government depts. and projects  
 elsewhere will recognise the possible benefits of a new project and

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 not joined. Here  
 although the

is essentially one of a few supplementary sources of income.

4.3.4 WHO RESPONDS TO GARDENS IN TERMS OF WEALTH AND NEED

In considering the question of which groups in society respond to the garden projects I will now focus on the local village level, that is, for particular gardens. One must consider here which groups respond first and then which groups respond most i.e. make the most use of the gardens.

... /

members produce a lot at the moment.

1.2 Amongst the poorest people in an area it is generally those who have  
 been moved from white farms who respond first (They are usually very poor  
 and always landless as they are not old village families). Local people  
 attribute this (as do the removed people themselves) to the fact that they  
 learnt the techniques and value of vegetable growing on the farms and so  
 are more keen that the local village dweller.

1.3 Another reason why richer people often respond first so that the  
 advertising of projects is done through their circles and does not reach

... /

243-5181 243/81

# Commission told Govt must build trust with Press

The Government has far more chance of closing the credibility gap between itself and the public by building up trust with the Press rather than blaming the media for its own mistakes, an assistant to the Editor of The Star, Mr

James Clarke, told the Steyn Commission yesterday

An expert on environmental issues, Mr Clarke said that the South African public "has only one effective defence against bureaucratic unfairness and inefficiency, and that is the newspapers"

South Africans should "face the truth more courageously than they do"

"A prerequisite is not for the Government to control the Press, nor to have any hand in it, but for the Press, the Government and the public to understand and trust each other"

"In my particular field of journalism — environmental planning — I can tell you this is just beginning to happen."

"A most dangerous situation has crept up on the world today, and that is the information overload"

"Again, a freely ranging and independent Press is possibly the only agency that exists for sifting international, national and local events dispassionately," he said

"I have found that many politicians would like to get closer to the public and they have suddenly discovered the media an ideal bridge"

He also told the Commission that the growing number of educated black people in South Africa who were "orderly though angry, relatively patient though frustrated, and hopeful though restricted" were so because the Press gave them an outlet

He opposed a statutory register of journalists as "a wild overreaction to the criticism the Government has been receiving lately"

"I believe the Press in South Africa is as good as the best in the world and that it is held a responsible Press in the eyes of the unbiased," he said

## 'Legislate code of conduct for media'

A code of conduct for the mass media should be drawn up by Parliament, the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Media has been told.

Giving evidence before the commission yesterday, the executive committee of the Federation of Reporters Associations said the present system whereby the Press controlled itself with its Press Code was unsatisfactory

"The Press often acts in its own interests, disregarding the autonomy of areas such as the church, education and the family. The Press is not reliable or credible at all times," stated a memorandum

submitted by the executive committee

"The broadcasting media, on the other hand, which are controlled externally by regulations in the Broadcasting Act, strive for truth and credibility and respect the autonomy of the church and education"

The committee said a code of conduct for all the media legislated by Parliament would enhance the professional standards of journalism

The committee felt that the Government withheld too much information from the public because of this rumours abounded, and this led to a loss of credibility of the media. The Government had a duty to provide facts, and it should strive to be more open with the media

The committee said it was unfortunate South Africans who did not have the vote chose to read English-language newspapers which tended to give an unbalanced view



RDM 24/3/81 (243)

# Action against papers held up

Court Reporter

THE case in which a former Rhodesian MP, Mr Rodney Guy Swayne Simmonds, is suing the editor of the Sunday Times and Sunday Express, and SA Associated Newspapers, for R30 000 damages based on newspaper articles which appeared on July 16, 1978, has been adjourned to today.

Mr Justice Melamet indicated yesterday he required a previous witness, Mr R Wood, to be recalled before the case proceeded.

Most of yesterday's proceedings concerned privileged documents handed in to court

Mr Simmonds' claim followed an article under the headline "Arms Scandal — inside story", in the Sunday Times and another headed

"Secret trial — three men named", in the Sunday Express

It is alleged in papers before the court that the articles were understood by readers to mean that Mr Simmonds had been involved in a Rhodesian Defence Fund fraud scandal connected with misappropriation of Rhodesian Government funds

These funds were earmarked for the procurement of sanctions-busting arms and equipment to fight the guerrilla forces of Mr Robert Mugabe and Mr Joshua Nkomo, the court was told

Mr Simmonds claimed that as a result of the articles he had been injured in his good name and had sustained damages

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The divergence in average area can be partly explained

as follows:

Note: For the purposes of both the census and this survey, a holding or farm is defined as one or more separate farms or portions of land, whether contiguous or not, situated in the same magisterial district and operated as a single unit.

SOURCE: Report on agricultural and pastoral production, Agricultural Census No. 46, 1972-73, Report No. 06-01-10.

District	No. of holdings	Total area (hectares)	Average area of holdings (hectares)
Beaufort West	274	1 583 371	5 779
Fraserburg	214	1 191 088	5 566
Middelburg	204	565 736	2 773
Graaff-Reinet	199	744 799	3 743
Total	891	4 084 994	4 585

District, Number of holdings, total and average area of holdings:

TABLE 1

RDM 24/3/81  
Talks on news vendors' wages

By STEVEN FRIEDMAN  
Labour Reporter

NEGOTIATIONS on wage increases for newspaper distribution workers at Allied Publishing, which distributes most English-language newspapers, resume today

Wage talks between the company and the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union began last Friday.

The parties are renegotiating the wage agreement concluded last year, in which news vendors were awarded a 50% increase. Allied also agreed at last year's talks to recognise the union.

The union claims majority membership at the company.

On Friday, management presented its own wage proposals to the union and these were

discussed at a meeting of shop stewards yesterday.

Union officials will respond to the proposals at a negotiating meeting today.

Despite last year's large increase, the union argues that wages are still not "satisfactory" and that workers need a substantial agreement again

this year.

Union sources have claimed widespread worker demands for a large increase this year.

Allied was hit by a distribution workers' strike last year which affected the distribution of newspapers owned by SA Associated Newspapers and the Argus Company for several

days.

The strike was sparked by a worker demand that an Allied area manager be replaced

ROM 25/3/87 (243)

# Times man lauds SA Press

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The South African Press — both English and Afrikaans language — were “steering South Africa through a minefield, probably more complex than anywhere else in the world”

So said one of the top newspaper men in Britain, Sir Denis Hamilton, in Cape Town yesterday

Sir Denis, a member of the British Press Council, said any move to put journalists on a central register would be “totally inappropriate” as there was always the chance that such registration would be used for political manipulation

He was replying to a question about proposals that have been presented before the Steyn

Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media that a register of journalists be instituted in South Africa

Sir Denis is chairman of Times Newspapers Holdings Limited, operating company behind the famous Times and Sunday Times. He is also the chairman of the international news agency, Reuters

He is in South Africa as a guest of Stellenbosch Farmers' Winery to be the main speaker at a dinner in Durban at which the annual SFW awards for enterprising journalism will be presented to the winners

Sir Denis said he did not share the fears that had been expressed that the sale of The Times newspapers to magnate Mr Robert Murdoch and the

appointment of Mr Harold Evans, former editor of the Sunday Times, would lead to a lowering of standards on The Times

“The Times is still the best known newspaper in the world. It is the only true paper of record in the UK and possibly also in Europe, and it is a prime source of material for everybody,” he said

“But it would be ridiculous to regard it as an institution, which becomes ossified,” he said

“Any newspaper must adjust to changing circumstances and tastes, and although Harold Evans, for whom I have great admiration as a newspaperman, will probably introduce

some changes to make the paper a little easier to read, the essential features of The Times will not change”

Sir Denis said The Times was read by people who were involved in decision-making, and if the newspaper were to lower its standards, this would be self-destructive, as the people who formed the hard core of its readership would stop taking the paper

The Times, he added, had begun a two-year conversion to the electronic editing system which with offset litho printing would improve the appearance of the newspaper in the way that these techniques had improved the South African Associated Newspaper group

# More pay for news vendors

CT 25/3/81

243 ~~143~~ ~~175~~

## Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — News vendors and other employees of Allied Publishing are to receive wage increases ranging from 17.5 percent to 33 percent in terms of new wage scales negotiated between the company and the black Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (CCAWUSA) yesterday.

The increases will affect more than 1 600 workers.

Allied distributes all major English-language newspapers including newspapers published by SA Associated Newspapers (Saan).

New weekly allowances have also been introduced and all existing allowances increased. Hours of work have been reduced from 48 to 46 hours in some cases and 46 to 44 hours in others.

## Notices

Although the parties agreed on wage increases, no agreement was signed as they continue to differ about proposed revisions to their recognition and procedure agreement.

Negotiations on these issues will be continued on Friday. However, this will not affect the wage increases and notices informing workers of pay hikes are to be sent out soon.

Union spokesman said yesterday that employees who had joined Allied before the beginning of the year would receive minimum increases of 19.5 percent. In addition, some employees would receive Sunday allowances adding an average of 10 percent to pay packets.

Those who received no Sunday allowances would get a minimum pay increase of 20 percent.

## Lowest category

Workers in the lowest category who joined before the beginning of the year would receive a 33 percent increase and the minimum increase in wages for workers joining since then would be 17.5 percent plus allowances.

A union spokesman said the lowest wage now paid by Allied would be R42,50 a week, as compared to R22 a week in January last year before the union started negotiating on behalf of workers.

The new wage scales are to remain in force for a year.

Mr R J Mitchell, Allied's managing director, said yesterday the negotiations had been "very amicable" and added "We believe we now have sound new wage scales."

# Media executive praises SA press

CT 25/3/81 243

Chief Reporter

ONE of Britain's foremost news-media executives, Sir Denis Hamilton, said in Cape Town yesterday he had the greatest admiration for the way South African newspapers, Afrikaans as well as English-language, were "steering a course through a minefield, in a situation probably more complex than anywhere else in the world".

In an interview Sir Denis, who is a member of the British Press Council, said any move to put journalists on a central register would be "totally inappropriate" as there was always the chance that such registration would be used for political manipulation.

He was replying to a question about proposals that have been made before the Sneyd Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media that a formal register of journalists be instituted in South Africa.

Sir Denis is chairman of Times Newspapers Holdings Limited, the operating company of which, Times Newspapers Limited, is now headed by the controversial Australian press magnate, Mr Rupert Murdoch, who recently bought the Times and the Sunday Times.

Sir Denis is also chairman of Reuters, the international news agency.

He is here with his wife as the guest of Stellenbosch Farmers' Winery to be the main speaker at a dinner in Durban at which

the annual SFW awards for enterprising journalism will be presented to the winners.

Sir Denis said he did not share the fears that had been expressed in Britain and elsewhere that the sale of the Times newspapers to Mr Murdoch and the appointment of Mr Harold Evans, former editor of the Sunday Times, would lead to a lowering of standards on the Times.

"The Times is still the best-known newspaper in the world. It is the only true paper of record in the UK and possibly also in Europe, and it is a prime source of material for everybody. But it would be ridiculous to regard it as an institution, which becomes ossified."

"Any newspaper has to adjust to changing circumstances and tastes, and although Harold Evans, for whom I have the greatest admiration as a newspaperman, will probably introduce some changes to make the paper a little easier to read the essential features of the Times will not change."

Mr Murdoch, said Sir Denis, also had the services of Mr Gerald Long, chief executive of Reuters for the past 19 years and "a man of very high quality indeed."

Sir Denis said the Times was read by people who were involved in decision-making, and if the newspaper were to lower its standards this would be self-destructive as the people who formed the hard core of its readership would stop taking the paper.

Mr Evans was a highly experienced and acutely sensitive newspaperman.

Times Newspapers Holdings, of which he was chairman, was virtually a watchdog body, made up of directors with a great deal of experience in newspaper management. One of the holding company's primary functions was to ensure the independence of the editors of Times Newspapers and to see that the undertakings given by Mr Murdoch were honoured.

Sir Denis said he had, after the recent take-over of the Times, been under "immense pressure from all sides, including from Mr Murdoch himself", to remain as chairman of the holding company and to give a hand in the change-over period.

The Times, he added, had last week begun a two-year conversion to the electronic editing system which, with offset litho printing, would improve the appearance of the newspaper in the way that these techniques had improved South African newspapers, including the Cape Times, that had made the switch.

Sir Denis said he was convinced the British "quality" newspapers would continue to hold their own against the competition of television and radio. Fleet Street, he added, was unique in that there was no place on earth where so many newspapers — nine dailies and seven Sunday newspapers — had survived the onslaught from other media.

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(8)



Leading British media executive, Sir Denis Hamilton, is in South Africa to present journalism awards

(7)

# Media have vital role to play in education—Mundell

2/13/81  
5/1/81

By Carolyn Dempster

If any pressure was brought to bear on Press reporting of educational matters, it would affect the values and fabric of the community, Mr Peter Mundell, president of the Transvaal Teachers' Association told the Steyn Commission of Enquiry into the Mass Media yesterday.

In a submission to the commission by the TTA, Mr Mundell said the media had played a vital role in conveying problems within the teaching profession to the public and authorities.

Often associations had to gauge parent or public reaction through media reports "Unless the media is allowed to present opi-

nions or debate it cannot extract a reaction which will elicit participation by the community," said Mr Mundell.

Newspapers had also made a major contribution in newspaper lessons and tuition. The range of expertise was impressive and fulfilled a real need.

Newspapers should be allowed to exercise a

degree of professional freedom — not hampered by the constraints of an educational philosophy or authority "We look at these 'focus' articles as one of the most important reference works in a library"

Flaws which "muddled" the relationship between the Press and education included a high turnover of Press staff reporting on sensitive education issues and inexperienced reporters who tended to colour their stories

Mr Mundell castigated bureaucratic "muddles" as perpetrated by education departments who were unwilling to take the Press into their confidence.

## DANGEROUS

Mr Mundell emphasized that if the country did not have Press liaison it was going to create a dangerous situation.

Mr Mundell made a number of recommendations. These included:

⊙ That Government refrain from any attempt to restrain the freedom of the

⊙ The educational value of critical and democratic debate in the media be understood and accepted by the Government

⊙ The solution of the present dilemma be found (not in censorship) but in a move towards better communication between State authorities and the Press.

attempt to survey the entire scope of ... in South Africa in 1976. This raised ... areas, e.g. geriatrics, social ... difficult to differentiate psychiatric from ... ndly, the statistics available were ... cularly since they bore little information ... on the demands for them. It is earnestly ... authorities will endeavour to collect

more meaningful statistics and to make them more readily available as a basis for public debate.

A solution was sought by carrying out a retrospective survey of facilities from 1916 to 1976. It was decided to narrow the field down only to those provided by the appropriate state department. The institutions studied can be divided into two groups, i.e. Group I, or "Government" institutions, e.g. state mental hospitals, provincial and "homeland" hospitals and licensed institutions, and Group II, or "non-Government" institutions. Only Group I institutions are dealt with in this paper. All these institutions are listed in appendices I and II respectively. The terminology "Government" and "non-Government" institutions is purely arbitrary. The organisation and development of traditional and private facilities was not dealt with, except where it bore directly on state services, e.g. certain licensed institutions

This course did have the affect of providing a perspective on what was known of the 1976 situation. It had further effects. Firstly, it focussed attention on the process of development of these facilities. In doing so it identified two striking trends.

- (1) The racial inequality affecting the distribution of resources and facilities present in the field of psychiatry no less than in any other aspect of social life in South Africa
- (2) The tendency towards overcrowding in state institutions.

Secondly, it focussed upon factors spurring and hindering this process of development.

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RDM 05/3/81  
243 3143

# Secret trials do not lead to truth, journalist tells court

## Court Reporter

A SENIOR Rand Daily Mail journalist told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday that "secret trials do not lead to the truth of anything"

Mr Eugene Hugo was giving evidence before Mr Justice O'Donovan in the action in which a former Rhodesian MP, Mr Rodney Guy Swayne Simmonds, of Salisbury, is claiming R30 000 damages from the editors of the Sunday Times and the Sunday Express, and South African Associated Newspapers

It results from a report written by Mr Hugo which appeared in the Sunday Times on July 16, 1978, headed "Arms Scandal — inside story", and one by Mr Derek Taylor in the Sunday Express headed "Secret Trial — three men named"

Mr Hugo was employed by the Sunday Times at the time

Mr Simmonds claimed that the articles had been understood by readers to mean that he had been concerned in a multi-million rand defence fund fraud scandal involving the misappropriation of Rhodesian Government funds. These funds, the court was told, had been earmarked for the procurement for Rhodesia of sanctions-busting arms and equipment to fight the guerrilla forces of Robert Mugabe and Mr Joshua Nkomo

Mr Simmonds claimed that as a result of the reports he had been injured in his good name and reputation and had sustained R30 000 damages

Mr Hugo told the court he had put a series of questions to an attorney, Mr R H Wood, before he wrote his report, but Mr Wood "spoke in riddles"

"I think he tried to convey something to me, but was unsuccessful. It was difficult to decide whether or not one should believe him"

He had discussed with Mr Wood the nature of allegations made against Mr Simmonds and others, as he understood them. He had understood the allegations to concern defence money and defence equipment, and money, which to some extent, was being put into Swiss bank accounts

When he asked Mr Wood about the secrecy provisions in the trials, Mr Wood said he was quite happy with the situation — and gave the same answer when asked if the secrecy was in his client's interest

Mr Hugo said he had been aware of newspaper reports concerning the statements by the then Rhodesian Prime Minister and other Ministers, and had unsuccessfully tried to get information from them. The Rhodesian Prime Minister and the Attorney-General had linked six men in this connection at all times, he said

If Mr Wood had said his clients were not involved in fraud, embezzlement or theft, he would have reported that accurately, said Mr Hugo

In using the words "multi-million defence fraud scandal", he was referring to the fraudulent use of defence force money "Salisbury was abuzz with this at the time — hence the word scandal"

He returned to Johannesburg from Rhodesia on the day before the report appeared. His recollection was that the first editions of the Sunday Times did not use the names of the men allegedly involved, but the later editions did

This was because he had been pressed for time to make the first edition deadlines and had to take legal advice beforehand, said Mr Hugo. The Sunday Express came out with the names, and it was decided to use them in the later editions of the Sunday Times

He and Mr Taylor had had no contact at all in producing the reports, he said. "Though the Sunday Times and Sunday Express are owned by the same company, they are in competition. They are two totally separate newspapers"

It would appear that as a result of totally separate investigations, they came up with "pretty much the same story", said Mr Hugo

He had understood that there

was a continuing investigation into the affair. The Rhodesian investigation officer came to Johannesburg to see the Commercial Branch at John Vorster Square in this connection, he said

Cross-examined, Mr Hugo said he, as a senior journalist, was used to "picking up nuances", but even so, Mr Wood did not get it through to him that there was a separation of trials

His recollection was that when he asked Mr Wood if he was defending two of the other men, Mr Wood said he was not. When he asked if he was defending Mr Simmonds, Mr Wood said he was not going to tell him

"There is no reason to believe the word of any attorney off-hand," said Mr Hugo. "To this day I don't know what the truth of the matter is. Secret trials do not lead to the truth of anything"

It was quite possible that the Rhodesian authorities and Mr Simmonds had had a deal in which the truth was concealed, he said. A series of secret trials leads to a concealment of the truth

Every newspaper correspondent in Salisbury had had the full story, but they were not able to file the one which appeared in the two South African newspapers, Mr Hugo said

The hearing continues today

# Newspaper vendors to get wage rise

RDM 25/3/81  
243  
148

By RIAAN DE VILLIERS  
Labour Correspondent

NEWSPAPER vendors and other employees of Allied Publishing are to receive wage increases ranging from 17,5% to 33% in terms of new wage scales negotiated between the company and the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (CCAWUSA) yesterday

The increases, which will affect more than 1 600 workers, will come into effect in the week ending March 18

Allied distributes all major English-language newspapers

New weekly allowances have also been introduced and all existing allowances increased. Hours of work in some cases have been reduced from 48 to 46, and in others from 46 to 44 hours

Although the parties agreed on pay rises, no agreement was signed as they still differ about proposed revisions to their recognition and procedure agreement

Negotiations on these issues will be continued on Friday

However, this will not affect

the wage increases

Union spokesmen said staff who'd started with Allied before the beginning of the year would receive minimum increases of 19,5%. In addition, some employees would receive Sunday allowances, adding an average of 10% to pay packets

Those who did not receive Sunday allowances would get a minimum pay increase of 20%

Workers in the lowest category, who joined before the beginning of the year, would receive a 33% increase, and the minimum increase in wages for workers joining since then would be 17,5%, plus allowances

A union spokesman said the lowest weekly wage now paid by Allied would be R42,50, compared to R22 a week in January last year before the union started negotiating

The new wage scales are to remain in force for a year

Mr R J Mitchell, Allied's managing director, said that the negotiations had been "very amicable"

"We believe we now have

sound new wage scales"

In another development, Mrs Emma Mashinini, the general secretary of the union, rejected comments by Mr Clive Kinsley, managing director of SAAN, published as a reply to a letter from the union in the Rand Daily Mail yesterday

In the letter, Mrs Mashinini sharply criticised advertisements in SAAN papers for children to deliver newspapers. She claimed the move was aimed at depriving union members of jobs and replacing them with "cheaper child labour"

Mr Kinsley disputed this and said these developments would not lead to a single Allied employee losing his job.

Mrs Mashinini said yesterday "I cannot accept this explanation. While Allied staff may not be retrenched, the use of children to deliver papers must inevitably keep vendors out of jobs"

She also sharply criticised recent moves by SAAN and Argus newspapers to organise other methods of distribution in case of industrial unrest





25/3/81 Emma Mashinini  
SALWELAN

# Stop paying men starvation wages - unionist

143  
243  
143

A TRADE union leader has attacked the South African Associated Newspaper (SAAN) group for paying "starvation wages" and putting men out of work.

Mrs Emma Mashinini, General Secretary of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union which represents many newspaper delivery men, said the SAAN group was depriving union members of their jobs.

In a letter yesterday to the editor of the Rand Daily Mail, Mrs Mashinini said SAAN would prefer not to employ delivery men "if it means paying them anything more than the starvation wages they used to receive."

"SAAN is attempting to deprive adult men of work and to replace them with cheaper child labour," Mrs Mashinini said.

She was referring to newspaper advertisements which offered delivery jobs to white youths in Johannesburg suburbs.

## REDUCE HOURS

In reply, the managing director of SAAN, Mr Clive Kinsley, said the new delivery campaign had not deprived any workers of any jobs and that the employment of youths to deliver newspapers in their own neighbourhoods was a practice used throughout the world.

The employment of suburban youths in fact would lead to the reduction in the number of working hours for employees each week which was a major area for concern, Mr Kinsley said.

Wage talks between the Commercial and Catering

In wage talks last year, the newspaper delivery men received increases of more than 50 percent. Last year also saw a brief strike by Allied workers in November.

# Mwasa rejects Steyn inquiry

243  
25/3/51

By CHARLES MOGALE  
THE Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) has received a formal invitation to give evidence before the Steyn Commission into the mass media.

The invitation, which was in the form of a letter received by the organisation last week, was turned down.

A Mwasa spokesman said it was obvious that no member would give evidence before a commission which continued sitting while union members were being banned and black papers forced to close down.

The invitation to Mwasa comes just months after its national president, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, and executive members Mr Joe Thlooe, Mr Phil Mtimkulu, Mr Marimuthu Soobrimoney and Mr Mathatha Tsedu were banned.

The Government also threatened to ban Post and Sunday Post newspapers should they resume publication. The threats forced the papers to close down

# Judge dismiss journalist's appeal

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Appeal Court today dismissed an appeal by Jonathan (John) Matisonn, former Political Correspondent of the Sunday Express and now SA Morning Group representative in Washington, against a sentence of 14 days jail.

Mr Matisonn was sentenced on March 9 1979 by a Cape Town magistrate for refusing to divulge the identity of the go-between who had put him in contact with the person who gave him his information for an article in the Sunday Express of December 3 1978.

The article was headlined "Rightwing churchman operates unauthorised bank account in US".

The magistrate found that Mr Matisonn had been properly brought before the court in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act, that the question put to him was fair, relevant and material, and that his failure to reply was not on

account of any just excuse.

On February 21 last year the Cape Supreme Court confirmed the sentence.

It found that the appeal on the merits could not succeed and there were no grounds to interfere with the sentence.

In the Appeal Court, counsel for Mr Matisonn relied on two contentions.

● The refusal by the magistrate at the inquiry to deal with the question of the validity of the subpoena and to hear evidence in regard to the assertion that there were reasonable grounds for believing that there had been an abuse of the process provided for by Section 205.

● The right of a prosecutor to specify at the inquiry from the bar offences not set out or alluded to in the subpoena and thereby to require the witness to answer questions regarding such other offences — Sapa

This table, including 31 farms, shows that nearly half of them cover less than 6 000 hectares, and 17 employ 6 men or fewer.

$$n = 31$$

$$\bar{x} = 9\ 550 \text{ hectares}$$

$$\bar{y} = 7,06 \text{ men}$$

$$r_{xy} = 0,85$$

20/3/51  
S111  
20/3  
Matisonn  
to return  
to serve  
sentence

Mr John Matisonn, Washington correspondent for South African Associated Newspapers is expected to return to South Africa soon to serve a 14-day jail sentence

This follows the dismissal today of his appeal against conviction for failing to answer a question before a magistrate

After hearing of the Appeal Court's decision in Bloemfontein, Mr Matisonn said from his Washington home today that he would consult with his lawyers to establish the legal requirements

"Then I'll obviously have to arrange my trip home to serve the sentence," he said

Mr Matisonn was employed by the Sunday Express when he was subpoenaed to answer questions about a report he wrote in December 1978

The report dealt with an unauthorised bank account operated by the chairman of the controversial Christian League of Southern Africa, the Rev Fred Shaw, in the United States.

The league was later identified by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, as a recipient of secret info funds

● Page 3 — Judges dismiss journalist's appeal.

CT 27/3/81

# Expert disputes Steyn Commission evidence

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — One of South Africa's leading authorities on press law, Mr Kelsey Stuart, has disputed claims by the Prisons Service that the Prisons Act does not prevent reporting on conditions in South African prisons

In evidence to the Steyn Commission in Johannesburg last week, the chief information officer of the Prisons Service, Colonel S P Malan, said section 44(1)(f) of the Prisons Act placed no restriction on factually correct reporting and left "sufficient space" for the media to initiate reports on prisons

The statement by Colonel Malan that as long as the Pris-

ons Service's side of a story was given a report could be published was, in Mr Stuart's opinion, an incorrect view of the law

"If a newspaper publishes information which turns out to be false, it will be prosecuted whether or not it gave the version of the Prisons Department, and the onus will be on the newspaper to prove that it took reasonable steps to verify the information which it published," he said yesterday

The submission by Colonel Malan that 44(1)(f) placed no restriction on the publication of information concerning the behaviour or experience in prison of prisoners was naive. The sec-

tion was so wide that no further limitations were necessary, Mr Stuart said

It was incorrect that the Prisons Service had no objection to objective and balanced reporting about prisons

"The act prescribes that only what is known to be true, or what is believed to be true after taking reasonable steps to verify, may be published. Objectivity and balance do not find any place in section 44(1)(f) of the Prisons Act," he said

With little doubt the Prisons Service did not like "negative publicity" and was unlikely to confirm information which showed up its officials in a bad light

Govt 'determined to control Press'

By Caroline Braun
The Black Sash yesterday expressed fears that the Government would use the findings of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media to curb Press freedom.

Giving evidence before the commission, Mrs Joyce Harris, Black Sash national president, said the Government had proved its contempt for the commission by banning the Post and Weekend Post newspapers while the commission was sitting.

"The Government appears determined to exercise increasing control over the Press. A recommendation has been made to the commission for a register of journalists. We are totally opposed to this as it would provide the Government with the weapon it needs to control the Press," Mrs Harris said.

Such a register would potentially mean a total

denial of the rights of non-journalists and lay organisations to express their views through the Press. This would be a gross infringement of democratic right to freedom of speech"

The commission has adjourned until April 8.

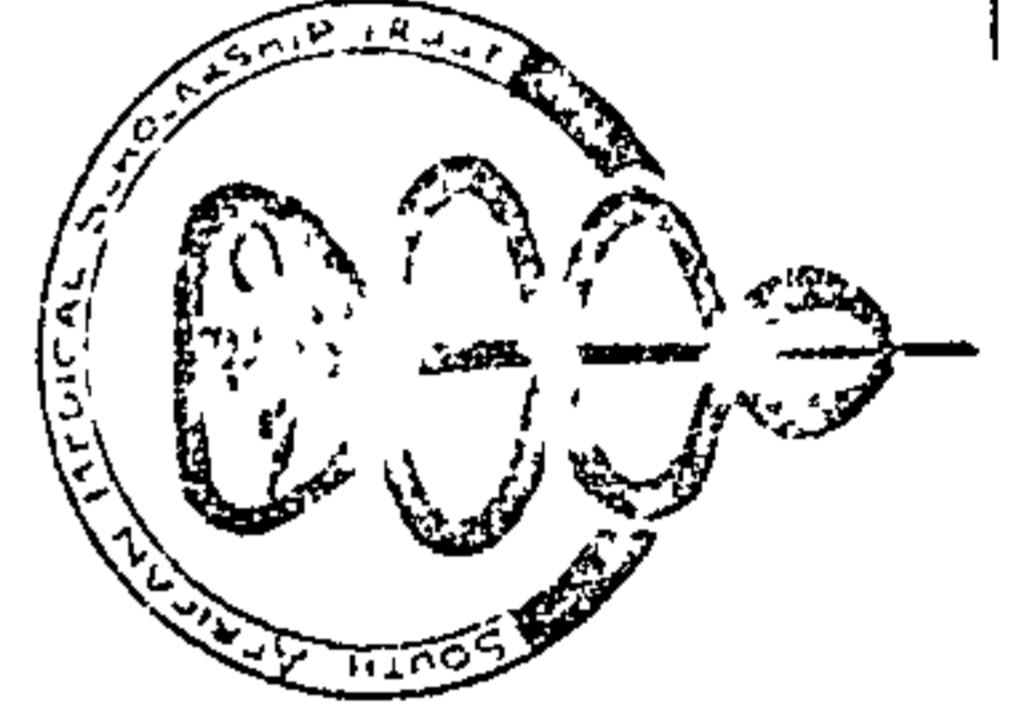
For the next two weeks, under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Steyn, it will process all the evidence submitted so far.

When the public hearings start again, the commission will hear evidence from Mr Tertius Myburgh, editor of the Sunday Times; Mr James McClurg, ombudsman for the Rand Daily Mail, Professors J D van der Vyver and J Dugard, of the faculty of law at the University of the Witwatersrand, and Professor Dirk Kunert, head of the department of internal relations at the University of the Witwatersrand

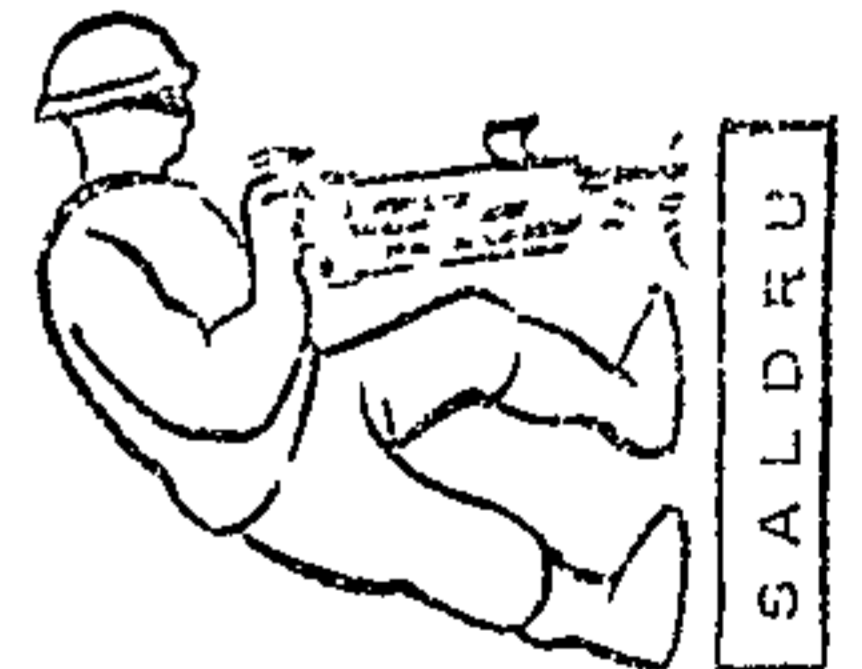
NOTES ON HEALTH AND

BY

ALAN L.



PAPER NO. 73



collection for public sector decision making, is difficult as the impacts of many decisions are extremely widespread. Consequently the resultant costs and benefits may be very difficult even to identify, let alone evaluate, with any degree of accuracy. Public decision making in the field of health care is no exception, indeed the nature of the demand for health and medical services itself provides special problems for decision makers.

Difficulties in Determining the Level of Demand for Health Care.

It was said earlier that one of the major weaknesses of the market mechanism as a signalling device was that it does not issue signals that are concerned with the supply of goods that are not readily available. This shortcoming also applies to a less political signalling devices, as it is very difficult to articulate their feelings for anything that they have experienced. This difficulty is particularly pertinent in the field of the supply of health care and is of great significance in developing countries and where the level of past experience of the benefits of programmes is likely to be very small.

It is argued that the demand for health services flows from sources

*"First there is the sum of all individual demands for personal current treatment at current prices and future availability of treatment at expected prices or current future prices. Second there is the sum of all individuals demands for current treatment and the future availability of treatment for other people". (10) p. 42.*

Of the types of demand referred to above, the first, the demand by individuals for 'personal current treatment' is the easiest to obtain through existing institutions such as the market or the ballot box, however, even in this instance there are problems that arise and that

(10) A.J. Culyer 'Comment on Problems of Efficiency' in M.H. Hauser (Ed.), The Economics of Medical Care, University of York, Studies in George Allen and Unwin, 1972.

are peculiar to the supply of medical care. Arrow has pointed out that the demand for medical care exhibits a number of special characteristics: (11)

1. It originates in an irregular and largely unpredictable manner and signals a departure from 'the norm' of the individual making the demand (i.e. he is usually sick rather than well, which is taken to be the norm).
2. A high risk element is involved, this element includes the risk of death, the risk of permanent full or partial incapacity and the risk of loss of income.

3. It includes a substantial degree of uncertainty as to the outcome from using the product being demanded because, in most instances, the patient lacks means of the requisite of that nature.

RDM 27/3/87  
**Reporter**  
**to return**  
**for jail**  
**sentence**

**Staff Reporter**

JOHN Matisonn, former political correspondent of the Sunday Express and now the representative in Washington of the SA Morning Group of newspapers, will return home to serve a 14-day jail sentence

The Appeal Court yesterday dismissed his appeal against the sentence — imposed in 1979 because he refused to give the source of information for a report he wrote

The report, which appeared in the Sunday Express, alleged that the Rev Fred Shaw, of the Christian League, operated an unauthorised banking account in the United States, and linked the league to the Info scandal. Speaking from Washington, Matisonn said that as far as he knew, he had a fortnight to present himself for jailing

"Obviously I will return, as soon as I have spoken to my lawyers and the editor of the Sunday Express, Mr Rex Gibson, who has supported me strongly throughout," he said

The general manager of South African Associated Newspapers, Mr Raymond Louw, said arrangements had already been made for Matisonn to return if his appeal failed

"We deplore the circumstances under which he has to serve his sentence, because he was under a moral obligation not disclose the identity of his informant," said Mr Louw

See Page 2

these estimations the impact of the demand for future care or the effects of an individual's demand for medical care for people other than himself.

In addition, the information relating to the properties of particular treatments flowing from the suppliers, especially doctors, and pharmaceutical manufacturers, to the individuals, who must express the demand in either money or political terms, is frequently far from ideal. Poor information may lead to the demand for excess care such as is the case when the services of a specialist gynaecologist are demanded when those of a

(11) Kenneth J. Arrow, 'Uncertainty and the Welfare Economics of Medical Care', American Economic Review, Vol. 53, 1963, pp 941-973.

(12) How do you obtain a price for uncertainty?

RDM 27/3/81

(22) (243)

# Journalist loses his appeal against 14-day jail sentence

**BLOEMFONTEIN** — An appeal by journalist Jonathan (John) Matisonn against a sentence of 14 days' jail was dismissed by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein yesterday

Matisonn, formerly the political correspondent for the Sunday Express, is now the representative in Washington of the South African Morning Group of newspapers

He was sentenced in March 1979 by a Cape Town magistrate for refusing to divulge the identity of the go-between who put him in contact with the person who gave him information for a report in the Sunday Express on December 3, 1978

The report was headed "Rightwing churchman operates unauthorised bank account in US".

The Cape Supreme Court confirmed the sentence

The magistrate had found that Matisonn had been properly brought before the court in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act, that the question put to him was fair, relevant and material, and that his failure to reply was not on account of any just excuse

In the Appeal Court, counsel for Matisonn relied on two contentions: the refusal by the

magistrate to deal with the question of the validity of the subpoena and to hear evidence in regard to the assertion that there were reasonable grounds for believing that there had been an abuse of the process provided for by Section 205, the right of a prosecutor to specify offences not set out or alluded to in the subpoena, and thereby requiring the witness to answer questions about the offences

Mr Justice Van Heerden (Acting Judge of Appeal), with the Chief Justice, Mr Justice Rumpff, and Mr Justice Jansen concurring, said it was clear that a magistrate was not enjoined to inquire whether, as a fact the prospective witness was a person likely to give the information in question

At most, he would consider material put before him by the prosecutor (or the police), and he need not hear the person to whom the request related

Mr Justice Van Heerden said that in the present case, Matisonn proposed to lead evidence as to the motive which led to the request for the subpoena

The evidence consequently did not relate to one of the objective requirements (that it was a magistrate who authorised the subpoena; that the request must emanate from a prosecutor, that the magistrate

must consider the request, and that the magistrate must form an independent judgment. Nor was it suggested that the magistrate did not exercise a proper judgment

The basis of the envisaged attack on the subpoena was that its issue was an abuse of the process provided for by Section 205. Matisonn's contention therefore implied that the subpoena was voidable and not void on the said ground

Mr Justice Van Heerden said that on the assumption that a subpoena issued in terms of the Section may be set aside if the issue constituted an abuse of process, he could find nothing in Act 51 of 1977, or in any other Act, which empowered a magistrate to make such an order

When counsel who appeared for Matisonn at the inquiry applied for leave to adduce evidence, he stated that Matisonn had reason to believe that the inquiry was intended simply as part of an information gathering process unrelated to any offence, and added "I cannot put it higher than that, but it seems to be a fair possibility"

It followed that counsel was applying to lead evidence for the purpose of showing as a mere possibility, and no more,

that the issue of the subpoena amounted to an abuse of process

If the inquiry magistrate had the power, as contended by Matisonn, the application was consequently rightly refused

Little needed to be said about the second contention when the point was taken that the prosecutor had to specify an offence for the purpose of the application of Section 203

He specified criminal defamation, and the offence of tampering with mail. In so doing, he tendered Matisonn an indemnity in the sense in which the phrase was explained in an earlier case of the State v Waite (1978), and adopted in the case of the State v Kleinschmidt (1980)

It was apparent that Mr Matisonn could not have been prejudiced by such a tender and that, on the contrary, it could only have inured to his benefit

Secondly, none of the questions actually put to him was unrelated to the offence set out in the subpoena, that is, criminal defamation.

The fact that the answers might also have had a bearing on the alleged offence of tampering with mail was completely irrelevant — Sapa



**Sash: Ban on Post severs access to black thinking**

By CHRIS FREIMOND

THE effective banning by the Government of Post and Sunday Post had cut off the public's access to black thinking and was detrimental to South Africa, the national president of the Black Sash, Mrs Joyce Harris, said yesterday

Giving evidence in Johannesburg to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the mass media, Mrs Harris said she greatly missed the two newspapers, on which she had relied for a "picture of black thinking" that was not available anywhere else.

The Sowetan, which had replaced Post, was "beginning to find its feet" and expand its political comment, although it did not fill the gap left by its predecessor, she said

The Government's action against the two newspapers had provided a "patent example" of its contempt for the

commission

Government thinking had apparently become so attuned to the catchword concepts of "total strategy" and "total onslaught" that they were now being used as a yardstick to judge all political action and comment no matter how legitimate

"This same yardstick is presently being applied by the Government to the Press with potentially disastrous results," Mrs Harris said

The Black Sash was concerned at the Government's apparent determination to increase its control of the Press and its possible use of the findings of the commission to justify doing so

While the Sash would be "exceedingly unhappy" to have contributed to the credibility of such action by giving evidence before the commission, it considered it essential to express its total opposition to Govern-

ment control of the Press

The duty of a free Press was to "attack, criticise and interpret" A democracy had the right to expect that a Government should be good, using its media to criticise and exhort and put right what was considered wrong", she said

"A Press which is to be permitted to be free only for as long as it does not embarrass the Government simply becomes another propaganda arm for the Government It ceases to be free and the Government is presented with yet another medium for brainwashing the public into accepting its 'total strategy' totally," Mrs Harris said

Almost without exception, evidence from Government representatives had affirmed a commitment to "Press freedom" on condition that it did not reflect attitudes antagonistic to the Government and its "total strategy", which were

then interpreted as being part of the "total onslaught"

The Sash rejected suggestions of a register of journalists, which would be used by the Government as a weapon to control the Press

A Government-controlled register would also be a potential denial of the rights of non-journalists to express through the Press their views or facts they might have established, she said

Mrs Jill Wentzel, national vice-president of the Black Sash, gave the commission a summary of her analysis of reporting by English-language newspapers over the past few years on Government "reforms" in certain areas of race relations

The analysis was first presented to the Black Sash national conference in Grahamstown earlier this month

It was highly critical of the English-language Press, which it claimed "bent over backwards" to give the Government the benefit of the doubt and to praise the authorities for "reforms" which often turned out to be far less of a concession than at first reported.

The commission adjourned yesterday until April 8

41.

Summary Tables

Table 9: Proportion of cases in which a subsequent choice of treatment source was made

Area (in order of remoteness)	Proportion of cases
Tiersdorp location (1 km from doctor)	16%
Addo and Kirkwood (0 - 9 km from facility)	22%
Tiersdorp rural (3 - 30 km)	41%
Bersheba and Enon (12 - 32 km)	45%

Table 10: Patients' report of Treatment Outcome

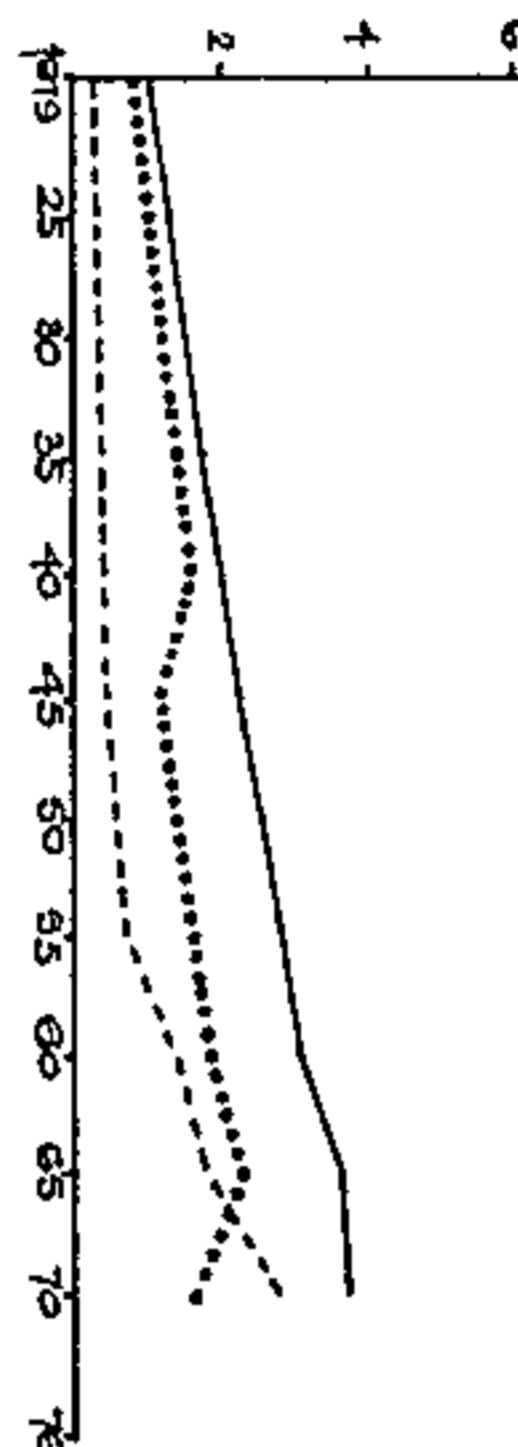
Relief was:	Permanent	Temporary	None
Tiersdorp	27%	47%	27%
Valley	42%	34%	24%

\* All treatments given are included.

black than white nurses This is in spite of the absolute, though not relative, dominance of black inpatients

GRAPH 21

NURSING STAFF AT STATE MENTAL HOSPITALS  
1919 - 1976  
TOTAL  
BLACK  
WHITE



For many years, the mental health services were beleaguered by a deficiency of trained personnel, particularly nursing staff. The problem was eventually met by training and employing more black sisters, and by employing large numbers of assistant nurses to perform basic custodial duties The exact extent of this latter phenomenon was not ascertained

# Sash fears curbs on press freedom

JOHANNESBURG — The Black Sash yesterday expressed fears that the government would use the findings of the Steyn Commission of inquiry into the mass media to curb press freedom

Mrs Joyce Harris, Black Sash national president, in evidence to the commission yesterday said the government had proved its contempt for the commission by banning the Post and Weekend Post newspapers while the commission was sitting

"The government appears determined to exercise increasing control over the press. A recommendation has been made to the commission for a register of journalists. We are totally opposed to this proposition as it would provide the government with the weapon it needs to control the press," Mrs Harris said

"This register would potentially mean a total denial of the rights of non-journalists and lay organisations to give expression through the press to our views this would be a gross infringement of our democratic right to freedom of speech

"A press which is permitted to be free as long as it does not embarrass the government simply becomes another propaganda arm for the government," she said.

Meanwhile Col S P Malan, information officer of the Prisons Department said yesterday the prisons service did not object to balanced reporting on prisons even if this meant negative publicity.

He was reacting to a report in which one of South Africa's leading press law authorities, Mr Kelsey Stuart, disputed claims by the prisons service that the Prisons Act does not prevent reporting on prison conditions

Col Malan said Mr Stuart was "technically correct" when he said that "if a newspaper publishes information which turns out to be false, it will be prosecuted whether or not it gave the Prisons Department's version, and the onus will be on the newspaper to prove that it took reasonable steps to verify the information which it published"

However the crux of the matter was that Section 44

the extent to which racial prejudice permeates the services is reflected in the attitude of a past-superintendent of Komani In the early 1970s he was faced with an acute staffing shortage He requested permission from the department of Health to replace the leaving white with black staff He assured the Department that he would only take this step as a last resort.

The Department, and particularly the private companies, have subsequently discovered that black nursing staff is indispensable to the adequate delivery of mental health care.

## Finances

It was not possible to distinguish between black and white expenses at state mental hospitals. The only parameter for exploring the racial bias in financial resource allocation was the government grants to the private companies who operate licensed institutions The government paid the white patient per three to four times in these licensed higher quality of and a lower staff panies reproduce safe to assume, on private institutio black and white plans

It was possible that prosecutions could arise from the police or a relative of the prisoner, but if the prisons service felt the press had acted responsibly and had taken adequate steps to verify the information, the matter would not be taken further, he said DDC-SAPA.

average rate of R4,77 per tent per day Thus n whites as on blacks pancy was manifest in a reation for the whites, ent that the private com- mental hospitals, it is s observed at state and financial discrepancy between al hospitals.

5 052 beds are planned for completion by 1980. Thirty five per cent (1 780) are planned for whites, the remainder for

## of the beds.

It is interesting to note that of the 7 840 black beds only 2 200 are planned for the homelands. The remaining 5 640 (72%) are destined for the industrial areas of the country.

## Mental Retardation and the Racial Question

The state has never provided facilities specifically for black mentally retarded children or adults. Until 1962 all its efforts in that direction were aimed at whites. (16)

16. In 1976, 3 133 beds for 2 204 white retards were provided at state mental hospitals.

CT 28/3/81

252  
243

# Prisons Act doesn't hinder press — Malan

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The Prisons' Service had no objection to objective and balanced reporting on conditions in South African prisons, even if this meant negative publicity, Colonel S P Malan, chief information officer of the Prisons' Service, said yesterday

Colonel Malan was reacting to a report in which one of South Africa's leading press law authorities, Mr Kelsey Stuart, disputed claims by the Prisons' Service that the Prisons Act does not prevent reporting on prison conditions

The claims were made in evidence in Johannesburg last week before the Steyn Commission which is inquiring into the media

Colonel Malan said Mr Stuart was "technically correct" when he said that "if a newspaper publishes information which turns out to be false, it will be prosecuted whether or not it gave the Prisons' Department's version, and the onus will be on the newspaper to prove that it took reasonable steps to verify the information which it published"

However, the crux of the matter was that Section 44 1(f) was not enforced in this way by the Prisons' Service, Colonel Malan said.

He explained that almost all prosecutions under this section would stem from the Prisons'

Department, because they were responsible for the incarceration and treatment of a prisoner

It was possible that prosecutions could arise from outside, for example from the police or a relative of the prisoner, but if the Prisons' Service felt the press had acted responsibly, and had taken adequate steps to verify the information, the matter would not be taken further, he said

"As stated in evidence before the Steyn Commission, the Prisons' Service regards verification by the media with our 24-hour liaison service as having taken reasonable steps as stipulated by the act," Colonel Malan said

He added that it was pointed out that the Prisons' Service comment should be included in the report and given the same prominence as the rest of the report

The Prisons' Service was willing to embody this policy in a written agreement with the media and would happily discuss the whole issue with the Newspaper Press Union if the media still felt inhibited in their "free and factual reporting of the Prisons' Service," Colonel Malan said.

"The Prisons' Service reiterates that it has no objection whatsoever to objective and balanced reporting, even if this means negative publicity," he said

STATE NOT SURE IF PROBE IS CONTINUING

# Matison told: No need to rush back for jail term

FORMER Sunday Express political correspondent Mr John Matison, now the Rand Daily Mail's representative based in Washington, will not be required to return to South Africa immediately to serve a 14-day jail sentence.

Mr Matison, who this week lost a Supreme Court appeal against his sentence, said he was willing to present himself as soon as possible for jailing but a spokesman for the Cape Attorney-General's office said this would not be necessary.

"Until a decision has been taken on whether we will proceed with further investigations against Mr Matison, it will not be necessary for him to return to the Republic," deputy Attorney-General of the Cape, Mr D Rothwell, said on Friday.

The jail sentence, was imposed in 1979 after Mr Matison declined to name the source of his information for a report he wrote for the Sunday Express. The report stated that the

BY NEIL MACLUCAS

Reverend Fred Shaw of the Christian League operated an unauthorised bank account in the United States and linked the league to the Information Department.

The subpoena served on him — requiring him to appear in court to answer questions — stated that the police were investigating an alleged offence of 'defamation of character' against 'persons unknown'. Later, in court, the prosecutor said the suspected crime was tampering with the mail. There was no suggestion that Mr Matison had done the tampering.

This week the Sunday Express tried to find out whether either of these 'crimes' were still being investigated. It was unable to do so. Minister of Police Mr Louis le Grange said he had no knowledge of further investigations. "I personally have nothing on

my desk and I don't give instructions for these kind of investigations." The Minister of Justice, Mr H Coetsee, also said he had no

knowledge of any investigations. It was strictly a matter for the police, he said. General C F Zietsman, deputy

chief of the CID, said he had no knowledge of further investigations. "All I know is what I've read in the papers," he said.

WE ARE not surprised that the State seems undecided as to what to do about Mr Matison. It must know as well as we do that if this journalist goes to jail it will be simply because he once made the mistake of coming too close to exposing the Christian League as an info front.

It is as simple as that. In December, 1978 Mr Matison wrote an article revealing that the Rev Fred Shaw had an illegal bank account in the United States and hinting that the league had close links with the Information Department. We now know that to be true.

Mr Shaw complained personally to the then Minister of Police, Mr J T Kruger. It is not every Methodist minister who has such access. The next thing that happened was that someone, somewhere, trumped up a most extraordinary 'investigation' so the

police could see Mr Matison and demand the source of his information.

The suspected crime the first subpoena said they were investigating — 'defamation of character' against 'persons unknown' — was a patent nonsense. It wasn't until many months later that someone, somewhere officially thought of a better 'allegation' to investigate — that perhaps Mr Shaw's mail had been tampered with by unknown persons.

It remains our considered view that the police were prompted into action by someone in a high place to protect the Christian League from being exposed.

Well, the Christian League has been exposed. And a grubby little outfit it has turned out to be too. It would be a grubby government which would allow Mr Matison to go to jail for the sake of it.

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Free

page

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of

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Left because of redundancy (2)

was fired because of criminal conviction (dagga)

and left for unknown

8/10/7/8/1  
 Argus buys  
 243  
 interest in  
 electronic  
 information

The Argus Company has bought a 50 percent share in the INFO group of companies which provides a comprehensive information service from a computer-based data bank.

Mr Hal Miller, Argus managing director, said that Argus was pleased to be associated with INFO in providing an electronic information service in the major cities and towns.

Award  
 who has shown  
 at the end

The service would supplement and complement the information published daily in the company's newspapers and written and electronic material would be closely integrated to give comprehensive and up-to-date details about every aspect of South African life

best student in the  
 ding Construction.

INFO has been remarkably successful since it began operating in April, Mr Miller said. He was confident that the combined resources of the Argus Company and INFO would bring to both organisations even greater rewards in providing classified advertising opportunities to the public and a full directory of goods and services offered by industry and commerce.

udent in the  
 tion Prizes  
 ding Construction.

Mr Mel Cunningham, managing director of INFO, said, "The electronic era has arrived and we and the Argus Group are well placed to capitalise on the exciting developments which lie ahead in the computerised and electronic dissemination of information of all kinds into people's homes and businesses."

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 Building Economics I,  
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 sions  
 respectively.

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ITV D...

The Committee of the Western  
 Cape Chapter of Quantity  
 Surveyors' Prize  
 For the student obtaining  
 the highest marks in  
 Professional Practice.  
 P R Swift

Bell-John Prize  
 For the best all-round student  
 in any year of study.  
 P C Key

URBAN &  
 REGIONAL  
 PLANNING

QUANTITY  
 SURVEYING  
 (Continued)

# PRESS

1 April 1981 — 23 Dec. 1981

RDM 1/4/81

# Journalist's appeal upheld

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Appeal Court yesterday upheld the appeal of Mr Deon Jean du Plessis, formerly assistant editor of the Argus Africa Bureau and now assistant editor of the Sunday Tribune, against his sentence on two charges under the Official Secrets Act

The court set aside his sentence of 18 months imprisonment (of which 12 months was suspended for five years) and substituted a sentence of nine months' imprisonment, suspended for three years

The Appeal Court set aside Mr Du Plessis' conviction on two more counts, but upheld his conviction and sentence on a charge under the Defence Act

The charges referred to a quantity of secret documents handed to him by a cadet reporter, Mr Jimmy Beaumont, who had done his National Service in the Signals Corps

"Taking everything into account, I do not think that these

counts call for an effective jail sentence," said Mr Justice Corbett, with Mr Justice Trollip and Mr Justice van Heerden concurring

It was true that the offences committed by Mr Du Plessis, particularly that of retaining possession of the documents, were of an inherently serious nature, Mr Justice Corbett said

Secret State documents could not be allowed to be bandied about in this way

On the other hand, Mr Du Plessis' motive in receiving and retaining the documents was not a particularly evil one, nor was it one which involved the likelihood of the interests of the State being endangered, he said

Mr Justice Corbett ordered that no portion of the appeal record, or of the proceedings, should be published. However, the judgment on the appeal could be published, he said — Sapa

# 'Day of action' for SA journalists

SOWETO 2/4/81

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THE Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa) yesterday called on concerned South Africans to pledge support to the proposed International Federation of Journalists' (IFJ) "day of action" to spotlight the persecution of black journalists in this country.

The Cusa statement added that the intention is to focus on the plight of the seven journalists from the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) at present under house arrest after the Minister of Justice issued banning orders against them.

The journalists are Zwelakhe Sisulu, Joe Thloloe, Marimuthu Subramoney, Phil Mtinkulu, Mathata Tsedu, Juby Mayet and Mono Badela.

"On account of the intolerable persecution by the South African authorities against black journalists, particularly because of their trade union activity in Mwasa, the IFJ members are invited to give some thought to the opportuneness of launching an international campaign on this subject eventually in the

form of a "day of action" as provided in our working programme," the statement read

The IFJ working programme for 1980/1982, as adopted by their last congress calls for "an IFJ day of action each year in order to draw the attention of members of affiliated unions and the public to the plight of journalists, journalism and journalists' trade unions in a specific country

## BANNINGS

The statement also points out that at the latest set of bannings, Cusa lodged strong protests against "this harsh and unjust action."

Letters of protest requesting a meeting were written to both the Minister of Manpower Utilisation and the Minister of Justice. The Director-General of the Department of Manpower Utilisation said the matter "falls outside the ambit of this department" and referred Cusa to the Department of Justice

The Minister of Justice replied that he was "satisfied that Mr Sisulu was

engaged in activities which endangered or were calculated to endanger the maintenance of public order" The Minister also refused to meet a delegate to discuss the matter as "it will serve no useful purpose"

PERSONAL COPY (GENERAL PRACTICE)

DR BASIL JAFFE.

in Three Societies" John Fry refers to the

care

PROFESSIONAL NEEDS = NATIONAL RESOURCES

question general practice (family medicine)

It is important to know some basic concepts of general practice in order to appreciate its place in the medical care system and the educational needs of the future general practitioner. Thus this paper deals with

- 1 The basis of general practice
2. The place of general practice in the medical care system.
- 3 The implications for undergraduate and post-graduate training.

## THE BASIS OF GENERAL PRACTICE

It is necessary first to describe the work of a general practitioner following definition emanates from a committee set up by the second Conference on the Teaching of General Practice, 1974.

The general practitioner is a licensed medical graduate who gives, primary and continuing care to individuals, families and a population, irrespective of age, sex and illness. It is the sum of these functions which is unique. He will attend his patients consulting room and in the homes and sometimes in a clinic or at his home. His aim is to make early diagnosis. He will include and physical, psychological and social factors in his considerations although illness. This will be expressed in the care of his patients. He will make an initial decision about every problem which is presented to him as a doctor. He will undertake the continuing management of his patients with chronic, recurrent or terminal illness. Prolonged contact means that he can use repeated opportunities to gather information at a pace appropriate to each patient and build up a relationship of

the general practitioner in a changing society and to raise his standards of practice. There has been a widespread acceptance of general practice as an academic discipline with its own body of knowledge, ethics and field of action.

of his patients with chronic, recurrent or terminal illness. Prolonged contact means that he can use repeated opportunities to gather information at a pace appropriate to each patient and build up a relationship of



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# Info journalist may not serve his jail sentence

By CHRIS FREIMOND

NO DECISION has been taken on the fate of Mr John Matisonn, but there are indications that he will not go to jail

Mr Matisonn, a former political correspondent of the Sunday Express and now the South African Morning Newspaper Group's man in Washington, was sentenced to 14 days' jail in 1979 for refusing in court to reveal his source of information for a report on links between the Government and the Christian League

The report has since been proved correct

An appeal against sentence was turned down last month by the Appeal Court

A spokesman for the Attorney-General's office in Cape Town said yesterday that the appeal judgment had only just been received and had to be

studied before further action could be taken

However it is understood that section 189(3) of the Criminal Procedure Act may be used to 'pardon' Mr Matisonn

The section reads 'A court may at any time on good cause shown, remit any punishment or part thereof imposed by it under subsection (1)'

Although Mr Matisonn was sentenced under section 205 of the Act, provision is made for the application of section 189(3) to persons sentenced under section 205

The fact that of all those involved in secret Info projects, only one person — a journalist instrumental in exposing the scandal — has been sentenced to a jail term, has caused angry reaction

There have been calls by opposition leaders and at least

one Government-supporting newspaper to keep Mr Matisonn out of prison

When asked to comment this week on the fact that Mr Matisonn would have to serve a jail term even though the report he published had been proved correct, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Pik Botha, whose Department was involved in deals with the Christian League said

"To the extent that the connection between the Christian League and the Department of Information could have had a bearing on the case I revealed that connection to ensure that nothing detrimental would occur to Mr Matisonn on that account"

The Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee, was unavailable for comment

Number of farmers	Additional workers
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at current wages:

Distribution of farmers by estimates of additional workers available

TABLE 42.

It has often been said that farmers always complain of a labour shortage. The farmers interviewed in this survey are a notable exception:

of 31 farmers, 15 said outright either that there was no shortage at current wages or that they personally did not suffer from a shortage; one said simply that there were fewer people asking for work than there had been 10 years ago; 7 said there were plenty of surplus workers around but either they were not prepared to work or they were not 'suitable' (sober, reliable, responsible and hard-working); 4 were not prepared to commit themselves and only 4 said they noticed a shortage, of both skilled and general workers.

Asked how long it would take to double their labour forces (at current wage rates), 3 farmers said it would be impossible, 8 did not know and 19 gave replies ranging from a few days (to find 5 workers) to 3-4 months (to find 17 workers). However, several farmers added the rider that it would take considerably longer to find 'good' or 'trustworthy' workers. One farmer said it would take him 6 months to find any workers at all. When the question was asked in a slightly different form — 'How many additional workers could you find at current wages?' — the replies were:

Toxic Substance  
Type of Industry

No. of  
Factories,  
Works or  
Works  
Involved

No. of potentially  
exposed workers

Toxic Substance  
Type of Industry

No. of  
Factories,  
Works or  
Works  
Involved

No. of potentially  
exposed workers

Carbon Disulfide  
Metallurgical  
Ice cream  
Pottery  
Fertilizer

131  
35  
25  
22

27 214  
1 261  
27 002  
4 557

Chrom

Chrome mines  
Soap factories  
Factories using lead wastes

17  
59  
2 086

3 514  
6 094  
158 291

Vanadium

Ceramic  
Petroleum refineries  
Glass factories  
Vanadium smelter

2 162

168 291

Lead

Tanneries  
Rubber & rubber products  
Printing works  
Tyracelling  
Paint manufacturing  
Explosives & fireworks  
Metal manufacturing

845  
33  
406  
756  
7  
104  
5

66 398  
2 211  
24 842  
34 271  
288  
5 688  
4 577  
1 212

Mercury

Leather tanneries  
Paint factories  
Pottery

33  
101  
196  
22  
186  
70  
99

2 211  
5 688  
12 240  
4 557  
29 907  
13 390  
4 632

# New Bill gags the Press in Transkei

Own Correspondent

UMTATA — A Bill due for its third reading in the Transkei Parliament today will make it illegal for anyone to publish anything about any Government department or Government institution without the approval of the Minister concerned. The Bill was introduced by the Minister of Justice, Mr T T Letlaka, a former leading member of the Pan-Africanist Congress, under the title Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

Its third reading today is regarded as a formality and it will become law when it is signed by the President, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, and gazetted.

Anyone contravening the Bill can be sentenced to three years' imprisonment or fined R3 000.

In any prosecution, it will be presumed that the accused knew the information disclosed to him contravened the Bill unless the contrary is proved.

Anyone disclosing information about the Government may be compelled to disclose his source of information.

Mr Letlaka said the legislation was "designed to protect the State and its officials from irresponsible and illegal dissemination of information about official matters."

Battery  
Brickworks  
Explosives & fireworks  
Mach  
Glass factories  
Rubber  
Paint factories

5  
31  
301  
5  
6  
196  
406  
104

1 806  
5 677  
32 624  
4 577  
1 212  
12 240  
24 842  
5 688

Platinum  
Platinum refineries  
Glass factories  
Ceramics  
Chemical laboratories (unknown number)

1 011  
5  
196  
56

89 826  
1 461  
12 240  
6 471

Pesticides & Insecticides

Canning, storing, sorting, grading & packing of fruit & vegetables  
Handling of grain & manufacture of grain products  
Manufacture of sugar, cocoa & sweets  
Manufacture of wine, souirts, beer, fruit juice & cool drinks  
Manufacture of sunbry foodstuffs

107  
1 297  
93  
312  
165

30 503  
56 460  
26 081  
24 396  
9 395

1 974  
146 835

(Thus does not include farm workers, veterinarians, stock inspectors and factory workers.)  
(A further 2.5 m. agricultural workers can be added to the above total.)

myocardial infarction, patients treated at home did as well as those treated in hospital.

The more sensible and rational use of drugs has enormous cost containment potential. The drug industry in West Germany has been shaken up by the introduction of the Weisse Liste or White List at the beginning of 1977 which provides a comparison of drug prices so that German doctors can choose the cheapest products to prescribe for their patients. Drug efficacy can thereby be compromised in certain cases, therefore

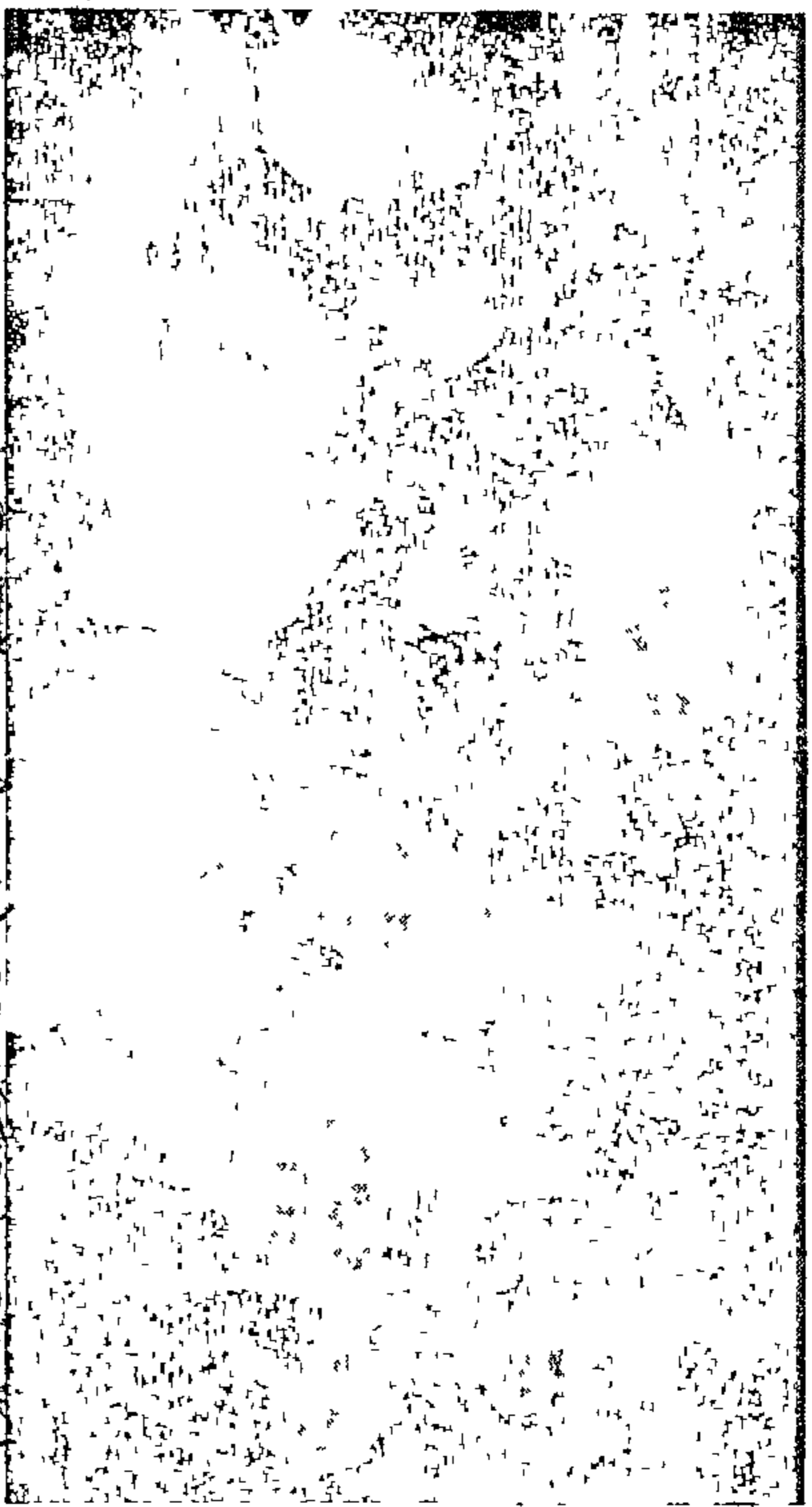
the cheapest products to prescribe for their patients. Drug efficacy can thereby be compromised in certain cases, therefore

Investigations by the SOWETAN indicate a massive boycott of Wrab bottle stores by residents. They are also bitter at the continued police raids at Shebeens and the threat to have patrons arrested as well.

Mr Michaels told the meeting yesterday: "We had amicable, fruitful discussions with Wrab. It has just proven that a good relationship could exist between Wrab and the shebeener."

But Mr Michaels said the boycott still goes on. He said: "Everything depends on the outcome of the Wrab discussions with the police. Should anything positive come out of this we call off the shebeener."

Lucky Michaels addressing shebeen owners at the Pelican yesterday.



ing of shebeens and step it up.

to sell Wrab-owned beer lounges to the STA.

He also said he had promised Wrab that shebeeners would in turn help minimise crime in and around shebeens "as police claim that shebeens are brewing crime."

Wrab will have another meeting with the STA to report on the discussions with the police.

Mr Michaels said: "Wrab promised to call us to a meeting and tell what the police had said."

A round in Soweto yesterday revealed that the boycott was in full might with cashiers in most bottle stores having their sales at nil.

Mr Michaels was careful about his comment on the boycott: "I think we are reaching beautiful negotiations," he said.

IN A BID to stop the boycott of West Rand Administration Board bottle stores by shebeen owners, Wrab was yesterday due to meet with police, it was announced at a shebeeners meeting.

The meeting with police became urgent after Wrab liquor officials had talks with the chairman of the Soweto Tavern Association, Mr Lucky Michaels.

Soweto shebeens are boycotting Wrab bottle stores because of a delay to have their operations legalised.

The shebeen boycott has been going on since Monday.

Investigations by the SOWETAN indicate a massive boycott of Wrab bottle stores by residents. They are also bitter at the continued police raids at Shebeens and the threat to have patrons arrested as well.

services are paid on a fee for service basis. Direct comparisons between the United States and the United Kingdom are shown that the amount of surgical services is proportional to the number of hospital beds. A study of 100 hospitals in the United States and the United Kingdom revealed that the number of surgical services is proportional to the number of hospital beds. A study of 100 hospitals in the United States and the United Kingdom revealed that the number of surgical services is proportional to the number of hospital beds. A study of 100 hospitals in the United States and the United Kingdom revealed that the number of surgical services is proportional to the number of hospital beds.

# Ad agencies claim R1,5-m from Perskor

S. Express 5/4/81

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## AND NATIONALE PERS MAY DEMAND ANOTHER R7-m

AT LEAST 50 advertising agencies representing more than 4 000 clients have lodged claims totalling about R1 500 000 against giant Afrikaans publishing house Perskor.

They are claiming compensation for losses incurred through last year's Perskor circulation scandal.

The company inflated the sales figures of three of its daily newspapers by more than 36 000 copies a day for six months. This amounted to five million 'extra' copies of the newspapers for the first half of 1980.

Compensation claims have been lodged by most of South Africa's foremost and reputable agencies and at least 90% of clients have opted for a cash settlement in preference to free advertising space.

This means that, in respect of claims submitted by agencies, Perskor will be compelled within the next few months to pay out at least R1 350 000 and lose at least another R150 000 in settlements involving advertising space.

However, the overall claim against the company is expected to exceed R2-million, and some sources say it could eventually be even much higher. It is understood that additional claims not submitted by advertising agencies, but lodged



By KITT KATZIN

industry say that Perskor, while undertaking to compensate advertisers to the extent of R2-million on the basis of reconstructed circulation figures, had hoped to do so largely by offering free advertising space.

But now, in the face of the majority of advertisers demanding cash settlements, Perskor may face difficulties in settling the claims, according to informed sources.

While the company is not faced with any immediate cash-flow problem — it declared a post-tax trading profit last year of R6-million — there is a second financial threat that may blow up later this year.

As a result of the circulation scandal, Perskor could face a claim of R6 850 000 from Nationale Pers, its arch-rival in the bitter Transvaal circulation war.

Nasionale Pers, based in the Cape, and which is close to the Prime Minister, is said to be seeking compensation for losses by its Transvaal daily, Beeld, as a result of the pitched battle over the past eight years with Die Transvaler for dominance in the Transvaal Afrikaans morning market.

The circulation battle between the two newspapers is conservatively estimated to have cost the two groups R10-million each. Nationale Pers pumped mul-

independently against Perskor by retailers, consumer organisations and chain-store groups, may also have to be settled.

In order to restore its name, Perskor undertook to pay more than three times the amount it originally proposed in compensation, in terms of an agreement it reached last October with the Association of Accredited Practitioners (AAPA), representing agencies, and the South African Society of Marketers (SASM), acting for clients.

It was agreed The Citizen, which was funded by the Government for two years at a cost of R32-million, would not be held liable for compensation as there was no evidence, according to Mr Hugh Lendrum, executive director of SASM, that advertisers had suffered large losses.

But in the case of Die Trans-

Ents had submitted claims.

One agency alone, based in Johannesburg, and said to control roughly 10% of the overall media advertising market, claimed R90 000 on behalf of 52 clients. At least 40 of the clients opted for settlement in cash, amounting to about R80 000.

Another Johannesburg agency has submitted claims for R50 000 — all of it for cash rather than space.

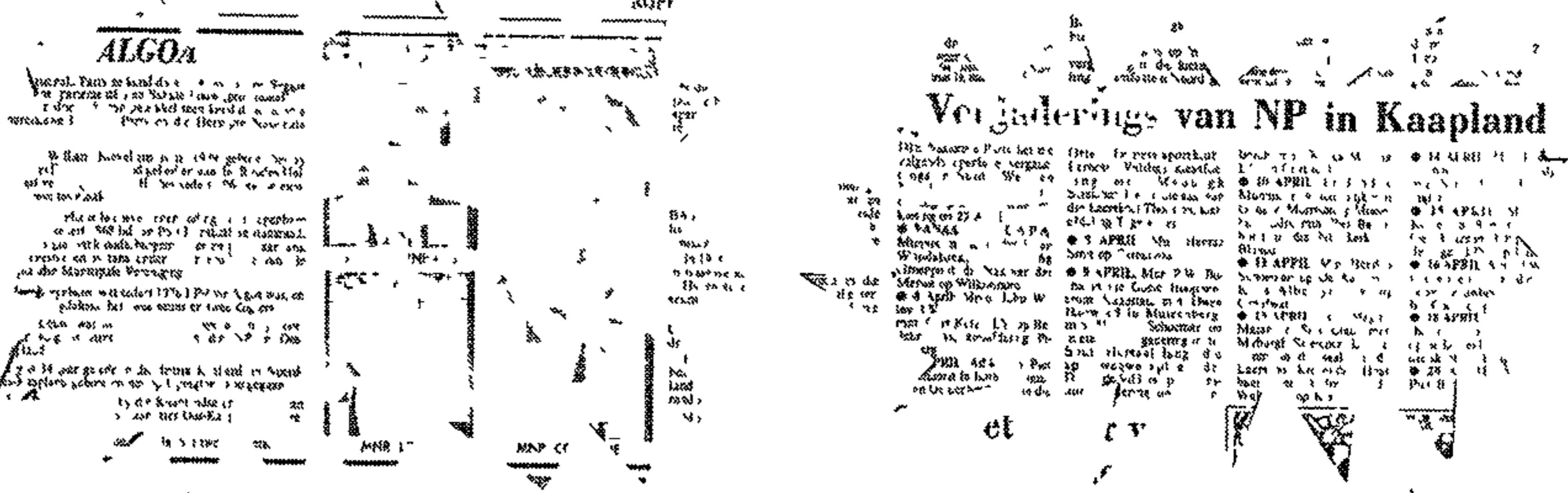
Several business houses acting independently of agencies, which withdrew their advertising from Perskor in the wake of the circulation scandal, have been lured back after being promised cash settlements. Most of those claims, I understand, are for relatively small sums in the publishing in-

emerged after the circulation scandal not as second runner to Die Transvaler, but as the leader.

Adding to Perskor's problems are the continuing financial losses of The Citizen and Die Transvaler, and the waning political influence of Die Transvaler and Die Vaderland.

In another development, the head of the commercial branch, Brig Theo Scherman, said yesterday that investigations were continuing into charges of fraud connected with the circulation scandal. He declined to comment further, but it is understood the matter concerns the payment of false cheques totalling at least R200 000.

Meanwhile Dr Wimpie de Klerk, the editor of Die Transvaler, resigned this week as co-managing director of Perskor



From the Burger last Friday

# S African newspapers reveal their origins

CT 6/4/81 (243)

By GERALD SHAW, Chief Assistant Editor of the Cape Times

MR HARRY SCHWARZ was greeted with a show of outraged virtue last week when he suggested that the Steyn commission of inquiry into the media might have a look at the election coverage in Afrikaans newspapers

The Burger, which usually manages an air of somewhat strained urbanity, became shrill and bombastic when the Cape Times endorsed Mr Schwarz's suggestion and observed mildly enough that the Afrikaans press did not set out to provide adequate election coverage for the general reader

In its agitated response this venerable and distinguished organ of Afrikaner nationalism did little to advance its standing

## No disgrace

Why the enraged reaction? There is no disgrace in the role of the avowedly partisan party newspaper. This may not be the highest form of journalism but it need not be a dishonourable pursuit — as long as its practitioners do not pretend to be other than what they are, advocates in a sectionalist party cause

Among reasonable men bombast is not an adequate substitute for reasoned discussion, supported by readily ascertainable facts. In the very issue of the Burger which reacted so violently to the gentle admonitions of the Cape Times the Burger itself provided ample confirmation of the facts in the indictment

It had been suggested that readers could not rely upon the Afrikaans press for an adequate picture of the views of the Leader of the Opposition, for example, or for an adequate account of the Opposition's critique of Nationalist policies

It was also asserted that the Afrikaans press is partisan in its provision of election information — in giving the details of forthcoming public meetings and basic information about the candidates in each constituency and the prospects in those constituencies

Friday's Burger, containing self-justificatory editorial comment which was positively comic in its indignation, also displayed the usual daily feature introducing the Nationalist candidates in various constituencies. Details of non-Nationalist candidates, their careers and qualifications, are not given

The other regular information feature on the page, giving information of public meetings,

alist meetings only. There is not even a pretence of providing the basic information an interested citizen would require if wanting to take an intelligent interest in a general election campaign

This basic information, including details of political meetings of all parties, is provided by the Cape Times and by most other English-language newspapers as a matter of routine

The case against the Afrikaans press rests on this basic difference in philosophy between the English and Afrikaans newspapers, the totally different approach to providing a basic election service

There is no need to go further and point to the imbalance discernible in varying degrees in the selection and display of political news. The Cape Times for one would happily submit its news columns to scientific analysis by qualified academics, confident that over a period of 12 months or so the standard of political news coverage was good and that it would be found that readers could form an adequate idea of Nationalist policies from our news columns

This is not to claim that no imbalance would be discernible and that election time partisanship would not show up to some extent. It would, no doubt, English-language newspapers do tend to reflect the preoccupations and attitudes of their own readers, who are usually English-speaking and are often not members of the so-called white race

At election time, no doubt, partisan considerations may well have some discernible effect upon the coverage and display of political news. Let us be honest about it. Newspapers which survive in business do tend to reflect the attitudes and interests of their own readers most of the time — in news columns as well as comment

But newspapers which believe they have more than a merely sectional or partisan responsibility, as the Cape Times has always believed, do try to observe certain basic standards, even if an unblemished record of achievement is not attained

Such newspapers do at least try to ensure that their readers are given the basic information they require to set about making up their own minds. The political utterances of the leader of the National Party, for example, who also happens to be the Prime Minister, will be reported as fully and as fairly as the speeches of the Leader of

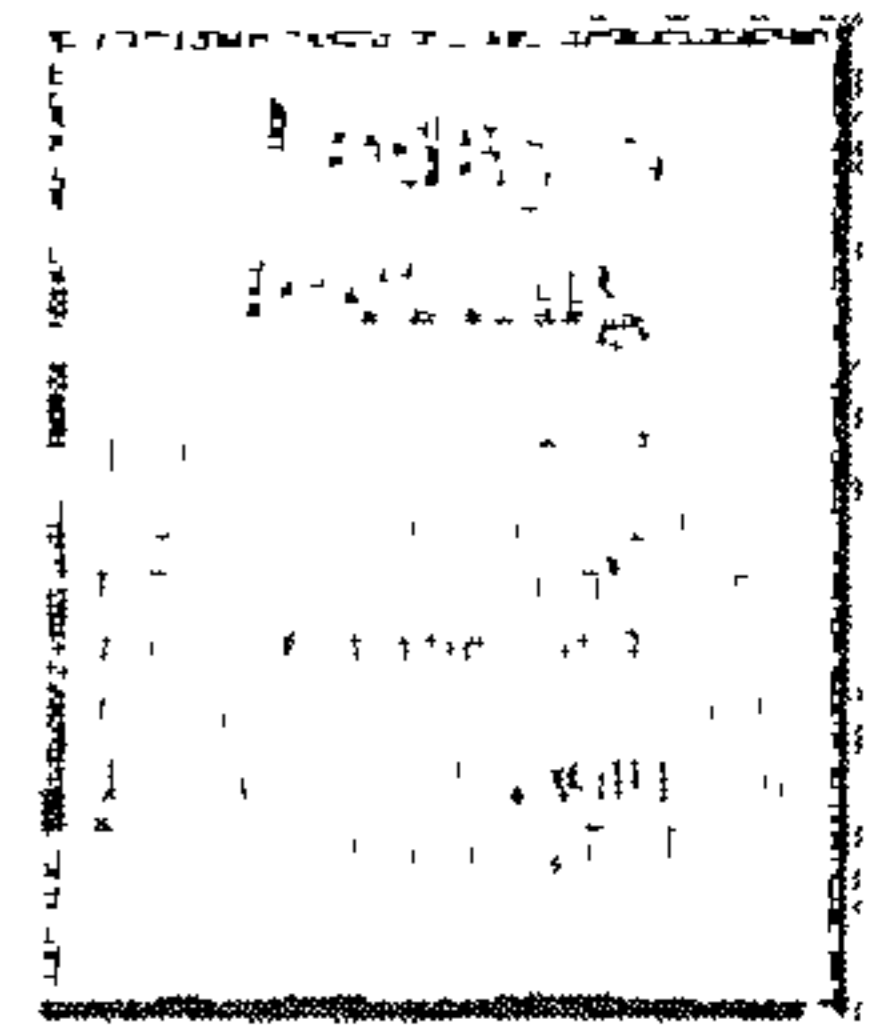
the endeavour. And it is taken seriously as a real public obligation

The reasons for the differences in approach between the English-language newspapers and the Afrikaans press are to be sought in South African history. The Afrikaans daily press came into being as the standard-bearer of Afrikaner nationalism. These newspapers were not founded as ordinary commercial enterprises, although they have since entered the marketplace and have begun earning profits for their shareholders. They were not founded to serve the broad South African community but rather as organs of a specific section of the community, with a shared language, historical experience and a common political goal. Their founding shareholders were not big capitalists but ordinary people, schoolteachers, professional men, and so on. They scraped their pennies and tickies together to buy shares

Right from the start, these were party newspapers and their relationship with the National Party was close and intimate. They were unashamed organs of propaganda and have continued as such. They have become better newspapers, as far as general news coverage is concerned (largely as a result of the efforts of fine journalists such as the late Schaik Pienaar) but their political news coverage remains partisan, and the service they provide exclusively Nationalist

Whereas the English-language newspapers carry a fair volume of straight reporting of National Party speech-making, without any ulterior motive, much reporting of the Opposition platform in the Afrikaans press concentrates on embarrassing gaffes or weak spots. Little sleep is lost in anxiety whether readers have been given an adequate opportunity to judge Opposition policies on their merits. These papers bear the marks of their historical origins

So too do their English-language contemporaries. The origins of the English-language newspapers are rather mixed. Some were Imperial family enterprises in the old Cape Colony or Natal — such as the Cape Times (the St Leger family), the Eastern Province Herald (the Waltons) or the Mercury, Natal (the Robinsons). Their basic ideology was (and remains, to an extent) the British free enterprise liberalism of the 19th century. (This ideology is now



From the Cape Times last Friday

some Nationalist circles! There was a healthy respect for the profit motive but also a genuine commitment to giving the news and the broad public interest

The most influential newspaper tradition, upheld as an ideal by a generation or two of English-language newspapermen, was probably the C P Scott school of thought, associated with the Manchester Guardian ("Comment is free, facts are sacred")

## In conflict

This tradition was often in conflict with the Rhodes semi-monopoly ownership which developed in the Argus company before the Boer War. The imperialist-capitalist magnates of the period sought to operate newspapers for frankly political purposes. This set up conflicts with the older strand of the journalistic tradition

Today the English-language newspapers retain their traditional links with mining capital, but they have improved immensely as newspapers and the old C P Scott tradition is triumphant as the acknowledged ideal. No doubt the political objective remains important to proprietors. It certainly influences their choice of editors. But the profit motive looms larger today and newspapers, willy-nilly, find themselves in an intensely competitive struggle to survive

If the great shortcoming of the Afrikaans press is its adherence to sectional Afrikaner interests rather than the national interest, the major shortcoming of the English-language press, in all probability, is its tendency to sensationalize and trivialize in the interests of easy readability, circulation and profits

The whole question of the media is a vast subject. It is a matter of some importance at election time. Now that SABC TV is mobilized day in and day out as a Nationalist propaganda medium, the English-language newspapers have a weightier responsibility than ever to provide an old-fashioned service of honest news and outspoken comment

As Scott of the Manchester Guardian once noted, it is not often given to man to achieve perfection — in bringing out newspapers or in anything else. We do our best, ask pardon for shortcomings and try to do

# Coetsee ROM 7/4/81 told to stop <sup>243</sup> hiding <sup>XXX</sup>

## Political Reporter

THE Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, correct should "stop hiding behind his desk" and clear the confusion surrounding the jail sentence imposed on Mr John Matisonn, head of the Rand Daily Mail's Washington Bureau

This was said last night by the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on justice, Mr Dave Dalling, who urged Mr Coetsee to announce immediately that Mr Matisonn would not be required either to return from Washington or to serve his sentence

Mr Matisonn recently lost an appeal against a 14-day sentence, following his refusal to give information in court in connection with an article he had written about the Christian League

The Christian League was subsequently revealed to have received secret funds from the Government

Mr Dalling said various Government departments were passing on responsibility about Mr Matisonn

"The decision is to whether Mr Matisonn must return to South Africa or not to face a prison sentence in regard to a technical offence relating to the Info scandal remains firmly on the desk of the Minister of Justice" Mr Dalling said

"The Minister should know that of all the offences and malpractices which occurred during the Info debacle, only one person has been convicted — ironically, someone who had an honourable role in exposing malpractices and who was not involved in any way in perpetrating fraud on the public"

The indecision relating to Mr Matisonn was unfair and did a disservice to every sense of South African justice

Mr Coetsee could not be reached for comment last night

(Report by A Akhalwaya 171 Main St Johannesburg)

STAK  
Reporter  
on Secrets

Act charge  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

WINDHOEK—A 22-year-old reporter for The Star newspaper, Mr Winston Beaumont, appeared in the Windhoek Regional Court today charged with contravening the Official Secrets Act

After Mr Beaumont pleaded not guilty, the presiding magistrate, Mr A G H Bower, ruled that the proceedings be held in camera. Members of the Press were asked to leave the court.

The State alleges that Mr Beaumont possessed South African Defence Force signals instructions "which could be used in a prohibited area," and that he obtained the instructions against regulations and failed to comply with directions for their disposal.

The alleged offence took place on about March 14 last year. Mr Beaumont was arrested on January 20.

(Proceeding)

# Special research into World

THIS IS part of the letter Dr Connie Mulder wrote to Mr Owen Horwood outlining the 112 Info secret projects for the 1978/79 year. A copy of this seven-page letter was handed to Mr Horwood on May 3, 1978.

A translation reads as follows

This letter contains details of projects of the Department of Information which are financed out of the secret account. For the purposes of Article 1 of the law it is imperative that each year before September 30 I must make available to you a budget of expenditure for current and new projects in the case of new projects the necessary details must be furnished.

As a result of the time factor this year it was not possible to make these returns available to you before September 30. As far as the book year 1978/79 is concerned a full verbal report was made to the Prime Minister.

You were present for approximately one third of the report back period. After that the Secretary of Information showed his schedules to the Secretary of the Treasury and his two deputies, Mr Sarel du Plessis and Mr Kurt Pretorius. According to your instruction the total amount for the projects for 1978/79 was reduced to R14 8-million.

It is these projects which are set out below. The code names of some projects are used and in other cases the proper name is indicated.

ed. It is further accepted that if a certain project oversteps its allocation while another costs less than amounts can be shifted from one subheading to another as happens in the case of an open budget.

This letter was reproduced in the Erasmus interim report but without the details of each secret project which appears with its own financial authorisation code and the amount allocated.

This is the second page of the letter and contains 21 secret projects with their allocations.

The first three concern publications — publication of monthly magazine Hit and supplement; purchase and expansion of Drum Weekend (nominal); preliminary costs for the establishment of a black newspaper contains the names of more than six "collaborators" of the Info Department and the titles of several overseas publications linked to Info. These have all been blanked out as has the name of the London publisher (G16F) which may have simply been used as a straight forward publishing house.

G16H Special news bureau in Nairobi for Africa News (Van Zyl Alberts) — Mr Jan van Zyl Alberts, a South African businessman, was one of the main front men for Info projects. The Erasmus Commission called him "the trusted associate who lined his pockets."

G16K to 16P These are the names of local



Dr Connie Mulder



Senator Owen Horwood

and overseas collaborators.

G16Q Gary Player (nominal). This nominal Info payments to Player was revealed a while ago.

G 17 A Bantu films production.

G 17B Distribution of films to black population

G 18 Case studies in human rights — central manuscript

G 19 Institute for the Study of Plural societies

G 25 To The Point— The now defunct news magazine that was the centre of a major Info scandal.

Most of the projects on this page have been deleted because it is not known if some may still be in operation. A look at the spread of projects indicates the wide range of countries and places they covered — London, Australia, Netherlands, Potchefstroom, Pretoria, Germany, Tokyo, Israel.

Most of the money budgeted on this page — five — went to organisations within South

Africa.

G 33 Purchase of special equipment eg tape recorders, telephone soramblers, etc.

G 34 A valiant publications — book publishing co. This was a South Africa firm distributing and publishing conservative literature. It had links with Mr Red Metrovich of the SA Freedom Foundation.

G 34 D book publisher, France.

G 34 E SA Freedom Foundation. This was an information distribution centre based in South Africa.

G 35 Special SWA actions against Swapo.

G 36 Special secret administration costs (nominal).

G 42 Emergency fund.

G 43 Community actions together with the government (nominal).

G 44 A ad hoc contributions for pro-South African actions.

G 44 B French South African Association, Johannesburg and Paris.

G 44 C S A Railways

re To The Point

G 78 External news-picture service

G 79 Ad hoc printing and distribution

G 80 Special bursary programme for foreigners tied in with

G 81 Confidential French newsletter

G 82 S/Project. Berlin

G 83 International article service (nominal)

G 84 Letter writing campaign in different countries

G 85, 86 Special research programme re The World, the Rand Daily Mail and other projects. This is a strange project — particularly as The World newspaper was banned in October 1977.

G 87 Action programme in Rhodesia for the benefit of moderate political parties (a single programme).

On the final page the secret projects listed are general or already revealed. But after the list Dr Mulder asks Mr Horwood to sign each page of the Info secret budget.

The letter then continues as follows:

"I would appreciate it if you would sign each page of this document so that the projects can go ahead."

The letter is closed with "friendly greetings" and signed by C P Mulder.

Mr Horwood's signature of April 26, 1978 is clear at the bottom of the letter as is his cancellation of his initials and signature on May 4, 1978.

Mrs Joyce Harris, national president of Black Sash said "I don't be-

lieve that the Government has any right to use public money to start a newspaper for any section of the community, whether it be a white or a black newspaper.

"I find it horrifying to discover that the Government had made such deep laid plans to impose its ideologies on all the people by attempting to monopolise at least a portion of the media."

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten said: "We must condemn this continuing dishonesty and the policy of misinformation. The policy of separate development is so dirty and fraudulent that it needs an ongoing scheme of dirty tricks in the Nixon manner to justify its continuation."

"I have a sneaking suspicion that not the entire contents of the can of worms have been spilled. There could be it was unbelievable that available for propaganda, more puppets in our midst who are unknown to us and who are used to infiltrate us and sell to us the Government's policy of misinformation," he added.

Mr Eugene Roelofse, an independent Johannesburg ombudsman said it was unbelievable that Senator Horwood had powers to make money available for propaganda, when at the same time he had no powers to stop building societies from jerking up rates on bonds.

(Reports by A Durgan and M Sullivan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg, and S Mabe c/o Commando Road and Blumberg Street, Industria)



# Editor: Press can't operate effectively

RDM 9/4/81

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By CHRIS FREIMOND

THE South African Press was unable to serve society adequately because of the maze of legal restrictions on the media, the editor of the Sunday Times, Mr Tertius Myburgh, said yesterday

In evidence to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media in Johannesburg, Mr Myburgh said he found it both objectionable and restrictive to work in the knowledge that he and his colleagues were among the few journalists in the Western world who were compelled to perform their duties with the aid of "The Newspaperman's Guide to the Law"

Issues important to society could be discerned and conse-

quently intelligently debated, only if there was free access to information

"It is this capacity to examine ourselves that has made Western democracies productive, innovative and strong. It is my view that South Africa must generate more internal self-criticism, not less," Mr Myburgh said

The Press needed to provide a forum for "pushing forward the frontiers of our national thinking, to explore new ideas for the solution of our complex problems, to unearth fresh facts — however unpalatable — that we need to be aware of, to extend the fragile channel of communications between the races, to supply a safety valve

for bottled-up frustrations, and generally to help loosen up rigid attitudes so that movement is possible"

The role of newspapers was not to provide answers and "finished philosophies", but to give information to people who, ultimately, were masters of their own destiny

"It is by providing a conduit for information, by putting the people of Pretoria in touch with the predicament of the people of Crossroads, and by informing the people of Crossroads of the fears of the people of Parow, that we are performing our most valuable function," he said

An "abrasive" relationship between Government and Press was a healthy situation in most countries, but in South Africa the authorities tended to "reach for a big stick" whenever the "perfectly natural and healthy tension" arose, Mr Myburgh said

"I go along with the Prime Minister, Mr Botha, when he says that South Africa faces problems of survival; that the future of civilised life is at stake in this country. It is not melodramatic to say that few, if any, contemporary societies are confronted by such dramatic alternatives.

"But such awesome problems can only be intelligently tackled if society permits frank and full communication — and frank communication includes criticism," he said

Race relations were at the heart of South Africa's problems and cool heads would be needed to solve them. Lack of information on the situation could cause panic

Mr Myburgh conceded South African journalism was not without imperfections, but he rejected the idea of a register of officially "licenced" journalists

The nature of the work — including the "constant denigration by thoughtless politicians" — had caused shortages of skilled journalists

"In the short term, we will simply have to do what everyone else does, engage in the inflationary process of trying to buy back the prodigals who have drifted out of the craft.

"In the longer term too we will have to make financial prospects more attractive. In addition, our industry will have to embark on a major campaign to enhance the status of our craft on university campuses and we will have to introduce better training methods," Mr Myburgh said.

23. Venter, J D  
Die Drinkpatroon van Kleurlinge in Kaapland en Natal, Nasionale Buro vir Opvoedkundige en Maatskaplike Navorsing, Navorsingsreeks no. 19, 1965.

24. Verslag van die Kommissie van Onderzoek na Angeleentehede Rakende die Kleurlingbevolkingsgroep, Die Staatsdrukker, Pretoria, 1974.

25. Williams, R J  
Biochemical individuality and cellular nutrition in Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 20, 1959.

00000

ONE OF the 1979/80 secret projects of the now defunct Department of Information was a "research project" into the World and Rand Daily Mail newspapers, according to documents revealed yesterday.

And one of the projects involved the starting of a "black" newspaper.

One million rand — the biggest single allocation — was for the making and distribution of films aimed exclusively at blacks.

The other largest single donation was for R400 000 for an action programme to help "moderate" political

parties in the then Rhodesia.

Altogether, R380 000 was budgeted for in 1978/9 for "church actions" — the largest share going to the Christian League, whose involvement in a smear campaign against the South African Council of Churches was revealed recently.

The R60 000 for the Ned Geref Kerk was part of the R150 000 the church received for "operation Manie" — part of Info's strategy to counter the World Council of Churches' strategy.

In a letter written by Dr Connie Mulder to the then Minister of Finance,

Senator Owen Horwood, the secret projects planned for the year are listed. The first three deal with publications — "publications of monthly magazine Hit and Supplement; Purchase of Drum Weekend (nominal); preliminary costs for the establishment of a black newspaper."

Info collaborators here and overseas were paid more than R300 000 and front organisations like the Foreign Affairs Association and London Club of Ten were allocated more than R1,5-m in the third year of the

## 'They talked nonsense'

could be organised or if necessary forced on the country, Dr Rhodie said

Dr Mulder refused to do this — "I advised him so and this made P W Botha bitter"

"We both felt we could hardly tell the world what a fantastic future the country had, how good it was here and how safe foreign investment was and in the same breath shout that we were the victims of a total onslaught from overseas," he added.

Turning to the Erasmus Commission Dr Rhodie claimed:

"That there are people in the Commission who owe the Transvaal Supreme Court, the Appeal Court and Parliament an explanation for a case which, for me as a layman, comes very close to defeating the ends of justice."

He said that two statements secured from witnesses for the Commission — which would have confirmed his evidence at his trial — were not given to the Attorney General handling his prosecution

That Mr Horwood's version of a meeting he attended in 1977 at which a report of secret projects was given, was accepted by the Commission and a contrary version from five other witnesses was rejected.

Mr Horwood said in evidence he attended the meeting for about 10 minutes. The other five witnesses said he was there for an hour.

That Judge Rudolph Erasmus "fed Dr Koornhof, spoon by spoon, answers to his (Judge Erasmus) questions."

The Commission's report "must be rejected on the grounds of unauthorised actions, inexplicable omissions, gross mistakes and blunders in student language — they talked nonsense (Hulle het drooggemaak).

Dr Rhodie said that until now he had not seen a single sheet of a processed manuscript after giving Perskor an 850 page document on the Info affair for publication eight months ago

(Report by John Allen and A Duigan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

# Govt abuses its power over the Press, says Prof

By Iain Macdonald

Cabinet Ministers can too easily call on "State security" to keep information from the public and Parliament, Professor Johann van der Vyver of the University of the Witwatersrand told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media yesterday.

Giving evidence on the secrecy of Government affairs, he said the Westminster system of government in South Africa did not provide for specific statutory restrictions of the powers of the executive authorities.

The South African administration laws restricted the freedom of the Press unnecessarily in reporting on official Government affairs of the executive authorities.

It was alarming that there were such powers in the hands of the executive authorities, as there were many instances where executive officials — including members of the Cabinet — had given distorted information to the media on Government affairs.

Examples of this included:  
 During November and December 1975 and January 1976, Mr P W Botha, as Minister of Defence, gave false information to the media over the involvement of South African troops in the Angolan war.

On July 13 1977, Mr P W Botha, as Deputy Minister of Information, said falsely in

London that the Government had received a white paper the year before as a guideline for the dismantling of race discrimination in South Africa.

After the death of Steve Biko in 1977, the then Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, put out several misleading statements about the causes and circumstances of Biko's death.

After the banning of The World and Weekend World in 1977, Mr Kruger in a television interview said communist propaganda was ascribed to the newspaper on the grounds of an article on the Russian revolution in a series of student history notes. A passage which Mr Kruger read out during the interview had never appeared in The World.

During 1978, Dr Connie Mulder told a blatant lie in question time in Parliament about the Government's part in the financing of The Citizen, saying later he had been advised by Mr B J Vorster to tell the lie.

Three South African newspapers were recently found guilty by the Press Council because they alleged that To the Point was funded by the Government. They were found guilty on false evidence given by Dr Eschel Rhoodie.

Professor van der Vyver also said the Press was attacked by Government spokesmen and threatened with censorship on the grounds of reporting which in most cases was substantially correct.

# Editor tells Steyn of maze of restrictions' facing media

By Iain Macdonald

A "maze of legal restrictions" was one of the chief reasons why the media were "unable to properly meet the needs of contemporary South African society," the editor of the Sunday Times, Mr Tertius Myburgh, told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media yesterday.

Mr Myburgh said issues could be discerned and intelligently debated "only if society permits free access to information."

"South Africa must generate more internal self-criticism, not less.

"It becomes essential to generate in our own community the kind of questioning attitude that compels us to re-examine some of our premises and the policies according to which we have modelled our lives and our social order.

"My own strongest criticism of the South African system is that it seems to be designed to keep too many facts from the public.

"I strongly support the observation in the report by the Commission of Inquiry into the reporting of security matters that too often South African officials withhold information under the pretext of national security."

He added that the growth of "prime ministerial government," the devaluation of Parliament, restrictive legislation and the "monopoly on all wisdom that is projected by a govern-

ment of an elite," tended to undermine the free flow of information and comments from the greatest variety of sources.

He felt that true black perspective on the news was "not anywhere fully provided in any of the orthodox South African media."

"It is essential to know what the banned ANC thinks. It is also important for those who hold the views of the ANC to know there is a HNP."

South African journalism was affected by shortage of skills, and journalism was "paying a penalty for not having given adequate attention to promoting the status of the journalistic craft," Myburgh said.

A register of journalists would be repellent and would increase tendency to keep people out of the craft "that already so much, and wrongly, scorned by people in private life."

STW-9/481

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## 10 Introduction

these structural differentiations, within a general theory about these systems and formations, from which it acquires its explanatory power.

As far as environmentalist approaches are concerned, therefore, this study argues in favour of a Marxist approach, and is a Marxist class analysis of a so-called 'race relations situation'.

This study is thus involved with certain general issues. Its approach to the study of phenomena associated with such concepts as 'race relations' involves a rejection of the conventional reification of such phenomena, and a subsuming of them into the general study of social inequality in its various forms and natures. And in the explanation of such phenomena, it reflects a rejection of both non-environmental determinism and of idealist and empiricist environmentalism in favour of dialectical and historical materialism.

I hope that it may contribute something of value to sociology and history, notably in the areas of South African, Marxist and so-called 'race relations' studies. Concerning the latter, there has been relatively little systematic scholarly work on South Africa, and in the 'race relations' area generally, taking a Marxist approach. Historically, the work is based on research into much important and original primary data (a note about which will be found in the bibliography), which has permitted a fairly informed and in-depth study of a vital historical period, which may hopefully shed some light on the historical development of social relations and racial domination in South Africa. As regards sociology, I hope in particular that my analysis of the system of racial discrimination, notably the conceptualisation of racial discrimination in terms of 'class colour bars', and the analysis of these class colour bars as a system of class instruments, extending and mediating class contradictions, may be useful. (3)

In attempting to shed more light in these various areas there is, of course, no question of searching for, or of claiming to have found, any perfect explanation or final account of things. All that can be hoped for is to travel some small distance along the difficult road of understanding.

From: Murray, M  
1979

Unpublished manuscript.  
Chapter 1, pages 10 - 34.

## Perskor-ABC battle has ended

The battle between Perskor and the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC) has ended with the readmission of Die Transvaler and Die Vaderland to the ABC.

Mr Marius Jooste, the Perskor chairman, who had warned he would take his entire group out of the ABC, said today his publications would remain in the bureau.

Die Transvaler and Die Vaderland were suspended from the ABC late last year following the discovery that

circulation figures had been overstated. The Citizen was also suspended for a short period but was later re-instated.

Latest circulation figures (Monday to Friday) for the last six months of 1980 are

The Star 165 751; The Citizen 52 321; Die Transvaler 44 686, Die Vaderland 40 803. Monday to Saturday returns are used by the Rand Daily Mail 107 709 and Beeld 62 395. March sales of The Sowetan are 62 003 and rising.

### The European Settlement and Conquest

Dutch East India Company Rule and European

European settlement was founded in 1652 in Table

At this time, the general demographic panorama

the west, i.e., from the present territory of Natal

to the Bashee River and beyond, Khoikhoi herders

San hunters held small pockets of territory, often

their Khoikhoi neighbors. Groups of San occupied

day Karoo) and large portions of the mountainous

the Bantu-speaking tribes and the Khoikhoi soon

into the arid semi-desert regions. The Nguni-spe

the eastern coast from north of the Zambesi River

Xhosa-speaking tribes, along with the Khoikhoi and

diversity between the Fish River and the Umata

were gradually being absorbed by the larger Xhosa

Nguni-speaking tribes gradually migrated in a south

speaking tribes had settled in the interior (the

northern Transvaal and the Orange Free State) and

and the coast

<sup>19</sup> Monica Wilson, "The Sotho, Venda and Tsonga," in History, Vol 1, op. cit., pp. 176-177. See Sentker, p. 20

The need for the integration of curative and preventive health services in South Africa is well documented (8) and will not be considered further here. In the future, following the Health Act of 1977, all new facilities will be co-ordinated by the Provincial Administrations.

1) See Feldstein p.57ff  
Trenngrove Jones p.159.

2) Stigler G. "The Division of Labour is Limited by the extent of the market" Journal of Political

RDM 10/4/81  
**Editors ordered to pay R20 000**

**Court Reporter**

THE editors of the Sunday Express and Sunday Times and SA Associated Newspapers were yesterday ordered to pay a former Rhodesian MP, Mr Rodney Guy Swavne Simmonds, R20 000 damages after articles in the two newspapers were found to be defamatory.

Mr Simmonds, of Good Hope Farm, Mount Hampden, Salisbury, had claimed R30 000 in the Rand Supreme Court following front page articles which had appeared in the Sunday Times and the Sunday Express on July 16, 1978, under the headlines "Arms scandal - inside story" and "Secret trial - men named". The articles were written by Mr Eugene Hugo and Mr Derek Taylor.

Mr Simmonds claimed the articles had been understood by readers to mean that he had been concerned in a multi-million rand defence fund fraud scandal involving the misappropriation of Rhodesian Government funds. These funds had been earmarked for the procurement of sanction busting arms and equipment to fight the terrorist forces of Mr Joshua Nkomo and Mr Robert Mugabe, the court was told.

As a result of the articles, Mr Simmonds' good name had been injured, he claimed.

Mr Justice O'Donovan found it had been implied in the articles that Mr Simmonds had been part of the arms scandal.

It must have been clear that at the time in Rhodesia, two cases were being investigated and that Mr Simmonds was involved only in the less serious charge, he said.

The articles were published, however, without regard for the fact that the implications made were untrue.

The results of this Day Hospital system but it may be used to circumstances may be completely, the employment of veto and the Eastern here, but may not be mains possible that it

will be expanded when the extensions to Groote Schuur stretching down to Main Road are completed in five or six years time.

5) See Searle p.509ff

6) See Trenngrove Jones Section II.  
developing - tuberculosis, high infant mortality, vector borne and parasitic diseases, malnutrition;  
developed - heat disease, lung cancer, hypertension, diabetes.

7) And as mentioned, I cannot do this.

8) See Trenngrove Jones  
J. Matheson "The Economics of Health in S.A. - A Survey" Economics Honours Thesis  
UCT (1977)

• / ...

(7) Conclusions

(7.1.) The Cost Effectiveness of the Day Hospitals Organisation

The possibility of reducing cost benefit and cost effectiveness results to balance sheets in the health sector has been questioned. (1) This is obviously not possible in this study. The cost figures used are not of the type an economist requires to work with and it proved impossible to correct these as theory calls for in shadow pricing. The aim of this study has been to take a wide view of the system of decentralised primary contact health care and to indicate the relevant considerations. The emphasis has been on the fact that Day Hospitals and outpatient departments should operate

might, but as already pointed out, the answer lies in an assessment of the goals of the Day Hospital concept in the light of information concerning the types of disease treated. It may cost more to treat a simple common illness at a Day Hospital than at a centre staffed largely by nurse physicians, but it is cheaper to treat a large number of general illnesses at a Day Hospital than an outpatient department. Perhaps in a relatively small area such as the Cape Peninsula, where the population density is high, the further 'contracting out' of simple treatments by the Day Hospitals to a 'suburb' health post is not as efficient as the 'contracting out' of such services from a rural health centre to a village health post, in a rural area with a low population density.

• / ...

(13)

Thus there appears to be no solution to the problem of shadow prices, which themselves are difficult to calculate. McKean has concluded that owing to the problems associated with shadow pricing, the use of market prices where these exist may be no more subjective. However, in the health sector, there are no markets. Use of costs incurred by public hospitals in the treatment of illness for example, may be very poor reflections of the true cost of resources. There appears to be however, no practical alternative.

In the case of the direct costs of treatment, much cost information is collected by hospitals and clinics but from an economic point of view, this is done unsystematically. (9)

This cost information is arranged

# Dugard hits at ban on news of ANC

RDM 10/4/81 243

By CHRIS FREIMOND

THE Government ban on news of the African National Congress made it virtually impossible for the public to be informed on the policies of what was probably the largest opposition party in South Africa, a leading academic lawyer said yesterday

In evidence before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media in Johannesburg, Prof John Dugard, director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits University, said this ban was dangerous because it deprived the public of the capacity to judge the acceptability or non-acceptability of the ANC as a body to be reckoned with in the political reconciliation process between black and white

Prof Dugard's submission was a sequel to evidence to the commission earlier this year by the Southern African Society of Journalists, which included a critical analysis by the professor of the philosophy expounded by the first Steyn Commission which investigated Police and Defence reporting

He said yesterday he believed the first commission's report had over-emphasised the interests of the State as opposed to the interests of the individual

He was concerned that the present commission would expound a similar philosophy which, read in isolation, could be used by the Government to justify further Press curbs which the commission itself might not support

Quoting from the commission's brief to inquire into "the needs and interests of the South African community and the demands of the times", Prof Dugard said these would be better served by a philosophy which

attached greater weight to the right of the individual to receive information

The public had a right to be fully informed on matters such as the policies and actions of both lawful and unlawful opposition groups, the attitude of certain United Nations agencies towards South Africa, the views of radical opponents of the Government, the actions of the Police and Defence Force, and injustices in South Africa

It was both undemocratic and dangerous to allow news to be withheld unreasonably in the interests of "national security", Prof Dugard said

In his evidence, the Rand Daily Mail's ombudsman, Mr James McClurg, urged the commission to reject the idea of a register of journalists

"Since the Press itself is opposed to the proposals and there is certainly no public pressure for it, there can surely be only one inference that the supposed benefit flowing from a register would be the power it would give the authorities to remove from the practice of journalism anyone who incurred their displeasure," he said

Mr McClurg criticised the lack of impartiality by the SABC and called for the appointment of a person or group embodying the ombudsman concept to monitor the service

He also criticised day-to-day Press comment on television programmes. It was mostly "trivial, unperceptive and ill-informed"

An improved system of liaison between State officials and the Press was also needed

There was a lack of understanding of the functions and operations of each institution by the other, Mr McClurg said

and intensity of use might be substantially higher (if doctors and administrators appreciated this and they generally look at average cost.) (10)

Objective indirect costs can be determined by collecting information through surveys - finding out the time spent waiting at hospital, the time off work due to ill-health and the time and expense involved in travelling to hospital.

There has been much discussion on the correct way to evaluate the economic loss resulting from time taken off work due to ill-health, Mushkin distinguishes between death, disability - the loss of working time/.....

time/.....

(12)

health care, the question arises whether willingness to pay represents the value of a health project to society. What are the characteristics of health care which make it different from other economic goods? Demand is unpredictable since one never knows when it will be required or how much, and since demand is infrequent, the consumer cannot learn by experience unless he suffers from a chronic illness. There is product uncertainty particularly on the side of the patient who is unable to understand the production functions; on the side of the doctors and health services there is difficulty in measuring outcome in terms of health, and the doctors may themselves not understand the production functions. (6)

Externalities diseases are concerned, but a positive place in the value a large proportion of consumers serious illness, and at the elastic. It is in joint supply finally, can be considered as aids production. (7)

In practice, net benefits are benefits at appropriate prices sector, there is no market in perfectly competitive markets in the absence of externalities. Shadow or accounting prices resources must be imputed. of as the marginal rate of substitution in alternative uses, the amount in order to obtain another of the appropriate shadow price are present, the marginal social cost.

marginal conditions for economic efficiency are not present outside the realms of the cost-benefit appraisal, the 'second-best' problem arises. It is unlikely that prices will reflect marginal social cost in the private sector where the aim of the firm is to maximise some private objective function. If marginal cost pricing is adopted in the public sector, but does not exist in the private sector, there is no assurance that the economy as a whole will be any nearer to a Pareto optimum than if neither sector used the marginal cost shadow price. To Krutilla, this problem appears 'to be at least as great in practical importance as is the issue of interpersonal comparisons and income distribution.' (8)

Thus/.....

some departments demand more time from their students than do others.

A third of the doctors — which is a high proportion in view of the frequent lack of consensus amongst them on many aspects of training — felt that there had been important omissions in the training they received as students. The most frequently mentioned omissions were aspects relating to the work of a general practitioner. In all, over one in four of the graduates commented along these lines. However there was no consensus as to what subject(s) should be taught in greater detail in relation to the training of general practitioners. The topics concerned ranged from social, preventive and family medicine, and paediatrics, to psychiatry, pharmacology and laboratory procedures. An interesting suggestion was that training should include an elective period spent 'apprenticed' to a general practitioner. There was also a variety of suggestions relating to the need for greater training in various sub-disciplines — mentioned were dentistry, skin diseases, ears, nose and throat diseases, and ophthalmology.

the medical schools can do nothing about directly as far as training is concerned, and this is the problem of over-work. The mean estimate of doctors in private practice as to the number of patients a day they saw worked out at 40 patients daily. The estimates by African doctors were somewhat higher at a mean of 53 patients, as against a mean of 34 patients for the Indian doctors. In both cases the majority of patients were African. Those in hospital service also estimated a high figure for their case loads. The average worked out at 48 patients a day, with three-fifths stating that they examined 50 or more patients daily. As far as operations were concerned the mean figure was 7.5 operations per day, with one in six having 10 or more operations daily.

Other problems mentioned were, in relation to hospital work, the burden of administrative duties and supervision, which often left little time for doctoring. In this regard the suggestion was made by some of the doctors that medical training should include a course in leadership.

KOM 11/4/81  
Memo  
calls for NP support (243)

Political Staff

EAST LONDON — A memorandum to editorial staff on Die Volksblad about how to slant election news in favour of the National Party and to denigrate opposition parties was disclosed yesterday.

The memorandum says reports on the election in Die Volksblad, a member of the powerful Nasionale Pers group of newspapers, should favour the National Party.

Opposition spokesmen said yesterday that they would take the matter up with the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media.

The document addressed to outside offices of the Bloemfontein-based newspaper, was signed by the newspaper's assistant editor and chief political correspondent, Mr Willie Kuhn.

Mr Kuhn is in charge of the newspaper's election staff.

"It is surely unnecessary to say that Die Volksblad must involve itself with enthusiasm for the cause of the National Party and must not show any mercy for other parties," the memorandum said.

The four-page document tells journalists that if a Nationalist meeting has failed to come up to expectations — they should work in a paragraph or two saying that it was a lively meeting or that the stage was beautifully decorated.

"As far as the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the National Conservative Party and other opposition parties are concerned we do not have any interest in bits and pieces of what Jaap Marais and others say.

If they think they have anything positive to say let them say it in their own little newspapers. Die Volksblad will not allow itself to be misused for their propaganda.

"Therefore you must concentrate on their more shocking and outrageous statements — the things which will anger Nationalists and will expose these parties for what they are."

The correspondents are advised to look for strange incidents and characters at meetings, people who fall asleep, candidates who arrive late, disturbances and insulting behaviour.

It tells them to look for the best election stories, posters that are destroyed, "blacks who are called in to distribute HNP pamphlets", threats, funny incidents in relation to candidates, and the finances of the parties.

The editor of Die Volksblad, Mr Hennie van Deventer refused to comment.

problem mentioned in connection with internship was difficulty with elementary surgery and the lack of senior tutors to supervise interns doing operations.

2.5. Problems During Medical Practices:

The most frequently mentioned problem pertaining both to hospital work and also to private practice is something that

medical practitioners in private practice was the poverty and ignorance of patients. Medical officers in hospitals also reported the problem of the ignorance and poverty of patients. Not infrequently patients could not afford the full facilities that really should be available to them, and they sometimes could not pay the doctor's bill. Another problem was the lack of access of Black G.P.'s to a private

# Crush <sup>(243) STAK</sup> opposition now, says <sup>11/4/51</sup> Nat paper\*

Die Volksblad newspaper was not ashamed for the world to know it believed "from deep conviction the National Party should crush at the polls the radical opposition of the right and left now and forever," its editor, Mr Hennie van Deventer, said yesterday.

"To achieve this it repeats that its staff in this election — as in previous elections — has instructions to show no mercy for the Opposition," he said.

Mr van Deventer's statement follows reports about an internal memorandum sent to Die Volksblad's offices in Kroonstad, Welkom, Kimberley and Bethlehem dealing with the handling of the election campaign and signed by assistant editor and chief of the Volksblad's election team Mr Willie Kuhn.

"The essence is Die Volksblad stands behind the NP and will fight all the way to help it achieve the greatest possible victory," Mr van Deventer said. He added the full memo would be published today.

"Hopefully this will put an end to the gross misrepresentations being spread about its contents"

Misuse had been made of the memo by the Herstigte Nasionale Party and in the English Press. This had resulted in the incorrect impression, he said.

"Inquiries in the country brought to light the fact that the HNP had distributed the document fairly widely to English-language newspapers. In accordance with the practice of recent years in which far-rightists provide the leftist Press with information and the latter distort it vigorously for their own advantage.

"In the light of this Die Volksblad had decided to publish the document fully so readers can see the truth and the newspaper's political creed." — Sapa.

(Report by F Neuhoff, 627 Mutual Buildings, Harrison Street, Johannesburg)



By HELEN ZILLE

THIS is the controversial memorandum circulated to correspondents of Die Volksblad newspaper in Bloemfontein

Up to April 29, the election will be one of the main features of the Volksblad and our outside officers will have to make an active contribution. With so many HNP candidates in our readership area, the most lively election in years can be expected.

All editorial staff must therefore keep their eyes and ears wide open because from now on everybody must co-operate.

It is surely unnecessary to remind (you) that the Volksblad works enthusiastically for the cause of the National Party and that no mercy must be shown to other parties.

The fact that the HNP and the NCP also talk with "an Afrikaans mouth" must not let editorial staff think that they can be treated gently.

The election is about ideology and the future and security of South Africa, and we believe it can be achieved on the path of the NP.

Furthermore it is unnecessary to remind that all editorial staff during this time must study the politics in the Volksblad — editorials, "Willem", political reports, etc.

Any colleague can be asked at any time to go and cover a meeting or to write a political story. Take care, therefore, that you are prepared and informed.

We must take care that our election coverage is lively, interesting and topical. With this in mind, here are a few guidelines:

- Long reports about meetings are out (Unless the content and circumstances are exceptional).

- Long reports bore readers and especially because politicians keep repeating the same thing over and over. Therefore keep your reports to the point. Where there is doubt rather

# Election coverage tips for news staff

RDM 11/4/81 (243)

write at length so that we can pick out the news in Bloemfontein. But the best is that you learn to make a strong point or two within a few paragraphs.

- Where you feel a NP meeting did not produce much, work in a paragraph or two to say it was a lively meeting or the stage was beautifully decorated.

Try to include the names of a few local Nationalists (The chairman of the meeting, or the tannie that arranged the flowers.) Remember meetings and elections don't only revolve around what "imported" people say, but also what local voters do.

- As far as the HNP and the NCP and other opposition parties are concerned, we have no interest in screeds and screeds about what Jaap Marais and company say. If they think they have something positive to say, they can say it in their own little newspapers. The Volksblad does not allow itself to be misused for their propaganda, therefore you must concentrate on their more shocking and far-reaching statements — the things that will anger Nationalists and that will expose these parties for what they are. Local candidates especially, who are not so experienced in politics, often

put their foot in it, and then our reporters must pounce. Also be awake for funny incidents and characters at meetings, people who fall asleep, a candidate who arrives late, rowdiness, supporters that are bussed in from elsewhere, insulting behaviour, etc.

- An election campaign is partly talk and partly action. The latter often results in the best election stories, posters that are torn down, people that do canvassing in a strange manner, blacks who are used to circulate HNP posters, threats, strange stories in connection with candidates, the finances of parties. Keep aware and talk with as many people as possible so that you know what the different parties are busy with.

- Gossip stories are the speciality of the HNP. Let us know what the old and the new gossip is so that we can kill the fires.

- There is nothing so effective as a political joke. Send jokes that you pick up at meetings and elsewhere. You must remain in close contact with NP offices in your area. Find out what the trends and needs are, who is holding meetings where, who is crossing over to the NP etc. Naturally you must also remain in contact with the offices of other parties.

- We will publish weekly a "he of the week" (Any of the opposition parties' untruths, distortions and gossip). Can you contribute to it?

- We want to carry a daily item with a theme "I vote National". We want to present a wide variety of people, sports stars, artists, businessmen, elderly people and young people. The people must be drawn from throughout our readership area and every out-of-town office must make contributions.

Therefore talk with your NP offices and talk and get us candidates that are interesting and who will also inspire other people to vote NP. All that we want is a decent photograph and two or three paragraphs to say who Mr X is, and why he is voting NP.

His explanation must always be quoted directly. Geysie Pienaar, SA's new rugby hero, is going to vote for the NP on April 29 because "Mr P W Botha is playing clean, hard and direct so that not only the whites of SA win but all the people of Southern Africa will win the struggle against communism" or something.

- All political articles must be signed.

- Be doubly cautious because enemies of the Volksblad and the NP are looking for opportunities to go to court and probably win a bit of psychological publicity. Facts must therefore be 100% correct. Use tape recorders where you can. If you are sure of your case, don't allow people of other parties to intimidate you. The most important thing is keep the Volksblad out of court.

All tips are welcome, the chief editorial and political staff do not command all political wisdom. Let us therefore know how you think we can make the elections even livelier and more interesting for the readers because our best service to our readers is our specific task in the election.

Signed Willie Kuhn

None	Herbal
1. Respiratory tract Malt, honey & olive oil Cod liver oil Flannel & camphor oil Honey, egg & bors droppels* Hot lemon	Bery krute van die Nere Als (wormwood)* Buchu Wild dagga Wild garlic Kruisminth Blue gun leaves Ganse keurtjie flowers*
2. Gastro-intestinal tract Flour water (d) Brandy, sugar, boiling water, cloves Egg, red lavender, als & olive oil in cloth round stomach Olive oil, coconut oil & red lavender rub (c)	Als (d)* Red lavender (c)* Buchu (k) Kruisminth Olie boom positice Cloves Kruifjie-roer-my-nie Kalmoes root
3. Rheumatic/arthritis Camphor & meths rub	Buchu & spirit rub Guava leaves & celery* Willow leaves* Kruifjie-roer-my-nie
4. Headache Milk	Milk
5. Sprains, strains and bruises. Kelp Note: Also rubs as in 3 above.	Buchu & vinegar rub
6. Antiseptics Hot compress (for boils)	Wild dagga
7. Physical & miscellaneous. Green beer (warts)	Als, buchu & wild dagga (bactache)

Notes: \* to prevent boils. \* to prevent migraine.

General notes

- Number of remedies mentioned by informants in each class
- Respiratory tract - 27
- Gastro-intestinal tract - 27 (note that opening and Rheumatic/arthritis - 9)
- Headache - 5
- Sprains, strains and bruises - 7
- Antiseptics - 3 (it is probable that informants had
- Mystical and miscellaneous - 7 (a meaningless figure)

b) Als, buchu, kruisminth and wild dagga were mentioned 4 times for a sore stomach, and in rubs Buchu and l

# MAIZE GAPOR WAY FUEL INFLATION

Argus 11/4/81

~~244~~

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**FEARS are mounting in business and financial circles that this year's record maize crop could seriously undermine the Government's efforts to curb inflation.**

As businessmen and financiers become aware of the implications of the

**by DEREK TOMMIEY, Financial Editor**

maize crop, they are becoming increasingly concerned about the outlook for the economy.

It has been realised for some time that if the maize farmers secure the price increase they are seeking food prices could rise steeply.

This is because the price of maize also affects

the price of dairy products, meat and many maize meal products.

However, it is now also being realised that the act of financing the maize crop could be highly inflationary.

It is estimated that this year's maize crop will be around 13,4-million tons,

which is about 25 percent bigger than last year's crop.

At the ruling maize price the Maize Board will pay out about R1 600-million to farmers for this crop.

But if the farmers get their 20 percent price rise, this figure could increase

to around R2 000-million — roughly 50 percent more than they received last year.

Apart from putting a substantial amount of buying power, some of which must be inflationary, in farmers' hands, the act of raising this money could undermine the Government's plans to curb the money supply.

## Serious

Mr A J M de Vries, deputy director of the Bureau for Economic Research at Stellenbosch, said in Cape Town this week he believed the authorities were serious in their efforts to control the money supply.

But there were a few stumbling blocks in their path, the more serious being the financing of the maize crop.

If this was done through the Reserve Bank and the Land Bank, it could sharply increase the money supply for a few months after May or June and caused a sideways movement or even a drop in interest rates.

This could especially be so if it followed the seasonally higher Government spending of the second quarter.

be for the Land Bank to finance the crop at market-related rates with an open subsidy, which did not distort the money and capital markets

# Staff told<sup>CT</sup> to <sup>11/4/8</sup> <sup>(243)</sup> slant news

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON — A remarkable memorandum to editorial staff on the Volksblad about how to slant election news in favour of the National Party and to denigrate opposition parties was disclosed yesterday

The memorandum makes quite clear that reports on the election in the Volksblad, a member of the Nasionale Pers group of newspaper, should favour the National Party

Opposition spokesmen said yesterday they would take the matter up with the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the mass media

The document, addressed to outside offices of the Bloemfontein-based newspaper, was signed by the newspaper's assistant editor and chief political correspondent, Mr Willie Kuhn. Mr Kuhn is in charge of the newspaper's election staff

## No mercy

"It is surely unnecessary to say that the Volksblad must involve itself with enthusiasm for the cause of the National Party and must not show any mercy for other parties," the memorandum said

The four-page document, a copy of which the Daily Dispatch has in its possession, tells journalists that if a Nationalist meeting failed to come up to expectations — they should "work in a paragraph or two saying that it was a lively meeting or that the stage was beautifully decorated"

"As far as the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the National Conservative Party and other opposition parties are concerned, we do not have any interest in bits and pieces of what Jaap Marais and others say"

"If they think they have anything positive to say, let them say it in their own little newspapers. The Volksblad will not allow itself to be misused for their propaganda"

"Therefore you must concentrate on their more shocking and outrageous statements — the things which will anger Nationalists and will expose these parties for what they are"

The correspondents are advised to look for strange incidents and characters at meetings, people who fall asleep, candidates who arrive late, disturbances

It tells them to look for the best election stories. Posters that are destroyed, "blacks who are called in to distribute HNP pamphlets", threats, funny incidents in relation to candidates and the finances of the parties

The memorandum tells correspondents to be doubly careful because the enemies of the Volksblad and the NP were looking for opportunities to institute court cases and to get "psychological publicity"

The editor of the Volksblad, Mr Hennie van Deventer, refused to comment "I am not prepared to comment on internal matters," he said

But the PFP spokesman on the media, Mr David Dalling, MP, said the document was a shameful example of Nationalist newspaper hypocrisy and cynicism. There was now no doubt that these newspapers were lackeys of the Nationalist government

(Report by Barry Streek, 33 Caxton Street, East London)

# Papers ordered to pay ex-MP R20 000

**Sunday Times Reporter**  
**A FORMER Rhodesian Front MP, Mr Rodney Simmonds, has been awarded R20 000 damages from two South African Sunday newspapers in terms of a Rand Supreme Court judgment this week.**

The Sunday Times and the Sunday Express and South African Associated Newspapers were ordered to pay the damages (R10 000 from each newspaper with costs), after reports published in the newspapers on July 16, 1978 were found to be defamatory.

Mr Simmonds, of Good Hope Farm, Mount Hampden, Salisbury, Zimbabwe, had claimed R30 000 after front-page reports in the Sunday Times and the Sunday Express under the respective headlines "Arms scandal - inside story" and "Secret trial - men named".

The reports were written independently by Mr Eugene Hugo, then a senior reporter on the Sunday Times, and Mr Derek Taylor of the Sunday Express.

Mr Simmonds claimed that the reports incorrectly implicated him in a fraud concerning the misappropriation of funds earmarked by the Rhodesian Government for the procurement of sanctions-busting defence equipment.

Mr Simmonds said that as a result of the articles his good name had been injured.

## Less serious

In his judgment, Mr Justice O'Donovan found that it had been implied in the articles that Mr Simmonds had been part of the arms scandal.

It must have been clear that at the time in Rhodesia two cases were being investigated, and that Mr Simmonds was involved only in the less serious charge, the judge said.

Mr Justice O'Donovan said that Mr Hugo had written his report "without regard to the fact that the implications made were untrue".

The judge said that Mr Taylor's report was a "travesty of the facts known to Mr Taylor".

In 1978, Mr Simmonds was convicted by an in-camera court on charges of exchange-control contraventions and was fined R\$35 000. Two co-directors were also found guilty.

found guilty of fraud and embezzlement involving R1,3-million  
The articles had incorrectly implied that Mr Simmonds had been involved with the second group of officials, the judge found.

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CT 13/4/81  
 Press probe to see  
 Volksblad memo

By ANN PALMER

THE PROGRESSIVE Federal Party MP for Ycoville, Mr Harry Schwarz said he would be submitting the controversial Volksblad editorial memorandum on political reporting to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the mass media today

Mr Schwarz said in an interview yesterday he had been asked by the Steyn Commission to give evidence because of his belief that the reporting of the electoral run-up by the Afrikaans press had been unbalanced

The memorandum gives support to the validity of my contention which I made clear

long before I was aware that it existed' he said

He added that he felt the Afrikaans press was not presenting the full picture to the electorate

'They report extensively on the National Party policy and the opposition in the light that the National Party wishes the electorate to see it They are not allowing the voter to make a choice

The memorandum to the editorial staff on the Volksblad was 'dropped' to the outside offices of the Bloemfontein-based

To page 2

35. Iendels J., 'De resess Brit.J.Psyc  
 36. Watts C.P.H. 'Depres Priority Pres  
 37. Paykel E.S., 'Classi Derived Gri  
 38. Op.Cit. 10  
 39. Rittley D.A.M., 'Cast Central African Jow  
 40. Op. Cit. 25  
 41. Buchan T., 'The Tre S.Afr.Med.  
 42. Op.Cit. 3.  
 43. Soni S.D. 'Fluspiri Schizophrenic Pati

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From page

newspaper and was signed by the newspaper's assistant editor and the chief political reporter, Mr Wilhe Kuhn

The document said the Volksblad should involve itself with enthusiasm for the cause of the NP and show no mercy for the other parties

Journalists were told that if a meeting of the NP should fail to meet up to expectations, they should work in a paragraph or two saying "that it was a lively meeting or the stage was beautifully decorated"

As far as the opposition parties were concerned, the newspaper was not interested in

"bits and pieces of what Jaap Marais and the others say"

"Therefore you must concentrate on their more shocking and outrageous statements - things which will anger Nationalists and will expose these parties for what they are"

● Professor Piet Cillie, chairman of Nasionale Pers, said last night he had nothing to say about the Volksblad memo

Professor Cillie, who is also head of Stellenbosch University's Department of Journalism, said "Even though I'm chairman of Nasionale Pers, my newspapers are autonomous and have to speak out for themselves"

(Reports by A Palmer and C Barron, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town)

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## GENERAL NEWS

# Nat paper under fire for biased reporting

By Tom Duff,  
Political Reporter

A controversial memorandum issued by the newspaper Volksblad, outlining plans for biased election coverage, was sharply criticised by The Citizen today.

The memorandum to Volksblad's editorial staff was addressed to outside offices of the Bloemfontein newspaper and signed by the newspaper's assistant editor and its chief political reporter.

The memo instructs reporters to enthusiastically support the National Party and to give tough treatment to other parties. No mercy must be shown to them, it says.

The Citizen said in an editorial today it was surprised that a newspaper of Volksblad's standing should be so admittedly biased in its election coverage.

Unfortunately, The Citizen said, some newspapers were mixing comment and news in reports in their news pages to a degree which was startling.

"This makes them propagandists for the NP rather than newspapers reporting news without fear or favour."

"The Opposition has a valid complaint since it cannot get fair and reasonable coverage."

"It has this consolation, however, newspapers which do not show objectivity in their handling of the news lose their credibility. And this is what is happening in the case of the newspaper to which we have referred."

"They do themselves and their party far less good than they think they do."

The memorandum said the fact that the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the National Conservative Party were also Afrikaner parties, should not cause editorial members to think that they should be treated gently.

"Where you feel a Nationalist meeting has not been all that productive, add a paragraph or two to say it was a spirited meeting, the stage was beautifully decorated," it said.

"We are not interested in pages and pages of what Jaap Marais and company have got to say. If they think they have something positive to say, they may do so in their own little newspapers."

"Therefore you should concentrate on their shocking and extreme statements — the things that will infuriate Nationalists and show these parties for what they are."

Report by Tom Duff 47 Sauer Street Johannesburg

STARC  
13/4/81  
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Bureau, or the Administration of Coloured Affairs, the figures here quoted are from our own survey (Table 3).

The highest earnings was R242 per month.

ation disclosed to him contravened the law unless the contrary is proved

Public servants are prohibited from disclosing information gained in the course of their employment without permission from their department heads, except in the discharge of their official duties and they (public servants) are subject to the same penalties

Anyone disclosing information about the Government may also be compelled to disclose his source of information on demand

240 per month.  
award was P202 p.m.  
award was R61,85 p.m.  
award was R114 per month.  
year--

# New Transkei Press Bill

A BILL due for its third reading in the Transkei Parliament today will make it illegal for anyone to publish anything about any Government department or Government institution without the approval of the Minister concerned

The Bill was introduced by the Minister of Justice, Mr T T Letlaka, a former leading member of the Pan-African Congress, under the title of the Criminal

## Law Amendment Bill

Its third reading today is regarded as a formality and it will become law when it is signed by the State President, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, and gazetted

Anyone contravening the law can be sentenced to three years' imprisonment or fined R3 000

In any prosecution, it will be presumed that the accused knew the inform-

~~111~~ ~~337~~ ~~113~~

national production effort  
pen, on a calculated average  
the country an-

wing disability awards for 6  
C p.a.

500 patients on disability awards plus loss of production for 6 months gives a yearly total of R 714 000.

These match the figures given by U.S.A.'s wages commission of, R49 to R290 per month.

Interestingly, there is no incentive, medically speaking, to try and attain a lowering of this figure, as no saving would revert to State Health.

As the relatively high price of Rifampicin (Table 5) seems to be the main bone of contention, it can be pointed out that 500 patients receiving Rifampicin at R1,11 (the new price given to me by the suppliers) gives a yearly total of a mere, R33 300.

Rifampicin expenditure as a ratio of the figures above is but 1/10th or, 1/20th, respectively. Further, the cost of a full 4 drug therapy for 6 months, containing its normal 60 day quota of Rifampicin as a total outpatient cost, not just a drug bill alone, comes to 250 000 rands i.e. a figure less than either of the "social welfare" amounts given above.

### Hospitalisation.

In the U.S.A., each year, approximately 325 million dollars are still being spent on hospitalisation, compared to an estimated 40 million dollars on outpatient treatment, a mere 12% (5).

Possibly, one of the most interesting and one of the extremely few commentaries, published, on hospital expenditure is that of the "Arizona Experiment" (6) where they showed that in a change-over from a State Tb. sanatorium to Tb. beds in a General Hospital, although the patient/day rate was far



# 'Bias denies readers right to the facts'

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14/4/81

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Graph 5  
Number of Patient days in drip room, Red Cross Children's Hospital 1967-1977

(54)

By CHRIS FREIMOND

patients no account is taken of the time spent more than one night in the hospital drip room. There is no record of the average length of stay of patients in the drip room. Figures are available for the average length of stay of patients at Red Cross Hospital overall, from the Director of Hospital Services Report. Furthermore, an accurate head count of patients treated in the drip room is available for the years 1975-1977, kept by the doctor in charge of the drip room since 1975.

BY DENYING readers balanced reports on the election campaign, the Afrikaans Press was showing symptoms of the situation in "controlled societies" such as Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, the Steyn Commission inquiring into the mass media was told yesterday.

In evidence to the commission in Johannesburg, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Yeoville, Mr Harry Schwarz, referred in particular to the Volksblad memo which instructed staff to adopt a biased line in election reports.

He asked the commission to check if other newspapers had issued similar instructions. If they had, they should say so, to allow readers to judge their reports in that light.

The memo was confirmation of a situation which evidently existed throughout the Afrikaans Press.

The Volksblad should state editorially what it meant by the part of the memo which said no

mercy should be shown to opposition parties.

"I think this statement has very serious implications," Mr Schwarz said.

Other instructions to deliberately distort reports were "the greatest indictment of the whole set-up".

He believed that the newspapers adopted this approach because they wanted voters to make judgments on what the newspapers said were the facts and not on the facts as they really stood.

Before giving evidence Mr Schwarz stressed that he was doing so in his personal capacity, on the invitation of the commission, following the publication of an article in the Rand Daily Mail on March 31 in which he was reported to have sharply criticised the election campaign coverage of Afrikaans newspapers.

He stressed he did not seek further Press curbs, but believed the situation should be brought to the attention of the commission.

The acting chairman, Mr Klaus von Lieres, said election coverage by the media was an aspect the commission would investigate and Mr Schwarz's evidence would assist in putting the situation in perspective.

Mr Schwarz said he was a champion of Press freedom, but also championed the right of the individual to be informed sufficiently to make judgments.

It was a fact that the Afrikaans Press supported the National Party and that the majority of voters were Afrikaans-speaking.

A survey of the Afrikaans Press on any given day indicated unbalanced reporting on the election campaign which left readers without the information necessary to make valid judgments.

The readers of these newspapers were getting an impression of the PFP that the newspapers wanted them to get and not a true reflection of what the party stood for.

(News by C Freimond 171 Main Street Johannesburg)

These principles are:

- 1) To establish a separate clinic for diabetics.
- 2) To see patients very frequently.
- 3) To place emphasis not on their diabetes but on their weight.
- 4) To give dietary instruction at each visit.
- 5) To introduce partial group therapy. Patients are seen together, weighed together, their records taken together, and then they are taken aside and talked to individually.

In addition to the diabetic clinic, most Day Hospitals run a 'diet club' run along the lines of the 'Weight Watchers' club. Following the group weighing session at which losers are applauded and gainers fined, the patients are given a rigorous session of exercises, to encourage them to follow their diet sheets and take exercise regularly.

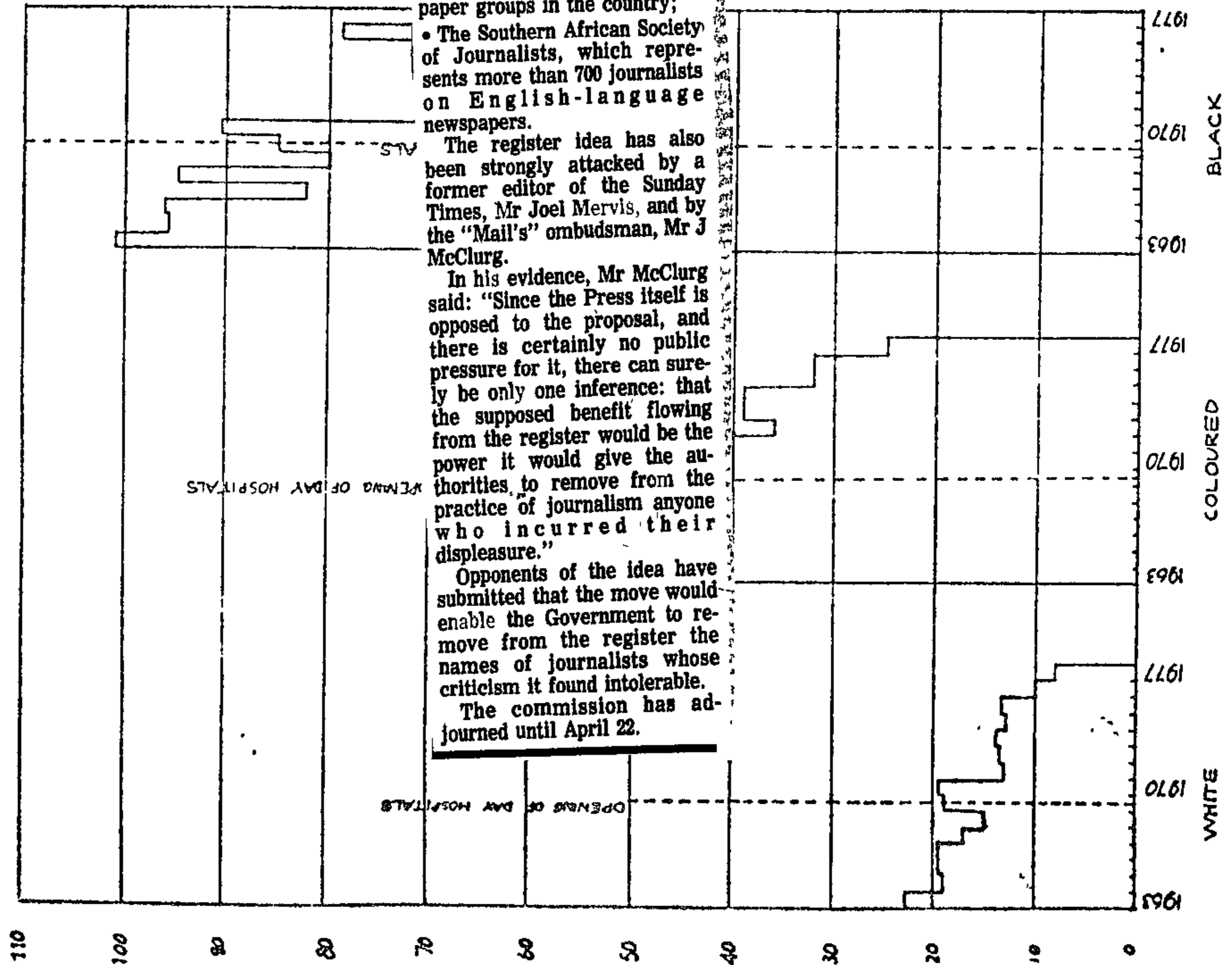
The costs associated with the diabetes are not only the consultation and drug therapy but also the costs of treating diseases associated with obesity and diabetes - hypertension with a high incidence of cerebral haemorrhage, thrombosis, varicose veins, osteo-arthritis, hernias, skin infections. The hypoglycaemic agent used in controlling diabetes are expensive - a monthly course ranging from R10-R20 per month depending on the severity of the hyperglycaemia. Once weight is reduced, the drug therapy can be discontinued and the morbidity associated with obesity disappears. Throughout the treatment, the emphasis is on patient self-care and improvement.

- 1) GSH Group Outpatient Reports 1971 and 1974.
- 2) See Mckeown and McLachlan.
- 3) Wittman and Hansen p.230.
- 4) See Report of the Dept. of Obstetrics and Gynaecology 1973 p.7.
- 5) Smith and Howland p.3.
- 6) This decrease cannot be attributed to the work of the Day Hospitals alone, as many other factors are involved.
- 7) Goldberg, Bersohn, Joffe, Kort and Sefitel p.279.
- 7) Jackson.

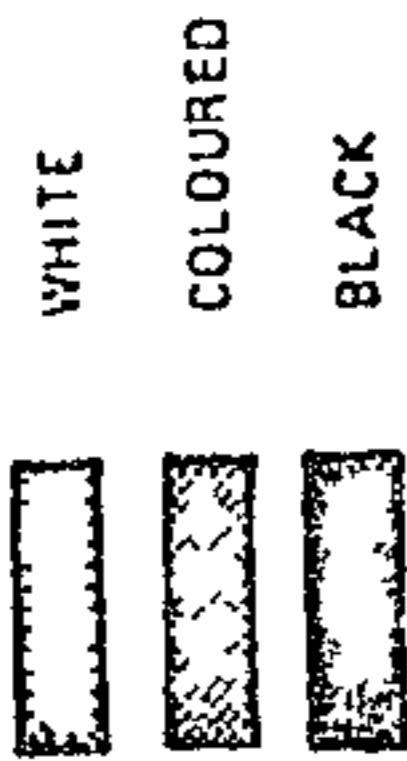
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3. MUNICIPALITY OF CAPE TOWN

4. INFANT MORTALITY RATES PER 1000 LIVE BIRTHS 1963 - 1977



5. PERCENTAGE OF ALL DEATHS OCCURRING IN PERSONS AGED 55 YEARS OR MORE 1967 to 1976



April 15, 1981

3

# Press rejects idea of register

*RDM*  
*5/4/81 243*

By CHRIS FREIMOND

THE idea of a register of reporters to "professionalise" journalism has been strongly rejected by the newspaper industry.

This has emerged from an analysis of submissions to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media.

The register idea has become a central issue of proceedings.

In general, those in favour of the register have been State officials and people of conservative political leaning.

Journalists and proprietors, have rejected the concept.

These have included:

- The editors of nearly all the major English and Afrikaans language newspapers in South Africa;
- The Newspaper Press Union (NPU) which represents the owners of the four major newspaper groups in the country;
- The Southern African Society of Journalists, which represents more than 700 journalists on English-language newspapers.

The register idea has also been strongly attacked by a former editor of the Sunday Times, Mr Joel Mervis, and by the "Mail's" ombudsman, Mr J McClurg.

In his evidence, Mr McClurg said: "Since the Press itself is opposed to the proposal, and there is certainly no public pressure for it, there can surely be only one inference: that the supposed benefit flowing from the register would be the power it would give the authorities to remove from the practice of journalism anyone who incurred their displeasure."

Opponents of the idea have submitted that the move would enable the Government to remove from the register the names of journalists whose criticism it found intolerable.

The commission has adjourned until April 22.



# Now it's 'Catch 22' for Transkei journalists

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Journalists in Transkei will not now be required to submit their reports on Government activities to Government departmental heads before publication

Mr T T Letlaka, Minister of Justice, yesterday tabled in Parliament criminal law amendment bill which places the onus on Government officials not to release "information prejudicial to the interest of the state" to the Press

But if newspapers report information deemed prejudicial to the State's interests, the journalist responsible can be compelled to reveal his source

Failure to do so will carry the penalty of a R3 000 fine or three years

in Jail. The public servant who discloses the information to the Press is subject to the same penalties

The tabled amendment is expected to be read a third time on Tuesday.

Introducing his amended bill, Mr Letlaka said "I do not think it matters what public outcry there is outside the borders of this country.

"I do not think that people like the Chief Minister of kwaZulu have read the bill. He had just been told about it by some busybody outside this country"

Under the original bill a journalist could be taken to court for publishing any information about a Department of State without the permission of the relevant Minister.

The amended bill requires the journalist to disclose his source or the manner in which he receives the information, to a commissioned policeman

The policeman could be acting on criteria unknown to the journalist, and could have received his instructions from an unknown person and not from a court of law.

In his explanation of the amended bill, Mr Letlaka said "It compels any person who has published any information concerning a Department of State or any Minister or officer thereof, which has come into his possession as a result of an unauthorised disclosure by an official, to disclose under pain of penal consequences the source of his information.

"In a prosecution under this section, once publication of the information by the accused has been established, there is presumption that he knew, or had reason to believe, that the disclosure to him was unauthorised."

Journalists will be compelled under the original bill not to publish "official information" In terms of the amended bill they must reveal the source of information given to them by public servants which is "prejudicial to State interest."

This term is not defined, and the onus appears to fall on the journalist to decide what reports could be deemed by the Transkei Government as being against its interests

DD 15/4/81 (103) (243)

# Newsmen express concern

UMTATA — Journalists representing the South African Press Association here and five newspapers — the Daily Dispatch, the Daily News, Imvo, Inkwenkwezi and Intsimbi — have called on Transkei's Minister of Justice, Mr T T Letlaka, to spell out how the Criminal Law Amendment Bill will affect evidence in courts of law and free parliamentary debate

In a statement the journalists said they "deplore the excessive restrictions to be imposed on the press, and the flouting of the fundamental right to communicate" in the Bill

The statement reads "We are deeply concerned

about our future in Transkei. Journalists have been subjected to harassment and intimidation in the past with incidences of detention and deportation, but these could be challenged

"However, statutory provisions will legalise the harassment and imprisonment of journalists and civil servants, further encroaching on individual liberty. This is an untenable situation which we condemn in the strongest terms.

"Journalistic credibility is seriously threatened when reporters become little more than government news agencies relaying government hand-

outs. No journalist with integrity can use government hand outs in lieu of news

"When communication between the press and government employees is effectively barred, government irregularities are unlikely to be exposed, providing an ideal climate for corruption, and destroying the watchdog function of the press which we aspire to.

"The government claims the Bill is necessary to facilitate international recognition of Transkei's independence, but we believe that if it becomes law, this process will be seriously retarded" —  
DDR

# Motsuenyane pleads for independent black Press

23/4/81 STB  
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There were thus two groups which stood to gain from an attack on



**MR MOTSUENYANE** ... image of an Afrikaner.

By Iain Macdonald

There was a need for an independent black Press in South Africa, but the Government had followed a policy of repression towards blacks, which had prevented this, the president of Nafcoc, Mr Sam Motsuenyane, said yesterday. Testifying before the Steyn Commission, he said the lack of a free Press in South Africa was "the most serious problem confronting the meaningful involvement of blacks in the mass media market in the country."

"I see no way the Government could generate a favourable political climate by suppressing black dissent through the banning of newspapers like Post," he said.

He also said the image of the Afrikaner to blacks

## Three-point plan by Nafcoc president

was that "of the police who are there to kick their backsides and to treat them harshly."

This impression also applied to the Afrikaans Press

"I would be pleased if the Afrikaner could address himself to his image in the African context and make himself an African rather than a European in Africa," he said.

He added that the "white Afrikaans Press and black readership were 'poles apart.'"

He put forward several suggestions on how a

black independent Press could be started

- Making money available through development corporations
- Training of blacks by the white private sector on how to run and establish a black Press
- Relaxation of Government pressure on the freedom of the Press

He warned that if blacks were not allowed to feature their radical and critical views through the existing mass media, the question arose. Where else should such views be expressed?

"As long as the Government acts as ruthlessly as it does to suppress freedom of thought and expression, so will we hesitate to become involved," he said.

He also expressed "distress" that Bishop Desmond Tutu's passport had been withdrawn "because he expressed criticism of the Government"

still not a major factor. The availability in the cash economy of new products, such as guns, was probably also an important consideration. As population growth and lack of capital led to a declining per capita product in the African agricultural areas, there was probably a threshold point at which a target motivation was replaced by the survival motivation. For example, when the mine-owners drastically reduced wage levels at the end of the Anglo-Boer War, there was a virtual strike by African miners, and the supply of workers dried up. This 'strike' lasted for several years, and was only really broken by the large-scale importation of Chinese workers. At what point did African workers lose the alternative of withdrawing their labour in this way? Almost certainly such a threshold point would be reached at different times in different areas. Much light would be thrown on the whole questions by a comparative study of the factors underlying migration from different areas in South Africa, from places like Malawi and Tanganyika which were less affected by White possession of the land, and also from Mozambique, where the colonially-imposed 'obligation to work' was perhaps the most directly coercive factor found anywhere.

Associated with the fact of dispossession were the positive and negative steps taken which had as a consequence the discouragement of the growth of efficient cash-crop farming in the African areas. There is evidence that, in some areas at least, African peasant farmers reacted as efficiently as White farmers to the growth of markets for agricultural produce, (cf Bundy, 1972 and also Arrighi, 1970, for similarities in Rhodesia). The main motive behind the 1913 Land Act was to increase the labour supply but a secondary motive may well have been to protect White farmers against competition. In the ensuing period the relative 'underdevelopment' of African agriculture was brought about, whether intentionally or unintentionally, by the massive assistance to White agriculture and the virtual total neglect of Black agriculture (see Wilson, 1972). This assistance took the form of direct loans, the strategic location of transport routes, and transport subsidies. State intervention thereby provided the necessary capital for the development of White agriculture, and at the same time rendered African agriculture non-competitive.

It is most certainly true that not all African agriculturalists and pastoralists desired to attempt cash-crop production, since their tradition had been one of more or less adequate subsistence farming. However, a development of African agriculture from subsistence to cash production in pursuit of consumer goods was made difficult or impossible by the factors we have outlined. When, later, agricultural colleges, extension services and betterment schemes for African farmers were introduced, the development of the agriculture was severely hampered by the consequences of the earlier processes. High male absenteeism rates due to migrant labour, the destruction of the soil through erosion and overgrazing and high land-densities were and still are only some of the factors.

SI

# Silenced, but still spirited

THE name Mathatha Tsedu may seem a mere statistic in the long list of the banned of this country.

But those who had come to know this silenced newshound, especially the people in the northern Transvaal, know better.

For though Mathatha (29), had been a newsmen only two years before the Government slammed a three-year banning order on him on January 9, his rise to the highest rungs of the profession did not go unnoticed.

"Mathatha is a loss to the profession," said a leading news executive.

"There was absolutely no story, no single story, he could miss in the whole of the northern Transvaal. He was simply a pro."

But what Mathatha saw as honest reporting, the Government must have seen as a ploy calculated to endanger the security of the State. Hence the banning order, and the termination of a brilliant

career. *(Handwritten: 23/1/81)*

By nature, Mathatha is a softspoken young man who couples humour with business, which is why his wife, Marubini, says the banning order has not depressed him.

The two were married in 1973 and live with their three-year-old daughter, Mofhe, at their Seshego home. That's where Mathatha is under house arrest week days between 7 pm and 6 am and on all weekends and public holidays.

"It's a big joke that the banning order can ever dispirit him," Marubini said. "He is made of sterner stuff, and such a thing could never temper his outlook towards life."

Speaking to Marubini, one gets the impression that her husband has insulted considerable confidence in her. Her jocular comments that could otherwise be seen as sensitive aspects of her life with him, show that she herself is far from

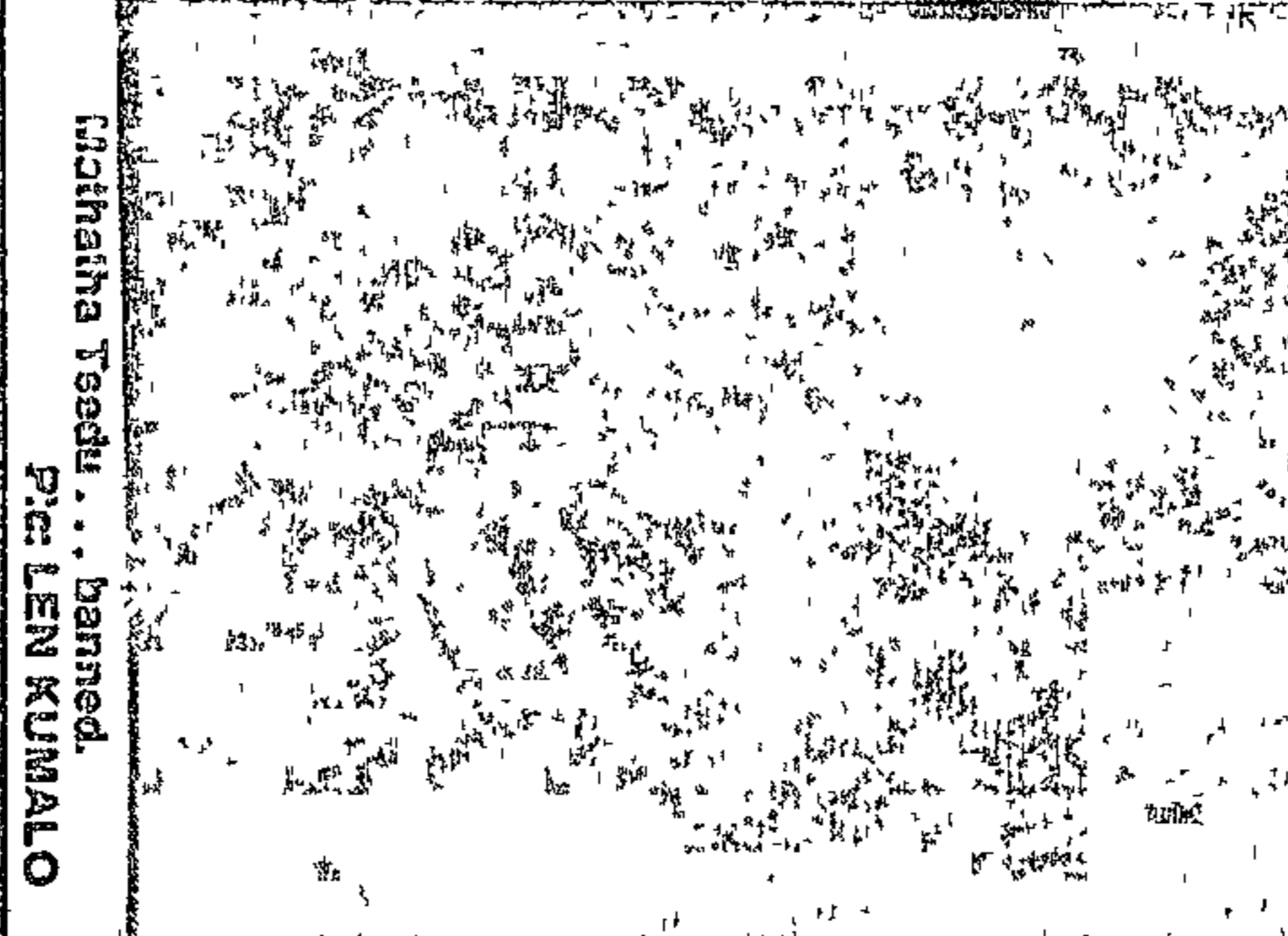
depressed.

Marubini, a teacher in Vendaland saw Mathatha rise from a newspaper distributor to a respected journalist - probably the most respected black writer in the northern Transvaal.

She saw him fired from two jobs for "wanting to make the grade". At one stage Mathatha took up teaching at a secondary school in Venda, but later resigned when the call went out to boycott Bantu Education.

It was then that Mathatha took up a freelance job with a Johannesburg weekly newspaper. He ended up distributing the paper - first he looked around for greener pastures. In April 1978 he started with the now-closed Post, and within six months he was employed fulltime.

Others who have been banned are colleagues Juby Mayet, Joe Thloloe, Zwelakhe Sisulu, Phil Mankhulu, Mono Badela and Mahatmarani Subramoney.



Mathatha Tsedu... banned.  
Pic: LEN KUMALO

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23/1/81

# Role of Press Council spelt out

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23/4/81

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JOHANNESBURG — The Press Council was not formulated "with a pistol to its head", the registrar of the council, Mr G. Uys told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media yesterday

Outlining the formation and procedure of the council, Mr Uys said journalists were wrong if they believed that an appearance before the Press Council was not a trial by their peers

Press Council sittings were not too formal as had been suggested to the commission, and alleged statements of no confidence in the council from people said to include the Prime Minister's press secretary, Mr Neville Krige, were "surprising" Mr Uys said

The introduction in 1974

of fines of up to R10 000 had been to "give the Press Council teeth."

Cases were open to the public and complaints could be lodged by telephone with the registrar, provided a written charge was drawn up within 10 days

Since May last year, 64 charges had been lodged with the council. Of these 28 were dismissed summarily, 16 were settled between parties, seven fell away, six were withdrawn and seven were proceeding.

In the early days of the council, a deposit of R10 was levied on each charge laid in anticipation of a flood of charges. This was later scrapped however, "because there were so few charges," Mr Uys said

— SAPA.

SRM 23/4/81  
Steyn told

## of 'trial by peers'

The Press Council was not formulated "with a pistol to its head," the registrar of the council, Mr G Uys told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media yesterday

Outlining the formation and procedures of the Press Council, Mr Uys said journalists were wrong if they believed that an appearance before the council was not a trial by their peers.

Press Council sittings were not too formal, as had been suggested to the commission, and alleged statements of no confidence in the council from persons said to include the Prime Minister's Press secretary, Mr Neville Krige, were surprising, Mr Uys said.

Only 66 cases had been heard by the council in 12 years and costs were borne by each party.

The introduction in 1974 of fines of up to R10 000 had been to give the council teeth.

Cases were open to the public and complaints could be lodged by telephone with the registrar, provided a written charge was drawn up within 10 days.

From May last year to the present time, 65 charges had been lodged with the council.

●Page 27: Matsenyane pleads for independent black Press.



# Press has 'shortcoming'

244/k1 . 5107, (243)

By Iain Macdonald

A great shortcoming of the media is that they see South Africa as a country with only 4-million white inhabitants, and give only some of these a broader perspective on matters, Dr Koos Roelofse of Unisa's Department of Communication, told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the mass media yesterday.

Attempts to start a com-

munity medium were stopped by steps against newspapers which criticised the Government and society

The South African media were "relatively free" even though most media in Africa were not free but linked to one-party states, he said

Although the Press has a code, most journalists are not familiar with it, and knowledge of it is no

prerequisite for admission to the profession.

The fullest possible information should be given so that individuals and groups could weighup alternatives

The South African Community entrenched the political rights of a very small percentage of its population and this maldistribution of freedom and rights led to polarisation.

1. Subject to the provisions of section 13 of the Act, the degree may be conferred upon -
  - (a) a graduate of this University of not less than eight years' standing;
  - (b) a graduate of any other University recognised by the Senate for the purpose of not less than eight years' standing.
2. A candidate shall present for the approval of the Senate original published work or original work accepted for publication in a subject or subjects approved by the Senate which must give proof of distinction by some original contribution to the advancement of science or of learning.
3. The work must be submitted in a satisfactory form. Six bound copies must be presented.

DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF ECONOMIC SCIENCES

DRAFT

# Press controls are an 'assault on rights'

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By Iain Macdonald

The Government's restraint of the media was to entrench it in a position of "practically unassailable power" and to place authority beyond public scrutiny except at its own pleasure

This was said by the editor of the Eastern Province Herald, Mr Harold O'Connor, in evidence before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media today.

He said all attempts to impose further controls on the Press should be resisted as they were "a grave assault on the democratic rights of the people"

"There is no evidence that Government spokesmen have in their attacks on newspapers been interested in anything but the political effect or im-

plication of reporting and comment," he said.

Attainment of political control of the Press "seems increasingly to have become a Government obsession."

## STRINGENT

"The very existence of your Commission reflects the Government's wish for more stringent restraints on the Press, and I have no doubt whatever that what is wanted is political control that will further violate the very precious measure of democracy we still have in South Africa.

The Government is not just undemocratic in outlook, it is in fact anti-democratic.

"Results of this anti-democratic outlook are plain in for example the violation of the public's right to information and

comment through the Prisons Act and the latest amendment to the Police Act.

"There has long been developing in the official mind in South Africa a disturbing belief that what the media do not say or show can easily be hidden from public knowledge," he said

He also hit out at the SABC, saying that if the Government's concern with the media was not political, "drastic action would long since have been taken over the SABC's gross abuse of its public trust — an abuse long conducted with the Government's connivance for the purely political purpose of serving the National Party"

## AUTONOMOUS

He said the Government had no right to interfere

"with the running of the autonomous broadcasting corporation"

The most blatant example of the abuse of the publicly funded broadcasting system was its "so-called editorial or formerly current affairs broadcasts"

He also said that although the Steyn Commission was a commission of inquiry into the media, "a relatively small amount of attention has been given to the SABC and its arrogant disregard of its public obligation as an information medium."

He said he was opposed to the establishment of a register for journalists and that "the career of every journalist on such a register will be subject to attack, for political reasons, no matter how the intention may be covered up."

How Long Will South Africa Survive?

Structural Change.

Conclusion

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There are, of course, other possibilities. Israel now almost certainly possesses nuclear weapons, and Pretoria too has boasted of a 'nuclear capacity'. Whether by her own direct efforts or as a result of a deal with Israel, South Africa might well be in a position to threaten the use of nuclear weaponry against her foes. Such possibilities seem small. South Africa is hardly likely to gain US approval for the use of such weapons and rather unlikely to use them without it.

If, however, one is to take one's courage in both hands and attempt a prediction — on the basis of what is known and what is, on the whole, most likely — then one should, perhaps, expect something like the following scenario.

First, the South African economy is in for several hard years at least. The gold price has gone up, but not enough. It hit \$200 in December 1974. Since then, inflation has been of the order of 25-30%. This means the present \$150 price is worth only about \$110 in December 1974 terms — an overall fall of 45%. Foreign investors have been thoroughly scared off, and though there is in fact every prospect of a quick killing in the markets for those who bought in at post-Soweto lows, it may well be that the country will never again benefit from the same degree of foreign investor confidence it enjoyed in the 1960s. The country will need loans, but remains a good credit risk and should get them. The problem is that it will be exceedingly difficult to acquire long-term investment from any source, and both private and public foreign investors will require high rates of return and copper-bottomed guarantees for whatever risks they take. The government is likely to spend even more on defence, to maintain white employment in the para-statal sector, to squeeze imports, and to pursue deflationary policies as far as these other objectives allow.

The likely results are high and rising African unemployment, a moderate redistribution of resources within the white community, and a gradually stabilising economic situation presaging at least a minor (and possibly major) boom in mineral exports in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The economy may well appear to tremble on the brink of the apocalypse but it is too fundamentally strong not to pull through by the simple expedient of off-loading most of the costs of recession on to the blacks. It is possible (though by no means certain) that we shall witness further revolts by the black unemployed or even the peasantry under such circumstances. These revolts could take almost any form, with urban guerrilla action perhaps marginally the most likely. What is certain (not just possible) is that such revolts, if they take place, will be thoroughly and effectively repressed.

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SABC management has never openly admitted to production staff that the corporation operates as a Government mouth-piece, or that producers should follow a Nationalist editorial policy

Their strategy in ensuring that any prospective programme conflicting with or threatening the objectives of what can be seen as the Broederbond-Nationalist Party alliance does not get broadcast has been far more subtle

In 1976/1977, the English Documentary Department was potentially the best equipped, in terms of producers employed, to enable TV to fulfil its role to the community

As is to be expected from a TV documentary department, many of the producers saw it as their role and responsibility within the spectrum of the TV service to pursue relevant socio/political programmes

Management's response to proposals of this nature from the department was non-committal to the extent that no definite policy directives were issued on this type of programme, but we were led to believe — through the Head of English Television, Mr Robin Knox-Grant, and the then Organiser of the English Documentary Department, Mr Don Briscoe, that we could tackle any subject we thought was socially relevant, as long as "both sides of the story" were presented

It was in the ensuing stages of production that management implemented their obstructive strategy by employing crippling "delay tactics" whenever a programme of this nature was attempted

These tactics made production planning and implementation so heavy-going for the producer concerned, that many concepts were abandoned at the research stage

Producers were required to submit detailed lists of names of people they intended to consult during the research period. The producer was not, however, permitted to make any contact with these prospective people until the list was approved by management

In addition, treatments were required — outlining in detail the objectives of the programme

These were kept by management for up to months on end, with no reaction being fed back to the producer

Week after week he was kept "in limbo" by management, and when appealing to the Organiser for a definite directive, was instructed to effectively "carry on, but do nothing"

Because of this, schedules were disrupted and many of these programmes were delayed indefinitely

In spite of management, a few documentaries dealing with social or political issues — through the perseverance and tenacity of the producer concerned — were finally produced

Once edited, these programmes were then viewed by management

It must be pointed out that no programme could be shot before management had approved the programme treatment and script, outlining in detail the structure and content of the programme to be produced

# How SABC management 'crushed a department'

KOM 25/4/81 (S) (243) (H)

In 1979 the SABC sacked one of its television producers after he defied a management directive to cut a scene from a documentary he had produced on Baragwanath Hospital. This week the producer, KEVIN HARRIS, lifted the curtain on the behind-the-scenes drama at Auckland Park when he testified before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media. Here are extracts from his submission.

Although management had initially approved the submitted treatment and script at this stage, they now insisted on changes. Sequences were removed, or additions were required to include more of the official point of view, and in some cases the programme was placed on the shelf indefinitely, awaiting a decision from management

Management's interference at this stage resulted in these programmes conveying a message contrary to the objectives outlined in the initial film treatment

Instead of "presenting both sides of the story", what was transmitted was an official "white-wash" of the issue concerned

This compromised the integrity of the producer, and also the credibility of those people who had been persuaded to appear in the programme on the understanding that the programme objectives were those outlined in the initial programme treatment

Programmes which suffered this type of "post production" interference, were

● "A Sense of Destiny" — a documentary on the Afrikaner, produced by Pat Rogers

● "Under the Southern Cross" — a documentary on the coloured community, produced by Adrian Herring

● "Black Education" — an investigative documentary on the state of black education. Produced by Adrian Herring, it was placed on the shelf and has never been transmitted

● "Vimba, The Miner" — a documentary produced by Francis Gerard on mining migrant labour

This programme relied heavily on "voice over" from the principal character to convey its message. Once Gerard had resigned, the original "voice over" sound track was removed and a new sound track, carrying a "management-sanctioned" message, was recorded and laid for transmission

● "Four South Africans" — a programme comparing the respective lifestyles of a white, black, Indian and coloured employee. Produced by Francis Gerard, it has been shelved and never transmitted

● "Shelter" — a programme on the housing situation of all race groups. Produced by John

Richards, it has never been broadcast

● "The Band" — using a group of professional coloured musicians as the vehicle, this documentary set out to communicate to a white viewing audience the aspirations and frustrations of coloured youth

Produced by myself, this programme was edited under management sanction after my departure from the SABC, and not in accordance with the initial script and treatment

The programme that was eventually broadcast achieved precisely the opposite objective — stripped of all meaningful content, what resulted was a musical programme showing a happy band of coloured musicians playing their music to coloured fans who were all contented and happy in their position

Through this strategy employed by management, the output from the English Documentary Department was confined to irrelevant mediocrity, and the department was successfully prevented from performing its rightful function within the television spectrum

The excuse often used by the Head of English Television, Mr Knox-Grant, was that television was a very young service of the SABC, and that producers were too inexperienced and irresponsible to tackle certain subjects in the required manner

In early 1976, a producer in the English Documentaries Department, Stu Pringle, who had been working extensively in black urban areas the year before, became particularly concerned by the attitudes he perceived of frustrated blacks living in the urban areas. He recognised strong indications that these frustrations would result in confrontation in the near future

Concerned by these indications, he approached all levels of management, from the Organiser to the Deputy Director-General, in an effort to urge them to undertake the production of a series of programmes that would throw light on these frustrations in an effort to alleviate their grievances and defuse the situation

His pleas were rejected by management, and he was dismissed as a raving lunatic

In June, 1976, when the Soweto confrontation occurred,

the producers in the English Documentary Department expressed the need for a programme to be produced which looked at the disturbances and investigated the causes

Approached by the producers — through the then Organiser, Mr Don Briscoe — Mr Knox-Grant went through the motions of inviting the producers to submit scripts and treatments on the subject

Producers within the department made this a priority issue and dropped programmes to make way for the required facilities to be allocated to this priority programme

After considering the script proposals for some days, Mr Knox-Grant dismissed the issue, saying he did not find any of the script proposals satisfactory

He added that he felt that there was no producer in the English Documentary Department responsible enough or experienced enough to tackle such a sensitive programme

At this point, Stu Pringle announced his resignation, saying that he could not work for an organisation whose management held its producers in such low esteem that they were prevented from doing their job

The situation deteriorated, as other programmes being made by the Documentary Department — of a non-contentious nature — became affected by management's attitude

It eventually became apparent to producers that there was no demand from the Head of English Television for programmes from the English Documentary Department

The English Documentary Department existed as a token department, and was prevented from fulfilling its responsible role in the television service

Eventually producers requested officially, at a staff meeting, that a meeting be held with the then Deputy Director-General of the SABC, Dr Jan Schutte, to discuss and establish definite SABC policy directives applicable to documentaries of a socio/political nature

A year later, this meeting had still not taken place

Matters came to a head in early 1978. While addressing a seminar in Cape Town, the then Organiser, Mr Briscoe — when confronted with the issue that no relevant programmes were

forthcoming from his department — was reported to have replied that his producers' irresponsibility and inexperience were responsible for this situation

As a department, the documentary producers sent a letter to the Director-General of the SABC, Mr Swanepoel, requesting an investigation into the state of affairs in the English Documentary Department

Management's immediate response was to protect the Organiser concerned and, without granting the producers a hearing, to severely reprimand them for their actions and to threaten dismissal to any producer who dared to make similar representation

The Head of English Television made a show of intending to rectify the situation, and after a meeting with the producers and considerable consultation with the Organiser, he and the Organiser devised a solution they came to the conclusion that the department had been over-productive, thus overloading the facilities available, which in turn led to the discontent in the department

Their solution was to cut the number of producers within the English Documentary Department by 50%

This enabled them to transfer producer Pat Rogers, against his will, out of the English Documentary Department to the English Variety Department

Pat Rogers is tone deaf, but had no recourse to management or the personnel department to object to this transfer

Management's strategy was not to fire him as this would focus attention on the events in the documentary department, instead, they transferred him to a position where his frustration and discontent would drive him to resign

This is what ultimately happened to Pat Rogers

Of the other producers, David Vaughn, David Lister and Graham Stewart — distraught from the frustration caused by the lack of credible policy directives and the general attitude of management to the department — opted for transfers to the English Variety and English Children's departments

After this incident, the re-

maining producers — with two exceptions — resigned during the following year

Between 1976 and 1979, when Mr Briscoe held the position of Organiser, at least 12 production assistants, three personal secretaries to the Organiser and 16 producers resigned from that department

The producers were Francis Gerard, Bill Faure, Adrian Herring, Cecil Jubber, Tony Li-kardt, Andre Liebenberg, David Lister, Norman Milburn, Stu Pringle, John Richards, Pat Rogers, Josh Spencer, Graham Stewart, Michael Sandler, David Vaughn and finally myself

I was dismissed in October, 1979 as a result of the circumstances surrounding the broadcast of the documentary "Bara", which I produced

The department has been successfully crushed by management to prevent any further attempt at the production of socially relevant documentaries

The strategy employed by management in reducing the English Documentary Department from a potentially dynamic force to an impotent shadow of its former self, not only succeeded in achieving the programming priorities of SABC management at the expense of the needs and interests of the South African community, but also contributed to the irrelevant content and mediocre standard of programmes produced locally for SABC Television today

Interference — in the form of changes to programme content, or prevention of certain valid points being made within a programme — brought about by the influence of Government officials or powerful figures in the private sector, can be seen to occur on a more day-to-day basis

The programme "Midweek" suffered interference of this nature when produced by Kevin Kevany and presented by Pat Rogers

I recollect that the "Spectrum" programme, produced by Carol Charlewood, dealing with smoking, suffered interference and delays because of the possible effect of the programme on cigarette companies

In a documentary, "Cry of the Wilderness", produced by myself, which looked at the threats to the remaining wilderness areas of South Africa, I felt it was important that the programme consider the threat of possible mining in the Kruger National Park

I approached Iscor, inviting them to put forward their case for mining in the programme

They replied, stipulating the condition that approval be obtained from the Minister of Agriculture before Iscor could take part in the programme

I approached SABC management for them to obtain this clearance

The reply from SABC management was that "Mr P de Bruyn (Director of Television Programmes) feels that this (Iscor's participation concerning coke discovery in the Kruger Park) should be excluded from the programme" as "he feels that the subject has been 'blown up' out of all proportion by the Press and that we (the SABC) should not give the matter any further undue prominence"

# 'State seeks political control of the Press'

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
 THE violation of the public's right to information in the Press, and other curbs on freedom, indicated an anti-democratic outlook by the Government, the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media heard yesterday

In evidence in Johannesburg, the editor of the Eastern Province Herald, Mr Harry O'Connor, said he had no doubt that the Government wanted political control of the Press, which would "further violate the very precious measure of democracy we still have in South Africa"

For years the authorities had steadily extended restraints on the media, and demands for further restrictions were purely political. This was reflected by the very existence of the Steyn Commission

"The purpose has been, and remains, not only to entrench the Government in a practically unassailable position of power, but also gradually to place authority and bureaucracy beyond public scrutiny except at the pleasure of the Government's officialdom. Nothing can be more inimical to the public's democratic rights," said Mr O'Connor

There was no sign that the

Government was concerned with the ethics and standards of conduct of journalists, and it would be surprising if it had any grasp of such matters or of the function of journalists in a democratic society, he said

It was abundantly clear that the authorities believed it was for them to decide what was safe for society to know. They would like to see the role of the Press reduced to "purveying handouts of official versions of what goes on in this country". Evidence to the commission by senior public servants strongly supported this contention

A "disturbing belief" that what the media did not say or show was easily hidden from the public had developed in official thinking. This led to rumours which could cause alarm and panic

Mr O'Connor said he was "appalled" by the idea of a register of journalists. "If, as I most firmly believe, the motive of such control is political, the career of every journalist on such a register will be subject to attack, for political reasons, no matter how the intention is covered up"

He disputed evidence to the commission by Colonel S P Malan, of the Prisons Service, in which he denied that the

Prisons Act curbed reporting on prison conditions

Mr O'Connor said that his personal experience showed that if the authorities did not confirm a report concerning prisons, an editor ran the risk of prosecution if he published it

"And the plain fact is that because of the (Prisons) Act, very little information about what goes on in prisons has been published for a long time"

Mr O'Connor criticised strongly the partiality of the SABC. The fact that the Government did not complain about the service illustrated his contention that the Government's obsession with the media was purely political

"Were this not so, the SABC's gross disregard of the public's rights would long since have produced the reaction to be expected of any government with a semblance of democratic principle," he said

If all newspapers propagated National Party policy as faithfully as the SABC, there would be no fuss about the media

Mr O'Connor concluded, "Nothing fails more grievously to meet the needs of the times than the Government and the racial discrimination still entrenched in its policy"

(4) Unsatisfactory criteria for hospital referral and clinic delivery

Major indications in order of frequency being

EVALUATION OF A COMMUNITY OBSTETRIC PROGRAMME IN THE DURBAN AREA

The programme to be discussed deals solely with the black (African) population of the Durban area. The rationale for concentrating on this group is that it is the one which currently has the most pressing obstetric needs. This assessment is supported by the perinatal mortality rates (P.N.M.R.) for 1977 in which the figure for the black population is more than twice that of any of the other 3 population groups.

The basis of a satisfactory medical programme is an accurate and complete diagnosis. This will include an assessment of (a) the relevant needs of the population concerned, (b) the facilities available to those needs. In obstetrics, measurement of the P.N.M.R. provides a convenient yardstick by which to judge the level of obstetric care. The lowering of the perinatal mortality rate can be used as an indication of improvement in services

Examination of the situation amongst the black (African) population 1973 showed the following problems.

(1) High perinatal mortality rate - hospital	79,7
hospital and clinic	67,4
clinic	19,6

(2) Excessively high percentage of hospital deliveries as compared clinic deliveries (19,500 cf 4,500).

(3) An excessive referral rate of clinic cases to hospital (6,000 referred, 4,500 delivered)

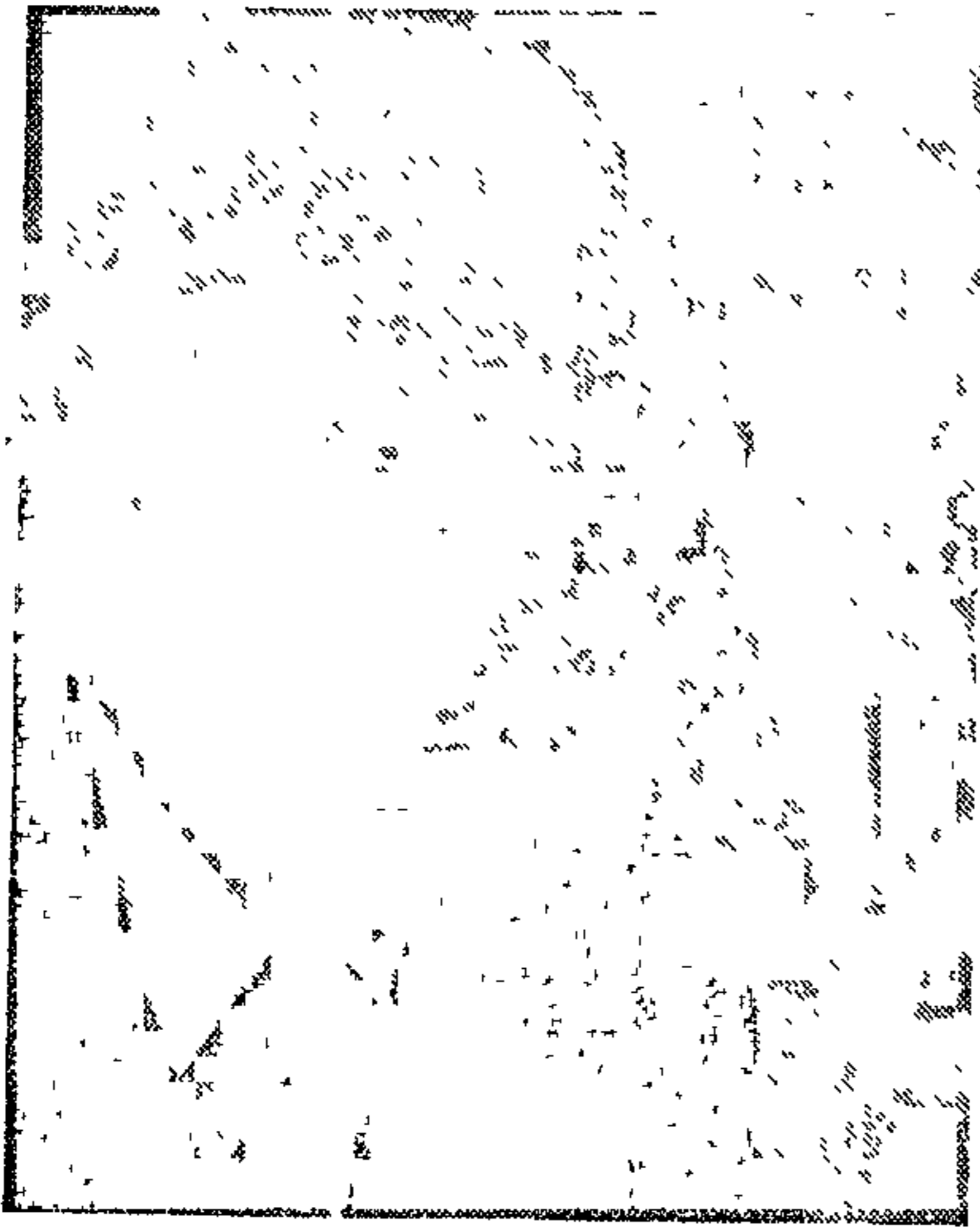
(2) Re-assessment of criteria for referral

Major indications for referral 1976

# Quoted out of context, Munnik tells commission

By Iain Macdonald

The Minister of Health, Welfare and Pensions, Dr L A P A Munnik told the Steyn Commission today he had been quoted out of context in saying pensioners could live on R20 a month.



The Minister of Health, Dr Lapa Munnik, testifying at today's sitting of the Steyn Commission. In the background is Mr Allister Sparks, the editor of The Rand Daily Mail.

He said parts of what he had said had been left out of reports in the Press

"I never said the elderly could live on 'only' R20 a month," he told the Commission. "I was quoted out of context to make a story with consequences such as this. I don't think it was by accident"

He said he had been made out to be "a totally heartless person" by the Press

He said the Press had quoted him as saying that pensioners should live on R20 a month, but Mr Justice M T Steyn, referring to the original article in the Rand Daily Mail said "Here it says old people can live on R20 a month. Can you show me where 'could' is made into 'should'?"

"It comes over in the whole context," Dr Munnik replied

"How long can South Africa go on with this type of reporting?"

Earlier he said he had told reporters at the meeting that "if anyone went out and said pensioners must get by on R20 they would be guilty of misrepresentation"

He had specified that the R20 diet was a "health" diet and not a "healthy diet" and he found it difficult to believe a reporter did not know the difference.

The case continues this afternoon with evidence from the Editor of the Rand Daily Mail, Mr Allister Sparks.

(News by I Macdonald, 47  
Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

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2/4/81

# Steyn

By CHRIS FREIMOND

# hears

# the

# Munnik

# 'diet'

# debacle

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COM  
29/4/81

The Minister of Health, Welfare and Pensions, Dr L A P A Munnik, the Editor of the Rand Daily Mail, Allister Sparks, and the "Mail's" Political Correspondent, Helen Zille, yesterday gave detailed evidence before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media in Johannesburg in connection with Dr Munnik's controversial statement last week that a pensioner could have a healthy diet by spending R20 a month on food.

At the start of the proceedings, the chairman, Mr Justice M T Steyn, said he had invited Dr Munnik to testify after hearing on the radio that the Minister had sent him a telegram requesting an urgent session of the commission to hear evidence on reports in SAAN and Argus group newspapers concerning his statement at a National Party Press conference in Johannesburg last Thursday.

Judge Steyn said he had also invited Mr Sparks to give evidence on the matter. He said he wanted to explain the nature of the proceedings and make a distinction between them and the Press Council. By virtue of the mandate of the commission and the powers and duties of the Press Council, there was an inevitable overlap in the jurisdiction of the two bodies.

The commission would not come to an immediate finding on the evidence, but the matter would be considered when the final report was made, probably within eight or nine weeks, he said.

Mr Justice Steyn emphasised that the hearing was limited to what was said by the Minister and what was reported in the Press. In the end, the commission's duty would be to establish the intentions with which the Minister made his statements and the intention with which the Press reported them. As a body empowered merely to investigate and report, the commission differed in a cardinal way from the Press Council and it could not judge the proceedings.

Judge Steyn read into the record Dr Munnik's telegram requesting the urgent hearing and Mr Sparks' letter requesting the opportunity to respond. A tape recording of a part of the Press conference at which Dr Munnik made his statement was heard by the commission.



The Minister of Health, Welfare and Pensions, Dr L A P A Munnik, appearing before the Steyn Commission yesterday. Behind him sits the Rand Daily Mail's Editor Allister Sparks and the "Mail's" Political Correspondent Helen Zille, who also gave evidence to the commission.

DR MUNNIK used his opportunity to give evidence before the commission to explain the events that led to his "R20 a month for food" statement, and to attack the opposition Press for their handling of the issue.

He accused the Rand Daily Mail's Political Correspondent, Helen Zille, of violating the "spirit" of the Press conference at which the statement was made, and of implying in her report that he had claimed pensioners should live on R20 a month for food.

The Minister said he wanted to make it clear that he had been invited by the commission to give evidence.

He referred to Mr Sparks' letter to the commission requesting a hearing, and said he found it "peculiar" that Mr Sparks should insinuate that he (Dr Munnik) would attempt to use the commission as a political platform. He wanted it on record that he believed this paragraph in the letter to be unnecessary.

Dr Munnik said he listened attentively to the tape recording of the Press conference which had been organised by Dr Piet Koorhof in his capacity as head of the National Party information service.

He (Dr Munnik) had been asked to attend the conference to say something about the aged because there had been so many misrepresentations concerning the elderly in the election campaign.

He disputed the recording of the conference, which he said was incomplete and did not include certain statements he had made.

The Minister said he had stated clearly at the conference that he and the Government had the interests of the aged at heart. If this had been included in the "Mail" report it would have made all the difference.

He referred to the "so called" transcript of his statement in the Sunday Times and the Cape Times (it also appeared in the "Mail"), which he said gave a totally different impression to the public to that which he had intended.

Dr Munnik said he had fully discussed a Human Sciences Research Council project which had investigated the minimum needs for existence during last year's parliamentary session. This was on record in Parliament and he did not know to whom the Press had spoken to at the HSRC who had denied that such research had taken place.

The Minister said he had made it clear at the Press conference that the Government did not base its pensions on the R40 quoted by him as the minimum necessary for food and other basic requirements. He said he went out of his way to say this.

He said the "Mail" had used the "R20" statement in a "reckless" manner in its headline on Friday. The report in the paper on that day had used the phrase that pensioners "need only R20 a month for food". He denied having used the word "only" and also disputed the "Mail's" use of the words "healthy diet", saying he had referred to a "health diet" and contended yesterday that there was a big difference between the two phrases.

Dr Munnik said he could not accept that a reporter did not know the difference between these two words. By using "healthy" instead of "health" and the word "only", the "Mail" had misled people who read only a few sentences of a report and then put down the newspaper, he said.

Dr Munnik claimed that when it appeared at the conference that someone could perhaps "misuse" his "R20" statement, he warned that if they did so they would be guilty of misrepresenting him. He was surprised that this warning had not made an impression on the "Mail's" reporter.

The Minister submitted that the "Mail" report had separately placed his words out of context.

MR SPARKS praised Ms Zille's competence and integrity, saying she had a good reputation among her colleagues and was recognised by most politicians of all parties for her fairness.

It was not clear to him if Dr Munnik regarded the tape recording of the Press conference played to the commission yesterday as a "doctored" tape. The Minister had referred to it as this in his evidence.

Judge Steyn said it was his impression that the Minister referred to the recording in that way because he believed it was not the complete recording of the conference. Mr Sparks accepted the judge's interpretation, but said he felt use of the word "doctored" was unfortunate.

He took the gravest exception to the implication in Dr Munnik's telegram to the commission that the "Mail's" report by Ms Zille was written with malicious forethought. This was not justified. If there had been any distortion, then it had been by Dr Munnik.

The Minister had used the unfair tactic of denying something that he was never reported as having said.

Dr Munnik had made serious allegations of unfair reporting and of malice, but at no stage had he complained to the Editor of the "Mail", Mr Sparks said.

He submitted that complete substantiation for the first paragraph of the "Mail's" report on Friday could be found in the transcript of what Dr Munnik had said.

The Minister's complaint about the use of the word "only" escaped him, Mr Sparks said.

Dr Munnik had blundered. The tape recording of the Press conference and the transcript confirmed his statement. The Minister could wriggle as much as he liked, but he could not escape it.

Mr Sparks said he failed to see the difference between the words "health diet" and "healthy diet".

Mr Sparks denied that the "Mail" report had said the Minister expected pensioners to live on R20 a month for food, as Dr Munnik had claimed.

Dr Munnik was adopting the trick of denying something that was never reported to get the word "denial" onto television and into the Press.

Judge Steyn said his impression was that Dr Munnik had complained that the general presentation of the report gave the impression that he said pensioners should live on R20 a month for food and not could do so.

Mr Sparks replied that they were dealing with facts, and the fact was that the Minister had said an old person could eat for R20 a month. One could read the "Mail" report over and over, and nowhere was it stated that the Minister had said pensioners should live on R20 a month for food.

Dr Munnik had landed his party with a serious embarrassment on the eve of an election and was trying to give the impression to the public that he had not made the statement that he in fact did make. The purpose was to lessen the impact of his remarks on the election. That was what the issue was all about.

At worst, all Dr Munnik's complaint amounted to was the fact that the "Mail" omitted certain points he made at the conference.

The report was correct. The prime task of a good political correspondent was to watch for the unguarded statement by politicians. Dr Munnik's statement was carefully considered and he had to be judged on what he had said.

Dr Munnik could talk piously about the Government's concern for the aged, but what really mattered was his statement that pensioners could live on R20 a month for food.

These facts in Dr Munnik's statement were incorrect even though he had said they were based on scientific research. The remarkable situation had arisen where scien-

MS ZILLE told the commission that she attended the regular weekly National Party Press conference in Johannesburg last Thursday and took particular note when Dr Munnik started talking about inflation and the price of food as these issues were crucial to the election campaign she was covering.

She found it "unbelievable" when the Minister made his statement about R20 a month for food because, as a regular shopper, she knew it was impossible to buy a month's food for that amount.

She was interested to hear that Dr Munnik based his statement on research by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

It struck her as extremely significant that the Minister's remark appeared to indicate to her that he was out of touch with the price of food and food price inflation in South Africa. She believed this was worthy of noting and revealing to the public as it was a central issue in the election.

Another point that struck her was Dr Munnik's statement that South Africans ate too much. Her immediate thought was what percentage of South Africans did this? It seemed remarkable that the Minister could be so out of touch with reality.

Her duty as a political reporter was to look for pertinent facts at the conference in order to be able to tell the public how the Government was viewing their needs.

It was interesting to note that when Dr Munnik made his R20 statement, the NP parliamentary candidate for Florida, Mr Barend du Plessis, who was at the conference, sat up in his chair and looked at the Press to see if they were reacting. He seemed nervous and became more worried as the conference progressed, she said.

Mr Du Plessis later said to the conference that he was very worried that the opposition Press would "make headlines" of Dr Munnik's statement and tried to indicate to Dr Munnik that he had blundered.

He tried to get Dr Munnik to say that the Department of Health did not use the R20 figure to calculate pensions.

Dr Piet Koorhof, who chaired the conference, said he was sure none of the Press would "misuse" the statement. Ms Zille asked what he meant by that. There was laughter and the conference passed on to other matters.

She said she had felt it necessary to question Dr Koorhof on what he meant because silence could have indicated tacit agreement that she would not use the statement. She wanted everyone at the conference to know that she intended reporting Dr Munnik's statement.

Ms Zille said she could not recall Dr Munnik emphasising that State pensions were not based on the R20 figure as the Minister had claimed earlier when he appeared before the commission.

She said Mr Du Plessis had tried to get Dr Munnik to say this, but had failed.

She could also not recall the Minister's claim yesterday that he had warned the Press not to misrepresent his statement.

Ms Zille said she made a special effort to place the report in context and was satisfied she had done so, and she submitted that the tape recording of the conference also indicated this.

The crux of the matter was that Dr Munnik was denying something that no newspaper had reported him as saying. The Minister was denying that he said the aged should live on R20 a month for food — but no-one had reported him as saying that.

The general public's reaction to the denial was that the newspapers had been wrong, and at first no reader would

29/4/81  
Matisonn  
to return

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Mr John Matisonn, Washington correspondent of the Rand Daily Mail and the Sunday Times, is due to fly to Johannesburg tomorrow to start a jail term which has been hanging over him for more than two years.

Mr Matisonn was sentenced to 14 days in jail for refusing to divulge the source of a news item he wrote in 1978 about the defunct Information Department.

His appeals since 1979 have failed.

Mr Matisonn confirmed yesterday "I plan to fly to Johannesburg on Thursday to serve the sentence."

He said he did not know in which jail he would have to serve his sentence.

(excluding lower-status skilled work in construction) If at the same time there is a certain drift of Whites into these clerical jobs (as the proportion of such jobs increases in a maturing economy) this might tend to accentuate any concomitant attitude change. To what extent will equal-status contacts between Black and White in such jobs affect White racial and political attitudes? Will these Whites experience status threats? Also, to what extent will changing life-styles resulting from increasing living standards and changing job patterns affect racial and political attitudes?

A very large number of Whites are employed by the state. These workers may have different interests and be subject to different pressures than those employed in private enterprise. Also, to what extent can the growing state-apparatus continue to be run by these Whites? Relations between Black and White are likely to be different from the normal pattern in those departments which deal with the various Black groups. Is this likely to have any significance?

group might be very important

So far in discussing the various White classes we have ignored the English-Afrikaans cultural cleavage. To a certain extent at least the question of the nature and significance of Afrikaner cultural identity cuts across any class analysis. But it may well be that social mobility and changing living standards will affect both the cohesiveness of the Afrikaner group and the content of Afrikaner culture. This could have consequences for the motives of this group as well as for their attitudes both to Blacks and to English-speaking Whites. But if there is a change, is it more likely to be towards pragmatic dominance or towards separatist 'verligtheid' (enlightenment)? What is the significance of the growth of Afrikaner capitalism? What is the significance of the increasing equal-status contact between top Afrikaner officials and Black leaders concomitant on the policy of separate development?

#### 5.4. Black workers

(a) To what extent are Black workers dissatisfied with their position? Trapido (1971) has argued that South Africa is the only mature economy which has not been able to provide improved social and material con-

group? Do they have any other Whites? Is there any nich might squeeze out small businessmen? If so, is this of this group in general from executives and other? It may well be that play a disproportionately case, the attitudes of this

ditions for its workers. This has been disputed by Bell and Bromberger, who argue that the increase in per capita income in real terms of African wages in manufacturing industry has been three-fold in this century. (See also Lipton (1974) on agricultural incomes). In any event, how important is this for an understanding of the dynamics of the situation? Is it perhaps not more important to determine to what extent the level of relative deprivation has altered? It is sometimes argued that the reference groups against whom African workers measure their relative deprivation is the tribal peasantry, who probably live at a lower level of subsistence than do the urban workers. In this case they would not experience relative deprivation. This is probably not true. (See, for example, Schlemmer (1975), IIE (1975), Durand (1970)) But it is still important to get an idea of the major reference group for African workers. Do they compare their situation with other Africans, or with Whites? If, as seems likely, there is a continuing increase of Africans in higher paid skilled and white-collar jobs, will this increase the relative deprivation of the mass of Africans? To answer these questions we need to know more about how the expectations of the African proletariat are formed and changed.

(b) To what extent does the increase in the absolute size of the Black proletariat, the increase of their relative importance in the economy, and the changing role of Black workers as they become semi-skilled and even skilled, change their potential organizational power and bargaining position? In particular, is unemployment likely to increase or decrease, and what is the relative significance for bargaining of the possession of skills, on the one hand, and the existence of a large reserve army of labour, on the other hand?

The question of unemployment is obviously related to the question of agricultural and other development in the peripheral areas — the homelands and the other Southern African states. Are any of these states likely to develop in such a way as to lessen their dependence on labour-migration? In particular, what would be the significance of nationalist or radical governments in the former Portuguese territories for the large numbers of migrants from those territories? This question has to be asked both on the political level and on the economic level. An African government in Mozambique might in any event take the political decision to end migration, and it might also initiate a programme of development which would render migration unnecessary in the longer term.

(c) To what extent is the Black proletariat likely to become stratified, and what would the organizational and political significance of this be? Coloured and Indian workers might already be construed as constituting an 'aristocracy of labour'. Might a policy of the rate for the job not lead to the growth of a Black labour aristocracy with interests opposed to those of the mass of unskilled and semi-skilled workers? Are migrant workers



# Info newsman will return for jail term

By MARIKA SBOROS

JOHN Matisonn, Washington correspondent of the Rand Daily Mail and Sunday Times, is expected in South Africa tomorrow to serve a 14-day jail term

He returns amid confusion over whether investigations are continuing into alleged criminal offences relating to a report he wrote in 1978 which hinted at links between the Government and the Christian league

The report has since been proved correct

Mr Matisonn was sentenced in 1979 for refusing to reveal the information source of the report about the now defunct Information Department

On Tuesday the Transvaal Attorney-General's office told lawyers acting for Mr Matisonn that investigations were continuing and that he would be required to return from Washington to serve his sentence

However, yesterday the Attorney-General, Mr J Nothing, told the lawyers that he had not had any communication with the police, and could not say if investigations were continuing

Mr Nothing said his function was not to gather the information, but to decide whether or not to prosecute.

Mr Nothing said he did not know who the investigating officer was, or if he had a file on

Mr Matisonn's case, and referred us to the chief of the CID," the lawyer said

Mr Matisonn was subpoenaed under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act to disclose his source of information

The subpoena required him to appear in court to answer questions and stated that the police were investigating an alleged offence of "detamnation of character against persons unknown"

Later in court the prosecutor said the suspected crime was tampering with the Christian League's mail

From Washington last night, Mr Matisonn confirmed that he intended returning

"As I understand it the onus is on me to return," he said, confirming he will arrive in South Africa on Friday

Mr Nothing said last night he "supposed" investigations were continuing

"As I told the lawyers, I have not received a docket from the police," he said

VITA PALESTRANT reports that Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party MP, said it would be "absolutely disgraceful that the man who revealed the whole truth about a disgraceful act of the Government should have to pay a penalty like this for acting in the public interest"

RDM 30/4/81

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Housewives' Handiwork Class. The Clinic's small vanette covered a total of 14 539 kms. during the year.

DIVISIONAL COUNCIL CLINICS

The Divisional Council provides health care through two mobile clinics, each staffed by a white nursing sister. Their function is to carry services such as post natal care (vaccinations etc.), T.B. treatment, family planning, treatment for venereal disease and treatment for minor ailments out to the people on the farms. As such, mobile clinics are one of the most powerful instruments in the total health care delivery, since the clinics visit each farm about 4 times per year and the sisters actively solicit for health problems. It also ensures that every child is properly vaccinated and that family planning is easily available in the outlying areas.

Practically every farm has someone who is on family planning, they receive it in the form of a three month supply of pills or a three monthly injection. The sister therefore plans her route around the need to deliver treatment at three monthly intervals to these people. At the same time she sees to her other duties. In any case the system is completely flexible and she may visit a farm at any time that she has a duty to perform there. Attendance for the children is compulsory up to 2 years old for immunisation purposes and all defaulters are rounded up before she leaves.

While on the farm the sister sees anyone on treatment for T.B. or V.D. She also sees anyone complaining of sickness. Minor ailments she treats herself and more serious ones are referred to the nearest unit of the Midlands Outpatient Department.

The two units manage to cover all the farms in the District at least once every three months. The sisters sell cheap powdered milk supplement provided by the State Health Department. They also sell large amounts of aspirins, liniments and other pharmaceuticals to the farmers' wives who issue them to sick staff when needed.

For 1977:

Minor ailments	1 547
Immunisations	3 918
Family planning	2 448
T.B. visits	928

# Sapa man held by Security Police

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN - A South African Press Association representative, Mr Si-pho Keyi, was held by Security Police for two hours in King William's Town Police Station yesterday

Mr Keyi had just left a cafe when Captain H J Nel, head of the local Security Police, asked him to accompany him to the police station. He said he wanted to find out why Mr Keyi was covering the local election.

At the police station Mr Keyi was handed over to a Constable Williams, who wrote down his details. A photograph was taken of Mr Keyi. After questioning him, Capt Nel told him that when Cis-keians were deciding the future of the homeland, whites did not show their faces at the polls

"There are white reporters who can cover the elections better than you"

He warned Mr Keyi to "co-operate", or he would be taken in for questioning "now and again". - Sapa.

Babies seen in Graaff-Reinet are fairly well nourished and no gross abnormalities such as Kwashiorkor are seen. A look at the weight for age graph to be displayed, will show at first glance a well nourished community of babies. However, a closer look will show that although up to six months the baby population is even better nourished than average, after that period the weight gains fall off until babies above the age of 12 months are below average. This reflects the tendency of mothers to breastfeed their children up to the age of six months and thereafter to wean them onto a substandard diet of cereals. Until they reach the age of six months, the babies do well but when they are taken off the breast they do not progress as well. The diet of older babies is not deficient in calories but rather in character, ignorance rather than poverty is the factor that operates

# Journalist's sentence to be remitted

RDM 1/5/81

333 243

By MARIKA SBOROS

JOHN Matisonn, the Washington correspondent of the Rand Daily Mail and the Sunday Times, will not go to jail for refusing to divulge his source of information

Yesterday, the Minister of Justice, Mr J H Coetsee, announced that he would recommend to the State President that Mr Matisonn's 14-day jail sentence be remitted

Mr Matisonn was due to arrive in South Africa today to begin the sentence for refusing to reveal his source of information for a report he wrote for the Sunday Express in 1978, hinting at links between the Government and the Christian League.

The report was later proved correct

In a statement issued yesterday, Mr Coetsee said it had been decided to recommend to the State President that the 14-day jail sentence be remitted

"This will be done as soon as possible, but notice can now already be taken of that fact and of the fact that Mr Matisonn will therefore not be admitted to prison to serve the sentence," Mr Coetsee said

Mr Coetsee said his department had decided to recommend remission because

• The police had concluded, and were not proceeding with, the criminal investigation connected with the sentence,

• Two years had already passed since sentence was imposed,

• Sentence only constituted 14 days' imprisonment,

• Mr Matisonn would have to return from the US to serve his sentence, and

• No application for remission had been made

Mr Rex Gibson, editor of the Sunday Express, said he was "delighted" that a journalist would not have to go to jail for carrying out his ethical

principles

"And I am delighted the Government has recognised it would be intolerable to send John Matisonn to jail for having been a forerunner in exposing the Information scandal"

From Washington yesterday, Mr Matisonn said the remission was "a tremendous relief"

Mr Matisonn said he hoped journalists could now do their work unhampered by the risk of jail if they refused to betray a confidence

He called for the repeal of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act

"This law and its application to journalists has to be reviewed

"Journalists should be exempt from this risk as they are in many European countries," Mr Matisonn said

Mr John Battersby, a spokesman for the South African Society of Journalists, said while the society was relieved that the Government had finally decided to seek remittance of Mr Matisonn's sentence, it noted that the abhorrent restriction placed on all journalists by the Act remained

"The society will continue to protest against the law which forces journalists to reveal sources of information gathered in pursuance of their duty to inform the public," Mr Battersby said

The chairman of the Christian League, the Reverend Fred Shibi, said last night he would prepare an affidavit today to send to the State President to protest against the remission of Mr Matisonn's sentence

"The State seems more concerned than the Press that Mr Matisonn should not serve his sentence, he said "It was because I did not submit to pressure to drop the charge that the Christian League was dumped in a financial mess," he said

D. Doc 1/5/81  
**Reporter  
questioned  
by police**

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— A Sapa reporter, Mr Siphon Keyi, who is based at Zwelitsha near here, said yesterday he was taken in for questioning by local security policemen while covering the general election here

Mr Keyi said that after he had interviewed a number of people at the polling station at the magistrate's court, he was approached by the policemen, led by Capt H Nel, the security station commander

"The policemen were obviously watching me," Mr Keyi said

He said he was then taken to the security police offices where he was questioned for two hours on the interviews he had been conducting and also on his personal political sentiments

He said the policemen made photostats of his notebook "and also photographed me from several angles and then I was released"

The head of the security police in the Border, Colonel A. P. van der Merwe, confirmed that Mr Keyi had been questioned and released — DDR

# Courts to test NPU's right to ban Press ads

*S. Express 3/5/61*

**243**

## 'MICKKEY MOUSE' GOES TOO FAR?

THE first test case to try the right of the Newspaper Press Union to refuse advertisements that allegedly breach its code is to be instituted this week with an application to the Supreme Court **Witwatersrand Division.**

Lester Bloomberg, MD of Park Avenue Group personnel consultants, will seek an injunction to restrain the NPU from suspending or banning his firm's current controversial Press advertising.

Bloomberg has briefed counsel. The NPU's advertisement advisory committee meets tomorrow morning to consider whether the suspended advertisements should be banned completely.

### SUNDAY EXPRESS EXCLUSIVE

Piet Erasmus, of the NPU executive, said the case was the first of its kind and should constitute a most interesting test case.

"Mr Bloomberg's advertisements were suspended from publication on the grounds of disparagement after at least six complaints," he said.

Earlier in the week, an NPU telegram ordering the withdrawal of the advertisements described them as "grossly disparaging."

One of them could not be withdrawn in time and appears today in another Johannesburg Sunday newspaper.

The advertisement is head-

lined "If you're looking for Donald Duck go to one of the 'Mickey Mouse' agencies."

Another suspended advertisement — all of them feature large photographs of Bloomberg — is headlined "With my chutzpah and experience I'm going to turn this industry inside out".

The advertisements were hard, but fair competition, Bloomberg believes.

"Not one member of the public has complained about the advertisements," he said, "and in fact I've had letters of praise from executives who say they are stimulating and constructive."

Bloomberg, who burst into the personnel consultancy field in a whirl of actual and threatened litigation, has also briefed

his lawyers to initiate a civil action against the Association of Personnel Service Organizations (Apsso).

The basis of the action is a complaint alleged to have been made to the Department of Manpower by Apsso against Bloomberg's group and another large personnel consultancy — neither of which belong to Apsso.

"The next thing I knew was that my offices were swarming with Department of Manpower inspectors who even wanted to search the place — and my files," said Bloomberg.

"I told them to go ahead because I had nothing to hide — a fact which was confirmed when they apologised for the trouble and said there was no basis for the complaint."



"If you're looking for Donald Duck go to one of the Mickey Mouse agencies"

Apsso president, Ralph Parrott, told the Sunday Express he had no comment to make on the allegation or the suit except to say that the association would take legal advice on the matter.

Bloomberg also intends to sue a rival personnel consultancy, the Kelly Group of Companies, which, according to a letter from its lawyers, has accused him of "unlawfully" advancing his clients' interests.

The Kelly Group had previously complained to the NPU of an earlier series of Bloomberg's advertisements. The ads were suspended and then, later, released by the NPU's advisory committee.

# Argus reports 53,6% surge in earnings

7/5/81  
SIGN  
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~~244~~

By Michael Chester, Financial Editor

With turnover nearly two-thirds higher, the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, of which The Star is the flagship, today announced a 53,6 percent surge in earnings attributable to shareholders from R6 509 000 to R9 997 000 in the year ended February 28.

The total leaves aside a net capital gain of R2 158 000, equal to 151c a share, derived mainly from the sale of its shareholding in Zimbabwe Newspapers

The directors declared a final dividend of 150 cents a share, compared with 95c a year ago, which boosts the full-year pay out from 150c to 225c

Trading income scored a 62,8 percent advance from R12,4-million to R20,2-million and taxed overall income climbed from R8,6-million to more than R13,3-million

The amount attributable to outside members of subsidiaries rose from R2-million to R3,3-million

In the final count, earnings a share record a 53,9 percent rise from 457c to 703c.

Mr L E A Slater, chairman, and Mr H W Miller, managing director, give the buoyant economic activity at the peak of the boom as the main reason for satisfactory increases in earnings drawn from the chain of newspapers and the CNA network.

Improved demand for advertising space continued into the second half of the year, boosting revenue from this source by 27 percent. Revenue from circulation was 17 percent higher.

CNA sparkled with a 79 percent increase in after-tax earnings from a 28 percent rise in sales

The directors note that while advertising demand remains firm, and consumer spending goes on at a high level, a further increase in earnings can be expected this year.

Their only note of cau-

tion is that it is unlikely that the increase in the current year will match the powerful upswing in 1980/81

But when one looks at longer term prospects, stemming from the impact of a capital-expenditure programme which now stands at R52 185 000 for the next two years the Argus takes a firm stand among the JSE blue chips

Eyes should also be kept on the bullish points from the Argus stake in Hortors and its new links with Trio Band

# Munnik withdraws R20-diet protest

RDM 8/5/81

243 387

By CHRIS FREMOND

**THE Minister of Health, Welfare and Pensions, Dr L A P A Munnik, has withdrawn a complaint to the Press Council against the Rand Daily Mail and other newspapers for their reporting of his controversial pre-election statement that pensioners could live on R20 worth of food a month**

Dr Munnik had until yesterday to substantiate his preliminary complaint filed with the Press Council's registrar on April 28 the eve of the election.

An official at the registrar's office in Johannesburg said the Munnik "has had to say that the complaint had been withdrawn.

In a statement to the "Mail" from Cape Town Dr Munnik said: "As a consequence of the unexpected early opportunity offered to me to give detailed

evidence on the relevant aspects of the case before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media, I have, after consideration, decided that (the evidence to the commission) was adequate, and that it is therefore no longer necessary to proceed with my complaint to the Press Council."

The complaint arose after reports of a National Party Press conference in Johannesburg on April 23 at which Dr Munnik claimed that scientific research had shown that old people could live on food costing R20 a month.

After an outcry over his statement, Dr Munnik tried to discredit the "Mail" and other newspapers by alleging that they had reported that he said pensioners should live on R20 a month for food and that they could do so.

Dr Munnik accused newspapers in the SAAN (South African Associated Newspapers) and Argus groups of maliciously misrepresenting his statement.

He requested an urgent ses-

sion of the Steyn Commission which was held on April 28

Evidence was heard from Dr Munnik, the Editor of the Rand Daily Mail Mr Alister Sparks, and the "Mail's" Political Correspondent Helen Zille, who was the first to report on the Minister's statement.

Mr Sparks said last night that the withdrawal of the complaint to the Press Council underlined his point made to the Steyn Commission that Dr Munnik was simply using the Press as a scapegoat to try to divert attention from his political blunder.

Dr Munnik sent telegrams to both the Steyn Commission and the Press Council — and released the contents to the Press. His purpose was clearly to make diversionary propaganda in the face of the General Election.

He has failed to follow up the feigned urgency of that action. He failed to present details of his complaint to the Press Council within the prescribed time limit.

"The Steyn Commission can-

**Sands Gets his hero's burial**

**FAST** Bobby Sands was yesterday given a hero's burial.

The Irish Republican Army fired gunshot salute and accorded him full military honours — and the parish priest pleaded for peace

DR MUNNIK  
... complaints withdrawn

243 387

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this matter — and now Dr Munnik has pulled out of the tribunal which could make an adjudication. It should be clear to everyone that he does not want a judgment passed on his spurious complaints.

But I'm afraid he cannot get off the hook that easily. Miss Zille will be going ahead with her legal action suing the Minister for defamation — so in due course there will be a judgment, by the Supreme Court," Mr Sparks said.

The Opposition's spokesman on the Media, Mr Dave Dalling, said yesterday that Dr Munnik's original complaint was no more than a "face-saving smokescreen that attempted to counter-balance the unfavorable publicity following the Minister's 'ill-considered comments'."

"I think that had he proceeded with his case against the Mail and other newspapers, it is highly likely that it would have been given short shrift."

"Perhaps this will serve as a lesson to Dr Munnik to think a little more seriously about the people he is overpaid to serve, before blandly pronouncing on their welfare," Mr Dalling said.

After the election last Wednesday, Dr Munnik's statement was widely blamed for the considerable losses suffered by the National Party.

Tuesday, on the 66th day of a hunger strike to win prison concessions from Britain, received the largest IRA funeral procession ever seen in Northern Ireland. It passed without violence.

"Bobby Sands did not die in vain," said Mr Owen Carron, who managed the prisoner's election to Britain's Parliament, at the graveside.

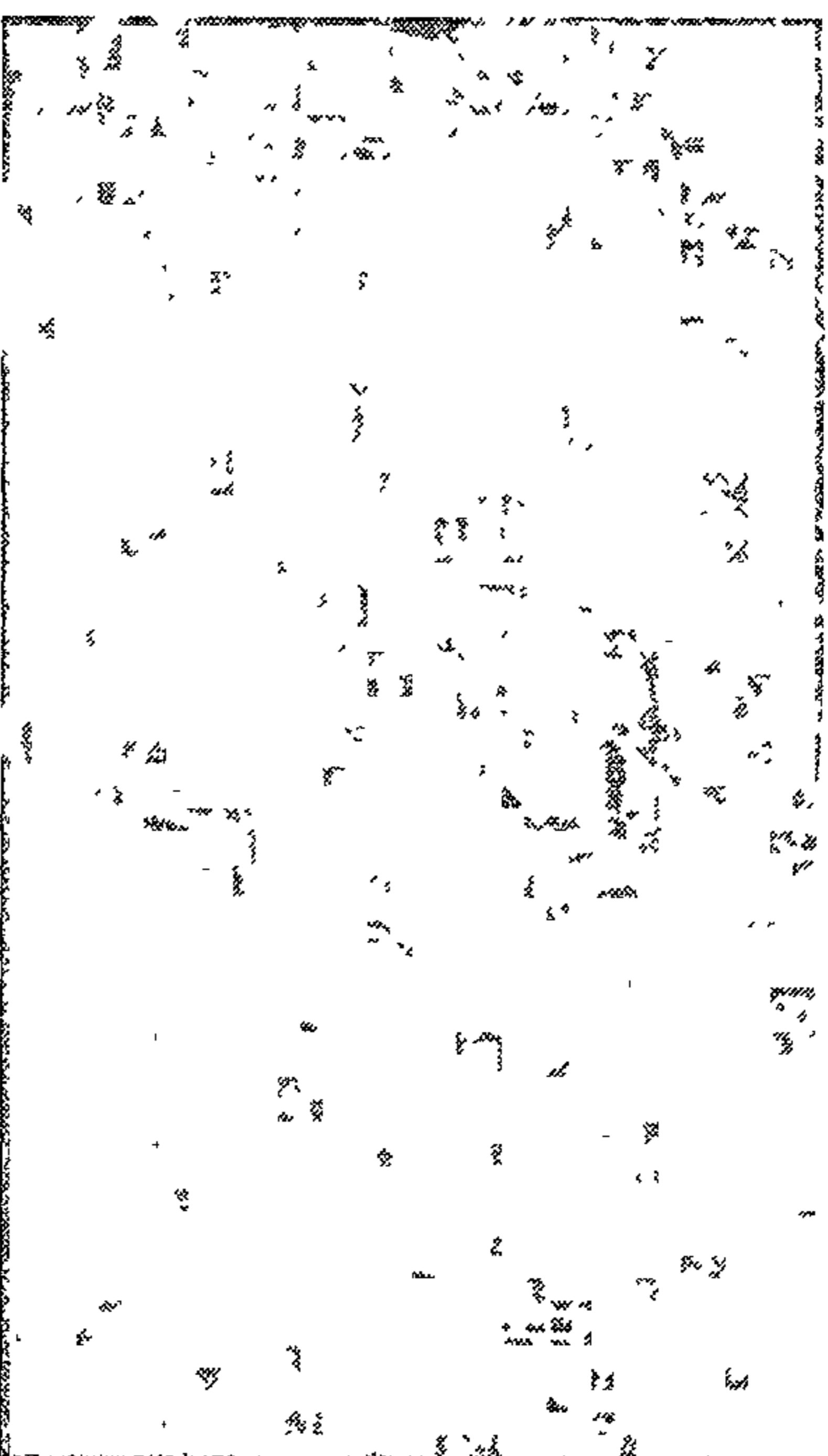
"He symbolises the Irish nation which has never surrendered and never will."

Father Liam Mullen used the Requiem Mass in St Luke's Church near Sands' home to make a plea for tolerance and peace between Northern Ireland's warring communities.

On the other side of a Belfast, Protestant firebrand Rev Ian Paisley held a memorial service "for all the innocent victims" of Northern Ireland's strife.

Mr Humphrey Atkins, Britain's top official in Northern Ireland, went on local television to restate Britain's flat refusal to grant the "five demands" for which Sands died and for which three other hunger strikers were rapidly weakening.

"I must say to you with all the emphasis at my command we will not give in to this demand for political status," Mr Atkins said.



Thousands of mourners take to the streets to follow the cortege of IRA hunger-striker Bobby Sands.

Meanwhile, the British running for Sands' vacant Government seat in a new by-election in the Fermanagh-South Tyrone district. Sands' election provided the government with a constitutional headache only partly eased with his death — UPI

The Home Secretary, Mr William Whitelaw, told Parliament he would act before July, apparently to head off another IRA hunger striker.

See Page 5



# Perskor will soon have to face R2,5-m payout

S. Express 10/5/81

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PERSKOR is in the midst of the enormous task of processing claims lodged by advertisers for compensation for losses incurred through the circulation scandal which rocked the company last year.

Die Vaderland

Die Transvaler

THE CITIZEN

The Afrikaans publishing giant has received claims from at least 4 000 advertisers, lodged by more than 50 advertising agencies. On top of that, independent claims have been submitted by large retail organisations such as Checkers and the Cape-based Rupert cigarette and liquor group.

The overall claims against Perskor — at least 90% of clients have opted for a cash settlement in preference to free advertising space — is expected to exceed R2 500 000.

By KITT KATZIN

Other agencies have also been informed that their claims are being assessed. In terms of an agreement between Perskor, the Association of Accredited Practitioners in Advertising and the Society of Marketers, the deadline for claims expired on March 31.

Perskor inflated the sales figures of its three dailies — The Citizen, Die Transvaler and Die Vaderland — by more than 36 000 copies a day for a period of six months.

As a result of the circulation scandal, Perskor could also face a claim of R6 500 000 from Nasionale Pers whose Transvaal daily, Beeld, is locked in a bitter circulation war with Die Transvaler, Perskor's flagship newspaper market

and the official organ of the Nationalist Party in the Transvaal. Informed sources said this week that Nasionale Pers was determined to go ahead with the claim and was waiting only for the Police to complete investigations into charges of fraud connected with the Perskor circulation scandal, involving the payment of cheques totalling at least R200 000.

It is more than likely that Nasionale Pers will use its claim as a lever to negotiate an alternative settlement with Perskor — to incorporate Die Transvaler and Oëstendeblad in Pretoria with Die Vaderland and Hootstad, opening the way for Beeld to reign supreme in the Transvaal Afrikaans morning-newspaper market.

The Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Press, and calls for further curbs to the already shackled profession, has the English language Press crying for its rights. But the black Press in South Africa has always been the most harassed. The banning of "World" in 1977 and more recently of "Post" is only one small chapter in its turbulent past. In the

first of this two-part series DAVID BRISTOW takes a look at the history of the black Press. Tomorrow, Graeme Addison, lecturer in journalism at Rhodes University, reviews the outstanding contribution to black culture of one magazine, "Drum."

# The black voice that knows only harassment

Between 1836 and 1977 there were more than 800 publications written by or aimed at blacks in southern Africa. Some were only two or four-page newsletters while others were full newspapers and magazines with circulations of up to 170 000. It all started with the missionaries.

From the early 19th century the missionaries in southern Africa taught the local people in the tradition of liberal democracy and Christian morals.

This teaching instilled a faith of liberal principles — the basic goodwill of mankind — in the country's black writers and politicians that still has affects today.

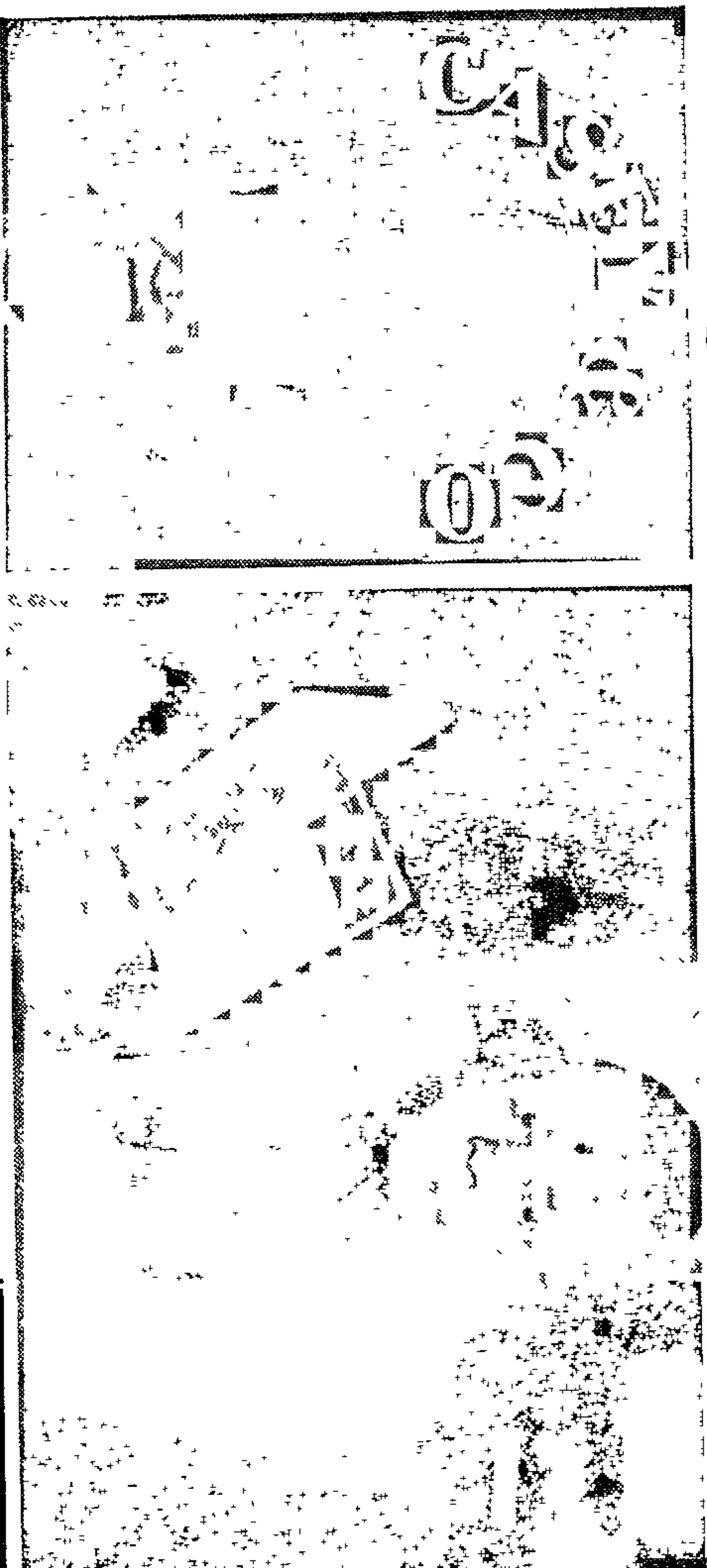
One astute black critic has observed that "when they came we had the land and they had the Bible, now we have the Bible and they (the whites) have the land."

Slowly as state and economic repression increased and the liberal political formulas of petition and deputations failed to liberate their people, black leadership became more and more radical

in the remote areas of the eastern and north-western Cape and Basutoland (now Lesotho) and from these stations emerged a new black intelligentsia in people such as Sol Plaatjes, John Tengo Jabavu, John Dube, Selope Thema, Rolofs Dhlomo, Pixley Seme and many others.

These men were to become leaders of the black community and also represented the earliest black creative writers and newspaper writers and editors in South Africa.

The missionary-owned and controlled black Press represents the first of four phases in its history. They are:  
 ● The missionary phase  
 ● The independent phase.



Two of the writers of the talented "Drum" school who died tragic and early deaths, Nat Nakasa and Casey Motlatsi. Collections of both of their works have been published posthumously.

Eastern Cape became the centre of black learning and publishing in southern Africa. From 1862 to 1865 they printed the first English language newspaper "In-

The paper was backed by two white Cape liberals, Rose-Innes and Weir, and was published in English and Xhosa Today the paper is owned by

the Natal Indian Organisation's "Indian Views" and Mohandas Gandhi's "Indian Opinion". There were also papers from

culating newspapers until its banning in 1960 by the newly elected Nationalist Party Government. With its demise came the end of the last major independent black newspaper.

# Saga of bannings of black Press

## ● From Page 1

Les Switzer in his book "The Black Press of South Africa and Lesotho, 1836 to 1976."

The independent black Press was beset with difficulties. They were denied access to white advertising, distribution agents, skilled tradesmen and generally appealed to a poor audience.

### Harassed

Also, they were denied access to conventional news sources and were continually harassed in their search for news. Few could survive the depression and in 1932 began the third phase, the white-owned black Press.

In May 1920 the Chamber of Mines began publishing the multi-lingual "Umteteli wa Bantu" to counteract the influence of the more radical black newspapers, especially "Abantu-Batho" and the communist Press, and it employed some of the most talented writers of the day.

This set the stage for a white takeover of the black Press and in 1932 Bertram Paver, an ex-

farmer and salesman, founded Bantu Press (Pty) Ltd. In April of that year he launched "Bantu World," which later became the Argus's "World."

### Takeover

Paver was a liberal who started Bantu Press for both commercial gain and "to provide the Native people with a platform for fair comment and presentation of their needs and aspirations." Fourteen months later it was taken over by the Argus.

In 1951 Jim Bailey founded "African Drum" and the "Golden City Post" as "gee-whiz" journalism publications with sex, sin and soccer formulas for commercial success. He has been called the William Randolph Hearst of South African newspapers.

At its peak in 1969 "Drum" had a circulation of 410 000 and a readership of well over one million in separate editions throughout sub-Saharan Africa. Today, "Drum" has a South African circulation of 145 000 and a calculated readership of three to four times that number.

Despite its sensational style, during the 1950s there emerged from "Drum" magazine probably the only school of black writers in South African history.

Talented men like Can Themba, Nat Nakasa, Ezekiel Mphahlele, Casey Motsitsi, Henry "Mr Drum" Nxumalo and others including Nigerian writers such as Cyprian Ekwensi. The magazine's music critic, Todd Matshikiza, produced the 1950s hit musical, "King Kong."

For various reasons most of them disappeared.

### Literacy

During the 1960s it became increasingly clear to the white newspapers, vying for a combined readership of about two million, that their survival depended on their appeal to a black audience. At the same time black literacy was growing fast and white reading markets had all but been exhausted.

The early 1970s, therefore, suggested a possible fourth phase, the attempt to acquire a multiracial image in the white-controlled Press.

Most white newspapers began publishing "extra" or "township" editions and many of the black reporters hired (mainly by SAAN and Argus) for these publications are now permanent staff on the newspapers.

### Slammed

Many critics have slammed the so-called multiracial Press for perpetuating apartheid by having separate editions for blacks and whites and for discriminatory practices against black journalists, "black" news and point of view.

But with the Government's attitude to the airing of black aspirations in the Press, the multiracial phase may be the only alternative — at the moment at least — for the continuation of a mass black Press tradition.

The bannings of Argus-owned "World" and "Post" has left a wide gap in the mass circulating black Press and it is yet to be seen how it will be filled. The "World" had a circulation of about 150 000 at the time of its banning in October 1977.

the mid-1950s.

### Printing

Liberalism was not all the missionaries taught. They also taught their students how to read and write and how to operate a printing press.

They had brought with them printing presses from Europe and so initiated an important epoch in our history of which little is known about today. Funds were always a problem for the black Press and the original lead type faces were often used until illegible.

The black Press was born at mission stations

### Founders

Others soon followed. John Dube founded the "Tange Lase Natal" Solomon Moina and Abmael Pale founded the celebrated "Mochonono" in the Cornet in Lesotho. Both were later taken over by the Argus Printing and Publishing Company.

### Missionaries

"Umsnumayeli Wengaba" — Publisher of the News — printed by the Wesleyan Mission Society in Grahamstown from July 1937 to April 1941, is considered to be the first serial publication aimed at a black audience in southern Africa. It was published in Xhosa.

The Presbyterian Glasgow Missionary Society at Lovedale in the

### Bannings

The TCU was one of the largest and perhaps the strongest black political organisations in southern Africa during the 1920s and 1930s. "Inkululeko" was one of the most illustrious and largest cir-

### Founders

Others soon followed. John Dube founded the "Tange Lase Natal" Solomon Moina and Abmael Pale founded the celebrated "Mochonono" in the Cornet in Lesotho. Both were later taken over by the Argus Printing and Publishing Company.

Today there are new independent black newspapers. Some are "The Voice", "Grassroots", "Graphic" and "Mushini News".

It was to help in this regard that the corporate site Press for the liberate blacks drawn from the rural, usually Christian peasant communities and nascent urban areas of southern Africa," writes Professor



SCW

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# The Drum that roused black consciousness

In March 1951 a group of three white businessmen put together a unique experiment in black publishing — a new magazine called The African Drum

Nothing like it had ever been tried before. It was designed as a popular pictorial entertainment medium along the lines of Life magazine in America, but its market was to be the new urban black readership in South Africa's major cities.

These new readers were virtually an unknown quantity as far as white publishers were concerned. But one thing was certain: many advertisers wanted to get at them, and the new magazine could depend on a steadily increasing volume of advertising revenue.

So, from a mixture of the profit incentive, white entrepreneurship, and an explicitly "non-political" editorial approach, a great new force was born in black journalism.

## Investigative

In October 1951 the magazine moved its head office to Johannesburg, changed its name to Drum, and set out under editor Anthony Sampson — a British immigrant — to produce some of the finest investigative journalism and short-story writing the African continent has seen.

From the start, Drum was involved in enormous contradictions. But today, in its 30th anniversary year, it can be seen that Drum forms a part of the history of ideological struggle and resistance to apartheid.

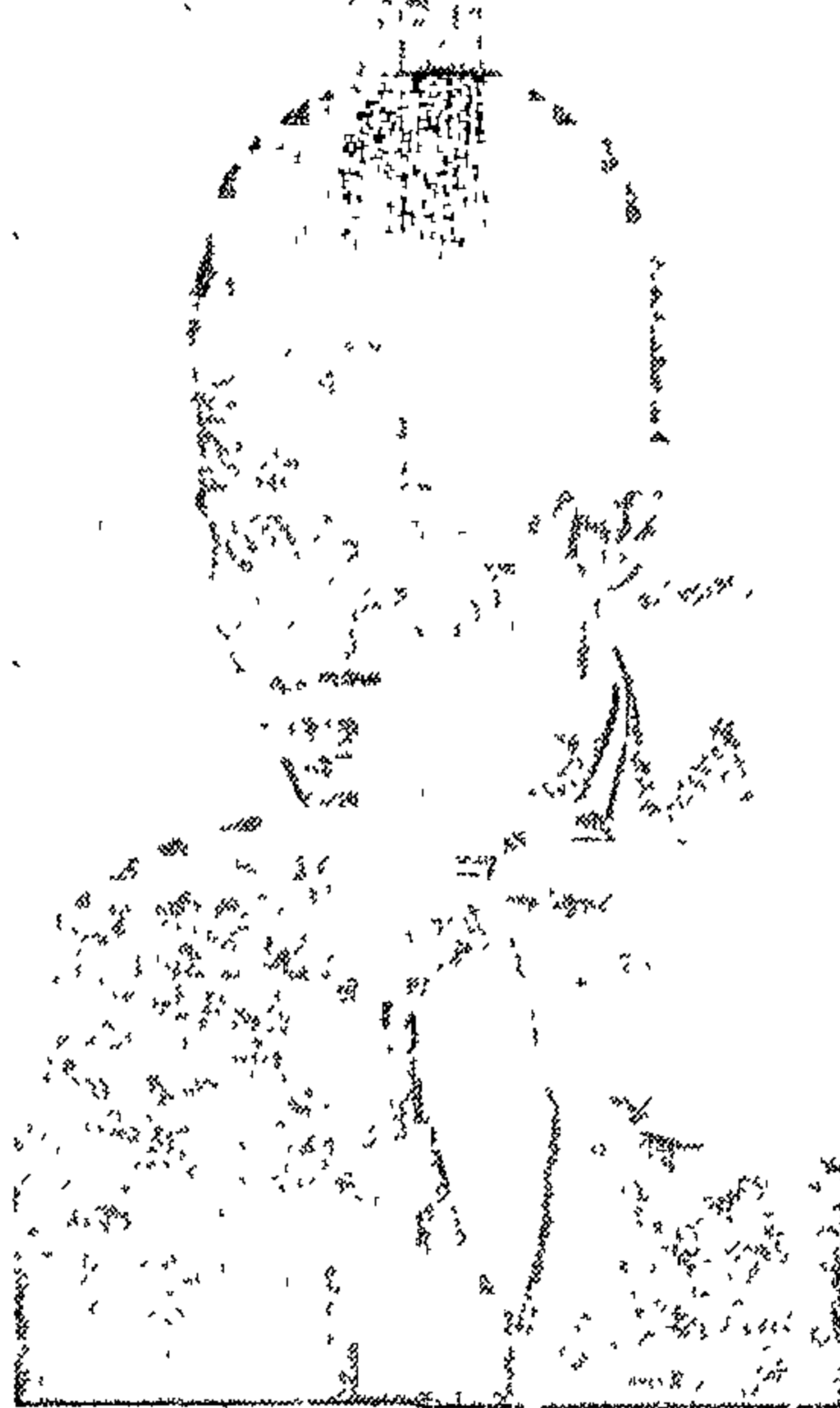
It became a mouthpiece of the township masses expressing their social and political grievances as they had never been expressed before — directly, with great stylistic verve, in a dynamic new Africanised English that was punchy and colourful.

A milestone in black journalism was reached this year when Drum magazine celebrated its 30th birthday. GRAEME ADDISON, lecturer in

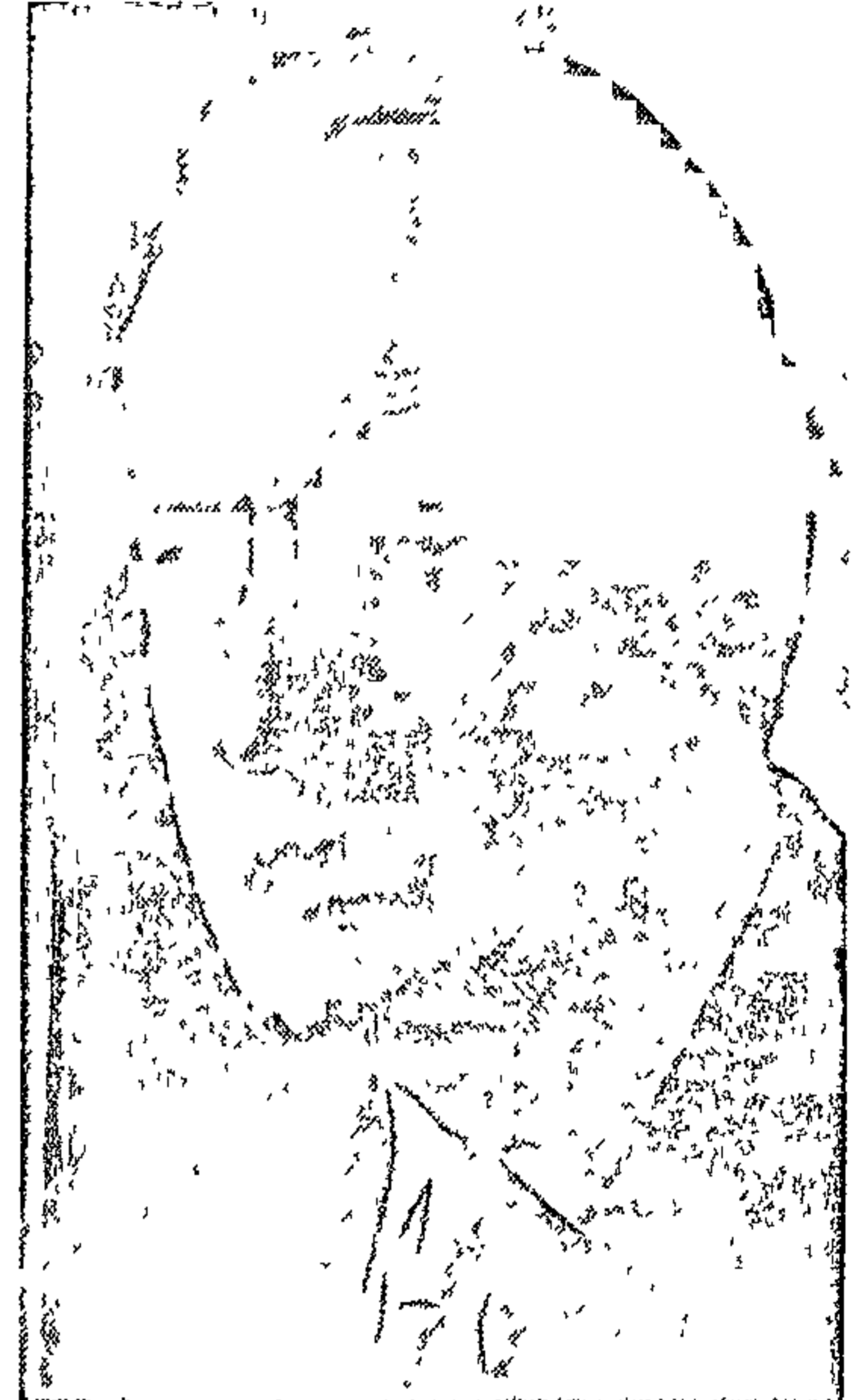
journalism at Rhodes University, outlines the magazine's contribution to black culture in this final article of a two-part series on the black Press.



Drum staffer Dolly Hassim ... like many others, just disappeared



Henry Nxumalo ... spotted once too often and murdered



Tom Hopkinson (now Sir Tom) ... changed the format.

In dynamic African style, the staff idolised black thinking as no one ever has since

The people who wrote for these masses were a new breed of journalists and creative writers, young men who had emerged from Christian mission schools with liberal political ideals and a grasp of language.

They turned their talents to supporting the ANC's Defiance Campaign against the pass laws, and they boosted the reputation of the movement's leadership by writing up their personal biographies for the people to read.

Drum's legacy is strong in South African journalism today. Indeed, some of its great names are still around — like Ezekiel Mphahlele, now a professor of literature at Wits University, Peter Magubane, a photographer, and Jubu Mavet, a banned former member of the staff of the black newspaper, Voice.

Others are not around — some because they are dead and others because they are in exile. All were frustrated by the failure of the mass protests of

the fifties to win equal political rights for blacks in a unitary South African state.

Nat Nakasa committed suicide in New York. Can Themba drank himself to death in Swaziland.

## Relevance

Bloke Modisane, Lewis Nkosi, James Matthews, Alex La Guma and Alfred Hutchinson were among those who fled the country around the time of Sharpeville or soon afterwards.

The story of Drum's ex-

traordinary success began with Sampson's realisation, prompted by remarks from his staffers, that the people of the cities wanted to read about jazz, soccer girls, and issues close to them — not about tribal homelands. And they wanted relevant reporting.

He launched Henry Nxumalo, a former black South African serviceman in the Western Desert during World War 2, into a series of journalistic adventures which

finally culminated in Nxumalo's murder by Soweto gangsters.

Before this happened however, Nxumalo had become famous as "Mr Drum" for his exposes of the miseries of farm labourers at Bethal and of prisoners in the Johannesburg Fort. Nxumalo was what might be called a "participatory reporter" in that he personally posed as a labourer and as a prisoner in order to get his stories.

Drum, together with other elements of the opposition press, managed to bring about certain reforms as a result of

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# Drum a legacy to black journalism

## From Page 1

these exposés. But the juggernaut of Government legislation was called into action, resulting in prison censorship and other forms of prohibition of access to information.

### Excluded

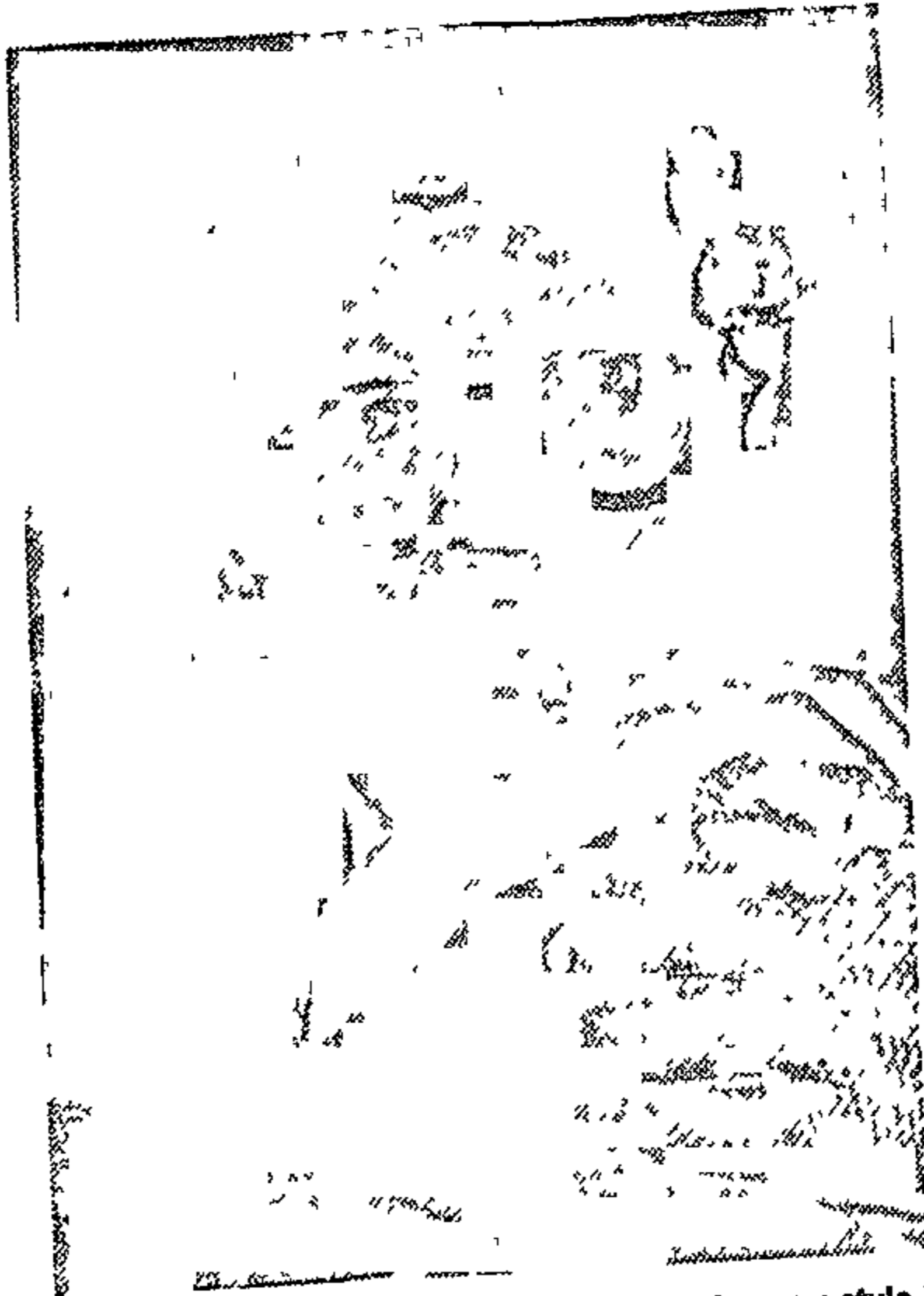
As a result, participatory journalism today is virtually out of the question in every major area of concern over racial discrimination, from prisons to mental hospitals.

Drum nevertheless prospered. One of its gimmicks was to offer £5 (R10) to anyone who recognised Mr Drum in the street. Unfortunately Nxumalo was recognised once too often — by a gangster whose rackets he was investigating — and done to death.

When the editorship of the magazine passed to another white journalist, Sylvester Stein, the emphasis was placed on fiction rather than reportage. A brilliant young talent was discovered in Can Themba, winner of the first £50 short story competition, who apart from turning out many vivid tales of township life, also succeeded Nxumalo as a ferrit of facts.

Perhaps the best remembered fiction writer is Casey "The Kid" Motisi, who died only a short while ago. His most famous satire depicted the white Parliament through the eyes of two bugs on the wall, who quipped that there was little sense in the debates.

A collection of Motisi's columns was published by Ravan Press in 1979, showing that the Drum tradition has not been forgotten. In fact,



Can Themba, Drum pioneer journalist, set a new style in working.

many of the young writers now expressing themselves in "Staff Rider" owe a great deal in style and outlook to their predecessors of the 1950s.

### New style

The sixties were a largely barren period, for the banning of black nationalist movements (and of their newspapers) killed off most significant black journalism. Drum was not banned but was withdrawn by its publisher in 1935. It reappeared later in a far milder guise, and is still published today.

The publisher was Jim Bailey, son of Reef mining magnate Sir Abe Bailey. He inherited a fortune that he put into black printing ventures. He was also responsible for the newspaper,

Golden City Post, later renamed Post, and the magazine, Africa, known as Drum's "little sister."

Bailey discovered a new kind of gold mine. Drum expanded so vigorously that by the end of the first decade of publication its circulation was well in excess of 200 000 a month, and it was appearing in separate editions in East and West Africa as well.

### Entertainments

By stressing the need to entertain readers, Bailey and his editors brought to the fore a long dormant potential in black writers which had been lost in the more serious community and trade union journalism of the twenties and thirties.

But the entertainment theme could be carried too far — as it was under Tom Hopkinson, an editor

who insisted that Drum should be the South African equivalent of the English magazine, Picture Post. When this happened, much of the literary and journalistic merit was lost.

Drum spawned an important progeny of autobiographical books such as "Down Second Avenue" (Mphahlele), "The Road to Ghana" (Hutchinson), and "Chocolates for My Wife" (Modisane).

### Realisation

These books describe the bitter journey of black writers from the first moment of realisation that white society rejected them to the moment when, with the defiance campaign in ashes, they faced defeat and exile.

When black consciousness was born out of the political vacuum of the sixties, it attracted those who remained of the Drum "school" to its banner. Their aims, after all, had been to confer dignity and a true cultural identity on the black person within the society ruled by whites.

They succeeded largely in making English their own conceptual and expressive tool, and they certainly mobilised mass consciousness more than anyone else.

Though their personal lives often ended in tragedy it would be wrong to see the school as a failure in any sense. They were an important formative influence in modern black responses, on the ideological level, to State repression and thought control.

Every black writer that I have spoken to acknowledges his debt to Drum.

RDM By DAVID CARTE  
Deputy Financial Editor

13/5/84

ARGUS Printing and Publishing, publisher of the major afternoon dailies and the Sunday Tribune and owner of 51% of CNA, 39% of SAAN, 25% of Hortons and 30% of Caxtons, accelerated in its second half to lift earnings 53,6% in the year to end February

Earnings at the interim were 45% ahead

Trading income for the year rose 62% to R20 153 000. This was supplemented by 52% higher income from investments, mainly from SAAN and Hortons, of R1 307 000. Pre-tax

profit was thus 62% better at R21 667 000

The tax rate rose from 35% to 39% and the minorities' slice rose 61% to R3 346 000, with the result that taxed attributable profit was 53,6% ahead at R9 997 000. Earnings a share were 70c (1980 45c)

A final dividend of 150c has been declared, making 225c for the year, a 59% improvement on the 150c paid last year

The directors report that advertising demand remains firm and consumer spending continues at a high level. They there-

fore expect a further increase in earnings this year. But the rate of growth, they warn, is unlikely to match this

Advertising revenue last year rose 28% and circulation revenue 21%. CNA pushed up sales 28% and earnings 79%

The group had capital commitments of R52 185 000 at the year end, mainly for electronic editing and printing machines

COMMENT Argus seems to have erred in releasing its results to its own newspapers on May 7 and to the world at large only yesterday

The directors do not explain how the capital expenditure is to be financed. Total capital employed last balance sheet was R73-million, so planned capex certainly amounts to a mouthful.

One does not know the depreciation provision in 1981 but, with retainers of R6 700 000, net cash flow was unlikely to have been much higher than R11-million. The group has traditionally been low geared. Whether this must change or a preference rights issue is indicated. Cover could escalate over time

S.1.131  
Citizen  
13/5/81  
to change  
hands?

Chief Reporter

The Citizen is about to change hands again, say staff members of the paper.

They believe the present overall controllers, Perskor, may sell it to subsidiary Republican Press, which is controlled by the Hyman brothers, Mr Hint Hyman and Mr Boet Hyman.

Citizen staffers say they believe the National Party wants to exercise more direct control over the paper, which has followed

To Page 3, Col 8

(243) STAR 13/5/81  
Citizen to change hands?



a more independent line than the NP had hoped for

But the Hyman brothers, said to be well connected with the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, both denied takeover rumours

Another possibility is that the Citizen may be involved in share trans-

actions which could see a change in the control of the newspaper

Denials of sale rumours have come from Citizen chairman M<sup>r</sup> Marius Jooste and from the joint managing directors of Perskor, Mr Koos Buitendag and Dr Wimpie de Klerk

The Citizen was formed as a secret project of the defunct Department of Information in 1976 and R32-million of taxpayers'

money was spent on it.

In the recent election the paper took a fairly independent line

It is understood that change in ownership of the paper would enable the new owners to dismiss the editor, Mr Johnny Johnson, and appoint a new editor who would take a stronger pro-Nationalist line

Mr Johnson declined to comment.



RDM 13/5/81  
Pressmen:  
PM gets <sup>(243)</sup>  
~~222~~  
union plea

London Bureau

LONDON — The president of the Institute of Journalists, one of Britain's two trade unions for journalists, has appealed to Mr P W Botha on behalf of four banned colleagues

Mr Graham Jones, in a recent letter, urged Mr Botha to use his influence "either to have the banning orders lifted or to have them brought to trial so that they may answer any charges against them. The mandate given to you by the voters endorses your declared intention to deal constructively with the problems of your country's future

"Seen from Britain, these four journalists appear to have been put under the constraints of banning orders for their part in forming a trade union and for reflecting in their journalism the aspirations of their fellows," the letter said.

The four are Mr Phil Mtimkulu, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, Mr Marimuthoo Subramoney and Mr Joe Thlooe, all office-holders in the Media Workers' Association of South Africa

President  
RDM 14/5/81  
pardons  
reporter<sup>(243)</sup><sub>(22)</sub>  
Matisonn

Staff Reporter

THE State President yesterday officially pardoned Mr John Matisonn, Washington correspondent of the Rand Daily Mail and the Sunday Times, for refusing to reveal the source of a report he wrote about the now defunct Department of Information

This was announced yesterday by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee

Mr Matisonn was sentenced in 1979 to a 14-day jail term for refusing to reveal the source of a report he wrote in 1978 hinting at links between the Government and the Christian League

The report has since been proved correct

Mr Matisonn lost an appeal against the sentence and was due to return to South Africa last month to serve the sentence

The Department of Justice announced earlier this month that it would recommend to the State President that Mr Matisonn's sentence be commuted, and that he be not required to return to serve the term

CT 14/3/81  
~~27~~ 243  
Journalist  
pardoned

JOHANNESBURG — The State President yesterday officially pardoned Mr John Matson, Washington correspondent for the Morning Group of newspapers who refused to disclose the source of a report he wrote about the now defunct Department of Information

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# City reporter faces jail term

243  
271  
Argus 21/5/81

## Crime Reporter

IN an effort to obtain the names of six policemen who gave details of their salaries to the Press shortly before the general election, a reporter has been summoned to appear before a magistrate on June 3.

The summons was served on Mr Stephen Wrottesley, the crime reporter for The Cape Times, in the newspaper's offices by Colonel Mike Smit, of the Cape Town CID, yesterday afternoon.

Mr Wrottesley is required to name the policemen who gave him the details as well as whether they had approached the newspaper without any prompting from reporters.

The summons follows meetings this week between Mr Wrottesley and Colonel Smit during which the reporter refused to disclose the names.

It is believed the investigation into the alleged contravention of police regulations was prompted by orders from police headquarters in Pretoria.

The subpoena was served in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act, in terms of which anyone likely to give relevant information regarding an alleged offence may be required to appear before a magistrate.

A two-year jail sentence may follow a refusal to disclose the information.

The possible offence being investigated is in terms of Section 25 (1) (b) of the Police Act which deals with 'any person not being a member of the force who agrees with or attempts to induce any member to omit or carry out his duty or to do any act in conflict with his duty'.

Mr Wrottesley will not be required to appear in court if he provides the police with the names before June 3.

Several local policemen said this week they found it 'incredible' that a departmental matter was being dealt with in such a way and believed a 'witch-hunt' in the force would lead to an even greater lowering of morale.

Aug 21/5/81

# Police pay

## 'witch-hunt'

### Political Staff

A 'WITCH HUNT' seemed to be on against policemen who complained to the Press about their salaries, the Western Cape chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr. Tian van der Merwe, said today.

As a result of this, he said, a Cape Town newspaper reporter had now been summoned to disclose the names of policemen who spoke to him.

This is a disgraceful situation. It must be the only place in the world where people are threatened with prosecution for complaining about inadequate salaries, Mr. van der Merwe said.

Mr. van der Merwe said there was general dissatisfaction among policemen

to complain about bad salaries and service conditions to whomever they wish to talk, particularly to public representatives and Pressmen.

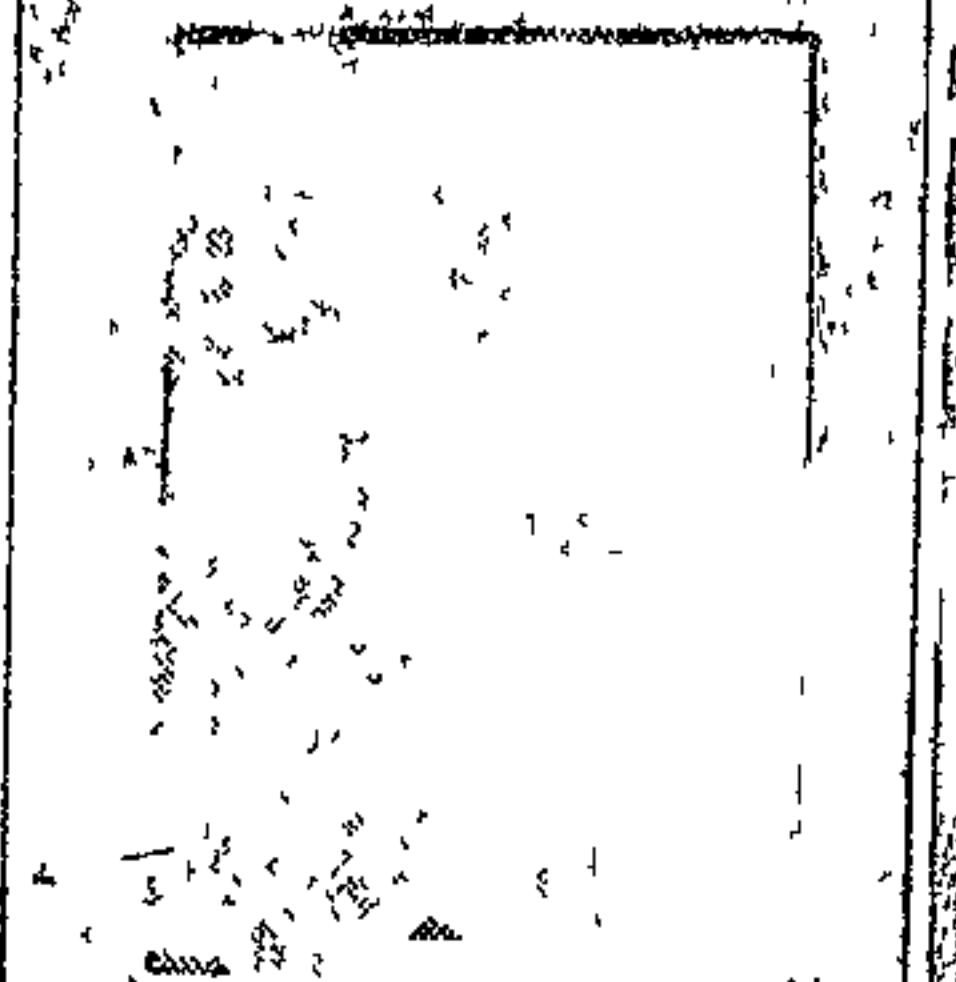
### MORALE

I cannot accept that this constitutes a threat to good discipline in the police force. It is the inadequate salaries and bad conditions of service itself that threatens

morale in the force and that is a potential threat to discipline

If it is an offence in terms of police staff regulations to talk to pressmen or members of the public about their salaries, then those regulations are in conflict with the policemen's right as citizens of this country and they should be scrapped as soon as possible.

See Page 13.



Mr. Tian van der Merwe

about their salaries and other conditions of service. There was also general sympathy among other members of the public for the policemen's plight in this regard.

He said he knew of several PFP canvassers who had heard these complaints in the course of the general election campaign.

### RIGHT

Mr van der Merwe, who is MP for Green Point, continued: I am convinced that literally hundreds or even thousands of policemen must have discussed this situation with canvassers of the political parties and candidates during the election campaign.

It is a basic democratic right of every civil servant, including policemen and defence force person-

# City reporter faces jail term

Argus  
21/5/81

## Crime Reporter

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The summons was served on Mr Stephen Wrottesley, the crime reporter for The Cape Times, in the newspaper's offices by Colonel Mike Smit, of the Cape Town CID, yesterday afternoon.

Mr Wrottesley is required to name the policemen who gave him the details as well as whether they had approached the newspaper without any prompting from reporters.

The summons follows meetings this week between Mr Wrottesley and Colonel Smit during which the reporter refused to disclose the names.

It is believed the investigation into the alleged contravention of police regulations was prompted by orders from police headquarters in Pretoria.

The subpoena was served in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act, in terms of which anyone likely to give relevant information regarding an alleged offence may be required to appear before a magistrate.

A two-year jail sentence may follow a refusal to disclose the information.

The possible offence being investigated is in terms of Section 25 (1) (b) of the Police Act which deals with 'any person not being a member of the force who agrees with or attempts to induce any member to omit or carry out his duty or to do any act in conflict with his duty.'

Mr Wrottesley will not be required to appear in court, as the provisions of the Act provide the police with the names before June 3.

Several local policemen said this week they found it 'incredible' that a departmental matter was being dealt with in such a way and believed a 'witch-hunt' in the force would lead to an even greater lowering of morale.

THE Cape Times Crime Reporter Mr Stephen Wrottesley was yesterday summoned to appear in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court on June 3 to reveal the names of six policemen who gave details of their salary increases for an article which appeared in the newspaper on April 23.

A subpoena in terms of Section 205 (1) of the Criminal Procedures Act was served on Mr Wrottesley by the Assistant District C.I. Chief for Cape Town Colonel Mike Smit, at the Cape Times offices yesterday afternoon.

In terms of Section 205 anyone likely to give material or relevant information regarding an alleged offence may be required to appear

# Sources: Reporter

CT 21/5/81  
 before a magistrate. If the witness refuses to disclose the required information he may be jailed for up to two years.

Mr Wrottesley is required to disclose material or relevant information relating to an alleged offence involving the contravention of four police regulations by members of the police force.

The regulations cited in the subpoena which all relate to offences against duty and discipline are Regulations 58.4, 58.24, 58.32 and or

58.4 read in conjunction with Section 33 (f) of the Police Act. This section also refers to offences against duty and discipline and the general control and discipline of the police force.

Mr Wrottesley is required to name the six policemen quoted in the article which was headed 'No vote say disappointed policemen', and to state whether the policemen furnished information to the newspaper "without any prompting from a reporter reporters".

He will not be required to appear in court if he furnishes an affidavit containing the relevant information required by the police to Colonel Smit before June 3.

The police have already been informed that Mr Wrottesley is not prepared to disclose the names of the six policemen. The subpoena followed discussions earlier this week between Colonel Smit, Mr Wrottesley and his attorney, Mr E R von Witt.

Mr Wrottesley was informed on Monday that the



Mr Stephen Wrottesley

## to appear in court

Mr Michael Morris



police were investigating a possible offence in terms of Section 25 (1) (c) of the Police Act which reads: 'Any person not being a member of the police force who attempts to induce any member to omit to carry out his duty, or to do any act in conflict with his duty'.

He was asked to name his sources for the article on police salaries and told that Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act would be invoked if he refused.

Quoting six unnamed policemen the article gave details of their April pay increases and said policemen would not vote in the April general election to register their dissatisfaction with their poor increases.

Mr Wrottesley refused to name his sources and later accompanied his attorney to police headquarters where he was informed that the offence being investigated involved contravention of Section 25 (1) (d) of the Police Act, which reads: 'Any person not being a member of the police force who is a party to or aid or abets or incites to the commission of an act which is a lawful order given to a member of any regulatory body and which is evaded'.

The attorney raised several points and Colonel Smit later agreed to postpone the matter for further investigation. He later informed Mr Wrottesley that the investigation was related to alleged contraventions of police regulations.

CT 21/5/81  
 From page 243, 243, 331

been sent from Pretoria ordering the increased police presence.

He was asked to name his sources in connection with the allegation and was told that Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act would be invoked if he did not.

When approached by The Cape Times, Mr Morris said: "As to my source, hundreds of people whom I met while campaigning had confronted me with this story and asked whether it was true. The po-

licemen asked me to make a statement and I most gladly made a statement to this effect.

At my election meeting, I raised the matter as a question directed at the minister, not as a statement of fact. I feel it is my right in terms of the spirit of the Electoral Act to pose such a question. I would have been quite happy to deal with this during the election, but feel it is definitely not in the spirit of the Electoral Act for them to come back to me when I am no longer a candidate," he said.

See 'Plan to protect journalists' page 5

To page 2



Argus 4/5/81 (243) (331) (298) &

# Reporter fined for obstruction

## Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A Rand Daily Mail reporter was yesterday convicted of obstructing police in their duties

Samuel Dikotla, 27, was fined R250 (or 90 days) by a Tembisa magistrate. Of this R150 (or 60 days) was suspended for five years

The court heard that Dikotla had been sent to cover a riot in the black township of Tembisa on April 5.

Lieutenant-Colonel J H Cronje, of the Security Police, said that the situation in the township was tense and Dikotla had obstructed them by parking his car behind their vehicles

He claimed that Dikotla had introduced himself as a member of the Press but had failed to produce his Press card

Colonel Cronje said he ordered the reporter to move his car but he failed to do so

Dikotla told the court he had been sent by his news editor to cover the riot

In the township he had approached a group of policemen and asked them what the situation was

He said Colonel Cronje informed him that he was not allowed to be there and had threatened him with arrest

He was later taken to the police station, where he was locked up.



'Mail' man  
man 21/5/81

found (213)  
guilty (22)

Staff Reporter

JOURNALISTS faced the risk of being arrested even if they did not intend breaking the law while performing their duties, a Tembisa magistrate was told by an attorney yesterday.

The lawyer, Mr N J Roodt, was pleading in mitigation after a Rand Daily Mail reporter, Camuel Dikotla, 27, was found guilty on a charge of obstructing police in their duties.

He appeared before Mr B D de Wit, in the Tembisa Magistrate's Court near Kempton Park.

Dikotla was fined R250 or 90 days' jail (R150 or 60 days suspended for five years).

Lieutenant-Colonel J H Cronje of the Security Police told the court there was a riot at Tembisa on April 5.

The situation was tense, he said. Dikotla obstructed them by parking his car behind their vehicles.

He said he asked Dikotla to produce his Press card, but he failed to do so.

Col Cronje said he ordered Dikotla to move his car away, but Dikotla ignored him and, instead, entered the car and operated a radio to talk to somebody.

"I issued an order that he should be arrested after he had made no attempt to move his car as ordered," Col Cronje said.

Dikotla said he lost a camera and a notebook which were in the car he used that day.

The magistrate said he accepted evidence given by the State witnesses and rejected Dikotla's testimony.

# Mwasa Congress bars 'Big Five'

By LEN KALANE  
**THE Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa), has barred the "Big Five" countries from its forthcoming inaugural congress over the long weekend.**

The congress will be held at Wilgespruit near Roodepoort starting from Thursday May 28 to Sunday May 31

The "Big Five" includes the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Canada

Mwasa, the new organisation will now officially become a body representing all workers in the media industry, and not only journalists as in the past four years. The old body, the Writers' Association of South Africa used to represent only journalists before Mwasa was born and opened its doors to all people in the media industry

A Mwasa spokesman said the organisation has barred representatives from the 'Big Five' countries attending the congress. However, Mwasa hopes to have diplomatic representatives from countries like Denmark, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the Netherlands

Said a Mwasa spokesman 'We have barred the 'Big Five' from our congress because we believe that our continued association with them implies our acceptance of their utter contempt for our desire to be liberated. For as long as we can remember the 'Big Five' have hunted with the hounds, while giving the impression it is running with the hare'

The spokesman added 'We have to illustrate to them that black people are now tired of their dishonesty. We lastly have to mention that those who sup with the devil need long spoons'

3 It seems that all groups which reach a certain degree of poverty cannot support co-ops. Mawvel. Klayman in an article on the Moshav in Israel writes of the new type of Moshav for settlers - e. Moshav Olim, 'The average size of farm was small, and there were fewer means of production than in the older Moshavim. This meant a smaller output and turnover. Many of the villager co-operatives were to perform

2. Mulauli and Nkalitshane said migrancy was the Amathole dairy's biggest problem. Nkalitshane said that because the numbers of people using it fluctuated they could never become strong (he said a big problem was that many people had no milk in winter). Mulauli stressed the fact that marketing is important and said that if a man becomes a migrant to get money, there is nobody to sell his milk.

These problems are obviously general ones for small scale reserve projects (8) Norman Reynolds writes of another small scale dairy scheme near Zwelitsha "During the life of the scheme there has been considerable change in the economic condition of the members families. Without any device to allow the

members to turn a financial stone in the co-op, members at timesorted out of the scheme for a definite period. Migration and death in the family are probably the two major factors. Apparently such actions have been common enough to threaten the efficiency of the scheme. It must certainly have made it difficult for the scheme to supply milk regularly and it must have hampered the co-operatives ability to sell in the best markets."

3. People who have other sources of income have an important advantage over those who rely solely on the dairy. They can hire labour, or they can find the dairy jobs in with other activities all of which together add up to provide an adequate income. This happens particularly in Amathole where some people were allocated Full Economic Farm Units with rehabilitation (these farmers may utilise their time well between cultivating fields, keeping small stock and working in the dairy. Combined these activities may generate a decent income while none of them alone could provide enough to live off)

Only for people who grow to guarantee a reasonable income would the time and labour spent herding and milking be justified. (Again if a market could be established) Because nearly all the people in the dairies have very few, very low quality cows, it seems that the dairies can only provide a supplementary source of income to those who already have some security, rather than the sole source of income for the very poor

4. Here one must note the exceptions of Alfred Bukula of Inkomo and Freddy Mulauli of Amathole. Both are particularly successful in the dairies and yet both of them are comparatively poor. Mulauli has a pension but the dairy is his main source of income. Bukula has no other cash income, but his income from the dairy is now second highest to that of N H. He attributes this to the fact that his cows are particularly good and he has concentrated on improving their quality

### 3.4 CONCLUSION

One must remember that these two projects are pretty exceptional in Umhlababane and also, that while Umhlababane is classified as a pastoral area, with emphasis on cattle rather than cultivation, these are the only two dairies.

# Action against Cape Times reporter condemned

Staff Reporter

RETIRED policeman, Members of Parliament, newspaper, journalists, and a security expert yesterday condemned an attempt by the State to force the Cape Times Crime Reporter, Mr Stephen Wrottesley, to disclose the names of six policemen who gave him information on police pay.

Magistrate's Court on June 3 and tell a magistrate who the policemen were, and whether they gave information on their pay increases "without any prompting by a reporter". He has told the police that he is not prepared to divulge the names of his sources yesterday. Major Jan de Klerk, a retired Bellville police officer, said he was "very dissatisfied" that the authorities had seen fit to use the press to "get at their own

men". "The men in the force do not have a trade union or a mouthpiece and they are dependent on the goodwill of the press as their channel to the public," he said. If they appealed to the press they had a right to expect that a witch-hunt would not be mounted against them. Teachers, as an example, had their unions — "but the police have no such recourse," he said.

Major De Klerk said that since it had become known that he was concerned about police pay he had received calls from policemen telephoning from all parts of the country, appealing to him to help them get a better deal on pay. Brigadier I P S Terblanche, another retired senior police officer, said he was "very sorry" about the move against Mr Wrottesley. It was clear that it was part

of an attempt on the part of the authorities to "teach their men a lesson," he said. "The Opposition's spokesman on police, Mr Ray Swart, said yesterday this was an "at-tempted witch-hunt" which would do more to harm the morale and increase the disillusionment of members of the force than anything else. "To invoke police regulations in order to punish members of the force for giving information about their own

salaries anonymously to the press shows a contempt for their normal rights of citizenship. Where does it stop?" The vice-president of the South African Society of Journalists, Mr John Battersby, said the summoning of Mr Wrottesley was "another ugly reminder of the abhorrent restriction placed on all journalists" by Section 205 (1) of the Criminal Procedure Act. The SASJ unconditionally

supported Mr Wrottesley's refusal to reveal his sources and repeated its call on the government to lift this added restriction on journalists. A former SASJ president, Mr John Matson, had recently been pardoned from law. It would be ironic if Mr Wrottesley, also an SASJ office bearer, should now go to jail for not revealing his sources. The Progressive Federal

Party's Western Cape chairman, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said it seemed that a witch-hunt was on against policemen who complained to the press about their salaries. The fact that a reporter had been summoned to reveal the names of policemen who had spoken to him was a disgraceful situation. "This must be the only place in the world where people are threatened with

prosecution for complaining about inadequate salaries." Mr Van der Merwe said he knew of several PFP canvassers who had heard complaints about police pay and conditions of service during the election campaign. "It is a basic democratic right of every civil servant, including policemen and defence force personnel, to complain about bad salaries and service conditions to whom ever they wish to talk,

particularly to public representatives and pressmen." The Argus said in an editorial that it was ironic that on the very day the major party in the British Parliament agreed to provide greater protection for journalists who decline to name their informants, the police in Cape Town obtained a summons

From page 1

obliging a local reporter to divulge his sources

Nationalist MPs found matters regarding salaries, the cost of living and dissatisfaction in the police force "embarrassing" and would prefer to stifle any discussion about them

"This latest action against a Cape Town journalist could suit them very well if even people with well-founded and authentic grievances are led to feel they dare not talk about them in future"

In an open letter to the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, a local security expert and ex-policeman, Mr Michael Morris, said all police matters other than pre-trial matters directly related to investigation of criminal cases, should be public property

More reports, page 11

To page 2

# GENERAL NEWS

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — There was wide-ranging condemnation yesterday of an attempt by the State to force a Cape Times Crime Reporter, Mr Stephen Wrotesley, to disclose the names of six policemen who gave him information on police pay increases.

Retired senior police officers, MPs, newspapers, journalists, and a security expert attacked the move.

Mr Wrotesley has been summonsed to appear in a Cape Town Magistrate's Court on June 3 and tell a magistrate who the policemen were, and whether they gave information on their increases "without any prompting by a reporter".

He has told police he is not prepared to divulge the names of his sources.

Yesterday Mayor Jan de Klerk, a retired Bellville police officer, said he was "very dissatisfied" the authorities had seen fit to use the Press to "get at their own men".

"The men in the force do not have a trade union or a mouthpiece, and they are dependent on the goodwill of the Press as their channel to the public," he said.

# Police pay witch-hunt

RD 22/5/81 (243)

If they appealed to the Press they had a right to expect that a witch-hunt would not be mounted against them.

May De Klerk said that since it had become known that he was concerned about police pay he had received calls from policemen countrywide, appealing for his help to win a better pay deal.

Brigadier I P S Terblanche, another retired senior officer, said he was "very sorry" about the move against Mr Wrotesley.

It was clear it was part of an attempt by the authorities to "teach their men a lesson", he said.

The Opposition spokesman on police, Mr Ray Swart, said the step was an "attempted witch-hunt" which harm morale and increase the disillusionment of members of the force.

"To invoke police regulations in order to punish members of

the force for giving information about their own salaries anonymously to the Press shows an unwholesome contempt for their normal rights of citizenship. Where does it stop?"

"Must they also be barred from discussing these matters with their MPs as many have done with me — and, I'm sure, with my colleagues?" Mr Swart asked.

The Western Cape chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Thaan van der Merwe, said it seemed that a witch-hunt was on against policemen who complained to the Press about their salaries.

The fact that a reporter had been summonsed to reveal the names of policemen who had spoken to him was a disgraceful

# 'Slammed

situation

"This must be the only place in the world where people are threatened with prosecution for complaining about inadequate salaries", he said.

Mr van der Merwe said he knew of several PFP canvassers who had heard complaints about police pay and conditions of service during the election campaign.

"I am convinced that literally hundreds or even thousands of policemen must have discussed this situation with canvassers and candidates during the campaign.

"It is a basic democratic right of every civil servant, including policemen and Defence Force personnel, to complain about bad

RAND DAILY MAIL, Friday, May 22, 1981

3

salaries and service conditions to whomsoever they wish to talk, particularly to public representatives and Pressmen.

The Cape Argus said in an editorial yesterday that it was ironic that on the day the major parties in Britain's parliament agreed to provide greater protection for journalists who decline to name informants, police in Cape Town had obtained a summons obliging a local reporter to divulge his sources.

Nationalist MPs found matters regarding salaries, the cost of living and dissatisfaction in the police force "embarrassing" and would prefer to stifle any discussion about them, the paper said.

"This latest action against a Cape Town journalist could suit them very well, if even people with well-founded and authentic grievances are led to feel they dare not talk about them in future."

In an open letter to the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, a Cape Town security expert and ex-policeman, Mr Michael Morris, said all police matters other than pre-trial matters directly related to investigation of criminal cases, should be "public property".

1979, 2261 of 12 October 1979, 2485 of 9 November 1979, 2743 of 7 December 1979, 425 of 7 March 1980, 1672 of 15 August 1980 and R 2542 of 19 December 1980, is repealed.

#### ANNEXURE

(1) Remainder of Portion 5 of the farm Goudmyn 119, remainder of Portion 1 and Portions 23 and 62 of the farm Zandvliet 117, both situated in the District of Robertson and registered under Deed of Transfer 15523 of 1961

(2) Portions 14, 16, 17 and 26 of the land known as Kraalbosch Vlake 116, situated in the District of Robertson and registered under Deed of Transfer 27171 of 1970

12 Oktober 1979, 2485 van 9 November 1979, 2743 van 7 Desember 1979, 425 van 7 Maart 1980, 1672 van 15 Augustus 1980 en R 2542 van 19 Desember 1980, herroep word

#### BYLAE

(1) Restant van die Gedeelte 5 van die plaas Goudmyn 119, restant van Gedeelte 1 en Gedeelte 23 en 62 van die plaas Zandvliet 117, beide gelee in die distrik Robertson, geregistreer onder Transportakte 15523 van 1961

(2) Gedeeltes 14, 16, 17 en 26 van die grond bekend as Kraalbosch Vlake 116, gelee in die distrik Robertson en geregistreer onder Transportakte 27171 van 1970.

### DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND STATE AUXILIARY SERVICES

No. 1119

*243* 22 May 1981

NOTIFICATION IN TERMS OF SECTION 3 (5) OF THE PROFESSIONAL ENGINEERS ACT, 1968 (ACT 81 OF 1968)

It is hereby notified in terms of section 3 (5) of the Professional Engineers Act, 1968 (Act 81 of 1968), that the Minister of Community Development and State Auxiliary Services has, by virtue of section 3 (1) and (4) of the said Act, appointed Willem Johannes van der Merwe Marais member and Johannes Gideon du Plessis alternate member to the South African Council for Professional Engineers for the period ending 13 January 1985.

### DEPARTEMENT VAN GEMEENSKAPS-ONTWIKKELING EN OWERHEIDSHULPDIENSTE

No. 1119

22 Mei 1981

AANKONDIGING INGEVOLGE ARTIKEL 3 (5) VAN DIE WET OP PROFESSIONELE INGENIEURS, 1968 (WET 81 VAN 1968)

Hierby word ingevolge artikel 3 (5) van die Wet op Professionele Ingenieurs, 1968 (Wet 81 van 1968), bekendgemaak dat die Minister van Gemeenskapsontwikkeling en Owerheidshulpdienste kragtens artikel 3 (1) en (4) van genoemde Wet, Willem Johannes van der Merwe Marais as lid en Johannes Gideon du Plessis as plaasvervangende lid aangestel het in die Suid-Afrikaanse Raad vir Professionele Ingenieurs vir die tydperk eindigende 13 Februarie 1985

### DEPARTMENT OF CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

No 1107

*343* 22 May 1981

CORRECTION NOTICE.—ADMINISTRATION BOARD FOR THE EAST RAND AREA—REGULATIONS RELATING TO TARIFFS OF FEES AND CHARGES FOR THE BLACK RESIDENTIAL AREAS SITUATE AT BRAKPAN AND BRONKHORSTSPRUIT AND GENERALLY KNOWN AS THE BRAKPAN, TSAKANE AND BRONKHORSTSPRUIT BLACK RESIDENTIAL AREAS

1 Government Notice 609, dated 27 March 1981, is hereby corrected as follows

Regulation 7 (1) (c) (i)

In the English text substitute "R6,60" for "R1,60"

2 Government Notice 610, dated 27 March 1981, is hereby corrected as follows.

Regulation 7 (2) (a):

In the English text substitute "14,5c" for "22,5c".

3 Government Notice 611, dated 27 March 1981, is hereby corrected as follows.

Regulation 7 (2) (a).

In the Afrikaans text substitute "R1,50" for "R1,20"

### DEPARTEMENT VAN SAMEWERKING EN ONTWIKKELING

No 1107

22 Mei 1981

VERBETERINGSKENNISGEWING — ADMINISTRASIERAAD VIR DIE OOS-RANDGEBIED—REGULASIES BETREFFENDE SKALE VAN LEGES EN GELDE VIR DIE SWART WOONGEBIEDE GELEE TE BRAKPAN EN BRONKHORSTSPRUIT EN ALGEMEEN BEKEND AS DIE BRAKPAN, TSAKANE EN BRONKHORSTSPRUIT SWART WOONGEBIEDE

1 Goewermentskennisgewing 609 van 27 Maart 1981 word hierby as volg verbeter

Regulasie 7 (1) (c) (i)

In die Engelse teks vervang "R1,60" deur "R6,60"

2 Goewermentskennisgewing 610 van 27 Maart 1981 word hierby as volg verbeter

Regulasie 7 (2) (a)

In die Engelse teks vervang "22,5c" deur "14,5c"

3 Goewermentskennisgewing 611 van 27 Maart 1981 word hierby as volg verbeter

Regulasie 7 (2) (a)

In die Afrikaanse teks vervang "R1,20" deur "R1,50"

*In full text see file*

Call to

protect

Press's

ANN 23/5/81

right to

silence

CALLS have been made to amend legislation in terms of which journalists face jail sentences for not divulging sources

They follow the decision of the Attorney-General of the Cape, Mr D J Rossouw, SC, to withdraw the subpoena issued to Cape Times reporter Mr Stephen Wrottesley, requiring him to name six policemen quoted in an article on police salaries.

Mr Wrottesley declined to name them and faced being jailed for up to two years.

The vice-president of the Southern African Society of Journalists, Mr John Battersby, said: 'The SASJ welcomes the withdrawal of the subpoena

However, as long as Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act remains on the statute book in its present form, journalists will be faced with the prospect of a jail sentence for protecting their sources.'

The SASJ renews its call on the Government to amend the law.

**UNFAIR**

Mr Tian van der Merwe, the Progressive Federal Party's Western Cape chairman, said he was pleased at the Attorney-General's decision but hoped the matter would be taken further

'One hopes the Government will do away with such legislation

'The problem remains that the subpoena indicates there is an investigation against the policemen who gave Mr Wrottesley his information

'This is grossly unfair. It is the right of any employee to complain about his or her salary.'

The senior assistant editor of the Cape Times, Mr Gerald Shaw, said he was very pleased at the Attorney-General's decision.

CT 23/5/81

# A-G withdraws action on reporter

257 243 331

Staff Reporter

THE Attorney-General of the Cape, Mr D J Rossouw SC, yesterday announced the withdrawal of a subpoena issued to the Cape Times Crime Reporter, Mr Stephen Wrottesley, requiring him to name six policemen quoted in an article on police salaries.

In a statement issued yesterday, Mr Rossouw said "At an early and fluid stage of an investigation into alleged contraventions of certain police regulations which are based on the proper discipline which must necessarily be maintained in the police force, a subpoena in terms of Section 205 of Act 51 of 1977 was issued to require the attendance of Mr Stephen Wrottesley before a magistrate.

"I have considered the matter as a whole and have decided to request the magistrate to withdraw the subpoena and not to continue with the examination of Mr Wrottesley."

In terms of the subpoena which was served on Mr Wrottesley on Wednesday, he was required to appear before a magistrate on June 3 to name his sources for the article, which was headed 'No

vote, say disappointed policemen" Mr Wrottesley refused and faced being jailed for up to two years.

The move was condemned by retired policemen, Members of Parliament, newspapers and journalists as an attempt to clamp down on policemen airing their grievances in public. They said policemen had no trade union or mouthpiece and warned that a "witch-hunt" in police ranks would harm morale and increase disillusionment in the force.

The decision to withdraw the subpoena served on Mr Wrottesley was widely welcomed yesterday.

Mr Wrottesley said yesterday he was pleased.

The Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ) welcomed the withdrawal of the subpoena and called on the government to amend the Criminal Procedures Act to protect journalists from having to reveal their sources.

The SASJ's vice-president (Western Cape), Mr John Battersby, said in a statement "The withdrawal is the second indication in less

CT 23/5/81  
A From page 1 243

than a month of a possible realization in government that trying to force journalists to betray their confidential sources is an undesirable practice. When used to aid an internal 'witch-hunt' in the police force, the practice becomes detestable.

Mr Battersby said an amendment of the Criminal Procedures Act to protect journalists would "recognize the importance of this sacrosanct journalistic principle as well as avoid any further official embarrassment".

## Distinction

In an editorial yesterday, the Burger, said much friction and ill feeling between the government and the press could be avoided if a distinction was made between matters of life or death or affecting the national interest" and matters of lesser importance when summoning journalists to reveal their sources.

"Whatever the technical merits of the case, account must be given of what the public implications will be. The impression that things are being made difficult for a newspaper or journalist who had done his work (or duty) should particularly be avoided," the editorial said.

The Burger said it was "a case of morality" for a journalist not to damage the confidence which his source had invested in him. The confidentiality of sources was a "question of honour" considered highly by journalists throughout the world, the editorial said.

To page 2

# Writer

## won't

RDM 23/5/81

## appear

## in court

CAPE TOWN. — The subpoena to force a Cape Town journalist to reveal his sources regarding complaints about police salaries was quashed by the Attorney-General, Mr P J Rossouw, in Cape Town yesterday.

Stephen Wrottesley had been subpoenaed to appear before a Cape Town magistrate to reveal the identities of policemen who had complained to him about their remuneration.

Wrottesley was to be charged under Section 205 of Act 51 of 1977, to reveal to the court the sources of the complaint.

The Cape Times, where Wrottesley works as a crime reporter, was informed yesterday by Mr Rossouw that he had requested the magistrate to withdraw the subpoena.

"At the final stage of investigation into alleged contraventions of certain police regulations, which are based on the proper discipline which must necessarily be maintained in the police, a subpoena in terms of section 205 of Act 51 of 1977 was issued to require the attendance of Mr Stephen Wrottesley before a magistrate," Mr Rossouw said in his communication.

"I have considered the matter as a whole and have decided to request the magistrate to withdraw the subpoena and not to continue with the examination of Mr Wrottesley."

Mr Wrottesley, who said he was elated by the news, added he could not have considered it possible that a story about police salaries could lead to him having to face charges which could lead to his imprisonment.

"I am glad it is all over now" — Sapa



# Mwasa ready for their big first congress

26/5/81  
SOWETAN Reporter

THE Southern Transvaal region of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) holds its final pre-congress meeting at the Orlando YMCA (DOCC) tonight.

Tonight's meeting will decide on resolutions, amendments and transport arrangements for congress and an official has urged every media worker to attend

Mwasa's congress will be at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre from Thursday to Sunday. The theme is "Black workers - the vehicle for change"

This congress will be the first for Mwasa as a union representing all media workers, and not journalists as in the past. Hundreds of non-journalists have already shown an interest in the organisation

According to Mwasa two

embassies have indicated they will attend, and the others invited are expected to confirm their attendance. Mwasa last week announced that the "Big Five" nations had not been invited because of the foreign policy on South Africa.

Most black organisations have been invited, but any organisation that has not yet been invited but consider itself a black consciousness organisation should phone 23-1221.

Children and their Guardians who had been admitted to the nutrition rehabilitation units at Holy Cross and Rietvlei Hospitals, Transkei, were followed up at their homes between 6 and 14 months later in order to assess the condition of the children, the knowledge gained by the Guardians and changes implemented by them at their homes. Factors influencing these parameters are analysed and recommendations are made arising from the research.

## INTRODUCTION

Nutrition rehabilitation units (NRU's) have been operating at hospitals in Transkei for a number of years (1) and it has become common practice at these hospitals to admit to these units children suffering from nutritional diseases (usually Protein Energy Malnutrition) together with their Guardians, either in place of hospital ward admission or following a stay in the hospital wards. The aims of these units may be broadly stated as follows: to provide an understanding that the child is suffering from a nutritional disease which may be cured and prevented by correct nutrition without recourse to "medicines", to provide general health and nutritional education, and to teach vegetable gardening. It is hoped that the Guardians will then be better equipped to prevent a relapse in their children's condition on returning home and that the Guardians will pass on their acquired knowledge to others, so having an effect on their communities as a whole.

In order to evaluate the effectiveness of the NRU's, follow-up studies were carried out at Holy Cross Hospital where a nutrition unit was started in 1969, and at Rietvlei Hospital where a nutrition unit was started in 1973.

Holy Cross Hospital is situated in the Flagstaff district of Transkei. The children in the follow-up sample came from villages within a radius of approximately 60 km from the hospital. Medical services are provided by the hospital, by one permanent outlying clinic and by mobile clinics which visit particular areas every fortnight. Agricultural patterns are of a subsistence nature and only a minority of the villages have been "rehabilitated" under the government-sponsored agricultural rehabilitation scheme. There are very few employment opportunities in the area.

The NRU at Holy Cross admits about 150 children and their Guardians per year. Nutrition education is provided by a "house-mother" and there is an agricultural officer who teaches the Guardians and organises the cultivation of the vegetable garden. Children are admitted to the NRU either directly from the out-patient department or after a stay in the wards if their condition warrants hospital admission. Prior to this study the



# Report on media ready in July

STAR

27/5/81

243

By David Breier  
Chief Reporter

The Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media will report before the August session of Parliament, the chairman, Mr Justice M T Steyn, announced today

At the last public hearing of the commission Judge Steyn said the report should be completed on July 29

In a closing declaration Mr Justice Steyn disclosed

● Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, had refused an invitation to testify to the commission

● The Government had refused to relax the banning order on Mr Zwicklakhe Sisulu, the banned former president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa), to enable the commission to invite him to testify.

Bishop Tutu turned down the invitation because

● The Government had banned the two newspapers, Post and Weekend Post, without consulting the commission.

● The Government did not place much weight on commissions.

● There was no point in testifying before a commission of minor importance

Judge Steyn also said that MWASA had turned down an invitation to testify

He said that the commission had wanted to invite Mr Sisulu but before it extended any invitation, it had to find whether the Government would relax or amend the banning order in order to permit him to testify

"The Government did not see its way clear to relaxing or amending the banning order" and no invitation was extended.

MWASA would be holding its first annual national congress shortly, the judge said, and he had asked, that, in its deliberations, MWASA should favour the commission with its views on matters being investigated by the commission

Judge Steyn said that, although the commission had the power of subpoena, it had decided against using it because the validity of voluntary submissions would be greater than that of submissions obtained through coercion

● Page 4. 'Press reports cause crime.'

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PLEASE CIRCLE ITEMS REQUIRED

# Steyn winds up the inquiry into media

ROM 28/5/81 243

THE report of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media would be ready in time for debate in the next session of Parliament, the commission's chairman, Mr Justice M T Steyn, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Closing off the commission's business yesterday, he said 112 people had made oral submissions and 160 memoranda had been submitted during the commission's 105 sessions.

The commission was constituted "to inquire into and report on the question whether the conduct of, and the handling of, matters by the mass media meet the needs and interests of the South African community and the demands of the times, and, if not, how they can be improved".

Mr Justice Steyn disclosed that Bishop Desmond Tutu, general-secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and the Media Workers' Association of South Africa, had declined invitations to make submissions before the commission.

Bishop Tutu had referred his invitation to his committee and had later told the commission's secretary that although he appreciated the invitation, it had been decided he should not accept it.

The reasons he had given, Mr Steyn said, were that the Government had recently closed down two newspapers serving the black community before consulting with the Steyn Commission, which showed the Government did not attach much value to the commission, and there appeared, therefore, to be little purpose in appearing before the commission.

Mwasa had also been unwilling to make submissions. Mr Steyn said the commission had felt that should the Government see fit to relax or amend the banning order on Mwasa's president, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, "we would very much like him to appear".

The commission had communicated this desire to the Government which had decided against relaxing or amending the banning order and no invitation had been extended to Mr Sisulu.

Mr Justice Steyn noted that from tomorrow Mwasa was holding its first annual national conference.

"It is the earnest wish of this commission that during the deliberations at the conference they will favour us, albeit indirectly, with discussion on the matter we have to investigate".

The commission had felt no good purpose would be served by compelling attendance before it. Voluntary submissions were worth far more than submissions people felt they had been coerced into making.

The parliamentary session begins on July 31.

Southern Africa.

## MWASA-THE SEQUEL

# Black morale, black standards, and the tannies of Groblersdal

The December issue of Frontline carried an article on the strike by the black journalists' association Mwasa. Extracts from that article were republished in several publications, one of which was *Ecquid Novi*, the journal of the Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit's Department of Communications. At *Ecquid Novi*'s request the writer of the article, Denis Beckett, wrote a postscript, from which the following extracts are taken. The full postscript will appear in the next edition of *Ecquid Novi*.

(Frontline had printing problems, leading to the weird situation whereby two separate extracts from the story were published by other papers before Frontline itself was on sale)

The upshot was that for nearly three weeks there were various stories in circulation about what I had actually said. Some of the Mwasa people understood that this was a full-scale attack on Mwasa and black journalists in general, and particularly that I was denouncing black journalists as incompetent. Others were antagonised because the story 'should have been written by a black'. Others because they felt it was wrong that I, as a white, should have been given so much inside information by blacks.

All in all, there was a fair level of hostility, much of it on the general ground that the story did not 'take the black side'. Therefore, not being 'part of the solution', it was axiomatically 'part of the problem', which was all that could be expected of the white liberals anyway.

I couldn't make very much sense of most of the complaints which were levelled at me personally, and even less of those which I heard second-hand, other than to have my existing view fortified - that there is a lot more complexity in the issue of black/white relationships than can be explained by sheer reason.

However, there was one particular exchange I found interesting. It was with one of the most prominent black journalists in the country, and went something like this:

"The boys are out to lynch you."  
"Uh-huh. Why, in particular?"  
"Because of what you say about the standards of black journalism being low."  
"Well, are they or aren't they?"

"Of course they are. They're terrible. We all know that." (And here my friend went on to complain about the standards in terms far more vehement than I would ever do - which is not only because of the trusty old lily-livered bend-over-blackwards syndrome of the white liberals, but also because the more you castigate 'black journalism' in general the more you advance the expectation of failure and the tougher you make the prospects of those individuals who are really good.)

"But", he then went on, "you can't say it. It's demoralising. Blacks are badly enough demoralised as it is. You say that kind of stuff and it demoralises us further."

I take his point. You tell a man long enough and loud enough that he's no good and he gets to believe he's no good. And vice versa. Which provides a nice cut-and-dried principle, but leaves a couple of questions hanging in practice.

And those questions, like much else involved in the Mwasa issue, go way beyond application to journalists only. They are germane to much of what is happening in every field of life in South Africa right now. Perhaps it can be said that the Mwasa strike is a forerunner of things to come. That's logical enough. After all, the newspaper industry is not only the focal point of the most highly-educated and politically-conscious single category of black employees in the country, it is also the only area, so far, where blacks and whites work side by side in the same capacities in significant numbers.

Accepting that there is a very genuine need for black morale to be boosted, how do you do it? Whether you're white or black? If a pupil adds one and one and comes to three, do you boost his morale by telling him he's got it right? If a reporter

produces a load of pedestrian gobbledygook, do you slap him on the back and say Moo! Skoot? This kind of thing does actually happen - partly because some employers get to feel bad about constantly having to reject material. It happens to such people as attorney's clerks and management trainees as well as to reporters. The man later discovers that his piece of work has been amended beyond the point of recognisability before it appears in the paper or gets sent to the client, or whatever. That certainly doesn't help sustain the initial morale-boosting effect of the slap on the back. All it does is absolve the executive concerned of the pain of confrontation or repeated reprimand.

So it goes on. Do you shovel black kids through school or university more leniently than whites? That happens too, for a combination of reasons not all of which are by any means ignoble. One effect is that the youths in question get out into the wide world with their certificates, which bear the same letters and the same name as the certificates of their counterparts from white universities, and then become legitimately and understandably infuriated when they discover that they carry nothing like the same weight in the commercial world.

One easy answer is that you preserve standards. Simple. No racism. No discrimination. Merely the preservation of a single standard for all. Very ethical. You even provide the people on the wrong side of the line with extra attention to help them along.

That answer is a great one for the ivory towers, especially the homogenous ones. In the thick of the scrum, the best it can do is elicit a slow, hollow, laugh.

I don't claim to know the answers, and am having a lot of difficulty trying to figure out what the questions are. One thing I do know, though, is that anyone who thinks he can solve this issue with a nice simple, pat

... would do well to seek psychiatric attention. The closest we can come is to say that the catastrophic effects of Bantu Education have veritably worked miracles in aggravating the problem. But whatever there is to be said about Bantu Education (and there are even things to be said for it, heretical as that may sound) the fact is that no power on earth is able to create the ideal education system overnight, and even if that could be done it wouldn't erase the problem.

There is of course the matter of 'black standards' which I touched on in the article and which I think deserves attention to a degree around infinity times greater than it has enjoyed hitherto. But no matter how much there might be, to the black standards argument in the literary context, it is difficult to see any such thing as a 'black standard' of running railway systems or computer programmes or banks. Somewhere along the line there is a standard, and blacks are going to have to accept the idea that to compete is going to involve prowess in what for right or wrong is an absolute standard. (Whereas those whites who tend to think that whatever they do is an absolute standard, down to eating the fish with the right knife, might find it profitable to indulge in a little reflection as to where the absolutes end.)

||||| [*Immediately after the strike the government effectively, although not literally, banned Post just over three years after the banning of World.*]

**N**obody would ever accuse the South African authorities of being overhasty in responding to the lessons of history, but this was ridiculous. Jimmy Kruger's heavy hand on World had backfired devastatingly, and the echoes hadn't even died away yet. Now here was a new and-improved Mark II whipping-stick getting handed over gratis to the critics even before the last one was worn out.

Perhaps there's a case to be made that the degree of press freedom is nothing like as crucial an arbiter of a society's state of health as it is cracked up to be. But it certainly gets used as such, partly, no doubt, because of the Press' own direct interest in the matter, and partly because it is a lot easier to comprehend than are complicated and disputed stories about economic deprivation and educational disadvantage.

In any case, it is difficult to imagine that World's banning achieved anything at all, even by Kruger's lights. Maybe there were tannies in Groblersdal who slept better for knowing that another communist/terrorist/satanic plot had been nipped in the bud, but I suspect that even here a large part of the effect worked in the opposite direction. There were some fairly hair-raising stories wandering around about World after the bannings. I particularly remember meeting one woman, who after digesting her surprise at the fact that I did not have horns and a long fork (I had been

## The scars and blemishes were lost beneath a mythology of martyrdom

assistant editor of World) told me that she had it on the highest authority that we were using a code system to instruct guerillas who to kill and what to blow up. Okay, "highest authority" turned out later to be something to the effect that her brother had a friend whose wife knew someone whose uncle lived next door to a captain in the security police, but the point is that she was frightened. (I told her that the mind of man has not yet devised a code system which would have made it through both the sub room and the setting department.)

What the banning did do, apart from fuel international odium, was provide World, in death, with a level of repute it had never enjoyed in life. Its scars and blemishes and inadequacies were lost beneath a constantly growing mythology of martyrdom. The practical effect was that the more World's successor, Post, felt over shadowed by the memory of World, the more it tried to outworld World.

**S**o what do we get now? A third verse, same as the first? Presumably not.

Twice bitten must surely mean third time shy, and the Sowetan, which if not exactly a successor to Post was at the least reborn out of Post's ashes, already differs from Post in several more ways than Post differed from World. But it does mean another martyr, and a redoubled set of pressures on the Sowetan to live up to its inheritance of the mantle of now not one but two fallen heroes.

Although it is eminently understandable that the government did not smile with favour on Post, it is another matter entirely to try to discern what exactly the government expected the final outcome of its banning to be.

Clearly, the government would greatly

prefer to have a major black newspaper which did not discount every small reform as a sop, did not constantly deride the Buthelezis, the Thebehelis and their ilk, did not give the ANC as much respectful attention as it felt it could get away with, and did not cultivate in readers' minds the notion that the Great Day of Blackness offered the only release. (Post would no doubt argue that it did not do these things anyway, but it is legitimate that rational examination, at least by a hostile eye, might have concluded otherwise.)

However how was it expected that banning Post would help? Presumably the government had in mind, as a first step that Argus would pack in its black Transvaal operations. But Argus as a company is not especially offensive to the government, and surely the government did not believe that Post was what it was because the board directed it to be that way. No, the problem was that Post was editorially independent as newspapers are universally meant to be.

Even if Argus did close up Post, what then? Was that intended to open the field for rival concerns to set up "responsible" black dailies, which would not employ those obstreperous Post journalists?

If it was, I greatly doubt it would have succeeded. Places like Soweto are, in comparison with white society, astonishingly interactive. Everybody knows everybody, relatively speaking, and it is awful hard to see any reputable journalist attaching his name to a clearly controlled substitute for a banned voice of the people, which is what Post would of course have become.

**A**nd if the substitute was not controlled, would it have been much different to Post? That seems doubtful. It assumes that Post was in the grip of a bunch of unrepresentative radicals, whereas Post in fact was no more hostile than those other black publications in which blacks do have some sort of effective say (which is a minority; most black publications are controlled by whites, although some have nominal black editors).

Could it be then that the journalists are playing to a limited gallery consisting of just a knot of fashionable intellectuals? Or could it on the other hand be that Post was actually on balance more moderate than its environment? There's a case to be made both ways, but suffice it for the present to say that there seems very little chance that any daily publication run by Soweto people would ever in the long run be significantly less obnoxious to the government than Post was. Black opposition is real, and not, as people like Louis le Grange seem to think, a kind of accidental function of press agitation. It is not a thing which can be wiped out by edict. Considering how much of the current rhetoric of government revolves around hearts and minds, it is remarkable how effective the practice is at putting backs up.

PLEASE TURN OVER

243 139 142

# A one-eyed form of patriotism

CONTINUED

(The aftermath of the strike saw a batch of persons being ordered. Firstly, Mwasa's president, Zulu, Sisulu, and then four leading members - then his successor Phil Mtshkulu)

The bannings - Sisulu's in particular - were no great surprise. Sisulu had already stayed at large somewhat longer than normal after the customary banning/intimidation/questioning season. Presumably the government wanted to wait until the strike ended. (His banning order had in fact been signed about a month before it was served.)

No surprise, but were they conservative? Even from the government's own point of view?

Let's leave the matter of "black reaction" out of this. Of course, there were the usual Shock Horror Outrage headlines and the usual loud assurances that practically every world leader short of Leonid Brezhnev had been approached to intervene. (Which often means no more than that someone nobody ever heard of has bothered to send a telegram to some big name.) My own feeling is that many blacks see individual bannings as a routine hazard, and - short of banning a Tutu or a Motlana - I doubt that they create anything approaching the same degree of animosity as the banning of a major institution.

Be that as it may, there are two other factors.

The first of these is simple. It is that black talent is thin on the ground. In the first place, and when the government removes the prime examples of what real leadership and real ability there are - is damaging South Africa. Not just blacks or the "black cause", but South Africa is the most one-eyed form of patriotism which assumes that the perpetuation of black helotry is in the interests of anyone. And it is outright blindness to delude yourself that the most intelligent and most up-and-about blacks are going to be anything but radical. Afrikaner history teaches the point convincingly enough for even the dumbest eye, and since despite temptation one cannot realistically suggest that the cabinet consists of dullards, one can only assume that some more fundamental imperative takes over. Reason falls away, obscured by errors of parallax and to some extent also by the inevitable stumbling-block of our form of democratic oligarchy, the inability of the people in power to do what they

know has to be done because the rank and file won't swallow it.

I'm not arguing here against bannings or such. That is not to say that I approve of the principle. I certainly don't. But nor do I ever expect to see South Africa give a free rein to individual liberty whatever the government and whatever the colour of its skins or its policies. We're a volatile society and will remain one for a long time to come - and moreover, the pattern of authoritarianism has already been established. What I'm suggesting right now is if we have to ban anyone, let us at least not ban the wrong people.

Sisulu is wrong particularly wrong. Firstly because he is black and purely and simply competent - and our need to develop a spirit of competence and confidence among the most dispirited part of our population is surely in the long view the most dire need we have.

## The real enemies are those we cannot see

Second - and this is the difficult one - because finally the Sisulus, Mtshkulus & Co are on the same side as the government. Even on the same side as Jaap Marais.

Now hang on, you say, that's the most ridiculous thing I ever heard. Sisulu and P W Botha have got nothing in common whatsoever.

Oh yes, they have - the fact that they are both in their different ways looking for some form of good society. True, the one's paradise is the other's purgatory, but that is secondary. The real importance is that they are each looking for whatever they think the good society might be. Which puts them in a common mould, and a long way removed from the people we really have to fear in South Africa.

Those are the people who aren't looking for any future at all, but are merely responding with either active or latent violence to the pressures of the present. On the one hand, people like the Lieut. Botha of recent notoriety who told his troops that if they each killed ten kaffirs they'd be doing the country a favour and promptly proceeded to practise his preachings on a couple of black kids on the roadside. On the other hand, the '76 mob who battered Melville Edelstein to death because he was white.

In most societies, the real spectrum of attitudes is more or less the same thing as

the apparent spectrum. Not so in South Africa. We're in the very odd situation where the extremes of the real spectrum never show up anywhere in public debate. Every white knows that there are white people around who have no interest at all in forms of government, economic policy, or whatever, but who will happily and blindly shoot blacks if the opportunity offers. Why should we assume that these morons (who incidentally have very little to do with party-political affiliation) do not have their counterparts among blacks? True, black racism is not often a racism of contempt, but that may well be compensated for by the fact that it underlies a very high level of resentment.

In other times and other places it may be realistic for the forces of authority to look on those who express dissidence most harshly as their true enemies, but not here. The people we have been systematically putting out of action for decades are the Mugabes and the Nyereres and the Kaundas of South Africa. Maybe, to whites, the Mugabes and the Nyereres don't look all that exciting. But who needs the Amins? It's useful to remember that while Milton Obote was making noises the British government thought were treasonable, Idi Amin was a loyal soldier in the colonial forces, ja-baasing himself into a sergeant-majorship and his mind into a sullen explosive compound awaiting detonation.

(One of the black journalists' complaints which the original story touched on was the matter of 'beats' - specific areas of reporting responsibility such as labour, politics, and crime. The blacks alleged that they were discriminated against by not being put on beats.)

After the strike, several black reporters on the white papers were given beats. I saw one shortly afterwards, and asked how things were going.

"Terrible", he said. "We're discriminated against."

Uh, huh. What now?

"Yeah, they've put us on these beats, but they don't give us training like they train the white reporters. They just push us into the beat and don't tell us anything. They want us to fail, so they can defeat us."

What!!!? Training for beats??? Who ever heard of training for beats? Maybe there should be, but there isn't. And now that comes across as yet another White Man's Plot. How did it ever get to be the Americans who invented the term "no win situation"?

Sometimes it's enough to make one want to emigrate to Iceland. But since we don't, we've got to accept that getting it right isn't going to be easy. And we've got to make a lot of large leaps of faith and trust if we're ever going to do so. That's my understanding of patriotism, anyhow.

# Mwasa is dedicated to the liberation struggle

*29/5/81*  
*29/5/81*

WE have again come together to reaffirm our loyalty to our organisation and our commitment to the struggle for the total liberation of the black man in this country.

This is the second time I have to fill in for one of our presidents.

The first time was 1977 at Durban when president of the Union of Black Journalists (UBJ) Joe Thlooe, was in detention. As you will remember Joe spent more than a year in detention but he has never been brought before a court of law. I am now filling for Zwelakhe Sisulu who was arbitrarily banned without facing a formal accusation and getting a chance to defend himself in a competent court of law.

These are deliberate acts of aggression by the South African minority regime on our people's liberty which is the right of all human beings on earth. Despite these acts of aggression by the present oligarchy, SA continues to make friends amongst the world's most avowed

advocates of human liberty.

America could not continue playing a game of camaraderie behind the scenes with SA and had to declare openly its tilt towards the minority regime in this country. Hence the unholy alliance between the two governments.

I say it is an unholy alliance because it is based on a big lie with America motivated by that country's capitalist tendencies and its phobia for the 'big communist fear' while SA which also sees communists behind every bush, is an ideal shipmate for the Reagan administration.

To accept a polecat like SA as an ally, Reagan was forced to use a big lie and therefore risk being condemned by history. Ironically he used history for the big lie but distorted history to accommodate the distorted values of the SA community.

He said America could not forsake a country like SA which fought on America's side on the

Last world wars and SA also took up the tune to sing the rather discordant note that it had fought on the side of the allies.

But who fought on the side of the allies? Was it John Vorster, Hendrik van den Bergh and the members of the Ossewa Brandwag? The history I know recorded in all history books except maybe the one Reagan used, tells me the Ossewa Brandwag fought against the Allies and perpetrated sabotage in SA in favour of Hitler and Nazism.

If Smuts was alive today he would probably have told Reagan that his government lost in the 1949 election to the antiwar element whose base was the Ossewa Brandwag and what followed Smuts' election flop resembled Nazism.

Consider the Nazi's superrace syndrome and apartheid and consider the evils of detention without trial of the Nazi regime and what happens now there. Are so many similarities between the two regimes?

### VICTIMS

But the question is, who fought on the side of the allies — your fathers and my father did, your

trated by events locally and internationally.

This also places a premium on our loyalty, not only to this organisation, but also to the entire liberation effort which demands that we take our place in realignment of forces that is taking place in the resurgence and re-intensification of the battle to attain our freedom.

When we speak about complete freedom for the black man in this country, we talk about unfettered participation in the socio-political-economic structure and for the worker to be recognised as an appropriate vehicle for change it is necessary that all workers must be fully engaged in efforts to change the status quo in SA.

### FREEDOM

No worker will enjoy complete freedom and recognition of his rights at the workplace if he is denied this freedom elsewhere in the South African socio-political-economic structure.

No worker in his right mind therefore, can want to stay out of a trade union because he believes that union is

believe they are the only architects of change in terms of format and pace.

When we met here for the congress of Wasa in 1975, we were unhappy about the fact that Wasa was an elitist organisation and to make it a people's organisation we dissolved its structure to come up with this new organisation.

I would be unhappy if we were to elevate the struggle to a state where we would be engaged in defining class and capitalism and also in engaging in other intellectual terms. We need a simple philosophy for a mass movement which would appeal to all our people and that philosophy should merely talk about black and white.

Even in the early years of black consciousness, the existence of whites well-disposed to the black political endeavour in this country was never denied, and such whites will still be given their rightful place in liberated Azania.

Those white friends, at the moment, are necessarily caught up in a situation where they are subjects of white laws. In contrast, we are

THE first congress of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) last night rededicated the organisation "to the struggle for the total liberation of this country".  
Mr Charles Ngqakula, the Mwasa vice-president who stood in for banned president Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, opened the four-day congress. This is the text of his speech.

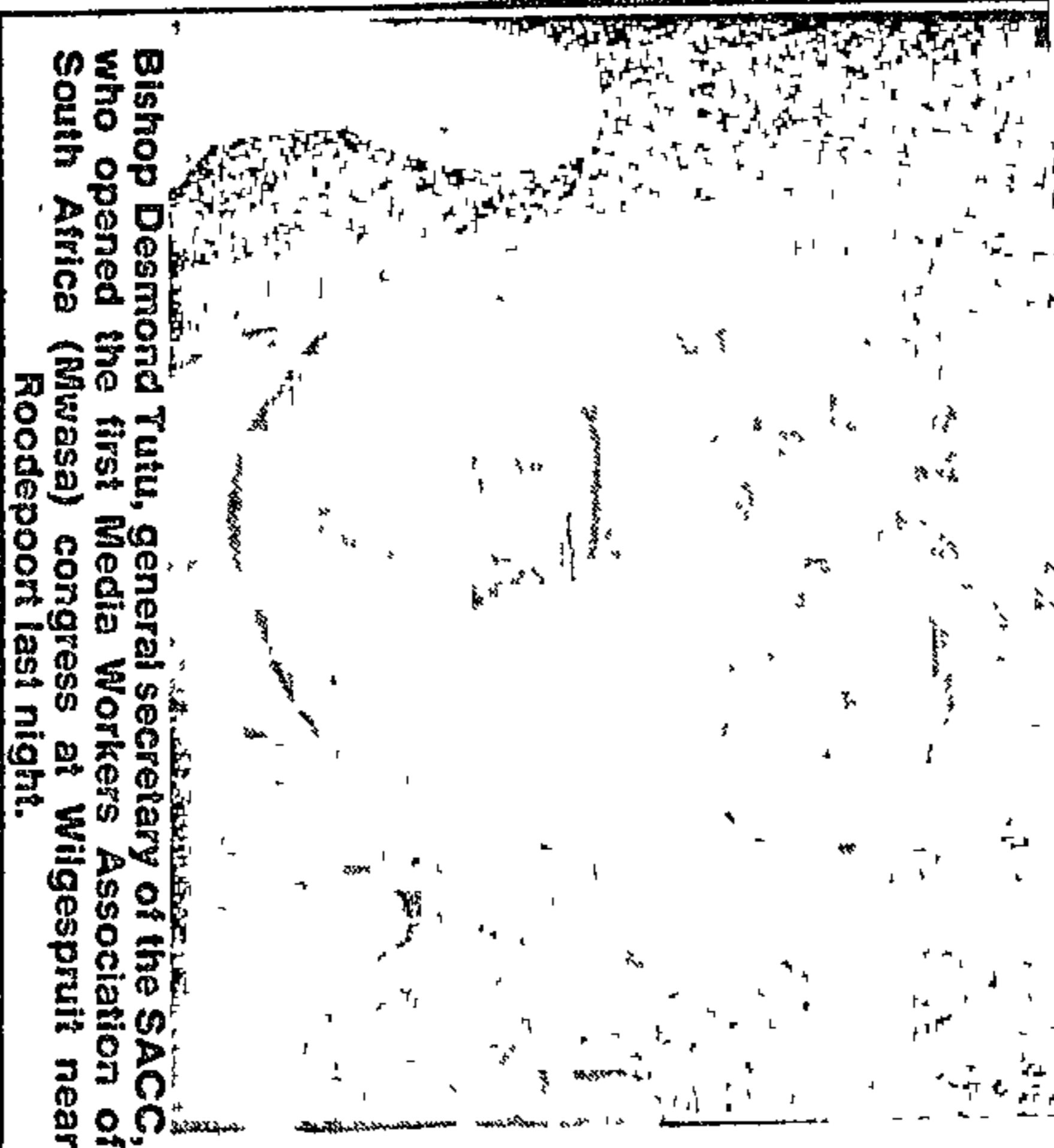
live categories, which

parts 1941, 1951 and 1960

this data has been used



Sowetan 29/5/81



**Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SACC, who opened the first Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) congress at Wilgespruit near Roodepoort last night.**

grandfathers and mine did. And what did they get? They were victims of the Mendi disaster and those who were fortunate got bicycles and boots from the wars and others entertained hopes of the promise of better things until their lives were snuffed out.

The fight for one's right either in the work place or in the community within the context of the South African situation must be pervaded by a political atmosphere and whether he likes it or not, the worker in SA has got to swim through the political stream to get to the work place.

writing of our own rule book, in our own particular circumstances. This saw us being criticised by some white members of the media because of our strike last year. They argued that we did not conduct our strike in terms of standard procedure.

The better things have not come even for their grandchildren and people like Zwelakhe, Joe Phil Mtimkulu and others keep on finding themselves on the bitter end of the stick of repression.

The political stream is the plethora of racial laws, which declare that only certain races can be employed in certain areas.

The procedure is prescribed in the white law book, but as I say, we now live our own rule book which the white community have to be conversant with to be able to deal with the black effort.

Maybe Reagan does not know this history. Our congress has come at a time when the political couldron is bubbling over as illus-

While so-called new thinking in white circles is using change as a theme for the present era, there are no moves to change the political structure and white people continue to

The stipulation in our new rule book is simple, if you injure one of us, in our own particular trade, you injure us all in the trade

# COMMISSION ON PRESS TO REPORT SOON

THE STEYN Commission of inquiry into the mass media will report before the August session of Parliament, the chairman, Mr Justice M T Steyn announced this week.

At the last public hearing of the commission, Mr Justice Steyn said the report would hopefully be completed on July 29 in time for debate in Parliament.

In a closing declaration, Mr Justice Steyn disclosed

• Bishop Desmond Tutu, the general secretary of the SA Council of Churches had refused an invitation to testify to the commission

• The Government had refused to relax the banning order on Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, the banned president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) to enable the commission to invite him to testify

Mr Justice Steyn said that when Bishop Tutu was invited, he first consulted his committee.

After consultation, Bishop Tutu turned down the invitation because

• the Government had banned the two newspapers Post and Sunday Post without consulting the commission

• the Government

## SOWETAN REPORTER

did not place much weight on commissions and

• there was no point in testifying to a commission of minor importance

Mr Justice Steyn also said that Mwasa had turned down an invitation to testify

He said that the commission had wanted to invite Mr Sisulu but before it extended any invitation, it had to find whether the government would relax or amend the banning order in order to permit him to testify

The Government did not see its way clear to relaxing or amending the banning order, and no invitation was extended

Mr Justice Steyn noted that Mwasa was holding its first annual national congress shortly and he requested that in its deliberations Mwasa favoured the commission with its views on matters being investigated by the commission

Mr Justice Steyn said

that although the commission had the power of subpoena if decided against using it because the validity of voluntary submissions would be greater than that of submissions obtained through coercion

The commission sat for 66 days and heard evidence by 112 people and read 160 memoranda

Its terms of reference were to investigate and report on the question of whether the conduct and handling of matters by the mass media met the needs and interests of the South African community and the demands of the time and if not, how they could be improved.

These presenting symptoms were very similar to those found

previous survey where abdominal pain, chest pain and headache were common. Only one patient denied any subjective depression; however, of the others attributed their depressed mood to the physical symptoms which they complained.

Disassociative features occurred in 9 patients, 3 men and 6 women.

These consisted of disturbed behaviour in one patient (laughing to himself, clapping his hands for no reason), talking nonsense in 2 patients, hallucinations and subjective feelings of confusion in 2 patients, amnesia in 2 patients, hemiparesis in 1 patient and paraparesis in one patient.

It is interesting to note that the dissociative defence appeared more common in this group than the projective defence described elsewhere.

(Wintrob 1966)(27) (Field 1961)(28).

iii) Severity of Depression.

In the objective assessment of depression considerable reliance was placed on non-verbal cues; whilst these may show cultural variation it is also true some vernacular languages in Africa do not distinguish clearly between anger and sadness (Leff 1973)(26).

1) Patients: There were 12 women and aged 40 - 50 years whilst the remaining 3 were 34 years respectively.

The ages of 2 of the women were not remaining 10 ranged from 17 years to 60 years and a 43 year old woman but 5 of the and 3 were over 50 years.

### ii) Presenting Symptoms:

One male patient was admitted to associated with malnutrition and dehydration had somatic complaints. Pain was the common pain was the chest in 6 cases, the abdomen the limbs in 2 cases and the back and shoulders 55 years who had had chest pain for some general hospital for investigation.

Five other patients complained of symptoms which were similar to the somatic manifestations of anxiety; these included shaking, dizziness and palpitations.

These presenting symptoms were very similar to those found in previous survey where abdominal pain, chest pain and headache were common. Only one patient denied any subjective depression; however, of the others attributed their depressed mood to the physical symptoms which they complained.

Disassociative features occurred in 9 patients, 3 men and 6 women. These consisted of disturbed behaviour in one patient (laughing to himself, clapping his hands for no reason), talking nonsense in 2 patients, hallucinations and subjective feelings of confusion in 2 patients, amnesia in 2 patients, hemiparesis in 1 patient and paraparesis in one patient.

3 patients, shaking in 2 and mild hypertension in 5. One of the

hypertensive patients had been treated with debrisoquine.



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Vol. 191]

PRETORIA, 29 MAY 1981  
 MEI

[No. 7598

**PROCLAMATION**

*by the State President of the Republic of South Africa*

No. R 108, 1981

DATE OF COMING INTO OPERATION OF SECTION 21 (1A) OF THE PROFESSIONAL ENGINEERS' ACT, 1968 (ACT 81 OF 1968)

Under and by virtue of the powers vested in me by section 18 (2) of the Professional Engineers' Amendment Act, 1979 (Act 77 of 1979), I hereby declare that section 21 (1A) of the Professional Engineers' Act, 1968 (Act 81 of 1968), comes into operation on the date of publication hereof

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Sixteenth day of March, One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-one

M VILJOEN, State President

By Order of the State President-in-Council

S F KOTZÉ

**GOVERNMENT NOTICES**

**DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES**

No R 1147

29 May 1981

LEVY AND SPECIAL LEVY ON GRAIN SORGHUM AND GRAIN SORGHUM PRODUCTS EXPORTED

In terms of section 79 (a) of the Marketing Act, 1968 (Act 59 of 1968), I, Pieter Theunis Christiaan du Plessis, Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries, hereby make known that the Maize Board, referred to in section 6 of the Summer Grain Scheme, published by Proclamation R. 45 of 1979, as amended, has in terms of sections 23 and 24 of that Scheme, with my approval, imposed a levy and special levy set out in the Schedule hereto in substitution of the levy and special levy, published by Government Notice R. 870 of 27 April 1979, as amended

R T C. DU PLESSIS, Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries.

614—A

**PROKLAMASIE**

*van die Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika*

No. R. 108, 1981

DATUM VAN INWERKINGTREDING VAN ARTIKEL 21 (1A) VAN DIE WET OP PROFESSIONELE INGENIEURS 1968 (WET 81 VAN 1968)

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 18 (2) van die Wysigingswet op Professionele Ingenieurs, 1979 (Wet 77 van 1979), verklaar ek hierby dat artikel 21 (1A) van die Wet op Professionele Ingenieurs, 1968 (Wet 81 van 1968), op die datum van publikasie hiervan in werking tree

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seel van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Sestiende dag van Maart Eenduisend Negehonderd Een-en-tagtig

M VILJOEN, Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-rade.

S F KOTZÉ.

**GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWINGS**

**DEPARTEMENT VAN LANDBOU EN VISSERYE**

No. R 1147

29 Mei 1981

HEFFING EN SPESIALE HEFFING OP GRAAN-SORGHUM EN GRAANSORGHUMPRODUKTE UITGEVOER

Kragtens artikel 79 (a) van die Bemarkingswet, 1968 (Wet 59 van 1968), maak ek, Pieter Theunis Christiaan du Plessis, Minister van Landbou en Visserye, hierby bekend dat die Melieraad, vermeld in artikel 6 van die Somergraanskema, afgekondig by Proklamasie R 45 van 1979, soos gewysig, kragtens artikels 23 en 24 van daardie Skema, met my goedkeuring die heffing en spesiale heffing in die Bylae hiervan uiteengesit, opgelê het ter vervanging van die heffing en spesiale heffing afgekondig by Goewermentskennisgewing R 870 van 27 April 1979, soos gewysig

P. T. C. DU PLESSIS, Minister van Landbou en Visserye.

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C Herald 30/5/81 (273) (37) (49)

# New news workers union

**THE** forthcoming inaugural congress of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) will be a 'milestone' in the newspaper industry says the chairman of the organisation's Western Cape region, Mr Moegsien Williams.

Media workers, other than journalists, will for the first time attend as delegates and all categories of employees will be involved in shaping the new, independent union. This congress will lay the constitutional foundations for a new, fully-fledged trade union for

all black workers in the media and will mark the commitment the organisation has to true worker representation,' said Mr Williams.

## REJECTED

Mwasa's predecessor, the Writers' Association of South Africa represented only journalists but this was rejected in favour of one union for ALL workers in the industry.

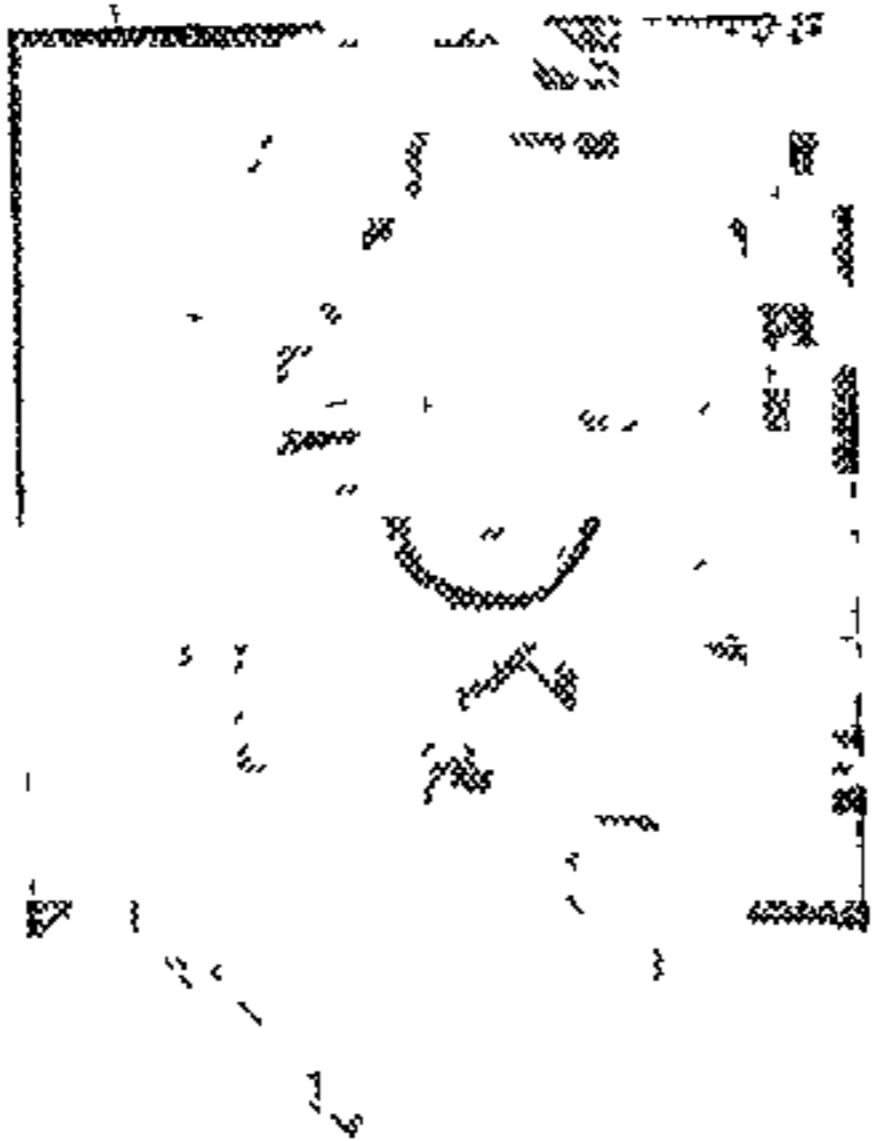
The congress is to be held at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre, Roodepoort (outside Johannesburg) from May 28 to June 1.

Delegates from throughout the country, among them 12 from the Western Cape, are expected to attend.

The secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu will open the congress.

# 'Mail' Editor Sparks leaves SAAN

(243)  
Rom



MR SPARKS ... leaves SAAN



MR MYBURGH takes over

**Staff Reporter**  
THE Editor of the Rand Daily Mail, Mr Allister Sparks, is leaving the service of South African Associated Newspapers Ltd, the managing director, Mr Clive Kinsley, announced yesterday

Mr Tertius Myburgh has been appointed Editor of the Rand Daily Mail and will also retain his present position as editor of the Sunday Times.

Mr Kinsley said Mr Myburgh's appointment followed reorganisation of the editorial structure of the Rand Daily Mail and the Sunday Times

In making his announcement, Mr Kinsley said it was intended that the changes would enable the company to rationalise the use of resources for the benefit of both newspapers. He stressed, however, that each newspaper would retain its individual character and identity and that no changes in policy were contemplated.

Mr Myburgh, 46, became editor of the Sunday Times in 1975. Before that he was editor of the Pretoria News.

Mr Kinsley said the task of editing the Rand Daily Mail was the most demanding position in daily newspaper journalism in South Africa today. Mr Sparks had occupied the editorial chair during four extremely difficult years and had done so with distinction, he said.

The newspaper had, during this period, continued to be honoured with numerous awards and had again been internationally recognised when Mr Sparks was named joint International Editor of the Year for 1979 by Atlas World Press Review for the RDM's role in the exposure of the Department of Information scandal.

Mr Kinsley said Mr Sparks was an outstanding political analyst and one of the country's most perceptive and authoritative writers on the subject.

In a separate statement, Mr Sparks said "It is with deep sadness that I am leaving the Rand Daily Mail after 22 years. I have been proud to be Editor of one of the world's great newspapers.

"The paper has been losing money in recent years because of the heavily over-traded and artificial newspaper market on the Witwatersrand, where several of our competitors have been kept going at huge losses for political reasons. The board now hopes that new editorial leadership may improve the trading position. I wish my successor good luck.

"I hope the Rand Daily Mail will continue to be the unique

channel of communication between all the segregated race groups in our dangerously divided society that it is now."

Mr Sparks said that at this stage he had no plans for the future.

Mr Myburgh, commenting on his appointment, said he and Mr Sparks had been "personal friends and professional associates for two decades and I have always held his journalistic skill in the highest regard.

"I have the greatest respect for his vigorous defence of civil liberties, a commitment which we share."

Senior members of the Rand Daily Mail editorial staff paid tribute to Mr Sparks last night.

"During his editorship, the Rand Daily Mail continued to give service to the people of South Africa," their statement said.

"Particularly in regard to the Department of Information scandal, Mr Sparks led the newspaper to new campaigning heights in South African journalism in exposing corruption in government.

"His contribution was invaluable in this respect alone. But even more, in his writings he trenchantly probed and examined the country's political problems. His analyses have been a major contribution towards creating greater public understanding.

"Under his editorship, the Rand Daily Mail has remained at the forefront of journalism, acknowledged as such both at home and abroad."

In other tributes last night, the veteran opposition MP, Mrs Helen Suzman said, "As one who has known Allister Sparks from his early days as a Parliamentary correspondent, and who has followed his career, I can only say that this is bad news indeed.

"His editorials were always courageous and relevant and he has been an outspoken advocate of reform, a champion of just causes and one of the best investigative journalists in the country.

"He is an outstanding newspapersman and I only hope that his talents will swiftly find another outlet and that the thrust of the policies so ably put across by him and his predecessors will not be lost.

"I hope that the Rand Daily Mail will continue with its unique role of acting as a link between the race groups in South Africa."

Mr Joel Mervis, former editor of the Sunday Times and the International Press Institute's representative in South Africa, said "The news of Allister Sparks' departure from the 'Mail' will be received with

quality of life, the latter including a measure of the impact of health impairment on individuals.  
a) Length of life: this can be measured by:  
Crude mortality: but this reflects the age structure of the population as well as the mortality experience of each age group.  
Adjusted mortality: a standard age and sex distribution is used to weight a set of age-specific mortality

On the whole the objectives of medical care fall into reasonably well-defined categories - preventing mortality, morbidity, disability, pain - but those of the ... social services are vaguer or perhaps more subtle'. (27)

Are these vaguer criteria important for health as well? If people feel unable to cope, body and mind tending to reflect one another, they tend to fall ill in some way or another. The fact that indigenous systems of medicine tend to involve the entire family, or even community in a healing ritual recognizes the importance of the social environment (cf. ...)

... clinical medicine are increasingly emphasising a need to treat patients as a whole, to be aware of their situation as an individual not only as a 'case', perhaps it is also true of public policy, that it needs to be directed towards whole people, individuals suffering from all aspects of life, not only in their capacity as TB patients, geriatrics, kwashiorkors, etc. This would mean a radical restructuring of decision-making: the groups concerned would not be those requiring a particular kind of expertise (e.g. TB patients) but those experiencing particular kinds of life situations. The programmes, or objectives for which we would have to

27. J.D. Pole, (1974), 'Programme Priorities and Budgets', British Journal of Preventive and Social Medicine, 28, 191-195.
28. The experiment referred to is being conducted under the auspices of the Department of Pastoral Studies, University of Birmingham. For the concepts involved, see 'Health is for People', Michael Wilson.

consider the most effective approach, would be groups of people (the young unemployed and without reasonable aspirations, migrant labourers, children with single parents), perhaps defined on a regional basis since this division captures a configuration of socio-economic and environmental forces which is often unique.

If regional groups were the elements of a health policy it would open the way for a much greater role for community participation in the definition of their needs, and involvement in the means for

regret not only by his colleagues in South Africa, but by journalists around the world "He is internationally known as one of the country's great editors

"Both in word and in deed, Mr Sparks was in the forefront of the fight to defend Press freedom in a decade when the onslaught against newspapers was mounting in intensity

"As a former editor, I greatly admired the perceptive insight shown by him into the role a newspaper should play in a multiracial, segregated society. He recognised that, in the public interest, a special responsibility fell upon the Press to act as a channel of communication between all groups - in my view a crucial factor in the tense and anxious times in which we live

"In that respect, Allister Sparks was to a large extent a pioneer in our journalism

"I am hopeful that this important function of the Rand Daily Mail, which gave it such distinction, will be followed by the editor in the future, and that its application will be more widely extended among South Africa's newspapers as a whole."

Mr Sparks began his career as a 17-year-old reporter on the Representative in Queenstown - then the smallest town in the world with a daily newspaper

His career reached a high point two years ago when he was honoured as International Editor of the Year by the Atlas World Press Review, a distinction he shared with the editor of the Sunday Express, Mr Rex Gibson, for his role in exposing the Info scandal

His 22 years with SAAN spanned every facet of journalism. As political correspondent of the "Mail" he also travelled widely in Africa, receiving the Pringle Award for a series on Lagos, Abidjan and Accra which he visited during Mr Kwame Nkrumah's reign in Ghana

He served as editor of the Sunday Express for three years before being appointed Editor of the "Mail" in 1977 - a period in which the "Mail" received more awards than any other newspaper in the country,

## 'Mail' Editor Sparks leaves

From Page 1

... of health problems

and the choice of health programmes. The techniques described are not 'objective' in that the programmes chosen always depend on the guiding values which inform the analysis. The validity of the techniques depends on the validity of values fed into them. Prices, as a method of valuing inputs, have many defects, and still more in valuing outputs ("health"). Thus an epidemiological or problem-solving approach is preferred. More data is thus required to enable rational choices to be made, though the collection of disease statistics is not necessarily the most urgent. (See Appendix IV). More fundamental requirements are

- 1) "Process" data - the alteration in health status to be expected from various types of programmes
- 11) adequate recording of costs by programme so that expenditure can be linked to outcome in terms of health status

# Cape man to act as Mwasa head

ROODEPOORT — The Media Workers of South Africa yesterday elected an Eastern Cape journalist as president at the end of their four-day national convention at Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre near Johannesburg

The new Mwasa president, Mr Charles Neakulu, a reporter on the East London Daily Dispatch, will take over from Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, who was recently served with a three year banning order

But the convention decided that since it has not recognised the banning of Mr Sisulu and others the newly elected officials would not replace them but only act for them

The convention also elected Mr Qoba Ndlhovu as senior vice-president Mr Ndlhovu, an expert in labour matters, is an information officer of the South African Council of Churches and also chairman of the Southern Transvaal Region of Mwasa

Other elected officials include Mrs Maud Motanyane (treasurer) and Mr Thami Mazwi (secretary).

During the convention, a black consciousness proponent described Mwasa as an organisation that wanted to involve all workers in the newspaper industry

"Mwasa said it was moving away from being an elitist organisation and hoped that it was doing this for the total liberation of the people," the Rev Buti Thalagale, an executive member of the Black Priests Solidarity Group, said. — Sapa.

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243

# A lousy way to go, says Editor Sparks

Mr Allister Sparks today described his dismissal as Editor of the Rand Daily Mail as a "lousy way" to end his 22 years with the newspaper.

Mr Sparks was told on Friday of the decision by the board of the South African Associated Newspapers to dismiss him. He will be replaced by Mr Tertius Myburgh, Editor of the Sunday Times. Mr Myburgh will edit both newspapers.

In a farewell address to editorial staff in the Mail newsroom this morning, Mr Sparks said he thought he had reached the height of his career with his newspaper's coverage of the last general election.

"But obviously this was not appreciated."

Some weeks ago staff members had asked him about rumours that he was to be dismissed. He was given a "categorical assurance" by management that such rumours were untrue; he told the meeting.

Appealing to staff to show the same loyalty to their new Editor as they had given him, Mr Sparks said he was afraid a "cold wind" would blow through the English-language Press following his dismissal.

He was also concerned about the effect on the black community, who had seen "one of their champions" dismissed and could wonder why.

The Rand Daily Mail staff should not worry about his future, said Mr Sparks. He did not plan

To Page 3, Col 7



# Editor Sparks' farewell

243  
1/12/51

to emigrate unless it was necessary for him to gain employment, but he did not think it would come to that

Newsmen sang "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow" after the address.

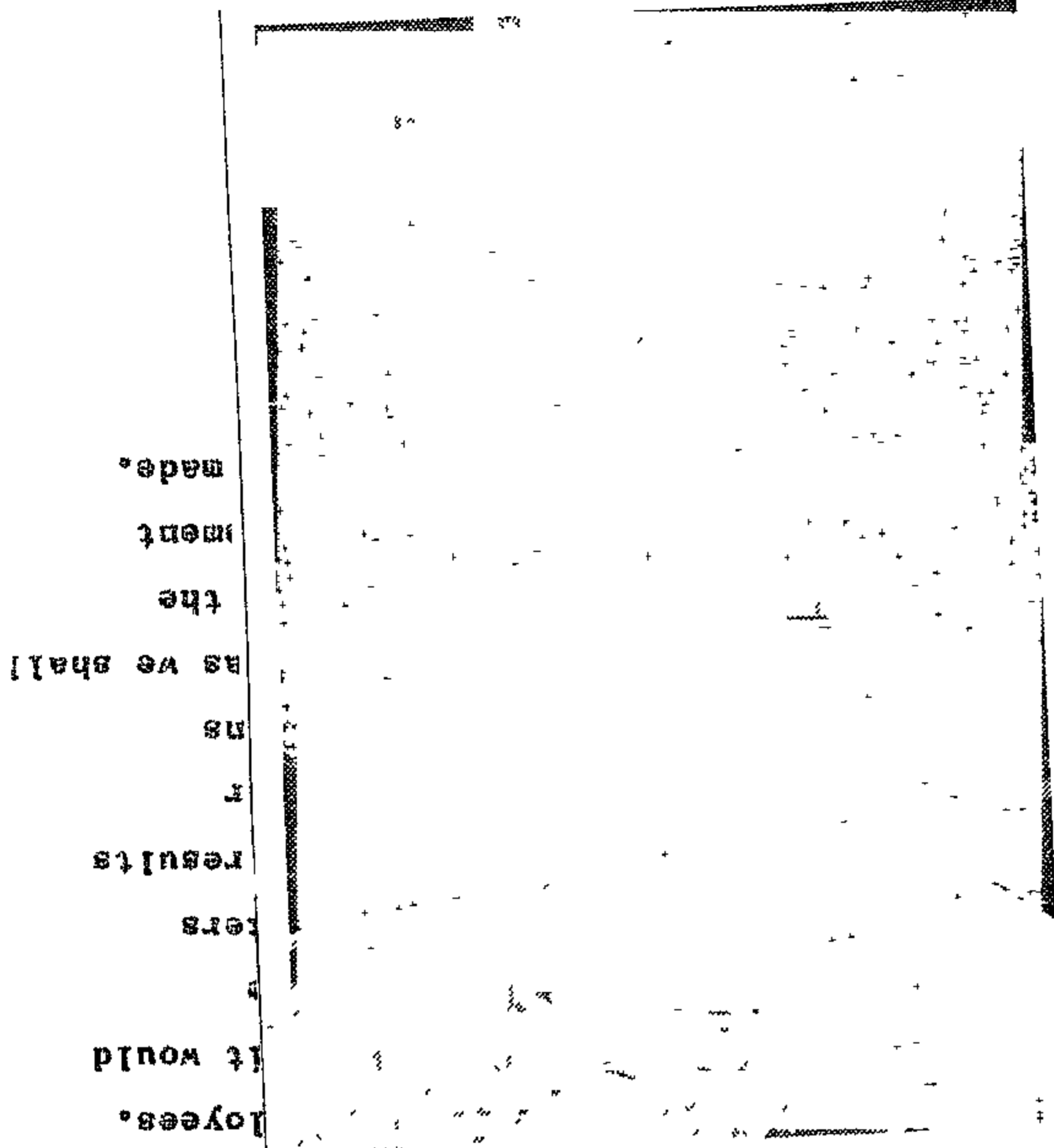
Mail staffers believe the dismissal was for both financial and political reasons

The newspaper has been losing money in the highly competitive morning market, and this could be partly attributed to the loss of white readership. It is argued that this loss could be partly due to the Mail's consistently liberal political approach.

Under Mr Myburgh, the Sunday Times has maintained a sound financial position together with a restrained political approach

It is believed the Mail lost about R3-million last year. The official figure is not known as the performances of individual newspapers in the SAAN group are not published.

Mr Clive Kinsley, managing director of SAAN, said each newspaper would retain its individual character and identity and no changes in policy were contemplated



Mr Allister Sparks addressing staff in their newsroom today.

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re the phenomenon of seasonal employment, it is

fruit farms.  
will analyse the market for seasonal labour on Western Cape  
from the perspective of these criteria, in the real world. We  
This study will attempt to illustrate how the market functions  
the production of desired goods at least cost." (1)  
to achieve an efficient allocation of labour, and therefore  
other points of view, but the object of the market mechanism is  
naturally of very considerable importance and interest from  
conditions that follow from labour's productive efforts are  
the efficiency of labour in production.....The wages and  
economy. The main criterion of economic analysis is therefore  
fairly and squarely as part of the productive processes of our  
to supply goods and services, labour's function is regarded

ET 116/81

# Cape man elected Mwasa president

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ROODEPOORT — The Media Workers Association of South Africa yesterday elected an Eastern Cape journalist as president of the organization when they ended their four-day national convention at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre near Johannesburg.

The new Mwasa president, Mr Charles Neakula, a reporter on the East London Daily Dispatch, will take over from M1 Zwelakhe Sisulu, who was recently served with a three-year banning order.

However the convention decided that since it has not recognized the banning of M1 Sisulu and others, the newly-elected officials would not replace them but only act for them.

The convention also elected Mr Qoba Ndlhovu as senior vice-president. Mr Ndlhovu, an expert in labour matters, is an information officer of the South African Council of Churches, and also chairman of the Southern Transvaal region of Mwasa.

Other officials who were elected are Mrs Maud Motanvane (treasurer), Mr Thami Mazwi (secretary) and Mr Rashid Seria, vice-president for the Western Cape

region.

During the convention, a black consciousness exponent presented a paper in which he explained Mwasa as an organization that wanted to be involved with all workers in the newspaper industry.

Mwasa was moving away from being a elitist organization and hoped that it was doing so for the 'total liberation of the people'.

He was the Rev Buti Thlagale, an executive member of the Black Priests Solidarity Group.

The association resolved to ask the Azanian Peoples' Organization (Azapo) to hold a symposium of black and black-orientated trade unions 'with a view to exploring common ground and common interests'.

A statement issued to Sapa by Mwasa said Azapo had been asked to call the symposium because "it (Azapo) is not directly involved with trade union activity".

Mwasa hoped the symposium would eventually lead to the formation of a national umbrella body.

All black or predominantly black unions would be invited to the symposium whether registered or not.

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# Mwasa's Inaugural Convention

Some of the Mwasa delegates from all over South Africa who attended the inaugural convention at the weekend chanting a freedom song.

**MFR CHARLES NQAKULA**, a reporter on the East London Daily Dispatch, was elected President of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) at the end of a four-day inaugural convention held at Wittekrans Fellowship Centre near Rodepoort at the weekend.

**By SAM MABE**

The new president takes over from Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, who was served with a three-year banning order only about 2 1/2 months after his term of office as president was renewed during a congress held in Cape Town last October.

Mr Goba Ndlovu, chairman of the Southern Transvaal region of Mwasa, was elected as senior vice-president, and Mrs Maud Motanyane, formerly the organisation's national secretary, was elected treasurer. Mr Thami Mazwai, news editor of SOWETAN, was elected national secretary. Mr Rashid Seria was elected vice-president of the Western Cape Region. The convention decided that since it did not

recognise Mr Sisulu's banning, the newly-elected officials would act for those who are banned, but not replace them.

The weekend's convention was to inaugurate the organisation as a trade union whose membership is now open to all workers in the media, and to drop what was described by one speaker as an "elitist" image from the days when the organisation was the Writers' Association of South Africa (Wasa), which was only open to journalists, writers and Press photographers.

The convention was opened on Thursday evening, by Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council

The new Mwasa national executive members, from left, Mr Thami Mazwai (secretary), Mrs Maud Motanyane (treasurer), Mr Charles Nqakula (president), Mr Goba Ndlovu (senior vice-president) Mr John Simelane (vice-president) and Mr Rashid Seria (vice-president).

John Simelane (vice-president) and Mr Rashid Seria (vice-president) who condemned the role played by certain English newspapers reputed to be on the side of the oppressed blacks. He named four such newspapers and said they could not be on the side of blacks if they used the term "terrorists" to refer to blacks who have been

involved in political acts of violence, like in Silverton and elsewhere. Why can't they refer to them as guerrillas or insurgents? Bishop Tutu asked. He condemned the stance the English Press took following the SADF's raid on ANC bases in Maputo only this year. He said the newspapers did not take cognisance of the fact that the raid involved South

Mr Charles Nqakula said it was the second time that he was called upon to represent presidents who were either in detention or banned.

In 1977, he represented Mr John Nkomo in pres-

(243) Sowetan  
2/6/81

Americans against South Africans and that not all the information relating to the raid was released to the general public

He said the newspapers, though wanting to project themselves as siding with the oppressed, did not seem to care much for the feelings of blacks. In their editorials, they expressed only the white man's point of view of events in the country

In his condemnation of the Republic festivities, Bishop Tutu would raise the emotions of the 200 people who filled the conference hall, then all of a sudden,

predicted before, in the next five to 10 years we will be having a black prime minister in this country

"The opposition of the National Party to power-sharing cannot stop this country from being liberated. Liberation is a must for South Africa and it will certainly come," said Bishop Tutu

He added that it was laughable for the Government to expect blacks to celebrate the fact that black newspapers and journalists, including Mwasu's president, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, have been banned, and denied the

dent of the Union of Black Journalists (UBJ), who was detained for more than a year. Both the UBJ and Mr Thloloe are now banned.

He said Mr Thloloe was released from detention without being charged and he and Mr Sisulu have been banned without being given the opportunity to face trial, where they could defend themselves

He encouraged all black workers to belong to trade unions which would enable them to flex their muscles. The worker had to "swim through a political stream to get to the work place"

## 'BC counters white racism'

**BLACK consciousness is not a philosophy of racist hatred, but a device to combat and eradicate false concepts of the "super race" as manifested by Afrikaner Nationalism.**

This was said by Mr Mongezi Radebe, secretary-organiser of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of SA in addressing a symposium on the black consciousness philosophy during the inaugural congress of the Media Workers' Association of

SA, held at Wilgespruit, near Roodepoort, at the weekend.

Mr Radebe said strong sentiments expressed by the philosophy have been misinterpreted by the BC's critics as overtones of hatred.

Cognisance should be taken of the fact that it is only natural for one to develop strong sentiments against that which diminishes one's existence, he said

The intervention of the black consciousness philosophy in the lives of blacks is to save them from the tentacles of white racism, which appears to be all-out to "diminish our existence as a black entity

"The black man's pride has been eroded and his mind conditioned to a semi-human state. His identity has been destroyed and he

is referred to as the white man's negative, a non-white and no longer an African" Mr Radebe said.

He added that black consciousness was a philosophy of hope, inspiration and liberation to a nation in need of courage to assert a self that is human, in spite of all that which would declare it to be less human

"It is only rational and most expedient to adopt a rather aggressive character in order to effect genuine and fundamental changes in cases of irrationally obstinate intransigence," said Mr Radebe

He also said the oppressed and exploited black worker needed the dynamic philosophy of black consciousness to tell him that "not all lost yet"

CT 2/6/81  
Reporter's  
passport 243  
withdrawn

Staff Reporter

CAPE TIMES journalist Zubeida Jaffer was yesterday ordered by the Minister of Internal Affairs to surrender her passport to the security police

No reasons were given for the department's withdrawal of Miss Jaffer's passport in terms of paragraph one of the Conditions of Issue of South African Passports.

Miss Jaffer said two security policemen had given her a letter signed by the Director-General

Miss Jaffer had, however, lost her passport in the post soon after it had been issued to her last year

She said yesterday "As a journalist I see the withdrawal of my passport as seriously restricting my freedom of movement I think I am entitled to be given a reason"

The training is carried at the clinic by the "community health team" from the hospital in conjunction with the clinic sister, and I believe that it is important for such training to be as decentralised as is practicable. The community health team consists of a public health nurse, a social worker and myself. Once the other members of such a team have themselves been trained and orientated, there is very little need for a doctor to be involved in the actual training. I was extremely fortunate because the other two members of our team required very little training or orientation. (I was extremely lucky to find myself in a hospital with two such enthusiastic and community-orientated people), and whilst we planned the training together they are entirely responsible for its implementation. For a number of reasons, they are much better able to do the training and I believe that this is the type of situation towards which one should aim.

The whole question of training probably warrants its own discussion.

What one teaches will clearly depend on what one expects the Abavikeli to do. However, there are always the questions of how much detail to try and put across, and I am sure that anyone who has attempted this type of training will understand the difficulties associated with putting many health concepts into simple English (— or simple Zulu); it is the most educational experience.

How one teaches is also a problem. We have tended, so far, to use a discussion group type of approach, involving the Abavikeli as much as possible and using role-playing techniques for certain topics.

If one is going to really involve the community, then any training must be sufficiently flexible to be guided by the community-defined problems as well as by the problems which "we" have identified (although so far majority of the community's problems have also been our problems, even they have been expressed in different ways).

As I have said, training is quite a problem and we are only feeling our way at present. It is important to accept that such training is going to take a long time, although clearly the Abavikeli will be able to provide a service whilst they are still in the process of being thoroughly uncer-

# Academics say Editor is a 'sacrificial lamb'

Staff Reporters

FOURTEEN academics from the University of Cape Town have expressed the suspicion that Mr Allister Sparks was dismissed from the editorship of the Rand Daily Mail because of Government pressure on South African Associated Newspapers, owners of the "Mail".

In a letter to the Cape Times, the academics said they suspected Mr Sparks had been offered as a "sacrificial lamb" to pre-empt the imposition of more direct controls by the Government.

The real reason for his dismissal was his "outspoken comment and the 'Mail's' consistent and courageous efforts to publish the truth about South Africa".

But Mr Clive Kinsley, managing director of South African Associated Newspapers, emphatically denied that recent developments, which followed a unanimous decision of SAAN's board of directors, were "in any way influenced by political factors or Government pressure".

He said "To suggest otherwise is to malign a company with a long and honourable history of defending a free Press."

The academics who drew up the statement are Professor David Welsh (African Studies), Dr J S Sharp (Social Anthropol-

ogy), Dr Robert Schrire (Political Science), Dr C C Saunders (History), Professor Max von Broembsen (Social Science), Mrs Mana Slabbert (Criminology), Professor Peter du Preez (Psychology), Professor George Ellis (Applied Mathematics), Dr John Atkinson (Classics), Professor Martin West (Social Anthropology), Professor Michael Savage (Sociology), Professor Neville Dubow (Fine Art), Dr James Leatt, chairman of the lecturers' association and Professor C de B Webb (Arts).

Their concern was echoed by Professor John Dugard, director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, who yesterday expressed his "deep regret" at the dismissal of Mr Sparks.

"He sought to promote racial justice, and we suspect he was dismissed because of his commitment to this," Prof Dugard said.

The South African Associated Newspapers chapel of the Southern African Society of Journalists yesterday said it deplored the dismissal of Mr Sparks.

The chapel, composed of journalists on all SAAN Johannesburg papers, also criticised the manner of Mr Sparks' dismissal.

After a meeting yesterday, the chapel said the dismissal had prompted "intense specula-

tion both within and outside the media that it was motivated by political considerations".

It said this had "given rise to widespread concern about the future of the opposition Press".

The chapel also said there was concern about the principle of appointing one editor to run two newspapers "as this could be seen as a downgrading of the status and editorial autonomy of one or both of those papers".

SAAN journalists were concerned at statements by the company's management that there would be rationalisation of the editorial functions of the Rand Daily Mail and Sunday Times.

Following a meeting yesterday, Mr Kinsley agreed to address SAAN journalists today on editorial policy and the question of one editor, but not on Mr Sparks' dismissal.

Mr Kinsley said the dismissal was "a personal matter between Mr Sparks and SAAN management".

The Times of London yesterday carried a report from its correspondent in Johannesburg saying "His (Mr Sparks') dismissal is widely assumed to be due to loss of circulation and advertising revenue caused by the 'Mail's' championship of the black cause".

"Several members of the staff believe, however, that political pressure was put on the newspaper's board".

the Abavikeli - 200 per cent increase

In theory, such a scheme would appear to have several advantages. Firstly, external funds would not be

required and a reallocation of existing funds would not be necessary.

2/1/8  
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still to be found.

The current level of sophistication in causal theories of problem drinking become apparent in the following statement:

"Causes of alcoholism are unknown. . . Most probably the condition reflects a form or response to an interactive combination of physiological, psychological, and sociological factors in an individual and his environment" (Keller, 1968, p. 49).

Although the generality of this formulation is obvious, and in a way theoretically sterile, it does identify the three major areas in which theorists have worked in their attempt

postulated some form of enzyme deficiency usually related to the B group. These latter hypotheses have been supported by evidence from animal experiments.

Family studies have naturally formed the core of work designed to test genetic theories of alcoholism in humans, since if genes influence the condition then those who have part of their hereditary material in common with known alcoholics should be more likely to suffer from the condition. On the basis of extensive and detailed studies of the family histories of several large samples of alcoholics from the Swedish

# COMMENT

## Why was Sparks fired?

SPECULATION is rife following the dismissal of the editor of the Rand Daily Mail, Mr Allister Sparks, by the management of South African Associated Newspapers.

The most disturbing suggestion is that Saan management has bowed to Government pressure to "take it easy" and that it found it difficult to keep a "courageous" person like Mr Sparks.

The speculation further suggests that his firing was timed to beat the report of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media.

We certainly hope, for the sake of Press freedom in this country, that this is not the case. We would like to believe that other considerations were at play in this issue, but we must confess that the reason for the action given by Saan management is hardly convincing.

Not that it matters to us who Saan wish to appoint as editor of any of its newspapers. That is purely their business. But, as we have pointed out, there are suggestions that it goes beyond simply an appointment.

The Rand Daily Mail has been in the forefront in fighting injustices in this country, and exposing corruption in Government. And all newspapers which had a commitment to that end had an ally in the Mail.

We do not believe that the new editor, Mr Tertius Myburgh, would drop those ideals. We know he is just as courageous and just as good an analyst of the situation as Mr Sparks is.

Obviously, all of us who prize Press freedom must be worried about the Steyn Commission's report. We expect that new tough measures will result from the report, and that English-language newspapers and the black Press in particular will come under tremendous pressure.

We must accept that tough times lie ahead of us, but the pursuance of the greatest traditions of journalism must not be compromised.

basically attempt to explain excessive drinking in terms of physiological or biochemical mechanisms or processes within the body (McCord & McCord, p. 28 and Williams, p. 455). One of the most developed theories in this category concentrates on genetic factors or variables (Katz, p. 37). The genetic-hypotheses range from very general - that alcoholism is inherited in some part, in some unspecified way - to very specific hypotheses. The latter have customarily

persisting resemblance of a child to its biological parents may then be taken to suggest genetic factors In a recent study (Goodwin, 1976, p. 52) using this methodological design, it was found that significantly more adopted men whose biological parents were alcoholics, were alcoholics, than the matched control group of adoptees.

This and similar significant results, has compelled researchers to seriously reconsider the genetic contribution to

farmers are increasingly participating in expansion of the distribution through their farmstalls.

The continuation rates for clients of E.D.s are currently being evaluated. Figures from usual clinic-orientated sources show that continuation rates on O.C.s vary from

14% to contract than in patient antiseptic ate it accepted reached the media pressure discover apparent It is im by sympto fortable as far as free fror In a stud showed th economy al

# Mwasa in move to forge unity of unions

By STEVEN FRIEDMAN  
Labour Reporter

A NEW move to forge unity in the country's growing black and non-racial union movement is under way

The all-black Media Workers Association of South Africa has called for a meeting of all independent unions with predominantly black membership, including those which have opted for Government registration

Mwasa hopes that the meeting will lead to the formation of an umbrella body, encompassing the entire independent union movement and it has called on the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) to convene the meeting

It was not clear yesterday how Azapo and the unions would respond to the call

Mwasa supports the black consciousness philosophy and it

is seen as significant that it hopes to see non-racial, although predominantly black, unions at the meeting

The move, which has been prompted by a decision taken by the Mwasa conference at the weekend, has been prompted by a belief that predominantly black unions need to exchange ideas and isolate points of agreement, whatever their differences

The unity move is a sign of growing interest in trade unionism among the black consciousness movement, which has said that it sees black workers as the key force for change in the country

At the same time, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha has also shown an interest in the growing trade union movement

Mwasa sources stress, however, that unions who agree to participate in the move would not have to subscribe to the

black consciousness philosophy. Union spokesmen could not be reached for comment yesterday. However, it is understood that informal talks between the unions, aimed at hammering out a common stance on issues like registration, have been under way for some time

At the same time, many predominantly black unions have been wary of being identified with political organisations because they fear this would split their membership, who have divergent political views

This could be a factor if Azapo decides to host the meeting, which it could well decide to do. At an Azapo symposium on black consciousness recently, speakers argued that black workers could not be rejected by the organisation because they belonged to unions which did not subscribe to black consciousness

One of the needs, therefore, was to provide an injection service in the rural areas. When the Director of the F.P.A. discovered that Government field workers were being trained to immunise babies "in the bus" he cleared the way to enable the E.D.s to provide Depo Provera. The training to equip E.D.s to supply injectable contraceptives has already been inaugurated and this is a logical progression for the demand of the community who clearly have a preference for this convenient and effective method of contraception. It is important to have a reliable back-up service to support them at clinics within a reasonable distance.

The medical assistant and the lay distributor have now assumed the principal front-line functions. The lay distributor is trained to initiate family planning using a medical checklist and carries two alternative O.C.s, Ovral and Micronovum (the mini-pill). Once the planner has been initiated she becomes part of the 'family' of that E.D. who is responsible for routine return visits and referral for problems and for sustaining the woman's contraceptive programme. A year ago E.D.s were responsible for 1705 planners and in July '78 this figure had risen to 5952.

CONDOM USAGE has increased and this is probably due to the wider distribution by E.D.s (last year the number of condoms issued was just over 2 million). Virtually all urban beer halls in the country carry condoms and the

farmers/.....

seemed/.....



# SRC considers legal action

By MARTIN FEINSTEIN

THE University of the Witwatersrand's SRC is considering legal action against Die Transvaler for alleging that Leftwing Wits students are linked to the Progressive Federal Party bombings

Confirming this yesterday, Mr Sammy Adelman Wits SRC president, described the Transvaler report as an absolutely ludicrous article

The report quoted "well-informed sources" as saying the "masterminds and planners" behind the bombings were probably Wits students who had aligned themselves with the banned African National Con-

gress (ANC)

Monday night's SABC-TV news also alleged that Wits students were responsible, and noted that the ANC had recently claimed to have white members

The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, said police had "certain information" and were investigating

"The SABC is doing all it can to destroy universities — this one in particular," Mr Adelman said

"To the Afrikaans Press and the SABC, I say the university is in control. The SRC and the Black Students Society (BSS) have pledged to support the vice-chancellor in defusing tensions

He said a meeting between the SRC, BSS and the Student Moderate Alliance yesterday morning had reached a compromise barring heckling, flags and banners at meetings, as well as an interim ban on Cabinet Ministers speaking on campus

"We respect the right of people to protest against us, but we can never condone any tacit or overt support of racism," Mr Adelman said

EMIELIA JAROSCHEK reports that the Police Directorate of Public Relations said no arrests had been made. The police said they were not prepared to comment on who was responsible for the attacks

POLITICAL comment in this issue by Tertius Myburgh. Ken Owen Benjamin Pogrand newsbills by Peter Bunkell headlines and sub editing by Paul Holroyd cartoons by Bob Connolly all of 171 Main Street Johannesburg

3/14/81 (213)

# SASJ condemns passport action

(213)

THE Western Cape region of the South African Society of Journalists today condemned the passport withdrawal of Cape Times reporter Zubaida Jaffer, describing it as a typical 'strong-arm tactic by the Government.'

In a statement to Sapa, the region's vice-president, Mr John Battersby, said the arbitrary withdrawal of Miss Jaffer's passport yesterday was being used to intimidate journalists

of whom the State disapproved.

He called on the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, to restore her freedom of movement without delay.

'Seen against the background of official harassment to which Miss Jaffer as already been subjected, this latest action is made all the more reprehensible and will be seen by reasonable people as blatant bullying,' he said.

# Jaffer's passport seized

CAPE TOWN — A journalist at the Cape Times was yesterday ordered to hand her passport in to South Africa's political secu-

rity police, it was learned here.

Miss Zubeida Jaffer, a member of the Media Workers Association of SA said she had received a letter signed by Internal Affairs Minister Chris Heunis telling her to turn in the document. No reason

was given, she said. Miss Jaffer said, however, that she had lost her passport last year.

Cape security police chief Colonel Hennie Kotze confirmed yesterday that police had visited Miss Jaffer but had left after she said

she had lost her passport

Miss Jaffer was held for seven weeks last year on charges of possession of forbidden documents, but she was acquitted by a Cape regional court in March this year. — AFP.

... is derived from the philosophy that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Thus the general practitioner views the patient as a whole rather than a part of his diseased anatomy. He considers genetic, psychological and social factors in the diagnosis and management of his patients' problems. Knowledge of the family and its environment is important in understanding the emotional and psychosomatic aspects of illness. Visiting patients at their homes adds to the doctor's information and understanding about them.

- 5 -

of the patient. The importance of insight or self-insight in this relationship has been stressed by the doctor in this relationship. The importance of the dynamics of this relationship is important in the motivation of the patient and the form in which the doctor

allows the doctor to build up a relationship of consultation may be brief and episodic, continuing with a bank of information and a comprehensive care is also necessary in the management of the recurrent and terminal illness.

- 6 -

## Primary care.

As the doctor of first contact, the general practitioner, unlike the specialist, deals with unselected problems in all patients irrespective of age, sex and illness. This is the most difficult and complex skill in medicine. The diagnostic process in general practice referred to as problem solving is different from the traditional model taught in the wards of the teaching hospital.

Technology and special investigation are of marginal value in the skills of problem solving. It is a sophisticated intellectual process based on our knowledge of the patient and the patterns of disease encountered in the community. It is based on perspective and probability bearing in mind that a different weight of probability exists in the community as compared to the hospital. The primary care doctor must be able to tolerate doubt and ambiguity which are necessary conditions of his work.

The first step in problem solving is to define the problem which is frequently not what the patient presents. It may not even be the patient who presents. Studies in general practice have shown that in a third of all cases where a mother brings a child to the doctor she is seeking attention for herself.

The process of problem solving is primary care involves making a hypothesis on partial information and then putting it to the test. Scientific justification is given to this method by the severity of criticism applied to each hypothesis made. "Imaginative conjecture and criticism, in that order, underlie the physician's diagnosis of his patients complaints." (Medawar)

# Gentire chief complains of high rubber imports

249  
S. J. M.  
4/6/61

By Ann Crotty

The year ending in February was one of unprecedented growth and Gentire, a substantial supplier to the automotive, mining and mechanical and civil-engineering industries, shared in the increased demand.

The group's profit was also helped by reduced tax charges arising from tax losses brought forward, said Mr. H. Khazam in his chairman's statement.

In the tyre division, new-

vehicle sales attained record levels and the group's market position was maintained.

Despite the continued growth of imports, which inhibited the group's expansion in the important replacement sector of the market, new heights in turnover were achieved.

In the industrial products division, sales increased substantially compared

with the previous financial period

Mr. Khazam expressed concern over the increasing volume of finished rubber products being imported.

He said the rubber industry's local raw-materials suppliers were given substantial tariff protection but similar protection was not granted to the rubber products manufacturing industry.

# Dismissal of editor 'No Govt pressure'

The dismissal of Mr Allister Sparks as editor of the Rand Daily Mail was primarily a result of the poor trading balance within the South African Associated Newspapers group and was in no way concerned with any pressure from the Government.

This was stated yesterday by Mr Clive Kinsley, managing director of SAAN, who added that he was "shocked" by such allegations or innuendoes

Mr Kinsley was addressing a staff meeting of journalists from the Rand Daily Mail and the Sunday Times

Mr Kinsley stressed that "there will be no change in the autonomy, status or policy of the newspapers in the group."

He said Mr Tertius Myburgh, who is now editing both papers, would be the "referee" looking after both sets of teams. He said that they were being captained by managing editors Mr Ken Owen and Mr J Sutton

"We are trying a new formula here. It has worked in other parts of the world, namely, Australia."

Mr Kinsley admitted the Rand Daily Mail had had considerable losses in white readership.

He pledged that the board would continue to allow editorial freedom in the liberal presentation of news.

After the meeting the staff issued the following statement.

"We wish to state that Mr Kinsley failed to allay our fears about the future of the Rand Daily Mail and the opposition Press

"We remain unconvinced that the appointment of one editor for two newspapers will enable those papers to retain their separate identities and we reiterate our view that this is an unhealthy development."

SECTION A (contd.)

15. For any hospital which has recently been taken over by the Department of Health, please state if available the valuation of the hospital for purposes of compensation and the year it was taken over. Separate hospitals and clinics if possible.

Hospitals	Clinics	Year	Amount

16. Outpatients: At what times is the outpatients department open? What is the normal total complement of staff in OPD?

4/11/64 RDM  
Staff fears persist (243)

Staff Reporter

SAAN editorial staff members were yesterday addressed by Mr Clive Kinsley, managing director of SAAN on recent developments at the Rand Daily Mail

In answer to a set of written questions posed by the editorial staff of SAAN yesterday Mr Kinsley said there would be no change in editorial policy

Earlier Mr Kinsley said he would answer any question but not those pertaining to the dismissal of Mr Sparks

In an introduction to the questions the staff stated "The appointment of a single editor for both the Sunday Times and the Rand Daily Mail has led to the loss of editorial autonomy of the newspapers concerned

This loss of autonomy has resulted in the Rand Daily Mail being reduced in status. It makes serious inroads into the accepted newspaper tradition of editorial independence

However Mr Kinsley said both newspapers would retain their separate identities and a change in leadership would not mean a change in policy

After the meeting some of the staff issued the following statement "We wish to state that Mr Kinsley failed to allay our fears about the future of the Rand Daily Mail and the opposition Press

"In addition, we remain unconvinced that the appointment of one editor for two newspapers will enable those papers to retain their separate identities and we reiterate our view that this is an unhealthy development"

18. How much powdered milk do you distribute per annum:

- a) at market prices R .....
- b) at subsidized prices R .....
- c) free .....

State any proportion of these costs borne by the state in list of hospital income, and, with total cost of dried milk distribution, in expenditure account. If in no other category, list under 'other nonlabour expenditure'.

b) Clinics:

SECTION A (contd.)

Salaries: please list:

a) hospital:	No. of staff	Type	duties	salary/wages

to direct projects to benefit the very poorest people, it will often find that the entrenched richer classes on the local level corrupt these projects to their own benefit.

(b) There is a widely held view that peasants are "traditionalist", "stubborn", "suspicious", and that they reject new ideas and projects. One should consider here that this may be a logical response from people whose vulnerable position in relation to technologically more advanced groups has led to a long history of exploitation.

# Professors sue Sunday Times

## Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Five professors of the University of the Western Cape yesterday sued the Sunday Times for defamation. The hearing in the Supreme Court followed a 1979 article headlined "Five Prots blamed for campus tension".

They are each claiming R10 000 from the newspaper, its editor Mr Tertius Myburgh, and its Cape Town reporter Mr Norman West.

The action follows a letter written to the newspaper by Professor George Delpierre, of UWC's department of biochemistry, saying the report was incorrect and asking for an apology and a retraction.

The Sunday Times refused to apologise admitting the report was defamatory but saying the statements were accurate and that it was in the public interest to publish them.

The other four are Professor P Pistorius, former dean of the education faculty and now with the department of sociology; Professor P P Kirstein, a lecturer in the history of education; and Professors Ernst Holzapfel and C K Kriel of the department of theology.

Mr West's report outlined a controversy at UWC over a secret Sabra (South African Bureau of Racial Affairs) meeting on relationships at UWC, attended by the five professors.

Mr West's report said the special UWC committee had found the five professors guilty of reprehensible conduct including attempts to undermine the rector's authority.

The report said the De Villiers committee had found that the five had bedevilled race relations and caused tension among staff and students and were to be punished.

The five professors protested that they had not seen or approved the report of the meeting, and that it was not an accurate reflection of what had transpired.

According to the letter written by Professor Delpierre's attorneys to the Sunday Times the report falsely defamed him in that the committee did not blame him for campus tension, of inciting racial tension of bedevilling race relations and did not punish him.

The only witness called yesterday was Professor N M du Plessis who appeared for the professors.

response at a project level; for example, how projects are initiated and whether they run efficiently and benefit members (others I shall discuss in this part of the paper).

Any attempt to implement an integrated rural development strategy must be based on an analysis of the present situation:

(a) To expose the workings of the present system and to look for places in the existing social order in the reserves where there seems to be potential for change.

(b) To try to discover through experience and assessment, types of projects which foster equitable development

and which work

Thus, even considered projects can develop them in the present as a learning process

One must not, however

that one can judge the potential of what will happen in a future society by what is happening in projects at the moment. There are so many restrictions imposed on projects that one cannot judge what should happen

Professor du Plessis, head of the UWC's department of applied mathematics said the council had appointed a committee to inquire into the Sabra report after a request by the staff association.

He said he was not aware of a document in which a number of students expressed their disgust at the Sabra report and called for the dismissal of the professors concerned.

At the end of the afternoon, Mr G Leveson SC, closed the case for the Sunday Times without calling any witnesses. Both sides will present their argument to the court today.

Mr W G Burger SC for the professors, was assisted by Mr A P Blignaut. Mr Leveson was assisted by Mr R D Levin.

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POSITION

'critical'

for SA

journalists

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THE firing of Allister Sparks might come to be seen as more important in the history of Press freedom in South Africa than the Steyn Commission's report and the Government's reaction to it, the president of the Southern African Society of Journalists, Mr John Allen, said today

Addressing the annual congress of the SASJ in Cape Town, Mr Allen said

the society was at a critical point in its history

'We may well face the prospect — as a result of the Steyn Commission's report or the Government's reaction to it — of a register of journalists within the next three months

**'PRETEXT'**

'It would be proposed under the pretext of professionalising journalism, and it might not at first be under the majority control of Government representatives, but it would be a fundamental blow to the already limited right of ordinary people to free speech'

In this atmosphere, said Mr Allen, it was reasonable to predict that the onslaught on black journalists would continue unabated and was likely to be intensified.

**CREDIBILITY**

Mr Allen added: 'If our employers fail to resist further Government restrictions on the media, or if they fail to come to terms with black fellow newspaper employees, the credibility and the long-term survival of free journalism in Southern Africa could depend on how successful journalists are in establishing for themselves in the SASJ an identity clearly independent of — and sometimes opposed to — that of the companies for which they work.

There was an unhealthy lack of diversity in the Press in South Africa and the SASJ had often expressed its opposition to increasing centralisation of ownership

**EUROPE**

In Europe, said Mr Allen, journalists' unions were fighting for what they called internal Press freedom

This involved negotiating guarantees of editorial independence, such as a say for journalists in the appointment of editors.

'This is aimed at preserving diversity or plurality as they call it, in the face of the shrinking number of newspapers and newspaper owners. Here the problem of a lack of diversity is compounded by the fact of white control in a majority black





Professor Cornelius Kriel leaves the Supreme Court yesterday after the first day's hearing of a defamation action instituted by five University of the Western Cape professors against the Sunday Times. Professor Kriel, who is now retired but was at one time a rector of the university, is one of the five

Picture Ivor Markman

# Five UWC professors sue the Sunday Times

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Staff Reporter

FIVE white professors of the University of the Western Cape yesterday sued the Sunday Times for defamation. The hearing in the Supreme Court was a sequel to an article headlined "Five profs blamed for campus tension" published in 1979.

Each of the five are claiming R10 000 from the newspaper, its editor, Mr Tertius Myburgh, and a Cape Town Sunday Times reporter, Mr Norman West.

The action follows a letter written to the Sunday Times by one of the five, Professor



Mr Norman West

According to documents

main objections had been to the "negative attitudes" of the five professors, their disloyalty to the UWC and to him, the fact that their discussions were held "behind the UWC's back", their "undermining attitude" towards himself and the negative opinions they held of their coloured colleagues and the coloured community.

The five professors protested that they had not seen or approved the document, and that it did not present an accurate reflection of what had transpired.

Sabra consequently gave

segregation, hasty, superficial examinations, tests, rude doctors, neglect by nurses, impersonality, and ineffectual treatment. It is only fair to add that most of the same sorts of criticism

The only witness called yesterday was Professor N M du Plessis, who was called by Mr V C Pienaar SC who appeared for the professor. Professor du Plessis, head of the UWC's department of applied mathematics, said the council had appointed a committee to inquire into the Sabra report after a request by the staff association. A led by Mr G Leeson SC who appeared for the Sunday Times, new relations between the students and the professors in question had been at the document had been one of the main

without success, and who were fortunate enough to possess the knowledge and

George Delpierre, of UWC's department of biochemistry, saying the report was incorrect and asking for an apology and a retraction by the newspaper.

The Sunday Times refused to apologize, saying that the article and the headline were correct.

The other four are Professor P Pistorius, former dean of the education faculty and now with the department of sociology, Professor P P Kirstein, a lecturer in the history of education, Professor Ernst Holzapfel, of the department of theology, and Professor C K Kriel, also of the department of theology.

before the court, Mr West's article summarized a controversy at UWC over a secret Sabra (South African Bureau of Racial Affairs) meeting attended by the five professors on "relationships" at the university.

According to a special UWC committee set up to investigate the affair headed by Professor J C de Villiers, the rector, Professor Richard van der Ross, had been "understandably upset" when he had later seen a report of what had been discussed, purporting to be the official minutes of the Sabra meeting.

Professor Van der Ross's

orders that the document be destroyed, but a copy was given to the UWC's planner, Mr D S Albertyn.

Copies were given to the chairman and certain members of the council, and it later "multiplied" on the campus, according to the De Villiers committee report.

The executive committee of the UWC council thanked the De Villiers committee for its report and recommended to the council that it express its dissatisfaction "very strongly" to Sabra, and that if

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# Good year for Argus predicted

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By Mervyn Harris

Newspapers in The Argus Printing and Publishing Company have got off to a good start in the current financial year and expect a further increase in earnings after boosting earnings by 53 percent to a record 703c a share last year, says the chairman, Mr L E A Slater, in his annual review.

However, it is unlikely that the rate of growth achieved last year will be repeated.

Mr Slater says a fundamental principle of The Argus Company's editorial policy is to further the cause of racial co-operation and to pursue a balanced policy calculated to enhance the welfare and progress of all the population.

"To the best of our ability we adhere to this principle. The Government's action in closing a channel of communication with black readers — by the forced closure of Post Transvaal — can only serve to damage the credibility of its declared aim of removing racial discrimination from our society," Mr Slater said.

The strikes at Post Transvaal followed by the forced closure of the newspaper resulted in a material financial loss.

The Sowetan, launched last February, is not yet profitable but circulation and advertising content are improving steadily.

Despite substantial increases in costs, profits at The Star, The Argus in Cape Town, The Daily News and Sunday Tribune in Durban and the Pretoria News reached record levels.

However, the Diamond Fields Advertiser in Kimberley and The Friend in Bloemfontein again incurred losses. The Cape Herald and the Ilanga in Natal made lower profits and Post Natal was marginally profitable.

CNA increased contribution to group profits from 24 percent last year to 29 percent during the year under review.

Nine stores were opened and five existing shops relocated in more suitable premises.

Dealing with associated companies, Mr Slater reports that dividends from

Argus's 39 percent investment in South African Associated Newspapers increased substantially.

Argus increased its shareholding in Hortors from 25 percent to 49.3 percent and the proposed merger of the Hortors and Trio Rand printing interests will enhance the value of this investment.

Mr Slater is also confident that in the longer term the joint venture with Caxton, firstly in free sheets and now in regional newspapers and magazines, will be worthwhile.

The installation of web-offset presses and electronic-production systems at Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban, are expected to be completed during 1983 at a cost of about R50-million.

Mr Slater says the modernisation of production facilities will improve the quality of newspapers and enable the company to meet the needs of readers.

As a good deal of money is involved, it is essential that future profits be maintained

prevent or treat. The skills required to diagnose and treat any of these four conditions can be taught to almost anybody quite quickly. If all our hospital cleaners, pharmaceutical

need to do is to realise that the answers must come from society and not from health care workers, all of whom have preconceived ideas and vested interests. Doctors for example must participate in the discussions

is a sick and selfish society.

st try and persuade society to take back responsibility  
eciding on priorities and for making moral decisions.  
not for doctors to decide what proportion of available  
rces should be devoted to transplantation research and  
proportion to providing water and sewerage systems for  
squatter camps. Doctors may have strong opinions on the

matter but they can give factual information in favour of  
either, and it is society that must give its opinion and  
decision. Society must decide whether unlimited medical care

This brings us back to a point that is central to any understanding of Illich's criticisms. When we ask, "What do we need to do?" the answer is that the first thing that we

# Myburgh's challenge is awesome

By Anthony Dulgan and David Breier

The new editor of the Rand Daily Mail, Mr Ter-tius Myburgh, faces a daunting professional challenge and a delicate balancing act in trying to make his dual editorship of the morning paper and the Sunday Times work to the satisfaction of the board of SA Associated Newspapers

"The professional challenge is indeed awesome but I have a basic belief it can work," Mr Myburgh said. "One of the tricks will be to devise healthy competition between the two papers."

A criticism Mr Myburgh and Saan have faced from Mail staffers in particular is that the status of the morning paper is being downplayed by the appointment of one editor for both papers

Not so, says Mr Myburgh. Two newspapers with one editor-in-chief and each run by a managing editor is not uncommon in Europe and the United States (Earlier this week Mr Ken Owen, an assistant editor of the Sunday Times, was appointed managing editor of the Mail and Mr Joe Sutton, deputy editor of the Sunday Times, was appointed the managing editor)

But there is a basic difference in Mr Myburgh's ease. Overseas editors-in-chief preside mostly over daily and Sunday papers with the same personalities, the Sunday being merely an extension of the daily.

The Mail and the Sunday Times have their own distinctive personalities and, as Mr Myburgh acknowledges, his delicate job will be to keep a balance of keen rivalry between the two while ensuring they retain their individuality.

And he is determined that the "precious" character of the Mail will not

be changed — in spite of comment in some circles that Saan had bowed to political pressure to change the tone of the RDM

"It is understandable that people read all sorts into this upheaval (over the sacking of former RDM editor, Mr Allister Sparks)," he said

"Both the public and the politicians are interested in what happens to newspapers" And as newspapers go, 46-year-old Mr Myburgh holds a pretty commanding position — the control of media with a combined weekly circulation of well over one million copies

In spite of his relative youth he believes his experience will help him carry the job through "In one's 12th year of editorship one is fairly battle-scared," he said

As for the "casualty" of the upheaval at Saan, the troubles between Mr Sparks and the Saan board apparently began last year when Mr Sparks proposed the Mail price be raised from 15 to 25 cents to reduce its huge losses

Mr Sparks will reassess his position when he returns from long leave. But his sudden axing brings back memories of other

unexpected moves by the Saan board concerning some of its editors

It all comes down to the inevitable tensions that sometimes exist between boards, which want profits from healthy advertising turnover, which is normally dependent on a high circulation, and those editors whose priority is the message not the medium

When tumbling sales, coupled with falling advertising revenue, leaves a paper losing millions a year, the board believes it is time to take a hand in finding a new formula to balance journalism with profits.

Mr Laurence Gandar, who assumed office in 1957, is the doyen of the club of ex-Mail editors who never served out their natural term

Under his leadership the Mail became involved in a series of trials under the Prisons Act for reporting on conditions in South African jails

This was financially crippling as legal costs mounted and Mr Gandar found himself appointed editor-in-chief by the board in 1965 at the height of the prison trial epic.

Mr Gandar lost control of the day-to-day running of the newspaper and his talents were confined to the writing of leading articles

Mr Gandar was eased out of this elevated but powerless position in 1968. The man who took over from him as editor, Mr Raymond Louw, saw a steady growth in Mail circulation take place during his reign — from a daily average of 112 000 to a peak of 160 000 copies

But under him the Mail continued its anti-establishment trend and in August 1976 the Saan board announced that he would relinquish his duties as editor for a year.

In April 1977 Mr Louw became general manager of Saan — a position he holds today. It was a of genuine promotion, some cynics still maintain he was "kicked" upstairs

Mr Sparks succeeded Louw as editor and during the into scare, helped reveal that the Citizen, had been financed by the Government.

But under Mr Sparks the Mail lost conservative English readerhip to Citizen.

## Editor's sacking seen as a Govt warning

Rivals of the Rand Daily Mail have been quick to turn the sudden dismissal of editor Mr Allister Sparks to their own advantage in editorial comment

Beeld, the leading Afrikaans morning paper, states in effect that the action by SA Associated Newspapers' board could appease the Government (at a time when the authorities believe papers should be part of the "total strategy" needed to

combat the total onslaught against South Africa).

Beeld also sees the sacking as a warning to other English editors to moderate their views or face a similar fate.

The Citizen has drawn much satisfaction from the downfall of its arch-enemy.

The change in the editorship of the RDM is in a real sense a tribute to the Citizen which has made substantial inroads into the Mail's revenue and circulation," said a leading article.

The "Transvaler", which lost the circulation race against its rival Beeld, is less jubilant.

"It does not behave newspapers to crow too much over the troubles of others. All are vulnerable in one way or another," an editorial stated.

The Financial Mail commented this week that the Star's "insinuations" that Saan management responded to Government pressure in the action taken against Mr Sparks was "laughable" and "arrant nonsense."

However, FM was incorrect in its reading.

The Star was quoting the widespread rumours circulating through journalism circles and commented that the impression voiced by Beeld and many within Saan should not be allowed to remain.

It is indisputable that the impression exists that Mr Sparks was fired for more than economic reasons.

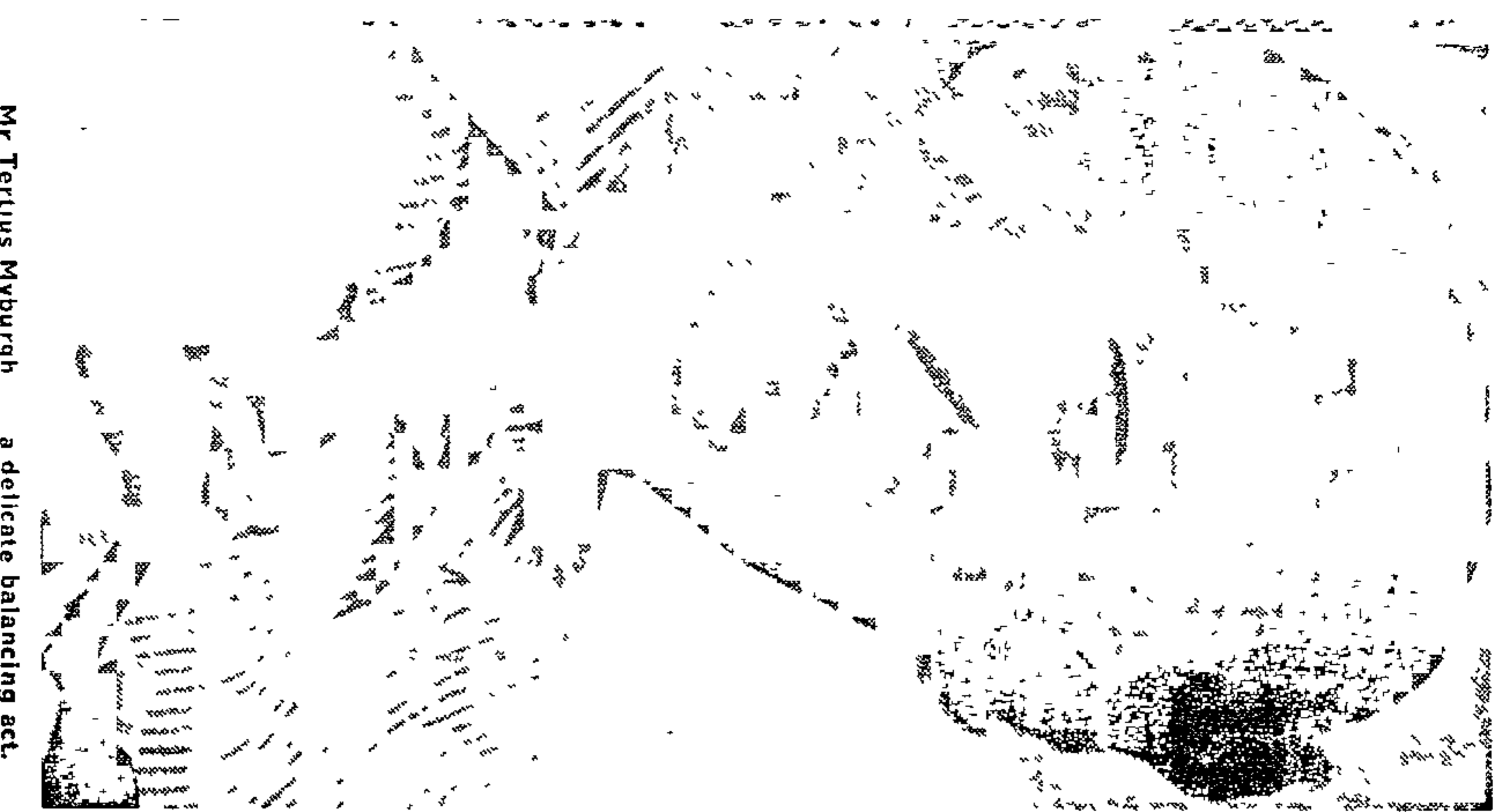
Mr Sparks, speaking at the South African Society of Journalists congress yesterday said he found it ironic that he should be General Election which he thought was a triumph for the Rand Daily Mail and what it had stood for and had campaigned for politically.

Supporting the Progressive Party made the Mail a highly controversial paper which picked up a lot of flak from within

our own establishment. But gradually we were vindicated"

"And now after the Mail had run a particularly vigorous and successful election campaign and the Progressive Federal Party had scored a spectacular breakthrough that has shaken the Government and introduced a new dimension of hope in South African politics, I thought we had achieved our ultimate vindication — that this was our finest hour," Mr Sparks said

The Saan board has that the new Times-R formula will turn the Mail losses which have been estimated at R3-million and nearly R6-million last year.



Mr Ter-tius Myburgh a delicate balancing act.

IT is hard to be objective about one's own dismissal. Yet I do not think it too exaggerated or egotistical a view to suggest that my precipitate removal as editor of the Rand Daily Mail will have serious journalistic and political consequences in South Africa.

The Rand Daily Mail, in the past 23 years, has become a symbol of protest against the injustices of apartheid. It has, in the words of William Randolph Hearst, comforted the afflicted and afflicted the comfortable in a society where the differences between the two are probably greater than anywhere.

This is not to say that other newspapers in South Africa have not done likewise.

The collective record of the opposition Press is a proud one. But the Rand Daily Mail has been seen both internally and internationally as the first and so the most symbolic among them. Which means you cannot fire the editor of the Mail, whoever he may be, without its having major symbolic impact.

Therefore it cannot help but have wide-ranging journalistic and political repercussions.

For the Mail itself it is the end of an epoch — or perhaps one should say of a dynasty. This began with the editorship of Laurence Gander in 1957, one of those rare figures with the intellectual power and spiritual courage to bring about a watershed change in the affairs under his control.

Until then the Mail had been an unexceptional paper and the Press as a whole orthodox and bland — the English papers echoing the party of the English establishment, the United Party, the Afrikaners papers doing likewise with the National Party, and both being pretty well oblivious to the existence of the black population.

# Sparks - RAND DAILY MAIL 'SYMBOL OF PROTEST AGAINST THE INJUSTICES OF APARTHEID' and an epoch

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Mr Allister Sparks

MR ALLISTER SPARKS was fired from his post as editor of the Rand Daily Mail this week by the publishers, South African Associated Newspapers. In this article, written for Weekend Argus and the London Observer, Mr Sparks discusses his summary dismissal and voices the fear that the action against him will be seen by the Government as 'an act of political capitulation'.

## QUOTE

'I EXPECT to see the paper lower its voice, try to become less discomfoting to whites and give less prominence to black news and views.'

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Gandar ended that. With the winds of change just beginning to blow down Africa he perceived that the political fulcrum in South Africa had shifted from the old Boer-British conflict to a black-white conflict, rendering the existing political lineup obsolete.

Gandar's Mail broke its traditional support for the UP and backed the splinter Progressive Party which had only one Member of Parliament in Mrs Helen Suzman. It was an extraordinary act of editorial daring. Seldom anywhere can a major daily newspaper have broken with its own socio-political establishment so dramatically.

At the same time the Mail began focusing attention on the lot of the black community, exposing the iniquities of apartheid, investigating such things as the prisons system and the behaviour of the police, and also giving expression to black grievances and aspirations. It began employing black reporters, and blacks began buying the paper in increasing numbers.

All this made the Mail a highly controversial paper. The Government regarded it as dangerously subversive; many readers found it discomforting; and the English-speaking business community of Johannesburg, from which its own board of directors has always been drawn, felt it was rocking the boat. It would be true to say that ever since the board has never really felt an

empathy with its troublesome paper

But for those of us who worked on the paper then it was a seminal experience. Though Gandar was a remote editor and even slightly unpopular in his aloofness, what he did was enormously exciting to the young journalists on his staff and in their inspiration and intellectual awakening a tradition was born.

When in time an increasingly edgy board moved Gandar out, his news editor, Raymond Louw, took over and for the next 11 years the tradition continued and grew. When Louw was moved upstairs in 1977 I, who had been Gandar's political correspondent, took over — and still, one suspects to the board's frustration, the tradition continued unchanged.

But now the time has come to an end. Both the new editor and managing editor are from outside the paper, both different in style and outlook.

Though the management says the editorial policy will not change, this simply cannot be true except in the formal sense of continuing to give support at election time to the Progressive Federal Party which is now the official Opposition. Commonsense

tells one that you do not make such a dramatic and controversial change in order to have things continue as before.

The reason given to me for my dismissal is that the board is concerned about the paper's trading loss and hopes new editorial leadership will improve this. That must mean it is expecting a new kind of editorial presentation, sufficiently different from the old one to make a clear difference to readership patterns and, through that, advertising attraction

That in turn points to a drive for white readers rather than black, because whites have the superior buying power. Therefore I expect to see the paper lower its voice, try to become less discomforting to whites and give less prominence to black news and views.

My own view is that the trading loss is not caused by the editorial policy. Even people who disagree strongly with the paper read it, often for that very reason. Its strong identity is its main draw-card, and to water that down might well lose rather than gain readers.

I feel the loss is entirely attributable to the hopelessly overtraded news-

part of their proprietors than of, say, canned bean manufacturers.

There are precedents all over the world of loss-making newspapers that are kept going by their proprietors who regard them as important enough to justify this. Our own Afrikaans Press competitors are kept going by proprietors who feel that way about them.

No doubt I take a subjective view of the Rand Daily Mail and overestimate its importance in the South African situation. But I have always felt it plays a unique role in a unique society.

Ours is an extraordinary divided society. It is not only a matter of white being separated from blacks, but Afrikaner whites are largely separated from English whites, blacks are separated from the coloureds and the Indians and the Chinese and to some extent even from each other according to their ethnic classifications. The whole country is a honeycomb of cellular group ghettos, full of ghetto attitudes of 'us' and 'them' and with little understanding of other groups.

The Mail is the single most important channel of communication between all these segregated groups, telling each something of the attitudes and activities of the others. Most other papers are far-

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# Dismissal 'shatters' Laurence Gandar

JOHANNESBURG.—The dismissal of Mr Allister Sparks as editor of the Rand Daily Mail marked the end of an era for the newspaper, a former editor-in-chief of the paper, Mr Laurence Gandar, said today.

'It may even be the beginning of the end for the paper itself,' he said in a statement released in Johannesburg.

Mr Gandar said he felt 'quite shattered' by the dismissal of Mr Sparks, whom he regarded 'as one of the most outstanding editors I have encountered anywhere.'

'After what he has done for the Mail, especially during the historic Info exposé, it is almost incredible that he should have been rewarded in this way.'

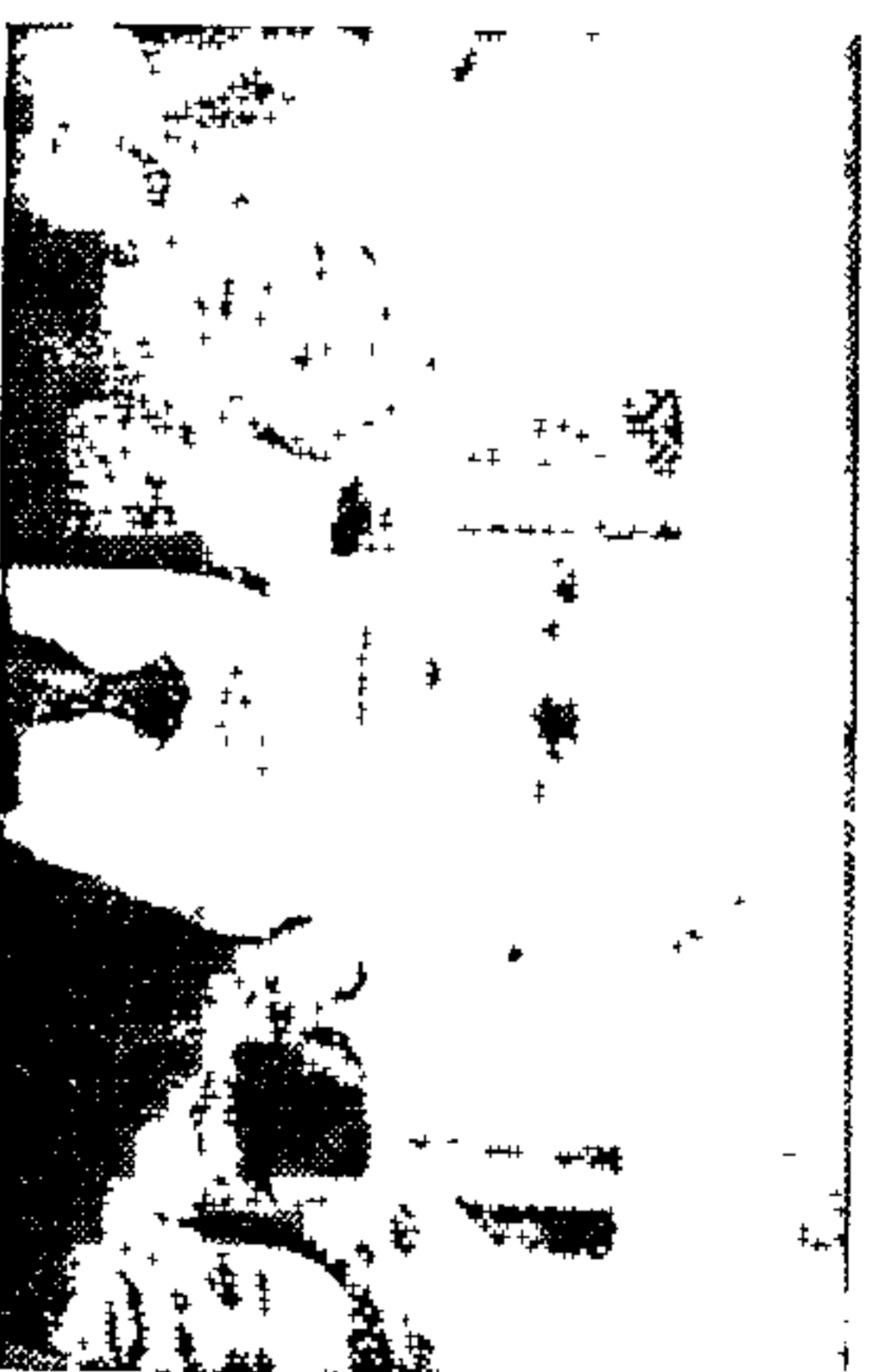
SAAN's statement announcing the dismissal had invited the public furore and grave questions surrounding the issue, he said.

For example, it stressed that the Mail would retain its individual character and identity and that no changes in policy were contemplated. But it is precisely these aspects of the paper that are the essential responsibility of the editor and if they are to be retained intact, why fire the editor?

### 'COMMITTED'

Noting that the editor of the Sunday Times, Mr Tertius Myburgh, had become editor of the Mail as well, charged with preserving their separate characters, identities and policies, Mr Gandar said the two papers could scarcely be more different.

While the Mail was a very serious, committed, campaigning paper out with a lighter human interest element, the Times was a 'racy mass appeal paper strong in human interest, sex and scandal stories, but with a serious element too.'



MR LAURENCE GANDAR... former editor of the Mail.

To make one man responsible for both was like asking the director of entertainments at Sun City to take over the new State Theatre in Pretoria as well.

'To edit both papers one needs to be a gymnast of Olympic standard.'

Sparks was in favour of this increase at the time but the decision was not, in fact, his responsibility. Yet it seems he is being humiliated with it.

### 'DISINGENUOUS'

SAAN had always been uneasy about the Mail's image as a forthright, thrusting, crusading paper and had tended too readily to blame this image for any disappointments in its trading position.

On the whole, the opposition Press was a good and worthy one, but wars were not won without individuals who were prepared to go those extra yards to get within hand-grenade range of an enemy machinegun post.

### 'DISINGENUOUS'

Mr Gandar said he accepted that the political policy of the Mail would not change. With the PRP as the official Opposition and in a growth trend, what else could the Mail support?

But it is surely disingenuous, at the least, to say that the character and identity of the Mail will be retained. To tone down the Mail, to change its deep anger at social injustice to mere bland disapproval is, indeed, to change its character and identity. It is even to destroy them.

It was not unusual or dishonourable for papers to lose money.

Britain's Times, Guardian and Observer had been kept going, much to the public benefit, by such devices as trusts and the diversion of funds from other income producing sources.

'And SAAN is not exactly suffering financial hardship.'

'It has recently reported record profits and a much increased dividend. Prospects for the coming year look pretty good too.' — Sapa.

# Mail will carry on crusading, says the new editor

JOHANNESBURG.—The Rand Daily Mail is not about to be turned on its head, the paper's new editor, Mr Tertius Myburgh, said in a front-page editorial today.

Mr Myburgh, who is also editor of the Sunday Times replaced Mr Allister Sparks this week. The editorial, headlined 'Our faith and our future,' says:

'As the chief executive of the company which publishes this newspaper said this week in denying preposterous suggestions that editorial changes were a consequence of political factors or government pressure: "To suggest otherwise is to malign a company with a long and honourable history of defending a free Press."

It is no secret in the newspaper industry that the Rand Daily Mail has experienced trading difficulties.

But the proprietors of the Rand Daily Mail and those now charged with responsibility for its editorial direction are mindful of its great past, deeply aware of its special role as communicator between the diverse peoples of this country — and wholly committed to maintaining and building on its fine traditions as a forth-

right, thrusting and crusading newspaper. This newspaper will continue to forage beyond the frontlines in the cause of civil liberties, racial justice and full political participation for all. — Sapa.

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**Journalists  
hit at ban  
on paper**

Staff Reporter

THE Western Cape region of the South African Society of Journalists (SASJ) yesterday condemned the banning of the latest edition of the Western Cape community newspaper *Grassroots*.

In a statement issued by the vice-president of the SASJ Mr John Battersby the SASJ expressed alarm at "another arbitrary silencing of a genuine and popular outlet for black aspirations".

The SASJ recognises the important and constructive contribution that this publication is making to the wider community.

⊙ Sapa reported the Media Workers Association of South Africa, which initiated *Grassroots* as describing the banning of the newspaper's latest edition as yet another manifestation of the government's total onslaught against the black media.

In a statement Mwasa's president Mr Charles Nqakula said the newspaper had within the restrictive laws against free expression done commendable work in trying to reflect the authentic feelings of the black community.

The banning of the issue of *Grassroots* was announced in yesterday's Government Gazette.

⊙ List of banned publications, page 11



# UWC professors 'angered' rector

CT 6/6/8

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THE rector of the University of the Western Cape, Professor Richard van der Ross, was an "angry man and had used very strong words" when he heard what five white UWC professors had told Sabra about the university.

This was said in the Cape Supreme Court yesterday by Mr G Leveson SC, who appeared for the Sunday Times in a R50 000 defamation action brought against the newspaper by the five professors.

The five are Professor G Delpierre, retired Professor C Kriel (a former rector of the university), Professor P Kirstein, Professor E Holzappel and Professor P Pistorius, a lecturer in the sociology of education who is affiliated to the UWC department of education.

They allege that a report written by a Cape Town reporter of the newspaper, Mr Norman West, "falsely defamed" them by saying they had been found guilty of reprehensible conduct, and are claiming R10 000 each from the newspaper, its editor, Mr Tertius Myburgh, and Mr West.

Arguing the case for the Sunday Times before Mr Justice Baker yesterday, Mr Le-

veson said it was clear from a report of the De Villiers committee (led by Professor J C de Villiers to examine the campus controversy surrounding the Sabra meeting attended by the five professors) that the five had committed "heinous acts" against relationships on the campus.

Not being a disciplinary body, however, the committee did not have the authority to find them guilty of these acts, Mr Leveson said.

"However, the (De Villiers) report does say these breaches of staff regulations have been committed, and recommends that the issue should go to the disciplinary committee," he said.

While no specific finding of guilt was made, an "inferential situation sufficient to justify" a plea of justified publication existed, he said.

The Sunday Times had given the "broad sense" of the situation in reporting that they were guilty.

The article was originally based on information imparted to the newspaper by "high sources", as claimed in the article's first paragraph. But the newspaper was not "hiding behind" those sources, and he would show that the report was, in any event, correct, Mr Leveson said.

The De Villiers committee had found that the original document which gave rise to the controversy, a report of the Sabra meeting held in Stellenbosch and attended by the five professors, had released strong emotions on the campus, Mr Leveson said.

Statements purportedly made by the five at the meeting, according to the document, had been a "gross insult" to the rector, and had "cast a shadow" over the composition of the UWC council. The rector had been humiliated and his position undermined, according to the De Villiers committee's report, he said.

The committee had found that the document to have been substantially correct in its report of what had transpired at the meeting, said Mr Leveson.

What had most irked the rector was that the five had shown no remorse, and there had been no question of an apology from them, the De Villiers committee had reported.

"Here today we have these five seeking to recover damages from a newspaper which seeks to report the facts," Mr Leveson said.

Mr W G Burger SC, who appeared for the five professors, told the court that he could find nothing in the De Villiers committee's report which would form a basis for, or mirror, the allegations in the Sunday Times report.

The report was "wildly inaccurate", he said.

He said the Sunday Times should have published a retraction when it received a copy of the De Villiers committee's report in March this year.

The newspaper was guilty of "reckless conduct" in that it did not put forward any direct evidence in court in support of its report.

While the newspaper was wrong in originally not apologizing, "the picture became even darker" for it when it received a copy of the De Villiers committee's report, and did not then publish any correction or apology.

"Those in control of a mighty newspaper like the Sunday Times can't let pettiness, stubbornness and vindictiveness towards persons override their duty towards society. They should have bitten the bullet and published an apology."

Mr Justice Baker reserved judgment.

Mr Leveson was assisted by Mr R D Levin. Mr Burger was assisted by Mr A P Blignaut.

C. Herald  
Passport seizure slammed

THE withdrawal of the passport of Cape Town journalist Zuberda Jaffer was part of a continuous campaign to harass black reporters, said the Western Cape region of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa)

Miss Jaffer was on Monday ordered by the Minister of Internal Affairs to hand her passport to security police

Mwasa said in a statement that the withdrawal of the passport was 'a restriction of movement by a Government which will go to great lengths to suppress the truth.'

# Black news workers launch new union

C. Herald  
6/6/81

(129) (MWS) (243)

THE first trade union for black media, printing and allied workers was formally launched at the inaugural congress of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) held at Wilgespruit, Johannesburg, at the weekend.

This follows last year's decision by the journalists only Writers' Association of South Africa (Wasa) to broaden the organisation to become a union.

At the end of the four-day congress, delegates from all over South Africa gave power salutes and sang Senzeni na (What have we done) as a tribute to Mwasa members who have been 'victims of state harassment' over the past few years.

## BANNED

Five prominent members of Mwasa were banned at the end of last year after a national strike. They are Marimuthu Subramoney, Mathatha Tsedu, Phil Mtinkulu, Joe Thiole and national president Zwelakhe Sisulu.

The new national president of Mwasa, Mr Charles Nqakula, said he would not have stood for election if Mr Sisulu had not been banned.

'I see myself as having been elected to a caretaker position because our

banned colleagues always will be part and parcel of the organisation,' he said.

Mwasa declared solidarity and support for all striking and dismissed workers throughout the country and for the boycott of all products of the Wilson Rowntree sweet factory in East London where 500 workers were dismissed.

## RESOLUTION

Mwasa said in a resolution that the Republic Festival was 'a celebration of our people's subjugation'.

The organisation noted 'with contempt' statements by Government ministers that blacks who did not celebrate the Republic festival were unpatriotic.

Speakers at the congress included Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, The Rev Buti Thlagale, a member of the Black Priests solidarity group, and Mr Khela Mthembu, the president of the Azanian People's Organisation.

RAND  
Daily Mail

6/6/81  
Our faith, and  
our future (263)

**I**T is hardly surprising that recent developments at the Rand Daily Mail have caused a great deal of *sturm und drang*.

Newspapers are highly visible, living organisms with an intimate relationship with the public, who have a right (indeed, an obligation) to react to events affecting them.

It is not surprising, also, that politicians and others, including competitors, should take a close interest in the affairs of a newspaper which is more visible than most and which has never shrunk from controversy. There are vested interests to protect, points to be scored — and entirely healthy public debates about Press freedom to be conducted.

Furthermore, it is wholly understandable that staff and the journalistic profession as a whole should be concerned when the highly risky nature of editorship is so dramatically underlined by the summary departure of a gifted and courageous practitioner such as Mr Allister Sparks. We hope that our society is not long deprived of his highly literate pen and his dedicated concern for racial conciliation and that his considerable talents will find new channels of expression.

That said, let one thing be declared unequivocally. As the chief executive of the company which publishes this newspaper said this week in denying preposterous suggestions that editorial changes were a consequence of political factors or Government pressure: "To suggest otherwise is to malign a company with a long and honourable history of defending a free Press."

### Great past

It is no secret in the newspaper industry that the Rand Daily Mail has experienced trading difficulties.

But the proprietors of the Rand Daily Mail and those now charged with responsibility for its editorial di-

rection are minor or its great past, deeply aware of its special role as communicator between the diverse peoples of this country — and wholly committed to maintaining and building on its fine traditions as a forthright, thrusting and crusading newspaper. They will commit resources to secure its future and to achieve an even wider audience.

We remain firmly committed to the view that newspapers do not exist only to comfort the afflicted — they also exist to afflict the comfortable.

Those who sit in other leader-writers' offices, in universities or on the backbenches of Parliament and ask the Rand Daily Mail to lead the way need not fear, this newspaper will continue to forage beyond the front-lines in the cause of civil liberties, racial justice and full political participation for all. And when they themselves venture into the minefields, we will report the news.

### **Press freedom**

For in pursuing our course and in striving to maintain the commercial independence which is such a vital concomitant of Press freedom, the Rand Daily Mail remains dedicated to the function that has gained it such a high and envied reputation here and abroad: fearless presentation of the news.

Our job is to put information in the hands of the people who, ultimately, are masters of their own destiny. And we will continue to resist with vigour those who seek, by law or arrogant exaggeration of their own importance, to keep facts from the public.

As for those who seek, either implicitly or explicitly, to prejudge the future and thereby to weaken the credibility of this newspaper, we can only hope that, in due course, they will discover the folly of hasty opinions.

The Rand Daily Mail is not about to be turned on its head. While it would be naive to pretend that a newspaper does not acquire some of the stamp of those who are temporarily charged with stewardship over it, the institution is greater than the men who serve it and it is a foolish person who occupies an editor's chair without proper humility.

This newspaper will continue to purvey news and information, professionally, hopefully with wit and some wisdom — and with total dedication to the ancient and highest ideals of the newspaperman's craft.

— by the Editor of  
the Rand Daily Mail  
and the Sunday Times

6/6/81

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TABLE 3 DISTANCE TRAVELLED TO FACILITY

Hospitals	Distance travelled					Total
	0 - 7km	8 - 15km	16 - 39km	40km+		
McCords Zulu	36	16	39	10	176	
Masana	6	31	58	5	110	
Holy Cross	60	27	13	-	210	
Mount Coke	19	50	17	14	64	
Charles Johnson	19	21	48	12	198	
Botswana Hospitals*	74	7	6	13		

TABLE 2 COST TO PATIENT OF ATTENDANCE

Percentage of patients paying	Groote Schuur	McCords
Less than 50c	4	5
50c +	10	9
R1,00 +	29	18
R1,50 +	4	7
R2,00 +	6	7
R3,00 +	7	1
R4,00 +	1	1
R5,00 +	1	1
R6,00 +	1	1
R8,00 +	1	1
Total no.	198	7

All patients at Umhlanga Clinic paid the same at Addo and Kirkwood Clinics (see notes on which these figures are based). The standard rate for adults at GP's in the Valley would be R2,00. The other savings concern the cost for GP's in the Valley would be R2,00.

# Newsman must be above politics

CAPE TOWN — There could not be too strong a warning issued against the identification of the South African Society of Journalists with political parties and policies, the president, Mr John Allen said yesterday.

Opening the society's annual congress, he said he had often felt that "we have sometimes come close to falling into the trap of becoming the journalistic wing of the official Opposition."

The standings of journalism in a democracy went back to basics. "It means we stand not for any political solution advocated by any political force but for the right of the governed to choose the solution they want on the basis of information and opinions freely circulated," he said.

"It means that the SASJ rises above the political affiliations of its members, but that all members must share an unswerving commitment to basic democratic freedoms and so the right of others to express their views freely.

Ideally, the SASJ should have a range of members reflecting the widest possible divergence of political opinion. It should include journalists from the National Party's Volksblad and from the ANC's Sechaba, on condition all were prepared to fight for the right of others to practise their profession as part of the democratic process.

clinics	88	9	3	0	185
clinics:	72	15	12	3	1 810
ment	82	8	8	2	1 026

\* Mobile Health Services', O. Gash and G. Walker, Trl Med 1977

It was found that outpatients at Groote Schuur Hospital came from an effective radius of about 17 kms, and those at Day Hospitals from about 3.1 kms (Elsie's River) to 5.4 kms (Grassy Park.) (Paper no. 12, op.cit.)

na	Mount Coke	Valley GPs*
47	52	1
18	2	6
7	7	7
40	5	13
3	2	3
64	107	

was 30c) as did

eral years. the current m R2,50 to indicated.

(Lynx 6/6/71) (243)

# TUTU AWARD SA SLAMMED

Weekend Argus Correspondent

ATHENS. — South Africa has been accused of using 'communist undemocratic procedures' in its efforts to control minorities.

The attack was made at an Onassis Foundation prize-award ceremony for Bishop Desmond Tutu, secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, who was unable to attend because his passport has been withdrawn.

West German publishing magnate Dr Marion Grafm Donhoff, who accepted the R85 000 award on behalf

of the bishop, accused Pretoria of 'fighting evils typical of communist states by applying them itself.'

Dr Donhoff said South African and communist ideologies 'agree on the same aim: To exclude any form of criticism.'

She added that South Africa, like Eastern Bloc countries, jailed political offenders indefinitely without a trial.

⊙ Bishop Tutu is Newsmaker of the Year, the congress of the Southern African Society of Journalists announced in Cape Town.

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12/11/43

# SASJ no to register

THE national congress of the South African Society of Journalists has objected strongly to any further moves by the Government to restrict the Press — particularly the establishment of a register of journalists

The SASJ congress passed a resolution at its meeting in Cape Town today in which it noted 'with extreme alarm' the tenor of evidence presented by Government spokesmen to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media — particularly the proposed register of journalists with the threat of exclusion for misdemeanours

The congress recorded its 'strongest objection against any further legislative moves to encumber the functioning of

the Press' and expressed its 'utter rejection' of the register as 'dissonant with the effective functioning of free and independent journalism'.

The congress heard that at a recent meeting in Helsinki, Finland, the executive committee of the International Federation of Journalists, representing more than 100 000 journalists in 26 countries, had expressed its 'outrage about the intensifying violations of Press freedom and the harassment of journalists' in South Africa.

The IFJ committee had warned the South African Government that any official register of journalists 'under the pretext of professionalism' would be considered internationally as a 'fundamental blow to free journalism'



# IT CAN'T

7/1/75

'THE Mail focused attention on the lot of the black community, exposing the iniquities of the prisons system and the behaviour of the police, and also giving expressions to black grievances and aspirations.'

'THOUGH the management says the editorial policy will not change, this simply cannot be true except in the formal sense of continuing to give support at election time to the Progressive Federal Party'

'I have always felt newspapers are a special kind of product justifying a different attitude on the part of their proprietors to that of, say, canned bean manufacturers.'

# Boettie I Wars Sacrificed

## SACKED EDITOR SPARKS SAW THE 'MAIL' AS A TRAIL-BLAZER OF REFORM - BUT THINKS IT MAY BE SO NO MORE

IT IS hard to be objective about one's own dismissal. Yet I do not think it too exaggerated or egotistical a view to suggest that my precipitate removal as Editor of the Rand Daily Mail will have serious journalistic and political consequences in South Africa.

The Rand Daily Mail over the past 23 years has become a symbol of protest against the injustices of apartheid. It is, in the words of William Randolph Hearst, comforted the afflicted and afflicted the comfortable in a society where the differences between the two are probably greater than anywhere else.

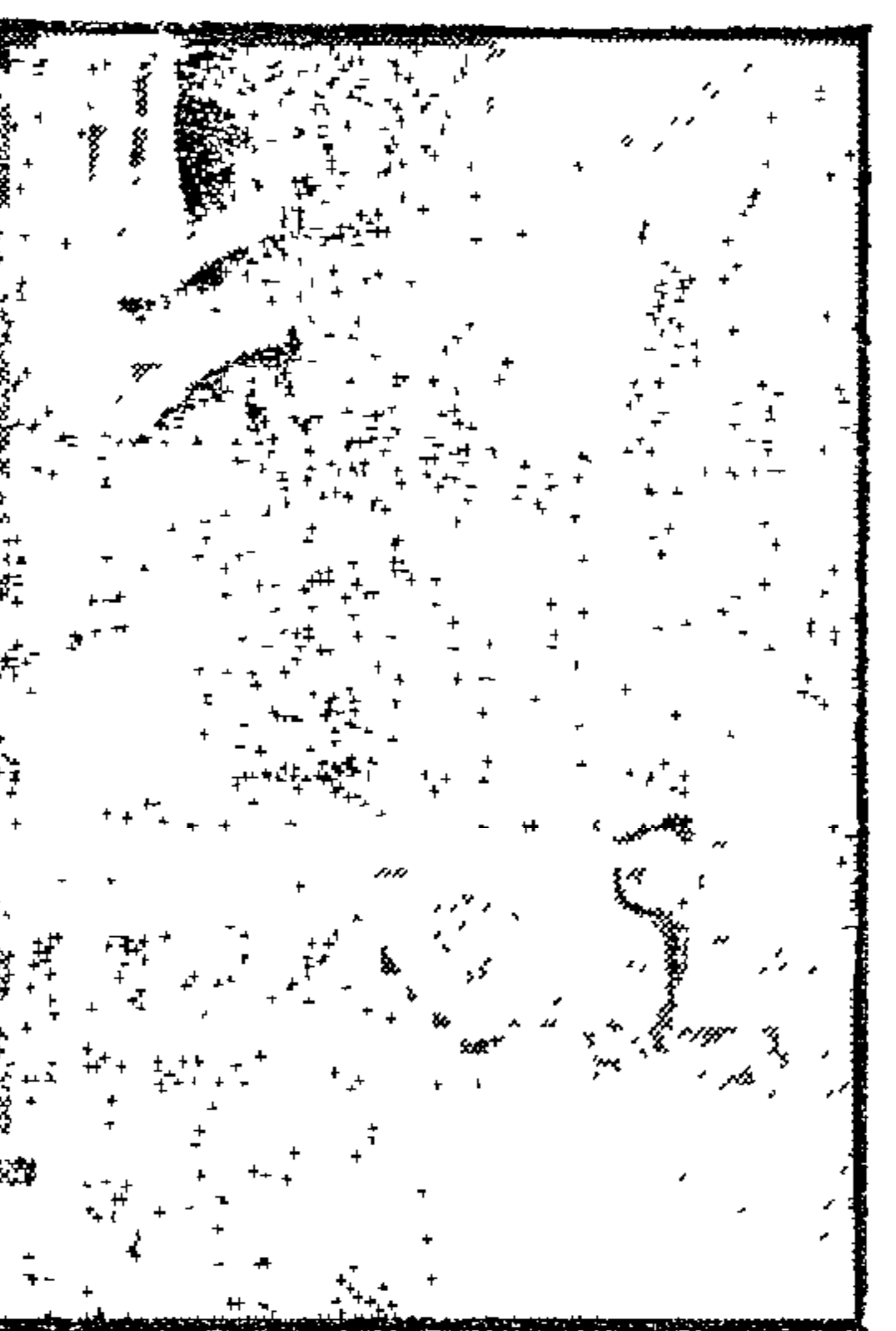
This is not to say that other newspapers in South Africa have not the same record of the Opposition press as a proud one. But the Rand Daily Mail has been seen both internally and internationally as the first and so the most symbolic among them. Which means you, cannot fire the Editor of the Mail, however he may be, without its having major public impact. Therefore it cannot help but have wide-ranging journalistic and political repercussions.



'We comforted the afflicted and afflicted the comfortable'



'There is a spirit of apseasement in the newspaper industry'



'I wasn't given my year to turn the corner towards profit'

### BY ALLISTER SPARKS

Intellectual power and spiritual courage to bring about a watershed change in the affairs under his control.

Until then the Mail had been an exceptional paper and the Press as a whole orthodox and bland—the English papers editing the party of the English establishment, the United Party, the Afrikaans papers doing likewise with the National Party, and both being pretty well oblivious to the existence of the black population.

Gandara's Mail broke the traditional support for the United Party and backed the splinter Progressive Party which had only one Member of Parliament in Helen Sumner. It was an extraordinary act of editorial daring.

Johnesburg-Pretoria area, where there are 10 daily newspapers, only one of which is specifically aimed at blacks. The other 9 are all competing for a comparatively small pool of white readers, and in addition suffer from the fact that the recent advent of commercial television has sharply reduced the size of an advertising revenue cake that to begin with was too small to sustain them all.

The result is that all except two are heavy loss-makers, several far deeper in the red than the Mail. For example the Government sank

Our is an extraordinarily divided society. It is not only a matter of whites being separated from blacks, but Afrikaaner whites are largely separated from English whites; blacks are separated from the Coloureds and the Indians and the Chinese and to some extent even from each other according to their ethnic classifications. The whole country is a honeycomb of cellular group ghettos full of ghetto attitudes of "us" and "them" and with little understanding of other groups.

The Mail is the single most important channel of communication between these separated

two months' time. While I have no evidence one way or the other, I must say that this does not ring true to me. There is indeed such a spirit of apseasement within the newspaper industry — it led to the introduction of the Press Council, and there have been periodic hints that something should be done about the Mail and Daily Mail to avoid action against the press as a whole — but our company has always resisted this most strenuously. Its record in defending freedom is formidable.

The Managing Director, Mr. Clive Kinstry

Most blacks will undoubtedly see this as an act of political cynicism, and their inclination will be to blame the business interests which own newspapers and which they are all too ready to lump together with the Government. Which is just one more little thing that is not good for the long-term survival prospects of capitalism in an increasingly black South Africa.

reaction on the part of the black community, exposing the inquiries of apartheid, investigating such things as the prisons system and the behaviour of the police, and also giving expression to black grievances and aspirations. It began employing black reporters, and blacks began buying the paper in increasing numbers.

All this made the Mail a highly controversial paper. The Government regarded it as dangerously subversive; many readers found it disconcerting, and the English-speaking business community of Johannesburg, from which its own board of directors has always been drawn, felt it was rocking the boat. It would be true to say that ever since, the board has never really felt an empathy with its troublesome paper.

But for those of us who worked on the paper then it was a seminal experience. Though Gandar was a remote editor and even slightly unpopular in his aloofness, what he did was enormously exciting to the young journalists on his staff and in their inspiration and intellectual awakening a tradition was born.

When in time an increasingly edgy board moved Gandar out, it was his news editor, Raymond Louw, who took over and for the next 11 years the tradition con-

Federal Party which is now the official Opposition Commonsense tells one that you do not make such a dramatic and controversial change in order to have things continue as before.

The reason given me for my dismissal is that the board is concerned about the paper's trading loss and hopes new editorial leadership will improve this. That must mean it is expecting a new kind of editorial presentation, sufficiently different from the old one to make a clear difference to readership patterns and, through that, advertising attraction.

That in turn points to a drive for white readers rather than black, because whites have the superior buying power. Therefore I would expect to see the paper lower its voice, try to become less disconcerting to whites and give less prominence to black news and views.

My own view is that the trading loss is not caused by the editorial policy: Even people who disagree strongly with the paper read it often for that very reason. Its strong identity is its main drawcard, and to water that down might well lose rather than gain readers.

I feel the loss is entirely attributable to the hopelessly overtraded newspaper market in the

into the clandestine Muldergate paper, The Citizen — which, when exposed by the Mail, was simply handed over to a Nationalist printing house which enjoys the benefit of huge Government printing contracts.

In such a situation there can be no push-button solution to a trading loss. And while I understand that no board of directors of a public company can take a sanguine view of a subsidiary that loses money, I have always felt newspapers are a special kind of product justifying a different attitude on the part of their proprietors to that of, say, canned bean manufacturers.

There are precedents all over the world of loss-making newspapers that are kept going by their proprietors who regard them as important enough to justify this. The Guardian has been subsidised for years by the highly profitable the highly profitable Manchester Evening News. And obviously our own Afrikaans press competitors are kept going by proprietors who feel that way about them.

No doubt I take a subjective view of the Rand Daily Mail and overestimate its importance in the South African situation. But I have always felt it plays a unique role in a unique society.

groups, telling each something of the attitudes and activities of the others. Most other papers are targeted towards particular groups.

There is another aspect, too, of the Mail's role which I have regarded as important. It has been the trail-blazer in the building of a reformist movement within this otherwise stubborn white community.

That lone voice under Gandar gradually influenced the rest of the English-language press until eventually all were following broadly the same line. The spirit of independence from traditional establishment ties has been spread to the Afrikaans press to some extent.

The tiny splinter party with one MP that it began supporting so controversially 20 years ago is today the official Opposition. And, most significantly of all, in the face of the alarms attendant on Robert Mugabe's victory in Zimbabwe, the increasing pressures on Namibia and the mounting black radicalism in South Africa itself, this Progressive Federal Party has just made remarkable gains in the recent Parliamentary elections and shown that it is beginning to make significant inroads into the Afrikaner com-

created, but so has the company's ability to absorb it: we made record profits of nearly R10-million after tax last year and this year looks like being even better.

Moreover, I am convinced the loss is short-term. Those black readers who are regarded as being of lesser economic value today are an investment in the future that our competitors do not have. Economic reality is forcing the Government to drop its restrictions on them, to let them surge forward to man the burgeoning machinery of this country. Their purchasing power is at takeoff point.

Within a year, I believe, the Mail could begin to turn the corner — and thereafter surge on to a prosperous future, leaving its competitors to claw away at each other over the same static pool of whites that is too small to sustain them.

But I have not been given my year to prove this.

What of the political implications of this edition?

I have heard it suggested that my dismissal was an act of political appeasement to prevent the Government from introducing more anti-press legislation after it receives its report from the Steyn Commission into the media in about

many times to bat for me against Government attempts to pressure the paper through its proprietors. He has faced the ponderous wrath of John Vorster and the sphenetic temper of P. W. Botha and he has never flinched or complained. No Editor could have asked for more resolute support from his publishers against Government pressures.

Yet for all that, I fear the Government itself is going to see this as an act of political capitulation. The reaction of its supporting newspapers show this. One of them has said openly it believes the Mail's proprietors have at last seen sense, and now that they have decided to moderate the Mail the Steyn Commission and the Government should take note and the "knife" should be withheld.

Even more pointedly, a few days later this paper, noting that both Percy Qoboza (former Editor of the banned World and Post) and Sparks were now out of their jobs, went on to say: "Thus two of the greatest thorns in the Government's flesh have been removed. The lesson? Staff can be replaced, you don't have to close newspapers. May the lesson not be lost on those in high places." Whatever the true situation, if the Govern-

243 7/6/51 S. Tribune

# I feel shattered

I FEEL quite shattered that Allister Sparks has been dismissed from the Rand Daily Mail. I worked with him very closely during my years on the paper and have kept in touch with him since then.

I have to say that I regard him as one of the most outstanding editors I have encountered anywhere.

After what he has done for the Mail especially during the historic Info expose, it is almost incredible that he should have been rewarded in this way.

Not unnaturally, his sacking has caused a public furor and grave questions are being asked and accusations made. Indeed, the statement issued by South African Associated



**BY LAURENCE GANDAR**  
Editor and Editor-in-Chief of the Rand Daily Mail from 1957 to 1966

Newspapers announcing the dismissal invites such responses.

For example, it stressed that the Mail would retain its individual character and identity, and that no changes in policy were contemplated.

But it is precisely these aspects of the paper that are the special responsibility of the editor. And if they are to be retained intact, why fire the editor?

## Gymnast

Second, the editor of the Sunday Times has become editor of the Rand Daily Mail as well, charged with preserving the separate characters, identities and policies of the two papers. Yet these papers could scarcely be more different.

The Mail is a very serious, committed, campaigning paper but with a lighter human interest element in it. The Sunday Times is a racy, mass-appeal paper strong in human interest, sex and scandal stories but with a serious element too.

To make one man responsible for two such disparate papers simultaneously seems to me like asking the director of entertainments at Sun City to take over the new State Theatre in Pretoria as well. Which is not to say that the entertainment at Sun City is not top class in its own way.

To edit both papers, one needs to be a gymnast of Olympian

heavy premium to apply, and the Mail's circulation has suffered severely.

Sparks was in favour of this increase at the time, but the decision was not, in fact his responsibility. Yet it seems he is being lumbered with it.

There is no mystery about this unfortunate affair. I have been through most of it myself and so has Raymond Louw, my successor.

SAAN has always been uneasy about the image of the Mail as a forthright, thrusting, crusading paper and has tended too readily to blame this image for any disappointments in its trading position.

Now I feel, it has decided once and for all to tone down the paper and make it like other Opposition papers: quieter and less willing to get involved in controversial matters.

To say this is not to belittle our Opposition Press. On the whole, it is a good and worthy Press.

## Preoccupied

But in a platoon of soldiers, there is often one who is prepared to go those extra metres to get within handgrenade range of an enemy machinegun post. Without such individuals, wars are not won.

The political policy of the Mail will not change, it is said. Thus I accept with the PFP as the official Opposition and in a

One reason is that SAAN tends to be preoccupied with such things as the 13 percent of readers who have stopped buying the paper and who attribute their decision to its political image.

I would have thought that this was a remarkably small percentage compared with the greater figure (more than 100 000) who loyally continue to buy the paper in spite of its much higher price.

How will they react to a muted Mail? More may well stop buying it than are won back by a more circumspect approach. The United Party tried to do all things to all men en kyk hoe lyk hy nou.

## Suspicion

Why is it that SAAN behaves in this way, the third time in 16 years? Certainly it is not an editor's job to run a paper into the ground, and certainly a paper's trading position is a crucially important matter.

But I have believed for a long time that much of the difficulty stems from the fact that boards of directors of the Opposition newspapers are composed mostly of businessmen men who have had no direct experience of publishing or feel for its traditions.

As businessmen, their whole training is to steer clear of public controversy, to regard politics with suspicion and to see their responsibilities mainly in balance-sheet terms. Their solutions — chopping the chief executive off the problem branch — are the standard resolutions they have grown up with.

There have been notable exceptions to this generalisation, but I have never quite understood why such fine editors as Joel Mervis, Rene de Villiers, Victor Norton and Raymond Louw have not been invited to become directors.

And SAAN is not exactly suffering financial hardship. It has recently reported record profits and a much-increased dividend. Prospects for the coming year look pretty good too.

It has been suggested that SAAN has bowed to political pressure in firing Allister Sparks. I am not inclined to believe this.

SAAN's board and management have stood up very well many times in the past to blatant face-to-face encounters with Prime Ministers. I respect them for that.

But it does seem a tragedy that they are yielding to economic pressures just when the tide of public opinion is, at last, turning in the reformist direction which the Mail has always championed, and just when its multi-cultural editorial approach is about to be rewarded in the market place by the rapid development of a truly multi-cultural economic system.

## Stubborn

I sympathise with SAAN's trading problems. They are large, complex and stubborn. But they will not be solved by axing one of the best editors South Africa has produced, or by turning the Mail into just another run-of-the-mill Opposition paper.

What it has fought for all these years is drawing steadily nearer. What it once said alone is now being said by a growing chorus of voices. Its huge latent advantage in a changing, evolving market should not be thrown away.

## Lumbered

Thirdly, it is no secret that one of the main contributors to the Mail's poor trading position was the decision to raise the cover price to 25c — between 25 and 66 percent more than its rivals are priced at.

In a fiercely competitive market (11 papers are published daily out of Johannesburg and Pretoria) this was a

the Mail support

But it is surely disingenuous, at the least, to say that the character and identity of the Mail will be retained. To tone down the Mail, to change its anger at social injustices to mere bland disapproval is, indeed to change its character and identity. It is even to destroy them.

This, I fear, is the end of an era for the Rand Daily Mail. It may even be the beginning of the end of the paper itself.

## Record

It must surely be invaluable to be able to consult men who have actually worked in the media and who understand the inter-relationship between Press and public.

Furthermore, it is not unusual or dishonourable for quality papers to lose money. The Times, the Guardian and the Observer are just a few exam-

sion that epitomises the courage and durability of the Afrikaners — Hou koers, hou moed Precisely

□ Mr Gandar is not entirely correct when he says SAAN's board is composed mostly of men who have no direct experience of publishing. Six members of its nine-man board are newspapermen, with more than 200 years of collective service to the newspaper industry — EDITOR

(243) S. TIMES

7/6/81

# Free and independent journalism reaffirmed

THE Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ) reaffirmed its commitment to principles of free and independent journalism at its annual congress in Cape Town at the weekend.

The congress endorsed the evidence presented by the society to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media, and noted 'with extreme alarm' the tenor of evidence presented by Government spokesmen to the commission.

It rejected a register of journalists as being dissonant with the effective functioning of free and independent journalism.

An unregistered non-racial union, the SASJ, resolved not to apply for re-registration under present industrial legislation.

## AGREEMENTS

The congress rejected a proposal that the SASJ Council should negotiate agreements applicable only to SASJ members in future.

It resolved that in the event of a non-SASJ strike in the media industry SASJ members should not do any work they did not normally perform.

Grave reservations were expressed about the new system of police accreditation of reporters as likely to hamper further the media's access to sources of news.

## NPU

Congress deplored the actions of the Newspaper Press Union in signing an agreement on the system with the Minister of Police without consulting the SASJ.

In the light of the dismissal of Rand Daily Mail editor Mr Alhster Sparks, the SASJ instructed its council to negotiate 'retrenchment' procedures with newspaper management.

DRUG PRESCRIBING IN TEACHING HOSPITALS

A SERVICE TO THE PATIENT

Dr. K.B. Sundgren  
September 1978

THE PROBLEM

Escalating costs, decreasing resources and an ever increasing demand on Health Services require Administrators and providers of the Service to look critically at every aspect of spending, to identify and evaluate each major area in terms of cost effectiveness and where it is practical, steps must be taken to apply control measures and redirect limited resources to the best advantage of the greatest number of persons.

The importance of the individual patient has to remain paramount. Diagnosis and treatment are not just the delivery of a parcel of technology. It is not adequate to be equipped with instruments, knowledge of science or everything in the pharmacopoeia. Doctors are also the advisors whose wisdom, concern and kindness may have greater influence in the restoration of the patient than our technology. The patient needs to retain his dignity even amongst painful apparatus and noisy technique.

The concept of service involves giving to others and the hospital patient has been conditioned to expect the handing over of material things. The patient does not care about costs because someone else pays for it, and the hospital physician is often placed under extreme pressure to prescribe inappropriate drugs prompted by the patients belief that medical consultations must result in prescriptions.

COST EFFECTIVENESS

...to the effectiveness

The International Federation of Journalists has already expressed alarm at proposals before the Steyn Commission for a register. At the recent IFJ congress in Helsinki, a resolution was passed stating that such a register would be considered internationally as an inroad into free journalism. At the Cape Town congress, delegates were warned that the register might be presented in a deceptive "velvet-gloved" form. It was proposed that journalists should be educated in advance on what to expect. One delegate said the only way to pre-empt reaction by newspaper managements that a register "would not be as bad as all that" would be to make it clear that such an attitude would lead to the loss of staff. Were journalists going to take a stand on the issue of a register or would they simply adjust to each new control, another delegate asked. The likelihood of the Government seizing on the negative aspects of the commission's report was stressed after the congress by Mr John O'Malley, editor of The Argus and this year's winner of the SASJ's Pringle Award for outstanding service to journalism.

# SASJ VOWS to fight that register

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Staff Reporter

CAPE TOWN. — The Southern African Society of Journalists is to launch a campaign against the introduction of a register of journalists, as proposed in evidence before the Steyn Commission.

The SASJ has also called on media employers to take a public stand against the concept of a register for journalists.

The predominantly white union also plans to solicit backing from black colleagues belonging to the Media Workers Association of South Africa and from Afrikaans journalists for the formulation of a combined strategy on the commission's findings.

The anti-register campaign is embodied in strongly-worded resolutions passed at the two-day SASJ conference in Cape Town at the weekend.

Afrikaans editors had expressed opposition to the idea of a register in their evidence to the commission, it was pointed out in support of a proposal to enlist the support of colleagues in the Afrikaans Press.

The International Federation of Journalists has already expressed alarm at proposals before the Steyn Commission for a register. At the recent IFJ congress in Helsinki, a resolution was passed stating that such a register would be considered internationally as an inroad into free journalism.

At the Cape Town congress, delegates were warned that the register might be presented in a deceptive "velvet-gloved" form. It was proposed that journalists should be educated in advance on what to expect.

One delegate said the only way to pre-empt reaction by newspaper managements that a register "would not be as bad as all that" would be to make it clear that such an attitude would lead to the loss of staff.

Were journalists going to take a stand on the issue of a register or would they simply adjust to each new control, another delegate asked. The likelihood of the Government seizing on the negative aspects of the commission's report was stressed after the congress by Mr John O'Malley, editor of The Argus and this year's winner of the SASJ's Pringle Award for outstanding service to journalism.

Indeed Self Service is rearing their ugly heads throughout the world.

RESEARCH FOR FORWARD THINKING

A teaching Hospital is the centre for development and progress. It has a responsibility not only towards the patient but also to the many graduates and undergraduates training within its portals. A Doctor in a specialist hospital may not wish to compromise what he feels is the best treatment for an individual. The state has intruded into the doctor-patient relationship by virtue of having to accept responsibility for the delivery of Health Care. The Doctor cannot merely regard the state as the holder of an inexhaustible purse. In a hospital, unlike in private practice, it should therefore not be regarded as unreasonable, that the State should have some control over the expenditure.

Talking at an SASJ dinner, he predicted that attempts to dampen dissent would be spurred on by the long list of witnesses before the commission who had made no secret of their desire to bring the Press to heel.

The resolutions passed at the congress read:

"Congress instructs council in close consultation with chapels to conduct the strongest possible campaign against the introduction of a register of journalists or any similar proposal that may arise after the tabling of the Steyn Commission Report.

"(1) Congress instructs council to (i) initiate a programme to increase awareness among all journalists about the possible effects of the Steyn Commission outcome;

(ii) initiate liaison with Mwasa and Afrikaans-speaking journalists with a view to formulating a combined strategy on the commission's findings and any subsequent legislation; (iii) to appoint a committee to draw up a review of arguments against registration to be circulated to chapels.

"(2) Congress calls on media employers to publicly take a stand against a register of journalists."

# No place for neutrality, Press told

DIFFERING views on the role of the South African Press were presented at the congress of the Southern African Society of Journalists in Cape Town this weekend.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, secretary general of the South African Council of Churches, told the journalists: 'In a situation of injustice and oppression, you cannot afford the luxury of neutrality.'

When an elephant sat on a mouse, the mouse did not appreciate a bystander's neutrality. In that situation, a neutral stance favoured the elephant.

Speaking at a banquet where he received the society's 'Newsmaker of the Year' award, Bishop Tutu said all South African institutions would be judged critically on whether they hampered or helped in the liberation struggle.

Journalists could help avert the bloodshed which sadly seemed to be becoming more inevitable.

Mr Dennis Beckett, editor and founder of Frontline magazine, argued for the role of journalists as translators rather than champions of a political cause.

Making the Fairbairn Memorial Lecture at the same dinner, Mr Beckett said he was proud of being attacked from all sides by people who objected to the contents of his magazine.

He said white South Africans were given a picture by their media that change was 'coming on very nicely' apart from a few agitators who stirred things up.

Black readers received a picture from their newspapers that black suffering was unabated and would continue until white rule was ended.

He said there was room for a small, infrequent, semi-specialist publication such as Frontline to explore questions more fully.

In the South African context there was one dividing line — whether one was for or against majority rule.

He said majority rule would certainly not be bad for whites in the long term, and it need not be bad for them in the short term either if enough attention was given to getting there in a constructive way.

② See Pages 2 and 7.

Total Patient Days (b)	White Hospital	Black Hospital
290 296	902 217	

Actual Rand	Actual Rand	Hypothetical (e) Rand	
		(e) Rand	(f) Rand
68	—	—	—
64	93	—	—
7,20,7	13,51,7	—	—
32,10	13,48	24,06	21,89
20,85	8,89	16,77	12,91
1,69	0,62	1,69	1,69
4,55	2,92	4,55	4,55
5,01	1,05	1,05	1,05

Media, particularly regarding the establishment of a register of journalists with the threat of exclusion for misdemeanors. The congress recorded its "strongest objection against any further legislative moves to circumscribe the functioning of the Press" and expressed its "utter rejection" of such a register as "dissonant with the effective functioning of free and independent journalists". Sapa

# Protest at Press 'register'

THE national congress of the South African Society of Journalists has objected strongly against any further moves by the Government to restrict the Press, particularly the establishment of a register of journalists.

The SASJ congress passed a resolution at its meeting in Cape Town yesterday in which it noted "with extreme alarm" the tenor of evidence presented by Government spokesmen to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass

... Addington and King Edward VIII, born in Durban. ... are estimated as the sum of in-patient day and at ... nt attendances. ... e Coloured. ... ical supplies at White patient cost, number of patient ... the ratio of Daily Patients/Doctor in Addington to the ... Patients/Doctor in King Edward ... number of patient days reduced by the ratio of the ... ds occupied in the Addington to the percentage of ... King Edward. ... ctors and nurses in both hospitals was obtained from ... ents, but both were reported to be almost fully staffed.

(h) SOURCES.

Report of the Director of Hospital Services for the year 1974, Province of Natal, The Provincial Auditor's Report on the Appropriation Accounts for the period 1st April 1974 to 31st March 1975, Province of Natal, and Estimates of the Expenditure to be defrayed from Revenue during the year ending 31st March, 1974, Province of Natal.

hospital, and the level of bed utilization in both was similar to the national average. In order to examine the effects of the differing quality of service in the Black hospital, its costs were recalculated under two different sets of assumptions. In terms of the first assumptions patient costs of food and medicines are assumed to be equal to those in the White hospital, and the number of patient days is reduced to allow the same ratio of patients to doctors as the White hospital. The second set of costs is derived of assuming that the same percentage of beds was occupied in the Black hospital as in the White hospital and total patient days were reduced to achieve this. Other costs were treated as they had been under the first set of assumptions. The results of these adjustments is to increase costs per patient day by 78 per cent and 62 per cent. Both sets of assumptions try to examine the effect on costs in the Black hospital of offering services of the same quality as in the White hospital. Although the results are necessarily crude, it appears that the quality of service accounts for between 57 per cent and 45 per cent of the differences in these hospital's costs. The remaining differences are largely attributable to wage differentials between Black and White staff in the two hospitals. It is clear that there is a considerable variation in the quality of service provided to Blacks and Whites in the two hospitals chosen for this example, and the pattern is likely to be a general one, since this pattern of hospital costs per patient day is found in most provincial hospitals. The regional distribution of hospital beds indicates a pronounced urban bias for Blacks, and a smaller bias for Whites (31). In 1970 the number

(31) This pattern is prevalent in developing economies. See M. Lipton, Why Poor People Stay Poor.



# Witwatersrand loses place, if it goes conservative,

THE Rand Daily Mail stands to lose large numbers of black readers if they pursue a conservative editorial policy in a bid to regain its white readers, says Professor Willem Kleynhans, expert on white politics in South Africa.

He was reacting to the sudden dismissal of Mr Alister Sparks, former editor of the Mail last week. The reason, he said, was not difficult to know. It is to win back more conservative-orientated white readers' He believes however, that the change of editorship would not succeed in this effort and that the paper would instead plunge into more financial losses.

"The dismissal of a liberal English speaking editor by the white liberal establishment was a sad day for South Africa where the progressive-thinking whites represents a dying tribe," said the Afrikaner professor.

The change of policy, he said, will not win back the conservative white readers who had stopped reading the paper years ago because of its liberal policies. A large number of blacks are going to stop reading the paper and this is going to result in worse financial problems."

Under the editorship of Mr Laurence Gandar and his successors, Mr Raymond Louw and Mr Sparks, the Mail had played a major role in championing the rights for blacks in South Africa, he said.

materialised "All that was spelled out by the three editors had proved to be true."

Mr Sparks was told on

Friday, June 29 of the decision by the board of the South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) to dismiss him. He was reported to have received no clear reasons from the directors. He was replaced by Mr Tertius Myburgh.

BY MONK NKOMO

editor of the Sunday Times who is now editing both newspapers.

After his dismissal, Mr Sparks was reported to have said that the Mail had been losing money in recent years because of the "heavily over-traded and

artificial newspaper market on the Witwatersrand".

Mr Clive Kinsley, managing director of Saan, said in a statement earlier that the changes were intended to enable the company to "rationalise the use of resources for the benefits of both the Mail and Sunday Times".

"Blacks will not read a paper that is not prepared to fight for their rights in the South African political sun," added Prof Kleynhans.

The Mail had, he said, since the days of Mr Gandar, shown all the defects and shortcomings of the political apartheid master-plan" which made classical reading today because it all

# NEW MAN IN 'THE

# HOT SEAT'

C. Herald 13/6/81

139  
243  
195

By Matthew Moonieya

NO apology need be made for the use of the cliché 'a man of many parts' when it is applied to Charles Nqakula

The new man in the hot seat of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa is as much at home in the bright lights of Johannesburg as he is at his humble wood and iron shack at Mount Coke near King William's Town, where he runs a generator which supplies the electricity for the two loves of his life reading and music.

Music-lover, sports lover and political analyst, with incisive perception, are the ingredients which make Nqakula a journalist to the bone

Cradock-born Nqakula entered the profession in 1966 on a Cradock weekly before moving to Imove in King William's Town

He is now a senior journalist in the King William's Town Bureau of the Daily Dispatch. He covers a wide field from Ciskei politics to sport and entertainment

Ebullient, unassuming, Nqakula laughs easily, gyrates uninhibitedly as soon as his car picks up a

tune, waxes lyrical on poetry and adopts a cold, calm and deep perception at the sound of the phrase 'liberation struggle'

'I see the struggle's main fronts, at moment, in the labour and sports fields

'In sport I naturally back Sacos says Nqakula, one of the most knowledgeable black boxing writers in the country, who himself indulged in the sport in his youth in Cradock

'I was once deeply involved in sport administration too and rose to be secretary of the South African African Rugby Board. That was, of course, before we saw the sport as a weapon in the struggle'

But it is mainly to the worker Nqakula will address himself in his new role

'No worker, in his right mind can want to stay out of a trade union because he believes that the union is politically motivated

## POLITICAL

'The fight for one's rights, either at the workplace or in the community, within the context of the South African situation, must be pervaded by a political atmosphere.

'The white media criticised our strike last year because we did not conduct it in terms of standard procedure

'The procedure is prescribed in the white law book I say we now have our own law book, with the white community to be conversant with to be able to deal with black effort

'The striking Fires workers are using this rule book which has stipulation "If you injure one of us, you injure us in our trade"

Nqakula also has his own views on the pace of change and white contributions to the 'liberation struggle'

'Firstly, I do not agree that time is running out for meaningful change. I have run out already, and what the Government must do now is to negotiate a new democratic regime based on complete equalitarianism

Nqakula rejects the argument about his organisation being 'faded' by barring whites.

'I mean only people who lack insight will say like that. Well disposed thinking whites understand.

'Look at Zimbabwe today. White and black are joined together in the period of reconstruction


'The same will happen in a democratic Azania

IV DISEASES OF BLOOD AND BLOOD-FORMING ORGANS

	W		A		C		B	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-1	0,02	0,03	0,20	0,21	0,06	0,16	0,06	0,06
1-4	0,01	0,01	0,02	0,00	0,02	0,04	0,01	0,01
5-24	0,00	0,00	0,01	0,01	0,01	0,01	0,01	0,01
25-44	0,01	0,01	0,01	0,02	0,00	0,01	0,01	0,01
45-64	0,02	0,02	0,03	0,03	0,06	0,04	0,01	0,03
65+	0,11	0,11	0,13	0,15	0,13	0,15	0,03	0,03
ALL.	0,01	0,02	0,02	0,02	0,02	0,03	0,01	0,01
NO.	30	34	7	7	21	31	23	21

VI DISEASES OF THE NERVOUS SYSTEM AND SENSE ORGANS

**Newsman**  
*1460/245*  
**hassled**  
*Small*  
**by SB**



THE security police raided the house of a local journalist in Evaton, Mr Daizer Mqhaba, at the weekend

Major A Steyn, the head of the Vereeniging Security Branch and two other policemen — one white, and one black, searched the house for pamphlets or banned literature, according to Mr Mqhaba

Mr Mqhaba, who is a member of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) and a reporter for the Vaal Triangle Extra, told the SOWETAN that he was taken to the police car and questioned extensively about his activities

"I was asked whether I had recently attended any meetings Major Steyn also wanted to know what my relationship with the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) is," said Mr Mqhaba

65+	0,18	0,13	0,21	0,11	0,36	0,13	0,26	0,07
ALL	0,06	0,04	0,07	0,06	0,47	0,18	0,44	0,15
NO.	128	85	26	23	289	164	366	187

US/81 Rom (170243) 41  
**R7 800 for Mwasu man Sisulu**

Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Mr Zwellakwe Sisulu, banned former president of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasu) is to be awarded a R7 800 human rights prize in

Houston Texas on Saturday

Mr Enoch Duma, a former Mwasu member now studying in the US, will receive the award on Mr Sisulu's behalf

The award is being made by a church organisation to Mr

Sisulu and 11 others from Africa, Latin America the Soviet Union and America

The awards are made to people who have worked for social justice and been victims of human rights violations, a spokesman said yesterday

different aspects of the cost of the disease or problem, etc. receive the benefits to be gained from treating it.

In the first two columns ranking depends primarily on the factual situation: data which could in itself be measured:

the government will be better the better as the information, even if it is qualitative and selective, column measures mainly subjective costs of patients or problems, and reflects such matters as the community is more disturbed of problems children, mothers, working populations or or whether particular diseases have a more adverse social effect.

Only one of the methods to be described here itself to the participation, either of the of health service personnel.

Logical Approach

Definition of the objectives of health care as one of this approach. These objectives must in indicators of public health status in at the benefits of each programme can be terms of these indicators and their priority accordingly.

Measures of health status will relate to at various of health. Length of life and quality of life rates define the first dimension, those relate to the second. Within 'quality of life' as it is related to health in its own right, one might wish to distinguish other degree of disability, for example, can be from degree of pain.

However, unless a single indicator is adopted the possibility remains of a conflict between programmes designed to reduce different indicators of health, say, morbidity and mortality, although decision-making will have been greatly simplified. For example, should some of the funds channelled into research on procuring 'lives of heart patients be used to control the spread of bilharzia? Questions like these are resolved politically whether or not the answers are embodied in an indicator (or a financial measure of benefit), but, it is argued, they are decided less inconsistently when decisions are related to each other by reference to a value judgement, embodied in a single indicator, than when they are made ad hoc under pressure of many circumstances.

Be that as it may, composite indicators have not, as yet reached a level of general acceptance (some candidates are discussed in Appendix I) most 'advanced' countries use both mortality and morbidity statistics to guide policy, and most developing countries, being restricted in the choice of data available to them, use what they can get or rely on third party mortality statistics (13) are still probably the best guide available in most Southern African countries. Morbidity statistics are generally lacking, and even data on notifiable diseases in South Africa are unreliable (14). The best proxy available for mortality levels, for a large proportion of the population of these areas may be the state of infant nutrition, (measured either by weight for age or weight for height) because it is extremely sensitive to many of the environmental factors which precipitate other diseases, and is itself a direct or contributory cause of a large number of childhood diseases (15).

13. See paper on 'Mortality in South Africa', D. Bourne & Dr. B. Dick

14. See e.g., 'Implementation of Research in the Homelands', G. Watermeyer, S.A.M.J., (1976) vol. 50, p 2104

15. A.L. Sorokin, 'Health Economic in Developing Countries', Lexington, 1976.

CT 16/6/81 (243)  
**Award for banned Mwasa man**

From JOHN MATISONN  
WASHINGTON — Mr Zwe-  
lakwe Sisulu, banned presi-  
dent of the Media Workers'  
Association of South Africa,  
is to be given a R7800 hu-  
man-rights award in his ab-  
sence in Houston, Texas, on  
Saturday.

The award is being pre-  
sented by an ecumenical  
church organization, Rothko  
Chapel, to Mr Sisulu and 11

others from Africa, Latin  
America, the Soviet Union  
and the United States

Mr Epoch Duma, a former  
Mwasa member now studying  
in the US, will receive the  
award on Mr Sisulu's behalf

The awards are presented  
to people who have worked  
for social justice and been  
victims of human rights vio-  
lations, a spokeswoman said  
yesterday.

Catholic paper hits  
at Press new deal

Sta 18/6/81

227 (243)

below. Numerous  
problems of rural  
agriculture. Her  
in 1942 reported  
California's indu  
had old roots, be

CAPE TOWN — Warn-  
ings about legislative in-  
roads on Press freedom  
made little impression on  
those who only wanted to  
know what their govern-  
ments wanted to tell  
them, the Roman Catholic  
newspaper The Southern  
Cross says in its latest  
issue.  
Press freedom is a mor-  
al and human rights issue,  
it says in an editorial.  
This should be the  
proper concern of the In-  
ternational Catholic Union  
of the Press, an organisa-  
tion which arranged dis-  
cussions between journal-

ists and Church officials  
interested in the media  
However, the newspaper  
had learnt that the ICUP  
was encouraging discus-  
sion of the United  
Nations-backed "New In-  
formation Order" pro-  
posed by Third World  
countries to improve their  
image abroad.  
"The world will make  
allowances for a govern-  
ment that allows a free  
Press.  
"It will never believe or  
trust one that tries to  
cover up ugly realities."  
the newspaper says. —  
Sapa.

Investigated  
Organization of  
Senate committee  
d labor in  
bour problem  
problems of

seasonal labour, then estimated at 5 million. They noted "a shocking record of human misery for the Californian agricultural laborer and his family" and said that "the economic and social status normally accorded to either the American farmer or the industrial laborer is denied the agricultural worker" (U.S. Senate, 1942, pp. 153, 175, 219).

Migrants have been recognised as being even worse off than other farm workers: "The need for large-scale migration of farmworkers has come to characterize the American agricultural scene. Every year farmworkers and their families numbering more than 1 million leave their home counties to fill the continuing and fluctuating seasonal demand for farm labor that is so vitally important in our society. ...

"And so there is no comparing the unstable, disorganized social life of migrants with that of the large majority of Americans. They are separated from us by their hand-to-mouth existence, their migratory habits which deprive them from intimacy with any solid residential condition and, in the case of the majority of them, Negroes or Puerto Ricans or Mexicans, by their racial handicaps in our country.

"On the basis of my observations I would first emphasize the isolation that specially characterizes migrant farm life.

"The extreme poverty, the cultural deprivation and social fragmen-  
tation, in sum the uprootedness which characterizes their lives, falls  
not suddenly upon them (as it does upon the observer who tries to compre-

# Community leaders condemn detention

# MAZWAI

NEWS editor of the SOWETAN, Mr Thami Mazwai, has been detained and is held under security legislation.

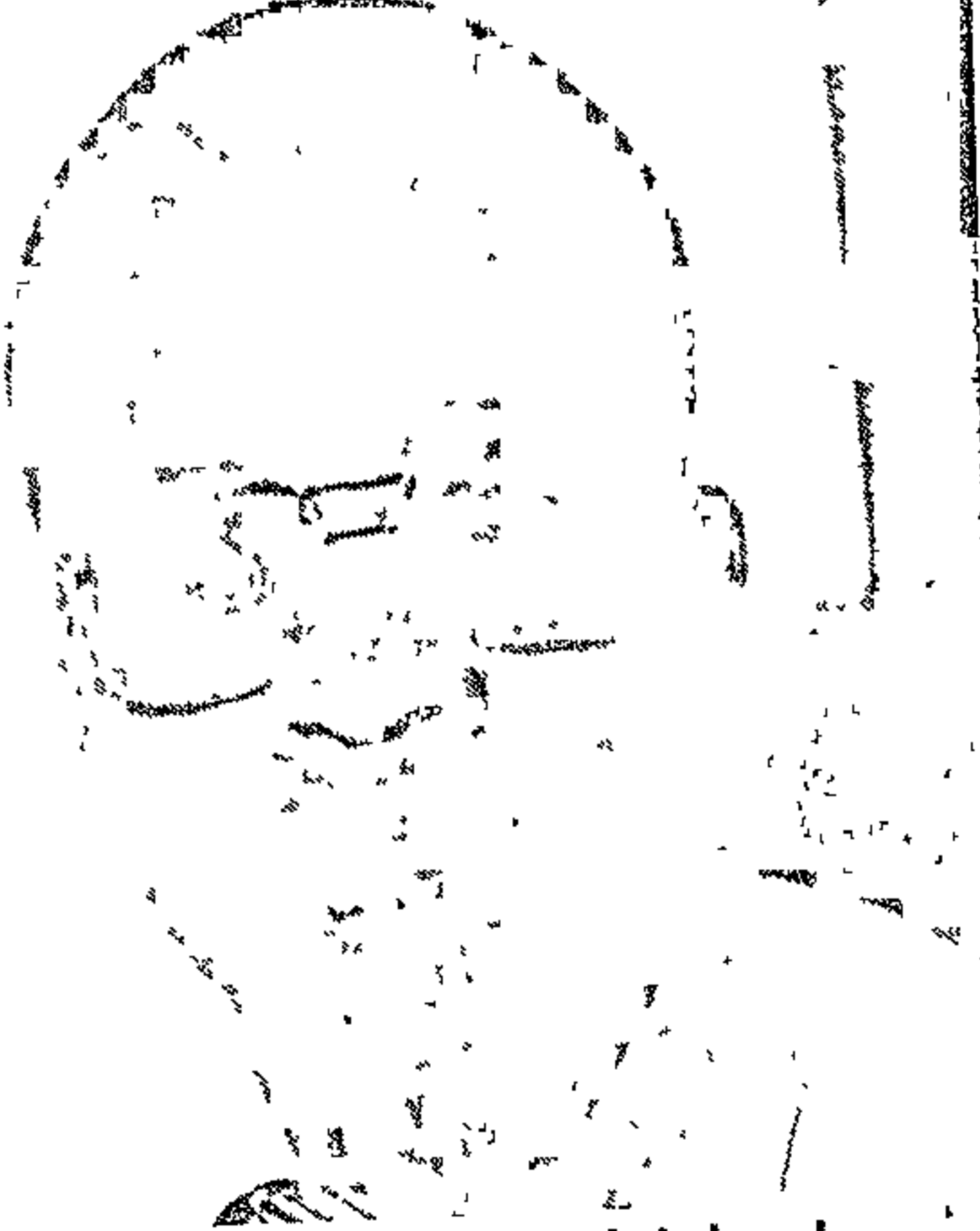
He was picked up by security police in a house in Orlando West on Wednesday night. Police would not confirm that he was arrested with two other men.

But it has been established that he was taken under the Criminal Procedures Act and is now held under security legislation.

At the same time, the president of the Wits University Students' Representative Council (SRC), Mr Sammy Adelman was slammed with a five-year banning order yesterday. Earlier the president of the Black Students' Society, Mr David Johnson was detained. Mr Johnson is held under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act.

Two more members of the Council of South African Students' Vaal branch were also detained this week. They are Kola Setime and Mr Lucky Twala, both of Evaton. Their detention follows that of the president of Cosas, Mr Geina Malindi at his Sebokeng home, Mr Lee Thulo and Mr Sydney Masoge.

# HELD



Mr Thami Mazwai . . . detained.

Mr Mazwai's sudden detention has come as a complete shock to his family and colleagues. "I can't believe it," said a shocked Mrs Beled Mazwai after she heard of

her husband's detention. She said there was nothing she was going to say as talking will not bring him back. What I am going to do is keep the home fires burning. I am going to take

over the responsibility of looking after the family. The couple has two children, Thandiswa and Nontsikelelo who is nine months old. Mrs Mazwai said the children were already surprised about their father's disappearance.

"I don't know what to tell them because I do not know under what security legislation he is being held. I do not even know why they are holding him," she said.

In a statement last night, the Editor of the SOWETAN, Mr Joe Latakgomo condemned the detention of Mr Mazwai. "I am shocked, to say the least, over this. One would have expected that the Government would know that such actions can hardly create an atmosphere of trust and co-operation."

"Detention without trial is evil, and goes against all the principles of the Rule of Law. If Mr Mazwai has

Page 9

implies a dependence

hol intake;

2) usually as a reaction

3) with numerous and var for the individual an

One striking feature of th nition of alcoholism, is th criterion. Also, from this that we have no "final" knocoholism.

A critical concept from th cable in the case of the ha "loss of control". Although ference between the alcohol. tern, the latter still has t of decision over his alcohol the crux of the matter. In ristics of the phenomena are

1) In both cases drinking  
2) Both usually have a nigh result of their drinking  
An analytical problem that do distinction between alcoholis king involves the psychologic ce that the drinkers manifest. ted definition ascribe dependence to the alcoholic, it may

through the above sta-

can be calc listed that there are + 10 000 coloured and +7

This includes the magisterial districts of Cape Town, Wynberg, Simons-

## Shock over news editor detention

From Page 1

committed a crime, then he must be charged in a court of law. As this does not seem the case, I demand his immediate, unconditional release."

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, who was surprised when told of Mr Mazwai's detention, said "I wish to voice my protest over the detentions of not only Mr Mazwai but all the people who are in detention, and especially after the incident of Father Shomang who was manacled in chains."

"This is a misuse of security legislation and the law is now trampling on people's rights. I call on the law to either charge all those who are detained in a competent court of law or release them," he added.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said "I am again voicing my total opposition to detention without trial. People should be brought before a court and either charged or released. Thami has always advocated for change through peaceful means. I have no idea what Thami's detention is all about and I condemn it."

A statement from the Media Workers' Association of South Africa of which Mr Mazwai is the national secretary said "We view the detention of Mr Thami Mazwai as a continuation of the Government's attempt to destroy Mwasa and the trade union movement in general."

"The onslaught on trade unions and Mwasa in particular is a tacit admission by the Government of the labour movement's effectiveness. We are not surprised that a Government which rules on the will of the minority should feel threatened by the just and noble aspirations of the majority."

"It is a result of such wanton and senseless detentions and bannings that the International Labour Movement is to launch a campaign in November this year against the repressive South African regime."

"Those who ban and detain our leaders must know that Mwasa cannot be destroyed — the will of the people cannot be destroyed."

In a joint statement issued by the Wits BSS and the SRC yesterday, the Government was accused of waging an all out attack on democratic and black

students

"This occurs in the wake of a massive over-reaction to the Koornhof incident, the flag burning and the invitation of Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden to address the 1981 Richard Feetham Academic Freedom Lecture," the statement said.

"The police unbridled action had resulted in provocative attacks on peaceful people in Soweto, Eldorado Park, Bosmont and Newclare."

"We reject this attempt to stifle us. Our democratic aspirations will not be curbed by the illegal and heavyhanded action of the repressive Government," the statement further said.

The Academic Staff Association yesterday issued a statement condemning Mr Adelman's banning and his colleagues' detention.

Prof L. J. Suzman, Chairman of the Senate Academic Freedom Committee, described the Government's action as "administrative tyranny, presumably resorted to because Mr Adelman has not committed any crime for which a court could condemn him."

Nine trade unions yesterday issued a scathing statement against the detention of several unionists and community leaders.





COST OF PEPTIC ULCERATI

Star 20/6/81  
Sisulu 129 243  
detained

1976 TO JUNE 1977

- Medical care R18,9 million (37,2% of total)
  - Consultations (private practitioners)
  - Diagnosis (tests barium meal, gastroscopy, etc.)
  - Drugs
  - Provincial hospitals
  - Private hospitals (bed rate, theat dispensary)
  - Surgery (surgeon, anaesthetist, assistant)
- Lost productivity (absenteeism) R31,9 million
- Total cost R50,8 million

The banned former president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa, Mr Zwelake Sisulu, was detained at his home early today by four members of the Security Police

His detention in terms of security legislation was confirmed today by police headquarters in Pretoria along with the detention of Mr Wantu Zentile president of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas)

Mr Sisulu's sister, Miss Nonkululeko Sisulu, said four security policemen came to her Orlando West home at 2 am today. Her brother spoke to them briefly and he later left with them

Whites 54,6% of cost

Outpatients: R0,3 m (3%)  
In-patients: R8,6 m (97%)

-Transvaal: 50% of cost  
-Number of patients: 15 270  
-Surgery: 22,4  
= f (hospital days x cost/day)

Surgical 42 563 (12,4)  
Nonsurgical 127 152 (10,4)  
Total 169 720 (11,8)

COST OF PEPTIC ULCERATION IN THE R.S.A. - JULY 1976 TO JUNE 1977

- Lost productivity (absenteeism) R31,9 million (62,8% of total cost)

-Method of calculation Man-years lost x value/man-year

-Morbidity R19,9 m (62,2%)

Temporary absenteeism R8,0 m (40%)

- Period of diagnosis (consultation and tests) (2 working days).
- Surgery (29 working days)
- Rest-period (15 working days/20% of cases)

Gastric cripples R11,9 m (60%)

- 0,2% of all cases
- Whites 89% of cost

-Mortality R12,0 m (37,8%)

- White 212, Black 79, Asian 22, and Brown 72 = Total 385
- Whites 79% of cost

R m	White %	Man-years lost			
		White	Blacr	Asian	Brown
2,1	89	325	25	55	20
2,7	86	377	56	95	51
3,1	90	477	46	79	42
8,0	88	1 100	137	230	123

Working days lost 426 810 (Whites: 70,9%)

- Medical care R18,9 million (37,2% of total cost)

- Total cost R50,8 million

243

# Student charged under Official Secrets Act

Staff Reporter

A FINAL-YEAR BA student at the University of Cape Town, Mr Richard Wicksteed, 22, has been charged under the Official Secrets Act and will appear in the Cape Town Regional Court on August 10.

The charge relates to certain government documents which came into Mr Wicksteed's possession last year and which he then made available to two newspapers for publication.

The documents concerned the work of an inter-departmental committee which was

established last year to counter unrest in the Western Cape.

The newspapers withheld publication following a warning by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, that the documents had been released without authorization and that newspapers which published them might be infringing certain laws.

Mr Wicksteed has been charged with violating section 4 (1) B of the Official Secrets Act, an offence which carries a maximum penalty of five years in prison, a fine of R1 000 or both.

# Police raid Bokala

243 22

SECURITY POLICE allegedly raided a number of houses in Soweto on Friday morning, including that of SOWETAN senior reporter, Mr Willie Bokala.

Mr Bokala's home in White City, was raided two days after the detention of SOWETAN news editor, Mr Thami Mazwai.

Mr Bokala said: "The police came to my place at about 2 15 am with my younger brother who they had taken from my parents' home. When they came in, they searched the house and confiscated a Mwasa calendar."

Another, Miss Brenda Peele of Meadowlands said that the security police came to her home at about 2 45 am and after knocking

for some time, and seeing that she did not open, they asked her neighbours to knock and wake her up. She heard her neighbour telling them that she would not wake up. She said if they had identified themselves she would have opened the door earlier.

She said: "Before I could open the door for them they had already started kicking it, and used other instruments to force it open. The door was eventually broken and they came in and started searching all over the house. Before they left they asked me where my mother was and I told them she had gone to a funeral. They then said I was also going to die." *Simon 22/6/81*

NO.	B			C			A			W		
	F	M	F	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-1	0,79	0,89	0,74	12,46	9,07	16,92	11,55	29,22	24,78	23,16	22,23	
1-4	0,02	0,04	0,05	0,02	0,02	0,02	0,02	0,02	0,04	0,04	0,00	
5-24	0,02	0,00	0,00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
25-44	0,01	0,00	0,00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
45-65	0,00	0,00	0,00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
65+	0,03	0,00	0,00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
ALL	0,03	0,03	0,00	0,25	0,17	0,48	0,32	0,83	0,67	0,55	0,67	
NO.	33	54	47	519	359	170	113	942	785	1143	1075	

XV

CERTAIN CAUSES OF PERINATAL MORBIDITY AND MORTALITY

# Banned news

MR Zwelakwe Sisulu, banned former president of the Media Workers' Association and news editor of the Sunday Post, was arrested by security police early yesterday.

It was also the day he was awarded a human rights prize in Houston, Texas, as a "victim of human rights violations"

His wife, Zodwa, said that two white and seven black policemen came to their home in Orlando West at 2am.

"My husband answered the door. He came back to the bedroom to collect some clothing. The policemen did not say under which law he was being arrested. Nor did they say where he would be taken," she said.

A spokesman for the South African Police directorate of public relations confirmed the arrest. He said Mr Sisulu had been detained under "security legislation" but would not give details.

The arrest of Mr Sisulu, 30, leader of South Africa's black journalists, is one of a spate of security police action against student leaders and trade unionists this week.

## Outstanding

Mr Sisulu is the son of Robben Island prisoner and former African National Congress leader Mr Walter Sisulu. Last December he was served with a three-year banning order and placed under house arrest.

He and his wife — a radio-grapher at Baragwanath Hospital — have one child, a son of 16 months.

This month he was named "prisoner of the month" by the International Federation of Journalists.

"By banning him, the Government silenced one of the most outstanding journalists in the country," said the IFJ.

In Texas yesterday a human rights prize of R7 800 was handed to Mr Enoch Duma, a former Mwasas member studying in the United States, on Mr Sisulu's behalf.

Mr Sisulu's arrest follows the banning of Mr Sammy Adelman, president of the University of the Witwatersand's SRC, and the arrest and detention of trade unionist Mr Thami Mazwai, news editor of the Sowetan.

Also detained in the week-long swoop was the leader of the Wits Black Students Society, Mr David Johnson, and a student, Mr Ernest Npho Kgaone.

On Friday police confirmed the detention of another student leader, Mr Gcwimzi Malindi, president of the Congress of SA Students (Cosas).

They could not, however, confirm the reported detention of other Cosas members, Mr

# editor is held

1321 3049  
211 243

Kola Setime and Mr Lucky Twala, members of the Vaal branch

Mrs Helen Suzman, chief PFP spokesman on justice, yesterday criticised the latest spate of bannings and detentions.

By the use of heavy-handed, repressive action, the Government was doing its best to ensure that the memorials of the 1976 Soweto riots became annual disturbances, she said.

The Government should defuse the situation by taking a low-key approach and allowing the memorial services to take place instead of banning people, placing them in detention, creating martyrs and "constantly stirring the pot".

Mrs Suzman called on the Government to exclude school premises, church properties and cemeteries from the prohibition on public gatherings.

"That would prevent the police from intervening, which inevitably leads to confrontation", she said.

The wave of security action that had taken place was an overreaction to what "is going to be an annual occurrence in South Africa".

## Impossible

"The Government must accept that nobody is going to forget June 16. Let people have their services and leave them to it."

"I can think of nothing that will perpetuate the disturbances that take place more than a spate of bannings and detentions."

Mrs Suzman, who returned this week from a visit to the United States and Britain, said it was impossible to explain this sort of action overseas, where people were also confronted by violence.

"The idea that South Africa will do better under the administrations of Mrs Margaret Thatcher and President Ronald Reagan will apply only as long as there is evidence of real reform and racial reconciliation."

"At the moment the opposite is true. There is no evidence of this at all and people overseas are becoming impatient."

# Outcry over arrest of Sisulu

Staff Reporter

TRADE unionists, politicians, community groups, journalists and academics have protested strongly against the detention of Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, the banned former president of the Media Worker's Association of South Africa (Mwasa) in the early hours of Saturday morning

Mr Sisulu, who was banned for three years last December and placed under house arrest, was taken from his mother's Orlando West home by two white and seven black policemen at about 2am

Security police confirmed that Mr Sisulu — the son of former ANC leader Walter Sisulu who is imprisoned on Robben Island — is being held under security legislation

Mr Sisulu's mother, Mrs Albertina Sisulu has been repeatedly banned since 1964

His wife, Zodwa, a radio-grapher at Baragwanath Hospital, said she had been shocked by her husband's arrest, and said their 16-month-old son, Moyikwa-Zwelethu, was missing his father

"He wakes up at night calling for him"

Mrs Sisulu said she had taken clothes and toiletries to the Protea Police Station in Soweto

Mwasa said in statement "The fascist bully-boys of Pretoria are on the march again. First, they tried to silence Zwelakhe Sisulu by taking him to court. When that failed, they banned him. Now they have detained him"

"It is yet another manifestation of the total onslaught

243 24/6/81  
against authentic black leadership at a time when the black labour movement is stirring to challenge the fascist system

"Despite the bullying tactics which are contrary to accepted democratic practices the governments of the West, in particular the Reagan administration, continue their love affair with Pretoria

"If the Reagan administration is so committed to preserving democratic practices, how can it continue to justify the anti-democratic actions of Pretoria? If the Reagan administration is committed to rooting out terrorism, who is really conducting terrorism?"

"Last week, Mwasa's national secretary, Mr Thami Mazwai, was detained

"Who next? We don't really care, as we are not prepared to be cowed into submission by intimidation. Zwelakhe Sisulu will one day be Prime Minister of this country — of that we have no doubt"

Mr Dave Dalling, PFP spokesman on the media and justice, said "The latest banings, arrests and detentions can only convince South Africans and the Western world that the Government is running scared and finds itself unable to control the situation without the powers used by communists"

Mr Raymond Louw, a member of the board of the International Press Institute (IPI), said "I can only express my total disapproval

"I cannot understand what possible motive could have led them to take action against a person of his standing in both the black trade union movement and as a professional journalist

"It is draconian actions of this kind which condemn South Africa in the eyes of the free Press world and make a mockery of claims to be part of Western democracies"

Professor Gavin Stewart, head of the department of Journalism at Rhodes University in Grahamstown said "Actions against journalists and trade union leaders continue to show that the Government is not prepared to tolerate active opposition in any form"

The treasurer of the South African Women's Federation, Mrs Elizabeth Moleko, said she was shocked to learn about Mr Sisulu's detention

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(18) Murray, E.L. (1978). Continuing Education in Pharmacology for Doctors in General Practice. In: The Teaching of Pharmacology at Southern African Universities, edited by P.I. Folb and F.S.B. Bowey, University of Cape Town Press.

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(20) Hemminki, E. (1977). Content analysis of drug-detailing by Pharmaceutical Representatives. Medical Education, 11: 210-215

(21) Retief, P. (1978). Personal communication.

(22) Hedden, J. and Corbett, R. (1978). Polypharmacy: student report on the practice of polypharmacy at Groote Schuur Hospital, Cape Reuter, G.V. (1978). How to Use Pareto's Law. An Information Relating to General Management and Organisation. PM and BA 943.

(23) The National Development and Management Foundation of South Africa  
 (24) Tognoni, G., Benedetti, F., Colombo, F., Ferrario, L., Franzosi, Mancini, M., and Mandelli, M. (1977). Drug Utilization Studies Change of Therapeutic Practice. In: Epidemiological Evaluation Drugs, edited by F. Colombo, et al. Elsevier/North-Holland Biome Press, Amsterdam.

(25) A Guide to the Health Act, No. 63 of 1977. (1978). Government Printers, Republic of South Africa.

TABLE 1

## ESTIMATED GLOBAL PURCHASES OF HUMAN PHARMACEUTICALS BY MAJOR WORLD

REGION AND COUNTRY, 1975

(U.S. Dollars, Manufacturers' Prices)

Region	Regional Total (millions)	Country Total (millions)	Per Capita (Averages)
World Total	\$37,500		\$ 9.60
North America (incl. Caribbean)	9,000		
U.S.A.		\$7,500	35.05
Mexico		800	13.70
South America	2,400		
Brazil			

# Detention and banning slated by Nat papers

By GERALD REILLY  
Pretoria Bureau

TWO leading Afrikaans newspapers have forthrightly criticised arbitrary bannings and detentions

This follows the wave of protest last week against the banning of student leader Mr Sammy Adelman, and the detention of a black journalist, Mr Thami Mazwai

An editorial in Rapport yesterday said the banning of Mr Adelman was 'oil on the fires' which South Africa's enemies readily used against it

It was a situation eagerly gripped on by that churlish activist pair Fonda and Hayden, for their personal agitation against South Africa

Bannings like detentions without trial were drastic actions which did not have to be submitted to the judgment of an independent court

The paper says it does not know to what extent Mr Adelman had offended, that justified his being banned for five years

The editorial said much harm was done to South Africa abroad by the controversial step and by recent detentions

Rapport says it agrees with the Nationalist MP, Mr Albert Nothnagel, that problems were

not solved by tilting Robben Island with prisoners

It agrees, too, with Prof Marinus Wiechers who, in a recent television discussion on the heavy penalties for desecrating the flag said other means had to be found to accomplish peaceful co existence in South Africa

Prof Wiechers was quoted as saying 'We must rather work on a dispensation in which people will honour the flag'

The editorial goes on 'We will add we must work on a dispensation which does not have to depend on bannings and detentions without trial'

In an editorial on Friday, Die Vaderland says 'What Sammy Adelman did we do not know

'Just as little as we know what Thami Mazwai did. The one is banned the other arrested. Adelman had no chance of defence, and Mazwai may perhaps never appear in court'

It says if the State had good reasons for the action we do not know and will never know'

The action was arbitrary and must be objected to

The editorial says people from outside the State structure and from the opposition parties should have a part in such weighty decisions that were a serious deviation from the democratic norm

# Self-censorship *sta 23/6/81* trap yawns before Press - Sparks (243)

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Pressures on the tradition of crusading and critical journalism in South Africa are bound to increase, says Mr Allister Sparks, former editor of the Rand Daily Mail, now visiting London.

## Gassed men warned of leak danger

► From page 1

was one of them lying on the carpet in his blankets

"I did not know he was dead and kicked his foot to try to wake him up."

Realising that he had been gassed, she ran to call Mrs Barbaries.

Two men were also found dead later in the bedroom, and another in the bathroom.

Mr Malcolm Woodrow, head of the municipality's gas department, said today that gas at the flats had been cut off after municipal inspectors found a bad leak in the building's internal piping and in the cooker in the death flat.

The block owners have been advised to get the piping restored and inspected by the gas department.

Mr Woodrow said "I want to stress again that we have a service for people with complaints about gas

"If a user smells gas, he should contact us at the same time that he contacts the caretaker or the agents. It is a double check, and means that the message will get to us"

Since the deaths, there has been a slight increase in the number of reports to the municipality's 24-hour complaints service.

Mr Woodrow said it was difficult to assess whether this was because of the deaths, or because of the increase in gas use as a result of the cold weather

"The significance of my own departure (as editor) is that I was removed by my own company," he said in a BBC radio interview last night.

"The pity about that is that it indicates that editors have not only to worry about the pressures from the Government, but about the nervousness of their own employers"

It was inevitable that a chill wind would blow right through the Press if a "high-profile" editor like that of the Rand Daily Mail could be so precipitately removed

"The real fear I think is that they (other editors) will tone down themselves — that the Press will become excessively cautious of its own accord"

### BACKLASH

Mr Sparks said he did not think there had been a big increase in repression in South Africa lately — the country was in a continuing state of repression. Nor did he think it was on the brink of a great phase of reform.

"I think the Government finds itself in desperate trouble. It's facing a strong right-wing backlash among its own more conservative supporters. And I think that whereas it is verbally committed to reform, it is now in the awkward position of not being able to carry out that kind of commitment"

He thought South Africa was set on a course in which there would be a steady increase in tension and a rise in violence, but this would fall back again.

Strike action was the area where the main activity was going to come in the near future, he said

"I would predict that the second half of next year is going to see a marked increase in strike action right round the country"

The first compensation act in South Africa for a specific occupational disease — silicosis — was passed as an interim measure in 1911 pending the first of the 'prior' law acts, the act of 1912. (209) It was a period during which the incidence and prevalence of the disease were at their worst; yet it was the 1912 act which was to set a number of precedents which still survive today when the incidence of silicosis is 'minimal'. (210)

Management and miners criticised the acts of 1911 and 1912, but for reasons. Mine house directors believed that the large

In her memoirs, Mary Fitzgerald, the first paid secretary of the TMA (newly established in 1902), has described the way she struggled from mine to mine to beg for contributions for the burial expenses of destitute miners who had died from silicosis. (217) Sometimes the Sick Benefit Funds of individual mines would pay the hospital expenses of silicotics, but only for three months. Thereafter there were no institutions to care for the majority of silicotics and the government contributed nothing towards their support. (218) By 1906 the Johannesburg General Hospital and the Rietfontein Chronic Sick Home had no room for silicotics as their available

objections to the awards accorded Africans and which were immeasurably lower than their own. Africans received £1 to £20 and £30 to £50 for silicosis in the primary and secondary stages respectively. (216) This disparity in compensation awards for Whites and African was one of the primary precedents established in 1912. However, initial awards — meagre as they were considered — were far more substantial than anything which had preceded them.

for fifteen months and had no 'income or support for the family'. Also he had been refused hospitalisation by government officials because he had not come to them immediately on relinquishing mining. (223) Another miner who could not walk 'a hundred yards without resting', and who had written to the Chamber two months earlier requesting help, was so 'hard up' that his wife and family had no food'. (224) Labour supporters claimed that before 1911 the Chamber of Mines had only subscribed £6 000 to silicotics in the form of aid-grants. (225)



# NEWSMAN IS

# DETAINED

are presented  
migration fl

magnitude of the  
migration estimates. (16)

Table 5

Age Group	Net Migx from White Rural Areas	Home by four members of the Security Police at 2 am on Saturday morning			Total Inflow Gross (6)	Net Migration from Capitalist Agriculture (7)
		Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, the banned former president of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) and son of life imprisoned former secretary general of the banned African National Congress (ANC), was detained on Wednesday under security legislation	A family spokesman said Zwelakhe was being held under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act in terms of the Act he may not be seen with, or speak with, any person outside the Security Police.	and		
Under 20	- 11 0	79 000	1 700	64 000	66 000	- 13 000
20 - 24	- 19 0	68 000	1 400	39 000	40 000	- 28 000
25 - 34	- 37 0	116 000	3 800	61 000	65 000	- 51 000
35 - 44	+ 16 0	55 000	8 400	53 000	61 000	+ 6 000
45 - 54	+ 25 0	31 000	10 500	39 000	50 000	+ 19 000
55 - 64	+ 14 000	16 000	5 600	22 000	28 000	+ 12 000
Total	- 12 000	365 000	31 400	278 000	310 000	- 55 000

- (1) From Table A3 column 4 and its supporting Tables A4, A5 and A6.
- (2) From Report 02-02-02 1970 Census [50] All foreign Africans have been treated as migrants, this will lead to a slight upward bias in these estimations
- (3) Obtained by applying the job distribution of migrants from the four major African language groups to the estimate of migrants from homeland areas see Table A7 and Table A3 i e (27% of 1 030 000 = 278 000 These migrants were then allocated between age groups as the basis of the age group percentages of the four main language groups employed in agriculture namely 23%, 14%, 22%, 19% 14% and 8% Source data Report 02-02-02 1970 Census [50] Tables A13, B13, D13 and E13, in Natrass [24]
- (4) 1 + 2 + 3 = 4
- (5) Foreign migrants in capitalist agriculture were taken as "Foreign migrants in White Rural Areas" and allocated between the age groups as the basis of the age distribution of all foreign Africans employed in agriculture. Source data Report 02-02-02 1970 Census [50] Table 1 and Table K10, in Natrass [24]
- (6) 3 + 5 = 6
- (7) 4 - 6 = 7

On the census date in 1970 the net estimated migration of men from the White rural areas was only 12 000 people. However, when one looks at the gross flows involved one sees that in fact as many as 365 000 men could well have been absent from their homes on the capitalist farms. In addition the sector had absorbed a further inflow of 310 000 migrant men, 278 000 of whom came from the African homeland rural areas and 32 000 who were foreign immigrants. To this massive flow of men one can add an outflow of 113 000 women from

(16) Such as those given for "other rural areas of South Africa" in Natrass [23].

# Perskor in another circulation scandal

243 S. Express 28/6/81

THE giant Perskor publishing company is involved in yet another scandal over the misrepresentation of circulation figures — this time those of South African Airways' prestige in-flight magazine, *In the Clouds*.

A Sunday Express investigation has revealed that although Perskor held the contract for the publishing of the monthly magazine for three years it only printed the tendered amount of 50 000 copies on a few occasions.

After the first few months Perskor only printed in the region of 25 000 to 30 000 copies — but continued to let advertisers believe the full number of 50 000 was being circulated.

Advertising spokesmen approached by the Sunday Express were stunned to hear the circulation was as little as half what they had been told.

"Our clients will be furious," one said.

"We shall demand some kind of compensation."

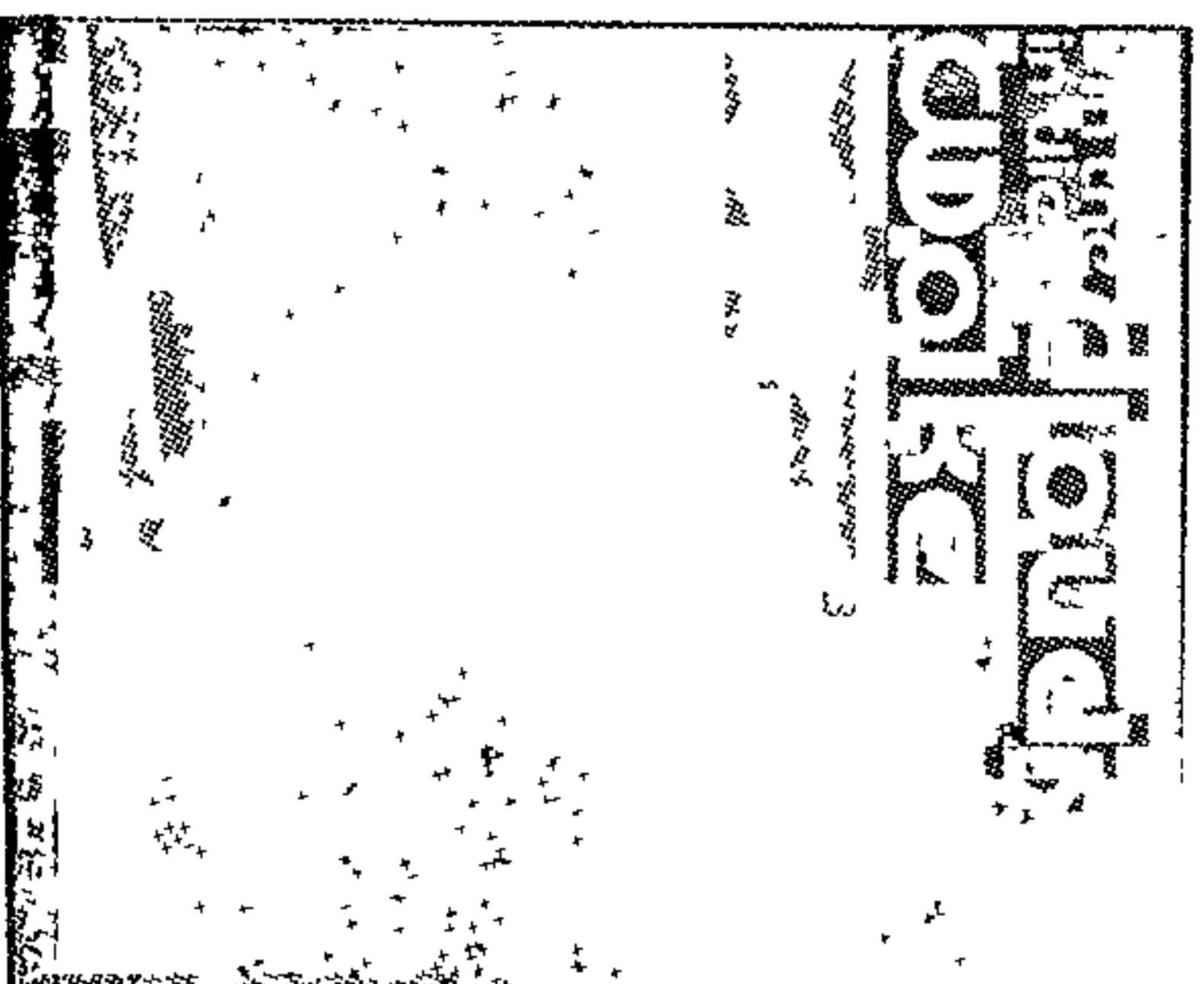
Mr John Smith, Public Relations Officer for SAA, told the Sunday Express the Airways had at no time been aware that Perskor had led some of the largest advertising agencies in Africa to believe the magazine had an annual distribution of 600 000.

"The contract made provision for 50 000 copies, but within two or three months after they started letting us have the magazine we realised we couldn't possibly use all of them and we voluntarily reduced it to approximately 25 000," Mr Smith said.

But although Perskor dropped the circulation figure accordingly, it did not alter the advertising rate card for *In the Clouds* to reflect the new print-run figures. This meant advertisers were left to believe — and pay for — a circulation figure of 50 000.

The 1980 rate-card, which the Sunday Express has in its possession, still claims a distribution of 50 000, a figure which has not been realised since the early days of the three-year contract, according to SAA.

The Sunday Express also has copies of the Perskor print or-



● In the Clouds SAA magazine will be absolutely furious...

As with the other Perskor circulation scandal we shall deal with in this series of compensation.

Miss Erica Bolton, internal advertising manager for Tanur Jewellery — a company which, she says, has advertised in *In the Clouds* since its inception — said "Without an ABC (Audit Bureau of Circulation) figure to go by, it's very difficult. But if I had hard evidence, I would try to claim damages."

"I have been told on occasions by customers that *In the Clouds* was not on all the

der invoices for November and December 1978. The first states that 30 488 copies of the magazine were published during November and 30 050 copies delivered during December.

Mr Marius Jooste, chairman of Perskor, refused to comment to the Sunday Express on the allegations but handed the matter over to MID Mr Koos Buitendag.

Mr Buitendag refused to comment saying "I would like to see your proof. In the meanwhile I will investigate the matter."

Perskor won the tender for *In the Clouds* in the late 1970s after one of its publishing subsidiaries, Perskor Intermedia, put a proposal for a domestic and regional in-flight magazine to SAA.

Perskor guaranteed to produce 50 000 copies at no cost to SAA for three years. In return, it would pocket the advertising revenue.

According to a calculation from a recent copy of the magazine, the advertising revenue could have run as high as around R40 000 a month, or close to R500 000 a year. SAA was involved as distri-

but, responsible for seeing that the magazine was inserted into pockets on the back of seats on domestic and regional flights.

But, according to an informed source it soon became apparent that SAA could not absorb such vast numbers of the magazine.

"It became apparent after the first month — by the number of magazines left in the warehouse — that the number of magazines taken by passengers off the planes had been vastly overestimated.

"So Perskor Intermedia and SAA mutually agreed to reduce the print run," he said.

But Perskor omitted to inform the advertisers — who continued to buy space on the assumption that 50 000 magazines were being distributed each month.

Grey Sandton, part of the massive Grey Group of advertising agencies, has used *In the Clouds* as an advertising medium for a number of its clients, including Greatermans, Brit Faberge and Hertz.

"If it's true, our advertisers

## flights claimed

"Some said passengers were not told that the magazine was free nor that they could take it off the plane. Sometimes it wasn't even on board, they said.

"I complained to SAA about this last point and they said it must have been because it was the end of the month and copies of the magazine had run out."

The Sunday Express offered to show Mr Buitendag the copies of the invoices in its possession and to play him the tape on which Mr Smith of SAA stated that it was agreed to reduce the circulation of *In the Clouds* to approximately 25 000.

But Mr Buitendag said he was not interested. He was on his way to the rugby.

The Sunday Express asked Mr John Smith, PRO for SAA, what SAA thought about the 50 000-circulation claim on the rate card.

"Nothing. It's got nothing to do with us," he said.

"We didn't know. We weren't interested in that. They were financing it from advertising. We had nothing to do with it."

CUT IN  
PRINT  
ORDER  
KEPT  
QUIET

By CLARE FENTON and CHRISTINA

Bell-John Prize  
For the best all-round student  
in any year of study.

P C Key

The Committee of the Western

Cape Chapter of Quantity

Surveyors' Prize

For the student obtaining

the highest marks in

Professional Practice.

P R Swift

LTA Prizes

For the best student in each of

the courses of Building Economics I,

II and III in the third, fourth &

fifth years respectively.

I : N D G Sessions

II : A R Low Keen

III: No award

S A Brick Association Prizes

For the best student in the

subject of Building Construction.

C W von During

For the second best student in the  
subject of Building Construction.

Nasionale's  
57% <sup>R1014</sup> increase <sup>243</sup> ~~416~~

CAPE TOWN — Nasionale Pers announced this week that it had recorded an after-tax profit increase of 57% for the year to March 31

Turnover increased by about 35% to R109 800 000 Net profit increased from R6-million to R9 400 000

After applying LIFO, earnings per share increased from 1 120 cents to 1 548 cents per share, from which an increased annual dividend of 100 cents (90 cents) has been declared

Operating profit of the Nasionale Koerante group was nearly doubled The directors say new highs were recorded by Die Burger, Die Volksblad, Huisgenoot and Fair Lady while Beeld and Oosterlig kept their losses "within limits" — Sapa

Award  
who has shown  
at the end

# Nasionale Pers profit up 57%<sup>ct</sup> 7/81

NASIONALE PERS announced yesterday that it had recorded an after-tax profit increase of 57 percent for the year to March 31

Turnover increased by about 35 percent to R109,8m  
Net profit increased from R6,0m to R9,4m

After applying lifo, earnings per share increased from 1 120c to 1 548c per share, from which an increased annual dividend of 100c (90c) has been declared

Operating profit of the Nasionale Koerante group was nearly doubled

New highs were recorded by Die Burger, Die Volksblad, Huisgenoot and Fair Lady while Beeld and Oos-terlig kept their losses "within limits" — Sapa

QUANTITY  
SURVEYING

(Continued)

Bell-John Prize  
For the best a  
in any year of

P C Key

The Committee  
Cape Chapter  
Surveyors' P

For the student obtaining  
the highest marks in  
Professional Practice.

P R Swift

LTA Prizes

For the best student in each of  
the courses of Building Economics I,  
II and III in the third, fourth &  
fifth years respectively.

I : N D G Sessions

II : A R Low Keen

III: No award

S A Brick Association Prizes

For the best student in the  
subject of Building Construction.

C W von Doring

For the second best student in the  
subject of Building Construction.

K Strong

URBAN &  
REGIONAL  
PLANNING

Student Planners Award

For the student who has shown  
greatest promise at the end  
of the first year.

M P Morkel

*Handwritten:* Qoboza back  
3/7/81  
tomorrow (243)  
*Printed:* WASHINGTON. — Mr Percy Qoboza, former editor of Post and Sunday Post, is returning to South Africa tomorrow night after nine months in Washington. Mr Qoboza, who has written a book called "Comrade Pinkie", has been an editor-in-residence at the Washington Star.

Nasionale 3 Sta  
 249 (243) 2/8/81  
 Pers up 57%

CAPE TOWN — Nasionale Pers has announced an after-tax profit increase of 57 percent for the year to March 31.

Turnover increased by about 35 percent to R109,8-million and net profit from R6,0-million to R9,4-million.

After applying LIFO, earnings a share increased from 1120c to 1548c a share, from which an increased annual dividend of 100c (90c) has been declared.

Operating profit of the Nasionale Koerante group was nearly doubled. The directors say new highs were recorded by Die Burger, Volkblad, Huisgenoot and Fair Lady while Beeld and Oosterlig kept their losses "within limits." — Sapa.

Award  
 who has shown  
 at the end

URBAN &  
 REGIONAL  
 PLANNING

K Strong

For the second best student in the subject of Building Construction.

C W von Düring

For the best student in the subject of Building Construction.  
S A Brick Association Prizes

III: No award

II: A R Low Ken

I: N D G Sessions

For the best student in each of the courses of Building Economics I, II and III in the third, fourth & fifth years respectively.

LTA Prizes

P R Swift

For the student obtaining the highest marks in Professional Practice.

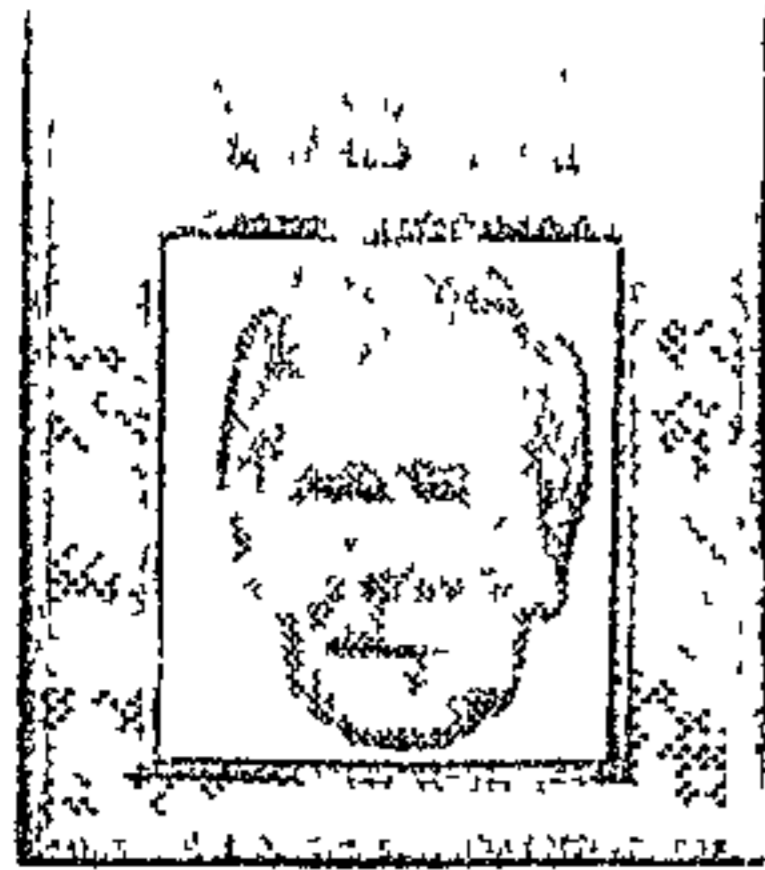
Surveyors' Prize

Cape Chapter of Quantity  
The Committee of the Western

P C Key

For the best all-round student in any year of study.  
Bell-John Prize

QUANTITY  
 SURVEYING  
 (Continued)



# YES, SECURITY is vital but so is information

243  
BAA

WITH each passing day that brings violence of one form or another, whether in border areas, townships or elsewhere, and with every act of sabotage marking the revolutionary's determination to overthrow white rule in South Africa, the Prime Minister's warned-of onslaught becomes more total, as do the measures of the counter offensive

Inevitably the conflict brings with it a widening sweep of security legislation — and with it a danger of another kind. That is that in the clamour for more of one thing there will remain less and less of another — the public's right and need to be reasonably informed. In the process of denying information to the enemy, the blanket of censorship is in danger of becoming so stifling that the spooks set loose by rumour cause alarm and despondency more damaging than the truth

## Under intolerable strain

In the process the scale by which our society's freedoms and basic rights are judged comes under intolerable strain. On the one hand authority, given to overkill and through its bloodline of kragdadigheid wanting as much heavy weaponry in its armoury as possible, demands all to 'donner' them with. On the other hand its subjective view of a newspaper's contention that the public should be told as much as possible consistent with the country's security is rather that the 'mense daar buite' should be told only so much as it is felt they have any need to know. Those with the power acknowledge, but brush aside, the contention that more and more padlocks on the mind do little to still fears or explain away what's going thump in the night outside or lighting up horizons where there should be darkness

Each new restrictive pro-

vision, of course, is said not to be meant for those who 'play the game', but those who are silly enough to underestimate the Government's determination to maintain law and order' as the Prime Minister has on occasion put it.

All these laws are intended only for those *bliksems* who don't understand, as he spelled out on June 14 last year, that they have had their 'final warning'.

Well, I have no quarrel with stern measures to deal with saboteurs and their like and there can be no question that there are times when there are things which the public is best left in ignorance of — but those occasions are exceedingly few

What I find objectionable and questionable is the way the Government has gone about dealing with its problem. Excess

oozes from the statute book and overkill and arrogance abound in the 'we know what's right for you' syndrome

There was more than a touch of it, for example, in the parliamentary debate last year on the Second Police Amendment Bill which prohibits publication of 'unauthorised reports' giving details of any police action to combat terrorist activities. The Bill gave the Minister of Police the right to prevent publication of arrests and detentions.

When criticised for demanding such sweeping powers he said the Bill would be applied 'selectively' and would not be used to stifle 'legitimate criticism', by those who fell into disfavour being whipped off the public stage into limbo

The trouble which I and any other newspaperman have, of course, is that if laws are applied 'selectively' it makes it impossible for anyone to know — other than perhaps the minister or the Commissioner of Police — whether a report could lead to prosecution. The answer to that one, no doubt, would be that if you don't know all you have to do is ask because if you don't you'll be hammered — which really means that

by  
**JAMES McMILLAN**  
EDITOR

the minefield of legislative curbs on publication in South Africa were further increased, as they were with the National Key Points Act.

This provides for a fine of R20 000 or five years imprisonment or both for anyone who ignores a Defence Force directive to upgrade security at key-point installations and, of interest here, a similar fine or three years (or both) for anyone furnishing — or publishing — information about any incident at a key point without the permission of the minister, the chairman of the National Key Points Committee, or those designated by them

In so far as the provision of additional or more effective security is concerned, General Denis Earp, chairman of the National Key Points Committee and deputy chief of staff operations, says the days of the watchman armed with a truncheon sitting next to his brazier are over

## Truncheon days are over

'It is immoral to expect a security guard armed only with a truncheon or knobkerrie to face a trained terrorist armed with an AK-47 rifle', says the general. I heartily agree, especially when in many cases he earns a pittance as a wage.

But the other provision in the Key Points Act — about not publishing anything without permission turns out in its application to raise a few questions if not of morality in the method of its application, then certainly its fairness

Being a little naive perhaps I had thought that the sort of guidance which would be forthcoming from the Censor-of-Key-Point-Happenings would be that a newspaper would be told, confidentially of course, when any place fell within the Act. But I learned a few days ago that this was not the case. No one will be told what are key points and what are not.

So, unless all reports of

incidents of these unknown places are referred, 'we'll throw the book at you' to use the words of one of the censors-in-chief. And that means that to the minefield of more than 100 laws prohibiting or restricting publication in South Africa there has now been added editorial Russian roulette performed blindfold

The effect of all this 'selective application', heightened by roulette penalties running into thousands of rands, is to make the gathering and dissemination of information that much more difficult. Its intimidatory effect could result in a lot less being published than should be available for people to make objective judgements

A steadily narrowing perspective leading finally to a head-in-sand stance of an ostrich may be momentarily comforting — that is while all the bogymen can be kept out of sight — but in the end there is no point in trying to wish

things away

A relatively mild example of the sort of unexpected shock that can result from censorship of the kind applied in the former Rhodesia by Mr Smith's Government was that provided by the victory of Mr Robert Mugabe. Whites, denied much information of what was going on — and particularly how the Patriotic Front was faring — were convinced Bishop Abel Muzorewa was going to win or that at worst he would have to share power with Mr Joshua Nkomo. They are still trying to come to terms with events and sadly, Mr Smith's credibility — right up to the end his government was claiming it was getting on top of terrorism — is in tatters.

Security is vital to a nation under siege, but so is information. And bureaucrats on their own are not always the best people to decide what, or how much, the public should be told

# Section Six for

Sowetan 8/7/81

# Mazwai, Sisulu

By WILLIE BOKALA

SECURITY Police have confirmed they are now holding Mr Thami Mazwai, news editor of SOWETAN, and banned Mwasu president, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu under Section Six of the Terrorism Act

Police also said charges have not yet been formulated against detained former Soweto Students' Representative Council president, Mr Sydney Khotso Seatlholo, and the seven other men detained with him

A spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations said from Pretoria that a police dossier on Seatlholo and his men is still being prepared and has not yet been sent to the Attorney-General who will decide what charges to bring against them

Seatlholo, now chairman of the South African Youth Revolutionary Council (SAYRCO), and the seven alleged members of his executive were, according to police, arrested three weeks ago as they tried to "infiltrate" Soweto. Three of them were arrested at a house in Orlando West, together with Mr Mazwai

The spokesman said Mr Mazwai and Mr Sisulu, who were initially held under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act, which allows for one to be detained for 14 days incommunicado, are now being held under Section Six of the Terrorism Act

Under Section Six one can be held until police are satisfied that he or she has responded satisfactorily to questioning

Police are also believed to be investigating an alleged contact between Mr Sisulu and the SAYRCO men, whose organisation is based in Nigeria

Deputy Chief of Security Police Brigadier Jan du Preez said after Mr Sisulu's detention, that he was being held for questioning in connection with the arrest of Mr Seatlholo and the other SAYRCO men



# Newspaper names man as PFP bomber

243  
~~847~~  
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Star 13/7/81

The mystery of the Progressive Federal Party petrol bomb attacks may have been solved. The Sunday Tribune has stated that it has identified the man responsible as Arnold Geyer, former Rand Daily Mail journalist.

When contacted by The Star in London today, Geyer did not deny the accusations but said: "There is no confirmation, none whatsoever. You can say I laughed it off."

In earlier conversations with The Star, Geyer said he had skipped South Africa and would never return. He said he had left the country without documents.

At the weekend he told The Star: "I am visiting friends in London and I am on my way to Engela (his wife) in Berlin."

The Sunday Tribune said that Geyer, stepson of a former Supreme Court judge, Mr Justice Jacobus van Zyl, led the secret South African Liberation Support Cadre in its pre-dawn raids on PFP offices.

Geyer, who was detained briefly last year and had his passport withdrawn, fled South Africa within days of the blasts, believing the police net was closing on him.

But Colonel Hennie Muller, head of the Security Police on the Witwatersrand and in charge of the bombing investigation, said today he was unaware of Geyer's involvement in the attacks.

When The Star contacted Geyer in London and asked about the report in its sister newspaper, Geyer said: "Well, I have no doubt what's in it."

In an earlier conversation before the publishing of the report, The Star told Geyer there were rumours of his involvement in possible terror activities before he left the country.

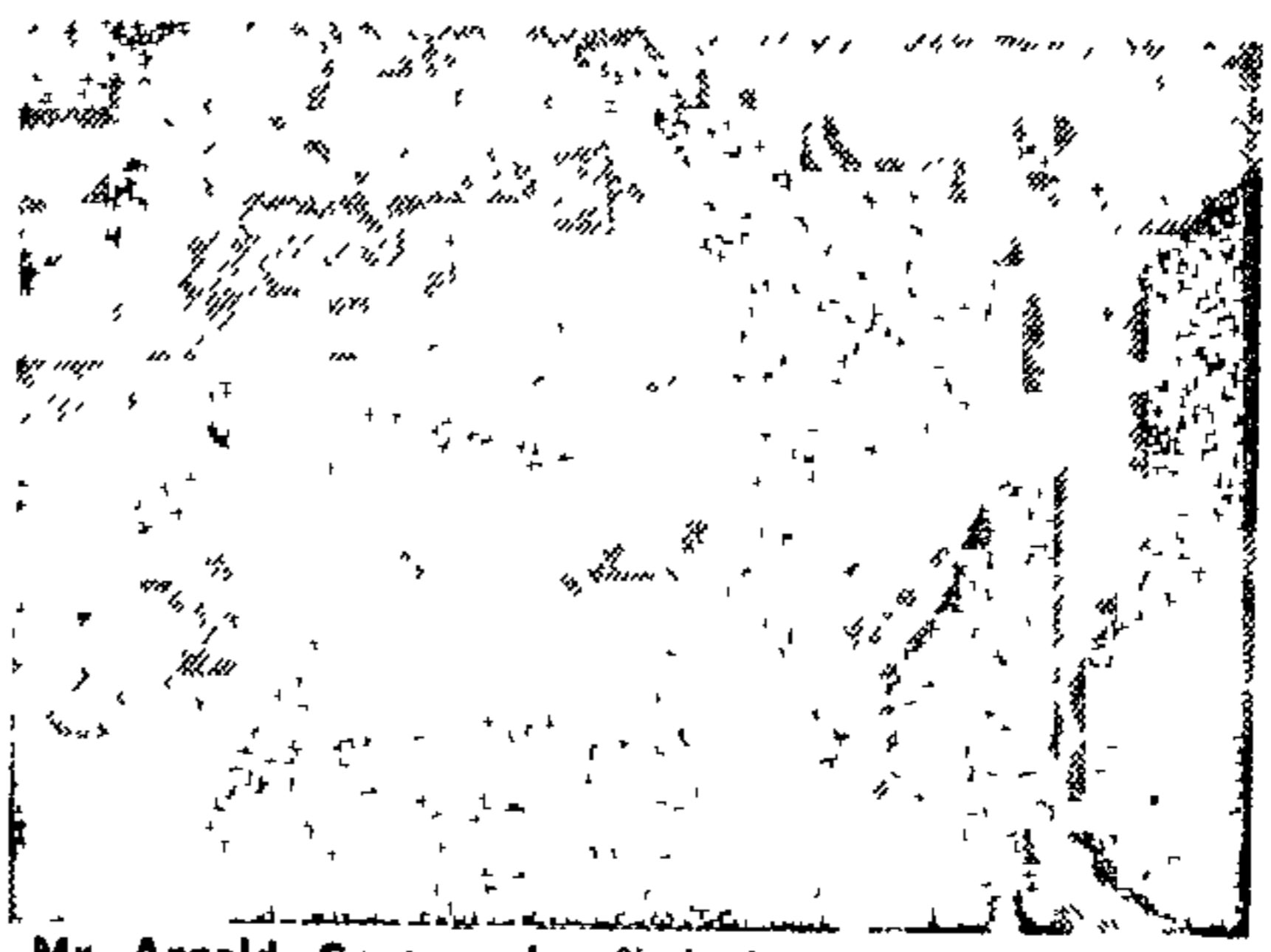
Geyer replied: "A person does not skip his own country unless he has done something."

He said he was aware of a security police investigation in connection with the blasts.

"All I can tell you is that I have skipped South Africa and I will never return."

It was established in the report that after fleeing Johannesburg Geyer crossed the border to Zimbabwe illegally and travelled from Salisbury to Europe.

Geyer is on his way to meet his wife, Engela — a cousin of the wife of South African Cabinet Minister Dr Andries Treurnicht — at her home in Berlin, West Germany.



Mr Arnold Geyer, who fled the country after the bombing of three PFP offices, says he is not coming back.

Police described the bombs and the attacks as 'amateurish'.

Within an hour of the bombings two PFP officials were telephoned about the attacks and typewritten messages claiming responsibility on behalf of the cadre had been delivered to The Star and Sapa.

The message was delivered by a young man whose description "blond and bearded" fits that of Geyer.

The message warned the PFP would continue to be a target as long as it remained in "the white Parliament" and the "brutal fascist and racist minority regime."

night — at her home in Berlin, West Germany.

Dr Treurnicht, Transvaal leader of the National Party, confirmed that Engela was his wife's cousin.

"This is most unexpected. Engela is a very attractive and sweet girl. I am very fond of her. We never discussed politics, so I don't know what her political views are."

He said he had never met her husband.

The attacks on three PFP offices in Johannesburg's northern suburbs happened between 4 am and 6 am on June 1, causing damage estimated at about R50 000.

MATHE Gohl Memorial Prize

P A Rappoport

Helen Gardner Travel Prize  
For a student who has  
satisfactorily completed  
1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

P F Dunckley

Sixth Year

Cape Provincial Institute  
of Architects' Prize  
For the best student in :-

ARCHITECTURE

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

# Geyer's

## link to

## blast

## probed

RDM 14/7/81  
243  
944

By EMIELIA JAROSCHEK  
Crime Reporter

POLICE are investigating allegations by a Sunday paper that former Rand Daily Mail journalist Arnold Geyer was linked to the bombings of Progressive Federal Party offices several weeks ago

A police spokesman confirmed this last night

"It is natural that such allegations pertaining to a crime committed will be investigated thoroughly by police," the spokesman said

He said investigations had been continuing steadily since the bombings and all further clues would get attention. Nobody had yet been arrested

The Sunday paper report claimed that Mr Geyer, 33, led the South African Liberation Support Cadre which claimed responsibility for the three bombings in Johannesburg

The Mail London Bureau reports that Mr Geyer "distanced" himself from the allegations yesterday

He fled from South Africa in mid-June without travel papers. He is staying in London before moving on to Berlin to join his wife, Engela, who is a niece of hardline Cabinet minister Di Andries Treurnicht

Clearly agitated, Mr Geyer would only say "I distance myself from reports in the South African papers over the past few days"

However, he refused to deny or confirm that he was implicated in the bombings

He refused to discuss the allegations further, saying only that he had been "extremely upset" by the reports and was considering legal advice

He also refused to say why — or how — he had suddenly left South Africa

"If you don't have papers you can't fly, you walk"

He spent some time in Zimbabwe before flying to London "on some sort of German documents"

Mr Geyer worked on Die Burger before leaving to study at a West Berlin university. He returned to South Africa last year and joined the Rand Daily Mail as a reporter, mainly covering church affairs

His wife remained in Berlin, where she works as a teacher

who has shown  
Award  
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PLANNING  
REGIONAL  
URBAN &

(Continued)  
SURVEYING  
QUANTITY



# Post's Percy pitches in with Big Business

S. Times  
19/7/81  
7458 243



PERCY QOBOZA  
Spokesman for black aspirations

Sunday Times Reporter

ONE OF South Africa's leading journalists and spokesman for black aspirations, Mr Percy Qoboza, is to become a consultant on industrial relations for international and local companies.

Mr Qoboza, who was editor of the now banned Black newspapers, World, and its successor, Post returned to South Africa this month after a year in the United States as editor-in-residence and Third World editor of the Washington Star.

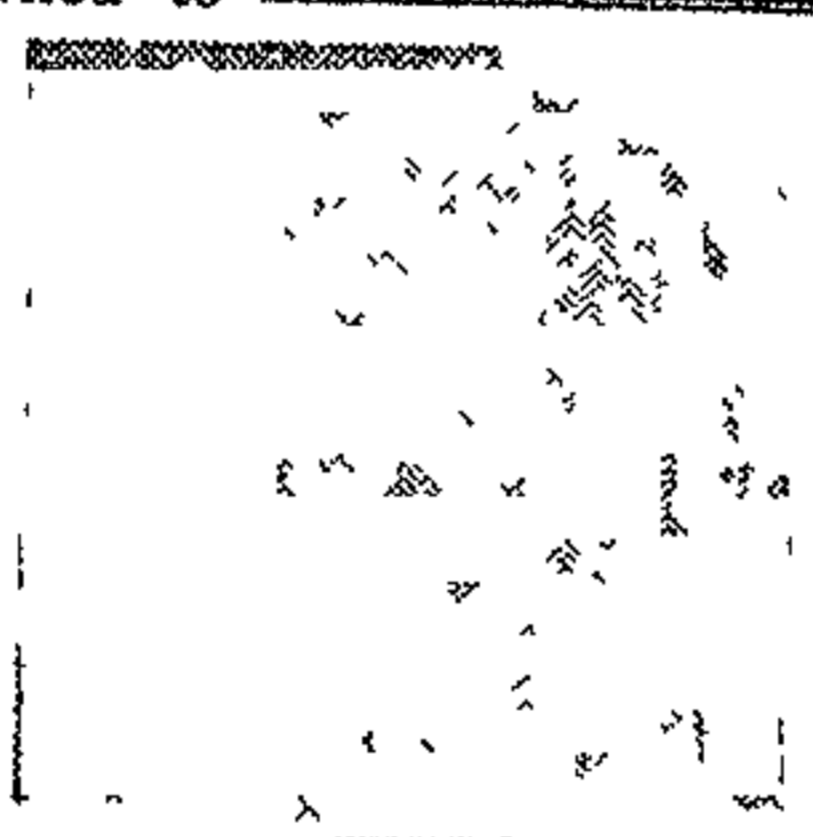
In an interview this week, Mr Qoboza said he would join Mr Aubrey Sussens of Group Editors, who is establishing a new company to advise South African and international companies on industrial relations in South Africa.

He would be supported by a back-up team of writers, researchers and analysts who would monitor developments in the industrial relations field.

They would also produce a regular information digest on the subject.

Mr Qoboza, who was de-

But he will not lay  
down his 'most  
lethal weapon'



AUBREY SUSSENS  
The doors are open

tained for five months in Modder Bee prison after the 1977 Government clampdown, stressed that he would not "be laying down my pen — always my most lethal weapon" despite his entry into commerce. The man whose column in

Post and World, Percy's Pitch, became compulsive reading for whites who wanted to know what was going on in black South Africa, will write a weekly column for a leading morning newspaper.

He is also negotiating a contract with a top American newspaper chain for a weekly column on both South Africa and international affairs which will appear in 75 US newspapers.

Discussing his new job, Mr Qoboza said "About eight years ago I warned that industrialists would have to equip themselves to meet the challenge of the 80s.

"Too many people still do not know what is happening on the industrial relations front.

"If they respond to it with intelligent and careful planning, industrialists can play a very significant role in meeting many of the aspirations of workers without disruption being the order of the day.

## In trouble

"But they will not be able to do the right things unless they understand the problems involved."

Discussing the need for the new company, Mr Sussens said: "We are in the 80s, the doors are open and a great deal is going to happen. Companies that don't make the right move are going to be in trouble. That is why we are offering this consultancy service to clients."

today Harvard's official representative in South Africa.

He also has close contact with the Rev Leon Sullivan, the black Philadelphia clergyman whose fair-employment code has been signed by more than 130 US multinational firms with interests in South Africa.

- 23. Venter, J D
- 24. 'erslag van die Forum de Rakende die Kleurker, Pretoria, 1974.
- 25. Williams, R J

Ford's  
5 Times 19/7/81  
sales are

a record

By Stephen Orpen

FORD'S car and light truck sales for the first six months of 1981 totalled more than 28 000 units, the highest half-year figure recorded in the history of the company

This represents an increase of 22.3% over the same period last year when 23 008 cars and light trucks were sold

The company also exceeded its record for new car sales in the half-year with 21 375 units, an increase of 3 717 units over sales in the first six months of 1980 and 2 371 units up on the previous record established in the first six months of 1978

Commenting, Ford's director of vehicle sales and marketing Mr George Simpson, says that the continuing heavy demand for the Cortina and one-tonner, together with huge demand for the new Escort were largely responsible for the increase in sales

Almost 5 000 Escorts were sold within the first 60 days of introduction establishing a new industry record

# When my kids and I were bounced out of the car at a roadblock I knew I was back in South Africa

Party 243  
21/7/87  
M

A YEAR can be a very long time in this technological age, where science dwarfs space, and reduces distances between nations and planets into seconds, it is hardly surprising, therefore, that yesterday's concepts become today's anathemas.

But coming back to South Africa after that period has a somewhat exciting and painful ring about it.

In a way, we must rank as the only country in the whole world that successfully insulates itself against the winners of science, and the progress of the human race.

I was struck by it all at Jan Smuts Airport.

Knowing the truth at the back of your mind, you somehow hope against hope for just that one miracle that will show things have changed significantly.

But the age of miracles is long over. It was still good old South Africa, My first brush with reality came just outside New Canada.

The same familiar roadblock. Bounced out of our car, with my children showing an anxiety and a knowingsness that combine to create a frightening experience.

The humiliation of knowing that it is happening to us, for no reason other than that we are black, just always makes me fearful of the types of creatures my country is raising my children up to be.

Back in Soweto things have shown little change. In spite of the much internationally publicised electrification programme, my neighbourhood is still menaced by the dark alleys.

The poor families I left in my street are still as poor as hell.

Nobody shows a radiant smile that indicates optimism for the future.

Pessimism is still the name of the game.

The truth of the matter is we have become a nation trapped by our own brand of lies and self-delusion.

We have created a euphoria, and psyched ourselves into believing that we have become so innovative there is nothing to worry about.

## WORSE

The roadblock told me there is a lot to worry about.

Things have got worse.

There is one national characteristic we refuse to abandon. It is the mentality of the oxwagon.

The oxwagon played a significant role in this nation.

It helped the founding fathers of the nation, both black and white, to open up new frontiers and new visions.

For this, South Africans will eternally be grateful.

But in an age where spaceships and computers are zooming through space, the oxwagon has left us a terrible legacy.

It has conditioned the minds of so many people, and has kept captive their spirit of adventure.

We need to relegate the oxwagons to the age they belonged to.

Give appropriate thanks to their contribution and stack them neatly away.

They belonged to the age of boere, kaffirs and Boesmans.

That age, mercifully, is behind us.

Finish and Khaar.

I recognise that some people still believe we live in that era.

But then mankind has always suffered the scourge of those who refuse to change with the times.

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, is going to have to drag them "kicking and screaming into the 20th century."

Yet eternal pessimism can be as damning as self-delusion.

Both attitudes blind the eye, and imprison the soul.

Killing all initiative and discouraging the human spirit to venture into the future.

In all the gloom and uncertainty, there have been encouraging signs.

The emergence of POLSUTU. Their spirit of defiance and determination to get into meaningful discussions between the Afrikaner and black leaders.

The furious debate in black political circles whether black exclusivism has a role in our political scene, or whether non-racialism is the only true cause open.

The significant gains made by the PFP in the last election, thereby signalling that the white voter is beginning to use his head, instead of his emotions, when casting his vote.

The ferment within the National Party, whereby lines are steadily being drawn between the advocates of

## HAVOC

We have very little of that luxury left.

Polarisation has played havoc with our people. It continues to, partly because of our insensitivity and lack of foresight.

The hate and bitterness we instill in our people by such atrocious as those we saw in Langsa and Crossroads in the past few days, is another way of saying we are displaying a strange death wish.

If, in the Year of Our Lord 1987, we still have public officials, entrusted with the execution of the law, uttering such outrageous statements, to an accused woman in court "I suppose you sleep with a different man every night", then our perceptions of human dignity remains as jaundiced as the

## Percy Qoboza . . . "a long way to go before alles sal regnm."

"Kaffir" batters of ancient times.

What outraged me is not that an official of the court utters such shocking words.

What outraged me was the callous manner in which this country accepted the utterances without anybody in Government publicly hauling this man over the coals.

Their recent inquiry into the affair is tragically belated. The harm has been done.

What is needed now, more than ever before, is a return to the grassroots common touch. Treating human beings as human beings.

For every man you throw in jail for a pass offence, you release later a potential enemy of the State.

Nobody who has not gone through the humiliating experience of being locked up like a common criminal can understand this.

Take it pin me it's shocking what the effect is.

To think that we incarcerate tens of thousands a year, the cumulative impact is glistening.

If you sometimes get mad at me, because sometimes I express keep you awake night, then I am glad I do not see what should bear the brunt of penitence trying about what will happen.

If many of us can keep awake at night, then maybe we will do the sensible thing. Talk together about our future.

In spite of the pressures presented by time and polarisation, I think it can still be done.

It can still be done. 'solank at elkeen sy plig doen.'

Plig for South Africa. Not plig for groups of classes.

Then, and only then, SAL ALLE! REGKOM.

# Steyn media report out soon

22/2/80  
BY GERALD REILLY (243)

in

THE task of preparing a report from the huge volume of evidence heard by the Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media is in its final stages

The secretary of the commission, Mr J H Cloete, said the report would "hopefully" be submitted to the Government during the coming parliamentary session

in fourth

The commission, under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Steyn, started its work in July 1980 and heard its last witness in November last year

1 year student.

Zog Prize

Mr Cloete said on Monday the commission had had 66 sitting days, with sometimes two or three hearings in one day. It heard 112 individual witnesses.

A total of 172 memoranda were submitted and typed evidence covered 6 000 pages

practice.

subject

quantity

nt of

Among the witnesses were the editors of most major South African newspapers, SABC officials and politicians

The PFP's finance and defence spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz, who gave evidence before the commission said at the weekend

student

Prize

"We hope there will be no restrictive measures suggested in the report, not only because we need to defend Press freedom, but also because it won't do South Africa any good internally or externally if there were.

"The PFP's view is that we don't need any further legislation to control or discipline the Press."

1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

satisfactorily completed

For a student who has

Helen Gardner Travel Prize

P F Dunkley

Sixth Year

For the best student in :-

of Architects' Prize

Cape Provincial Institute

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTURE

# 5 professors win defamation case

CT 24/7/81 243

## Staff Reporter

FIVE University of the Western Cape professors, who claimed they had been falsely defamed by an article written by a Sunday Times reporter, have each been awarded R2 500 damages and costs

In a judgment handed down yesterday in the Supreme Court, Mr Justice Baker also ordered that the costs include those of the two counsel

The five UWC professors are Professor George Del-pierre, 45, of UWC's Department of Biochemistry, Professor Pieter Pistorius, 61, former dean of the Education Faculty, and now with the Department of Sociology, Professor Petrus Kirstein, 52, a lecturer in the History of Education, Professor Ernst Holzapfel, 65, of the Department of Theology, and Professor Cornelius Kriel, rector of UWC in 1973 and now with the Department of Theology

The hearing was a sequel to a report by Mr Norman West in the Sunday Times of September 2, 1979, headlined "Five profs blamed for campus tension"

## Incorrect

After the publication of the article, Professor Del-pierre wrote to the Sunday Times saying the article was incorrect and asked for an apology and a retraction by the newspaper

The newspaper refused to apologize and held that the headline and accompanying report were correct

The five professors originally claimed R10 000 damages each from the Sunday Times, its editor, Mr Tertius Myburgh, and Mr West

They said they had been falsely defamed because the article had stated they had been found guilty of "reprehensible conduct", "bedevilled" race relations and caused "tension" among staff and students at the university

## Serious

Mr Justice Baker said the nature of the defamation was "fairly serious" It had been said they had been found guilty of trying to weaken the position of the rector of UWC, Professor Richard van der Ross, and of seriously impairing race relations

He said the words used by the Sunday Times were "calculated to lower the five professors in the opinion of all reasonably-minded men who have good race-relations in this country at heart"

"Unfortunately there are some among us who are indifferent to good race relations, and some who themselves actively 'bedevil' them These persons would not think any the less of plaintiffs (the professors) because of the Sunday Times report," the judge said

He said that in mitigation of the conduct of the Sunday Times it must be said that the newspaper did not make the accusations as the originator of the accusations, it purported to reflect what a committee had allegedly found, but did not check its source first

The judge said that publication of the article had been extremely wide, 77 000 copies of the newspaper having been sold in the Western Cape alone

## Impact

"Still, it does not follow that every reader read the article, and it does not follow that all those who read it would have paid much attention to it or remembered the names of the five professors for any length of time"

The full impact, the judge said, would probably have been among the educated section of the coloured people in the Western Cape

"That is bad enough It would tend to persuade them that the professors, who were appointed as teachers and mentors of the rising coloured youth, had no time for those (or some of those) whom they were supposed to teach"

The judge noted the Sunday Times' "total failure" to correct, retract or apologize and said their persistence in the plea of justification aggravated damages

"They did nothing to rectify matters or minimize the damage done by the article"

Mr Justice Baker said he had borne in mind the fact that the case involved five professors and said the total damages should, in fairness to the defendants, be reduced somewhat by scaling down the award to each of the professors

Mr W G Burger, SC, assisted by Mr A P Blignaut, appeared for the professors Mr G Leveson, SC, assisted by Mr R D Levin, appeared for the Sunday Times



# Nasionale Pers to sue Perskor for R6-m in sales fraud

243 S. Express 26/7/81

IN a dramatic development stemming from the Perskor circulation scandal, Cape-based Nasionale Pers has decided to lodge a letter of demand for more than R6-million against Perskor, its arch-rival for the Transvaal Afrikaans newspaper market.

The Commercial Branch, which has been investigating charges of fraud connected with the circulation scandal, will submit a docket to the Transvaal Attorney-General, Mr J E Nothing, in the next few weeks

Commanding officer of the branch, Brigadier Theo Scherman, said yesterday the investigation — which has taken over 10 months — was almost complete

Nasionale Pers is claiming compensation for losses allegedly incurred by

## AND A-G TO GET POLICE DOCKET

By KITT KATZIN

daily newspaper, Beeld, as a result of the falsification of circulation figures for Perskor's daily newspapers

Perskor inflated the sales figures of Die Transvaler, official organ of the National Party in the Transvaal and two other daily newspapers by more than 36 000 copies a day for six months — amounting to 5-million "extra" copies of the newspapers for the first half of 1980

Meanwhile, Mr Hugh Lendrum, executive director of the South African Society of Marketers (SASM), acting for over 4 000 advertisers who have

than R2-million against Perskor, has appealed to them to resist accepting counter offers from Perskor

Advertising clients, said Mr Lendrum, must insist on compensation being paid to them in terms of the initial settlement offer agreed to last year by all parties concerned, including Perskor

Advertisers should not accept anything less than the original terms, and although he had no evidence to suggest that this was being done, he appealed to them to notify SASM if any approaches of this kind were made

also no evidence suggesting that Perskor did not intend to settle the claims, there was no reason why Perskor should be dragging its feet

In order to restore its name, Perskor undertook in October to pay in compensation more than three times the amount it originally proposed

It reached this agreement with the Association of Accredited Practitioners (AAPA), representing the advertising agencies, and SASM

It is believed that Perskor has so far not settled any of the claims — lodged on behalf of the 4 000 clients by at least 50 agencies, including some of the most reputable in South Africa

In a letter to Perskor in January, Nasionale Pers made it clear it was considering lodging a claim of R6 850 000

legal claim against Perskor, it is understood that Nasionale Pers made it clear it would institute the claim if negotiations with Perskor for compensation broke down

However, the two companies could not reach agreement on compensation, and the talks foundered.

As a result, Nasionale Pers has decided to press ahead with its action and institute a legal claim for more than R6-million against Perskor

A letter of demand will be lodged against Perskor within the next few weeks

In support of its claim, Nasionale Pers engaged the services of an independent firm of auditors to "quantify" and process its claim against Perskor

This was described as a "mammoth" task and has taken several months to complete

The claim against Perskor — the first of its kind in the history of the Afrikaans publishing

industry — is certain to erupt into open newspaper war between the two groups

The circulation battle between Die Transvaler and Beeld is conservatively estimated to have cost the two groups R20-million each

As a result of the Perskor circulation scandal, Beeld emerged as the front-runner Nasionale Pers argues that it unnecessarily spent millions of rands trying to capture a market position which, in fact, it already held

Present circulation figures show Beeld selling an average 66 200 copies daily from Monday to Saturday, and Die Transvaler 45 900 daily from Monday to Friday

The circulation fraud — discovered by the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC) — also showed that Beeld had, in fact, overhauled Die Transvaler's

daily average circulation six years ago, within 18 months of its starting up in Johannesburg

At that stage — 1976 — Beeld was already selling 44 000 copies a day

● The overall claims against Perskor from advertisers — at least 90% of the applicants have opted for a cash settlement in preference to free advertising space — is expected to exceed R2-million

● In yet another action against Perskor, two advertisers are claiming compensation for advertisements placed in the South African Airways' in-flight magazine, *In the Clouds*

Perskor, former publishers of the magazine, had claimed to advertisers for at least two years that the circulation of the magazine was 50 000 when, for all but a few months of that time, the print order never exceeded 25 000

243

S Express

26/7/81

# Report on

# media is delayed for month

Stu 28/7/81

243

	Clothing	Textile	Food
Membership	<p>All workers in the clothing industry earning below R86,55 per week and 7% per month.</p> <p>African workers are included. (It is estimated that in the W.C. there only about 300 African workers in the industry)</p>	<p>All workers in the industry including African workers.</p>	
Contribution	<p>Wages Up to R20 per week = 20c a week over R20 " = 25c "</p> <p>Equal amount contributed by employer.</p>	<p>Contributions:</p> <p>= 14c per week = 16c per week = 18c " " = 20c</p> <p>Wages Contributions Under 20 per week = 13c per wk Between R20 and R24 per week = 15c " " Between R24-R30 = 16c " " " R30-36 = 18c " " over R36 = 20c " "</p> <p>The employer contributed 9c for each worker per week.</p>	
Benefits	<p>Consultations with finds panel about surgeries in the Peninsula and W. Doctors have been contracted in Lan. and Guguletu in C.</p>	<p>Consultations with finds panel doctors. Doctors in Paarl, Tullbagh, Wellington, Ashton, W Coast and so forth. Doctors are paid R1,50 per worker</p>	
<p>TABLE 9 MEMBERSHIP, CONTRIBUTIONS ETC. CONT.</p>			
	Clothing	Textile	Food
Benefits	<p>Town for African workers. There is a maximum of 6 visits per illness. This can be raised at the discretion of the management committee.</p> <p><u>Clinics.</u> <u>Gynaecological</u> <u>Ante-Natal</u> <u>Optical</u> Free eye-test, lense and spectacles. Member pays for frames. <u>Dental.</u> Free fillings 30c for extractions. For dentures, members pay the dental mechanics fee. Members of 5 years standing get a subsidy of 20% for this fee. Member of 10 years standing - 40% subsidy. <u>Medicines</u> obtained from panel doctors - free.</p>	<p>Medicine No maximum on amount, but some limits on the types of drugs which may be prescribed <u>dental and optical:</u> Some benefits, depending on length time as a member of the scheme</p>	<p><u>Medicine</u> up to R10 per year <u>Dental</u> R3,00 per year (about 3 extractions.) No optical benefits From January, 1978 the fund is starting to pay out - patient fees. <u>Influenza immunization</u> programmes are carried out. <u>Vitamin tablets</u> - distributed. <u>Clinics</u> - At Paarl and other centres at lunch time. <u>T.B. X-rays.</u> In 1978 there will be a mass programme to cover about 9 000 workers.</p>
Sick pay	<p>About 50% of normal wage. Maximum of 40 working days sick leave per year</p>	<p>Ranking from R1,95 per day for worker earning between R14,01-R16,00 week to R5,07 per day for workers earning R38,01 or over</p>	<p>15 days maximum sick leave per year at 70% of normal pay (In mid-1977 was 60%). additional pay given at discretion of committee. It is felt by some members of the committee that the first 2 days illness should be paid for (It isn't at present).</p>

### Chief Reporter

The report of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media is expected to be delayed by at least a month, and the Government might not be able to consider it during this session of Parliament.

The report was scheduled originally to be completed tomorrow in time for the opening of Parliament this week.

But the commission chairman, Mr Justice M. Steyn, said today that the report was far bulkier and more detailed than had been anticipated originally.

"This is not a matter that can be skimmed over," he said.

The commission had

taken into account internal and international developments in the field, he added.

Mr Justice Steyn said he expected the report to be complete by late August or early September. It would then be handed to a Minister - probably Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Information.

He said the report might be tabled during this session of Parliament, but because it was so voluminous the Government might not have time to draw up a Paper or relevant legislation during the short session.

The report was being typed at present, and its completion date would depend on typing and printing procedures, he added.

# Probe

## on media: results today

**Mail Reporter**  
WIDE-SPREAD reaction is expected today when the results of an investigation by the University of South Africa into the objectivity of the mass media during this year's General Election are released.

The findings on the objectivity of nine different newspapers, radio and television during the campaign differed, Dr S M Finn of Unisa's communications department said yesterday.

The findings would also elicit different responses from the various newspaper groups involved in the study, he said.

The role of radio and television was closely monitored. Three stop-watches were used to establish how much time the SABC gave representatives of the various political parties.

Election coverage of nine newspapers, six of which are based in the Transvaal, was also monitored.

### Objective

The researchers also measured the number of columns each paper allocated to meetings before the election of the various parties.

Reacting to the study, Professor W Kleynhans, political analyst from Unisa, said he hoped the findings would vindicate his assessment of the media's role during the election campaign.

Soon after the election Prof Kleynhans said that the coverage by the English Press, particularly of meetings of the Rightwing parties, was far more thorough than that of the Afrikaans Press.

He added that in the light of this the English Press gave a far more objective coverage of the election campaign.

He was severely reprimanded by Nationalist political columnists for having said so.

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## Unhappy statistics

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FM 31/7/81

Newspaper publishing circles are unhappy with the recently-published interim report of the All Media and Products Survey (Amps), which shows heavy declines in the readership figures of some newspapers

Results of the survey showed On white readership *The Citizen* gained 22 000, the *Transvaler* lost 28 000 *Die Vaderland* lost 28 000, *Rapport* lost 14 000, the *Rand Daily Mail* lost 2 000, and *The Star* gained 7 000

On all race readership, *The Citizen* gained 18 000, the *Transvaler* lost 34 000, *Die Vaderland* lost 45 000, *Rapport* lost 61 000, the *Rand Daily Mail* lost 46 000, and *The Star* gained 31 000

Amps, which is recognised as the definitive study of readership figures in SA, costs advertisers R1m-plus in the form of a 0.5% levy added to the cost of all display advertising

The sources of newspaper industry's dissatisfaction are

- That the report features papers in the Newspaper Press Union's (NPU) Zone A (Witwatersrand) only,
- That it is based on half the usual statistical sample used in normal Amps surveys, and
- That it did not include any other media, thus making comparative assessments impossible

Members of the industry were generally reluctant to specify their grievances, stating that the problems would be solved internally

However, John Turvey, advertising consultant for Perskor, says that Perskor is unhappy with the report and would have preferred to have had agreement within the industry before it was released

Nigel Twidale, GM of SAAN, says that while SAAN is "happy with the full Amps survey, we are not happy with the interim report because it only looks at newspapers in Zone A and not competitive media"

Gideon Engelbrecht joint MD of Na-

sionale Koerante says "I wrote a letter to the executive director of the Society of Marketers, and I believe this will be discussed at the next South African Research Foundation (Sarf) board meeting Until then I have no comment"

Hugh Lendrum, executive director of the Society of Marketers (founder-members of Sarf and Amps) says that the survey was done because Perskor (*Die Vaderland*, *Transvaler* and *The Citizen*) withdrew its newspapers from the Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC)

Says Lendrum "This meant there would be no ABC certificate for Perskor newspapers and the industry would have had to wait for the full Amps survey in September before being able to gauge the effects of the 1980 scandal"

Another reason for the interim survey was the increase in price of both *The Star* (from 15c-20c) and the *Rand Daily Mail* (from 15c-25c)

Lendrum explained that a half-sample was done in order that it be completed within three months and that it was executed in exactly the same way as normal Amps surveys

Says Lendrum "We compared newspapers in Zone A to newspapers in Zone A, that is all We do not draw any other conclusions

"In terms of our constitution, it is our duty to publish our research not debate its publication

"If anyone can show why the figures are not correct, we will be happy to discuss the situation The advertiser pays for this service, and in the interests of better research, we would welcome such discussion" he says

It is difficult to ascertain whether the industry is unhappy with the way in which the survey was conducted or because the survey was released If readership figures had been higher, it is doubtful whether the report would have caused such a stir

(243) (228) (127) (115)

# Black media workers president is banned

STAR 1/8/81

The president of the Media Workers Association of SA (Mwasa), Mr Charles Nquakula, was yesterday served with a three-year banning order and placed under house arrest by the Security Police.

And the ban on Mrs Albertina Sisulu expired yes-

terday while that of Mrs Fatima Meer was extended for five years.

Mr Nquakula, a senior reporter on East London's Daily Dispatch, was elected first president of Mwasa on June 1.

His banning means that six executive members of

the organisation have been banned since the beginning of this year.

Altogether 13 black journalists have been banned, two are in detention and several are in exile.

According to a statement released by the national executive of Mwasa, the banning has been described as "an act of cowardice by the Pretoria regime."

Mr Nquakula is a founder member of the banned Union of Black Journalists. He was that organisation's vice-president until 1977 when the Writers' Association of SA was established.

Mrs Sisulu is the wife of African National Congress leader and Robben Island prisoner Mr Walter Sisulu.

# Action condemned

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The national executive of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa, the Border branch of the organisation and the Progressive Federal Party's spokesman on the media, Mr David Dalling, yesterday condemned the banning of Mr Charles Ngakula, acting president of Mwasa.

In a statement Mwasa's national executive said the "cowardly and vicious Pretoria regime has once again demonstrated its utter contempt for justice and the rule of law by banning another leader of the black media workers."

"Thirteen of our members are now under banning orders, two are in jail, two are being detained without trial and several have been forced into exile.

"The disgraceful banning of Mr Ngakula adds to the long list of repressive action against our organisation and our people. Mr Ngakula epitomised the spirit of Mwasa, being a true son of the soil who has endured continual attention at the hands of the authorities in his courageous fight against the racists."

The executive said it pledged its solidarity with Mr Ngakula "and all other victims of the vicious regime."

"We must emphasise that this latest action by an obviously panicky clique will not deter us from our fight for the liberation

of our people and for true justice.

"In fact, the banning will serve to strengthen our resolve against racism and the oppression and exploitation of our people," the statement read.

A statement issued by the Border branch of Mwasa said "We note with extreme horror the callous action taken against our colleague

"A law which entitles authorities to take such drastic action on a man who is head of a family and has dependants has no place in a democracy."

The Border branch said

it had been stated "ad nauseum" that people who were banned should be brought to court.

"If the natural course of justice is circumvented we can only conclude that a banned victim is innocent." Such is the feeling about our colleague whom we admire and respect," the statement said.

Mr Dalling said the banning of Mr Ngakula showed the country was "sliding into violent confrontation."

"Banning orders and detentions without trial are acts of violence against individuals and will promote further violence by individuals."

shown to be incompetent in the face of pressure and know only the tactics of the jackboot.

"This latest banning will augur yet further more bitterness, stronger opposition and, no doubt, more desperate measures by an embittered National Party," he said.

The Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr George Farr, said last night he knew of no reason why Mr Ngakula should now be prevented from working as a journalist.

"He is a good reporter whose services were valued by my newspaper

"I was, in fact, disappointed when he wrote me a letter of resignation two days ago — presumably having decided to take up another appointment.

"His resignation was accepted with regret" —

# Mwasa president banned

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The acting president of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa, Mr Charles Ngakula, was served with a two and a half year restriction order here yesterday.

Two members of the local security police, Captain J Nel and Mr Conrad Williams, served the notice under Sections 9 (1) and 10 (1) (a) of the Internal Security Act on Mr Ngakula at the security police offices after they had fetched him from the Daily Dispatch offices here, where he has work-

ed as a reporter covering Ciskei affairs.

The order restricts Mr Ngakula to the magisterial districts of Zwelitsha and King William's Town until December 31, 1983.

Mr Ngakula was elected acting president of Mwasa in June this year after the previous acting president, Mr Phil Mtimkulu, was banned only two weeks after he had been elected to replace Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, who was banned late last year.

Under Section 10 Mr Ngakula is prevented

from leaving his home at Mount Coke on Saturdays, Sundays, public holidays and between 7 pm and 6 am each day.

He is also banned from entering land belonging to the South African Development Trust, any compound, any area set aside for the occupation of coloured or Indian peoples, or any township except Zwelitsha.

Mr Ngakula may also not enter any factory, any educational institution, or any building where a publication is being prepared or published.

He is banned from preparing, compiling, printing, publishing, disseminating or transmitting any material designed for publication.

He may not assist in the preparation of any material designed for publication either

This effectively interrupts his career in journalism which began on a Cradock newspaper nearly 15 years ago.

He is prohibited from entering any premises of a Supreme Court or any court which falls under the Magistrates' Court

Act except if he is applying to a magistrate for an exception to any prohibition enforced against him, or if he has to attend either criminal or civil court proceedings.

Mr Ngakula may not give educational instruction to anyone except his own children and may receive only a medical practitioner for medical attendance and his father-in-law, Mr Edmund Sixaba, at his home.

He may not attend any gathering which may be deemed to endanger the security of the state or any social gathering where the

persons present have social intercourse with each other.

He may not address a gathering of students or pupils or a political gathering where any form of state or any principle or policy of the government is propagated, defended, attacked criticised or discussed.

Mr Ngakula resigned from the Daily Dispatch two days before the restriction order was served on him. It is believed he had intended taking up a new appointment in September — DDR

# INVESTIGATE WHEN Ciskei Gets Independence

Mr Ngakula, acting head of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa was served with a 21-year banning order this week.

Chief Sebe said, "I can assure you we won't leave such talent dormant; they have banned a brilliant and fair-minded journalist and I am not prepared to leave matters there."

1976 riots, which of course no black man condoned. "He contributed to that situation by reporting correctly and factually with balanced views."

Ngakula was elected acting president of Mwasana in June after acting president, Phil Mzimkulu was banned. He was served with the order under Sections 9 (1) and 10 (1) (A) of the Internal Security Act when he was taken from his office in King Williams Town by two members of the security police.

The order restricts him to the magisterial districts of King Williams Town and Zwelakhe Sisulu until December 31, 1985. It also puts an end to his journalistic career, which began on a Craddock newspaper nearly 15 years ago.

Charles Ngakula is the third head of Mwasana to be banned in the past eight months. Zwelakhe Sisulu was banned late last year acting president. Other members of Mwasana who have been banned are Joe Thloloe, Marimuthu Subramoney and Mathata Tsakudu.

SUNDAY TRIBUNE, AUGUST 2, 1981

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## GRIPES

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December 31, 1985. It also puts an end to his journalistic career, which began on a Craddock newspaper nearly 15 years ago.

There was hope and despair yesterday in the two households of the Governments political opponents. In the Orlando West, Soweto home of Albertina Sisulu, wife of Robben Island political prisoner, and ANC leader Walter Sisulu, there was a ray of hope when Mrs Sisulu's fourth banning expired without renewal

# Mwasana chief's ban will be

Tribune Reporter

"It is quite clear that when the Ciskei becomes independent the banning order will lose its validity."

THE banning order slapped on the acting president of the Media Workers' Association, Charles Ngakula, will be invalid when the Ciskei becomes independent.

"We have precedents of this when Franskel became independent in 1976. I cannot recall names off-hand but I think ad-

correct. The ban will definitely fall away and can only be reimposed by the Ciskei government. It will then have to issue a

new banning order." Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Lennox Sebe, has reacted angrily to the banning. He said he was not prepared to leave matters there.

Chief Sebe said he had not been consulted about a matter affecting a Ciskeian.

- Quick Reference
- Flowchart Template
- UNIVAC Flowchart Template
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And there was despair at the Burnwood Road, Clare Estate home of Durban sociologist, Fatima Meer who has been banned for the second time for five years. Her daughter, Shamim Marie, wife of the banned Bobby Marie, said: "It is a blow to us which means five more years of restriction and police harassment for my mother. One of the 24 people whose banning orders were lifted is a veteran Transvaal Congress figure, Amina Suliman Nagdee Desai of Lenasia.



There are many tragic tones in the banning of Charles Ngakula but I believe the worst is the sad loss of such a capable man to journalism.

In a profession bugged by many controls, Charles had stood out as a shining example among his colleagues for his professional ability in separating self convictions from professional practice.

His success in the Ciskei is but one of many proofs that the man put his professional duties above self interest.

The average black journalist knows only too well that writing about homelands in South Africa at present is like walking a minefield.

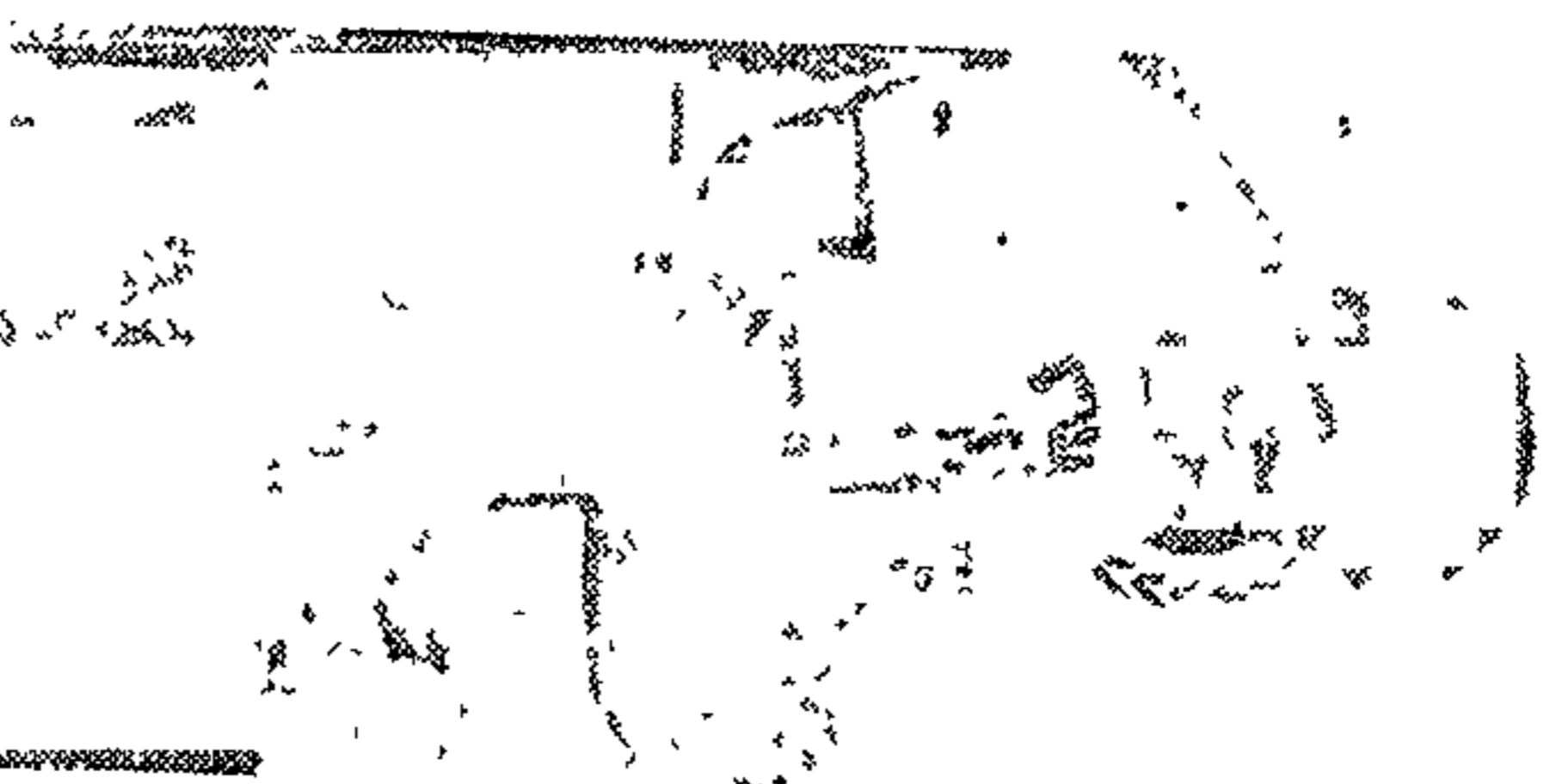
Problem No 1 is that in Africa rulers do not take kindly to any reports that show the men at the head of affairs in an unpleasant light.

The second is that black journalists are in the firing line of what many do not realise to be a growing problem—the fact that in South Africa there are two divergent views, one black and one white.

Compounding this problem is the fact that these views seem to be moving further apart.

What is fact to black in his ghetto might be regarded as fiction to whites. The unfortunate aspect of it all is that this permeates newspaper columns in a manner the less informed may find hard to believe.

Charles Ngakula's success in his decade of



Charles Ngakula packs his belongings at the Daily Dispatch office, King William's Town, after being served with a two-and-a-half-year restriction order.

Journalism in the Ciskei shows more than average merit when one considers these obstacles. A lesser man would have been got rid of long ago.

What made him successful? I believe the answer lies in the man's personality.

Charles is a strange mixture of hard work and an uncanny desire to enjoy life to its fullest. Tied

# Ngakula: man of conviction

By LESLIE XINWA,  
Daily Dispatch  
staff reporter.

close to this is a calculating mind which cuts out subjective analysis of facts even to the extent of doubting his personal stand.

But when you get down to him you will find he stands out as a man of conviction whose incisive mind cuts out all dubiousness about what he believes in.

It is hard to describe where he was most successful in the many fields in which he was involved.

In rugby administration he rose to be the national secretary of the South African African Rugby Board and I cannot recall a time when we journalists had a better working understanding with the top administrative official of this now defunct body.

As a writer — something many will know covers a field wider than most journalists' — Charles could sit overnight to produce several short stories or even a short novel.

Sometimes information was gleaned from minor conversations he had in the field of journalism. More will be known about his work when writing in South Africa gets out of

the structures of our divided society.

It's hard to put a finger on what his main hobbies are. For a man whose outlook on life is one of full enjoyment, having a special interest is just not part of his make-up.

But his love for music — from pop to classics — and reading stands out above all others.

Charles lives in Mount Coke and for many years he has not been able to find accommodation in Zwelisha in spite of efforts to assist, even from the Ciskei Government.

Once he was offered a flat in Zwelisha but he preferred his Mount Coke wood and iron shack where he has a generator which supplies electricity — and I suspect the main reason for this is that he should have the best contraptions for his music and light for reading.

In spite of everything, the Ciskei Government

would certainly want Charles unbanned because he had come to be the man they could turn to at any moment.

There were times when he was called to the Chief Minister's office late at night and one of the reasons for efforts to get him accommodation in Zwelisha was that it was costly to send a driver to Mount Coke every time there was an urgent report government wanted to get to the press.

But Charles' other achievement was his involvement in journalist organisations — something that obviously earned him the banning order.

It all happened by chance when Joe Thloloe was detained during his term as national president of the now banned Union of Black Journalists, Charles as vice president, had to fill in.

I remember one night in September, 1977, when we

booked into a Durban hotel for the national congress of UBJ.

We spent a good part of the night moaning about the conditions we found ourselves in after paying a fair amount for our accommodation.

But in between Charles was preparing his presidential address for the next day. And what an address it was! From that day I thought some of our colleagues from up north realised the Cape could produce some leadership.

He fell into a similar position when the president of the Media Workers Association, Zwelakhe Sisulu, was banned last year.

Which brings one to another point about the order served on Charles and restricting him until December, 1983.

It is unusual that orders are not made to run for two, three or five years and the fact that his runs for two years, five months is an indication that the decision to ban him was taken last year — at the same time as other leaders of Mvasa were banned. Somehow it was held over until last week.

And the fact that a highly-placed Ciskei Government politician told me last December he had asked the South African security police to lay off Charles, leads me to this deduction.

It's sad that Charles is cut off from writing but there is always the consolation that great minds cannot be destroyed this way.

# Union talks prove to be fruitful

Labour Reporter

The Allied Publishing Company yesterday signed a recognition agreement with the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union (CCAWUSA) after almost six months of talks

The agreement includes grievance and negotiation procedures between management and the union

Negotiations will be held at plant level and shop stewards will be allowed time off at full pay for union duties

The agreement applies to all Allied Publishing Company offices in the Transvaal and the Free State

CCAWUSA took part in this year's wage talks although the agreement had not been finalised. Wage increases of up to 33 percent were given to some workers.

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# I'm attending to ban on Nqakula says Sebe

## KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

The banning of the Ciskei-based acting president of the Media Workers Association of SA, Mr Charles Nqakula, is receiving the attention of the Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe

Mr Nqakula, a Daily Dispatch reporter, was served with a two and a half year banning order by two members of the local security police last week. Chief Sebe said he might discuss the banning

with the Minister of Justice, Mr H J. Coetsee. He also indicated that the order would not be reimposed when the Ciskei attained independence on December 4

The banning of Mr Nqakula without consultation with the Ciskei was "a slap in the face" for the Ciskei nation.

"It would have been just ordinary courtesy to inform our men but they did not know anything about it," Chief Sebe said

"The Ciskei nation feels

that if the Republican government felt it necessary to take such drastic steps against this man something serious must be happening.

"This would affect the Ciskei as well as South Africa. We would be the first to suffer. Yet our intelligence knew nothing of this and were not informed

"I will raise the matter with higher authorities in no uncertain terms. Nobody who is decent can let this go."

Brigadier Charles Sebe, head of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, said the Ciskei would have no alternative but to lift the ban

"If this man is dangerous we are not aware of his danger. If liaison between the Ciskei and South African security forces had been professional and we had been told of the reason for the banning, we would be aware of his dangers

"The Ciskei will have no alternative but to lift the ban after independence," Brig Sebe said — DDR

Editorial opinion, page 10.

# Publisher recognises black union

By RIAAN DE VILLIERS

ALLIED Publishing distributor of all major English-language newspapers, has signed a recognition agreement with the black Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union.

Allied said yesterday the agreement included a formal grievance procedure, and procedures for the involvement of union shop stewards in day to day shop floor matters.

The agreement also permitted negotiations to take place at company level and applied to all Allied premises in the Transvaal and Free State.

The union, which is affiliated to the Council of Unions of South Africa, has been provisionally recognised by Allied since last year and has already negotiated wages with the firm.

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Mwasa gets  
recognition

The managements of South Africa's two largest English language newspaper groups yesterday officially recognised the black writers' association, the Media Workers' Association of South Africa

Mwasa and the management of the Argus Company and SAAN issued a joint statement that the companies recognised Mwasa as the "sole representative and bargaining agent for all its members"

Wage and salary negotiations will begin on August 20 — Sapa

22A0

B. LANGUAGE AND MEDIEVAL OPTIONS

Prescribed Books:

- Yeats : Selected Poetry, ed. A.N. Jeffares (Pan)
- Eliot : Collected Poems 1919-1962 (Faber)
- Men Who March Away: Poems of World War I. (Chatto/Windus)
- Lucie-Smith, E(ed) : British Poetry Since 1945 (Penguin)
- Eastman : Norton Anthology of Poetry (Norton)

Recommended Reading:

- Unterecker, J : A Reader's Guide to W.B. Yeats (Thames/Hudson)
- Williamson, G : A Reader's Guide to I.S. Eliot (Thames/Hudson)
- Skelton, R(ed) : Poetry of the Thirties (Penguin)
- Lawrence, D.H : Selected Poems, ed. K.Sagar (Penguin)
- Press, John : A History of English Verse (OUP) p/b

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CONTEMPORAR

Lecturer :

An introduction to contemporary British Poetry, with special emphasis on the work of Seamus Heaney, Ted Hughes, and Philip Larkin.

Prescribed Books:

- Lucie-Smith, E.D.(ed) : British Poetry Since 1945 (Penguin)
- Heaney, Seamus : Selected Poems 1945-1975 (Faber)
- Hughes, Ted : Selected Poems 1957-1967 (Faber)

- Larkin, Philip : High Windows (Faber) p/b
- : North Ship (Faber) p/b

- 10A: Thurs. 11.15 a.m.
- 10B: Thurs. 2.15 p.m.

10. \* LANGUAGE AND ATTITUDES

Lecturer: Ms. K. McCormick

In this course we shall be examining attitudes to language in terms of (i) the perceived status and range of functions of the languages and dialects of a country relative to one another; (ii) the way speakers are perceived as a result of their choice of dialect, register, jargon, form of address.

We shall look at studies done abroad and try to relate those findings to what is observable in South Africa, especially with regard to the use of English.

Prescribed Books:

# Mwasa agreement triumph

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By CHRIS MORE

**THE management of the Argus Printing and Publishing Company and South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) yesterday signed an agreement with the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) in which they officially recognise the organisation.**

This is the first of a three-part agreement. Negotiations will continue on a grievance procedure and an affirmative action programme. Wage and salary negotiations have been set to begin on August 20.

Negotiations for Mwasa's recognition began in January after the organisation called off its two-month strike at various newspapers.

A Mwasa statement stated the agreement signified a triumph for black media workers after a 10-year battle for recognition starting with the now banned Union of Black Journalists (UBJ)

ABHORRENCE

The statement continued: "However, we note black media workers have suffered many casualties on the way, with 13 of our members banned and others forced into exile."

We see this agreement as a continuation of the tremendous sacrifices that have been made on our behalf of black workers in general and media workers in particular.

At the end of the brief signing occasion the managements expressed their abhorrence at the banning of Mwasa leaders all involved at some stage in the negotiations.

tradition of courtly love. Key aspects which may come under consideration include the portrayal of King Arthur, the relationship between Lancelot and Guinevere, and between Tristan and Isolde, and the significance of the supernatural elements of the legend. The course concludes with examination of more recent treatments of the legend (those of Tennyson, T. S. Eliot and White, for example), seen particularly as a reflection of contemporary social and moral attitudes.

Prescribed Books:

- Vinaver, E (ed): The Works of Sir Thomas Malory, (OUP) p/b
- Jennyson : Idylls of the King (Signet)

Recommended Reading:

- White, T.H : The Once and Future King (Fontana)
- White, T.H : The Book of Merlyn (Fontana)
- Twain, Mark : A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court (Penguin or Signet)

In this chapter we shall outline some important points in connection with sample survey and look at the basic theory behind some sampling techniques. These are relevant to any kind of information gathering, whether it be through a scientific experiment, opinion poll or market research. We shall first look at a number of different sampling techniques and then consider other equally important aspects of survey sampling.

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8.1.1 General

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are legal restraints to such sole representation and bargaining, in which case management will merely recognize Mwasa as a representative and bargaining agent for such members"

In an additional statement issued last night Mwasa said it was satisfied with the agreement but said it would challenge the "legality and morality" of a closed shop agreement negotiated by the South African Typographical Union which meant that workers in certain work categories had to belong to Satu

Mwasa said it had "strong reservations" about this agreement because it believed that "black media workers must be allowed free choice in as far as trade union membership is concerned"

It said it hoped to negotiate similar agreements with newspapers not owned by Saan or Aigus

"The agreement signifies a triumph for black media workers after a ten-year battle for recognition starting with the Union of Black Journalists

"However, we note that black media workers have suffered many casualties along the way, with 13 of our members banned and others forced into exile", Mwasa said

"We see this agreement as a culmination of the tremendous sacrifices they have made on behalf of black workers in general and media workers in particular," it added

recognize union

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG -- The managements of South African Associated Newspapers and the Aigus Printing and Publishing Company — which publish almost all English-language newspapers — have agreed to formally recognize the Media Workers' Association of South Africa

Mwasa, whose members were involved in a strike at Argus and Saan newspapers last year, represents black journalists and other media workers

Recognition negotiations began after Mwasa called off the strike late last year

The agreement provides for bargaining on wages, and an "affirmative action" programme, dealing with black advancement issues, will be negotiated between the parties.

A joint statement by the two managements and Mwasa issued yesterday says that a formal recognition agreement has been signed

The statement says this is the first in a three-part agreement and that negotiations will continue on a grievance procedure and an affirmative action programme

Wage and salary negotiations will take place on August 20

"In terms of the agreement, management recognizes Mwasa as the sole representative and bargaining agent for all its members in the employ of management," the statement says

This would apply in all cases "except where there

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# Mwasa is recognised

Labour Reporter

THE managements of South African Associated Newspapers and the Argus Printing and Publishing company have agreed to formally recognise the Media Workers' Association of South Africa

Mwasa, whose members last year were involved in a strike, represents black journalists and other media workers

The agreement provides for bargaining on wages and an "affirmative action" programme dealing with black advancement issues



Information showing:

- 1 How much is on order.
- 2 How much is on hand.
- 3 The current status of production.
- 4 The workload ahead.
- 5 Old and new estimated customer delivery dates.
- 6 Quality problems and other facts of this nature

must be as accurate as possible and be readily and freely available be accomplished with 'Periodic Status Reports.'

C. Herald  
 4/8/81  
 THE MEDIA SHOWS DOMINANCE OF WHITENESS

SERIOUS black journalists dealing with that dangerous commodity called 'truth' should brace themselves for an onslaught from the authorities and should realise bannings were an occupational hazard in South Africa. This warning was given by the secretary-general of the South African Council

of Churches (SACC), Bishop Desmond Tutu who was reacting to the two-and-a-half year banning order served on the first president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (MVASA) Mr Charles Ngabula.

One would have thought these people would have learnt one thing by now and that is you can ban a person, but you cannot ban thoughts. All they are doing is increasing the credibility of those who are opposed to the system, because people say, 'Well, there is something in what they are saying.'

It is unbelievable that the authorities can remain so consistently stubborn. 'Where is the change they are always talking about? As I told Mr P W Botha, we are really back to the dark ages of Verwoerd and Kruger.'

Bishop Tutu said the actions against the MVASA leadership made a mockery of the declarations of the freedom of the Press.

Mr Ngakula, a King Willem's Town based senior reporter for a morning newspaper, is the fourth MVASA person to be banned and is third head in 10 months. MVASA said the order which confines him to the Zwelitsha area, bars him from entering any black area and educational institution, effectively prevented him from working as a journalist.

'The cowardly and vicious Pretoria regime has again demonstrated its utter contempt for justice and the rule of law.'

See Page 2.

13/8/61  
Ad slates  
editor's  
dismissal

A full-page advertisement with 300 names — including that of author Nadine Gordimer appeared in this morning's Rand Daily Mail expressing "disquiet" at the change in editorial control of the newspaper.

The advertisement, which cost just under R3 000, said that in the context of Government threats to the Press it was "alarming that the editor of a major newspaper should have been struck down by his own board of directors".

Mr Allister Sparks was dismissed as editor just over two months ago.

Among the list of sponsors of the advertisement were journalists, academics, professional men, and people well known in political circles.

It described the action of the board of South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) as an "act of betrayal" of the traditions followed by the last three editors of the newspaper.

According to some of the sponsors, the advertisement may be followed by similar advertisements in smaller, specialist publications.

# Police and the Press make a deal

A new agreement between the Press and police aimed at achieving a free flow of information has been signed, the Newspaper Press Union announced yesterday.

The president of the NPU, Mr Peter McLean, signed yesterday and the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, signed last week.

"Both parties accept that the object is to achieve the free flow of information. We hope that the agreement will ensure that this happens and that it will help to promote close liaison and co-operation between the Press and the police," Mr McLean said in the statement.

He said the police realised the Press had an obligation to inform the public fully, accurately and as rapidly as possible about newsworthy events.

The Press on the other hand appreciated that in the execution of its task it may not obstruct the administration of justice nor hamper the police in their investigations, he said.

## IDENTITY

It provides among other things for the issue of new Press identity cards to journalists on an annual basis.

Under the new agreement the editor of each news organisation will decide whom to issue the cards to and will do so only to people for whose integrity he is personally prepared to vouch. The editor may withdraw the card at any time.

The agreement provides for the creation of a category of accredited journalists. Members of the NPU may submit a reasonable number of names of senior journalists to the commissioner for accreditation. They will have access to the commissioner or an officer designated by him to discuss confidential information.

Accredited journalists will have Press cards issued by the commissioner. Such cards may be withdrawn by either the editor or the commissioner.

## INFORMATION

Possession of a valid Press card enables a journalist to interview the senior police officer or station commander in a particular area and obtain information for publication.

He may also for purposes of his work and with police permission enter and remain in an area under police control from which the public is excluded. But it will be at his own risk and he may be ordered out if his presence hinders or obstructs the police in the execution of their duties.

A journalist not in possession of a Press card has no valid claim to any information from the police.

A journalist holding a Press card undertakes not to publish any information about crime or national security that he has obtained independently before he has consulted the senior officer of the area concerned.

Editors undertake to instruct their staff not to approach members of the force for information except those who have been specially authorised. — Sapa

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# Police and Press sign new agreement

By CHRIS O'CKERS

A NEW agreement between the Newspaper Press Union and the police was signed in Johannesburg yesterday.

The president of the NPU, Mr Peter McLean, said the agreement, which comes into effect on September 1, was aimed at achieving a free flow of information.

'We hope the agreement will ensure that this happens and that it will help to promote close liaison and co-operation between the Press and the police' Mr McLean said that while the police

realised the Press had an obligation to inform the public fully, accurately and as rapidly as possible, the Press appreciated that in the execution of its task it may not obstruct the administration of justice nor hamper police in their investigations.

The new agreement replaces one that has been in operation since August 1976. Colonel Leon Mallet, Officer Commanding, Press liaison section of the Police Division of Public Relations, said the agreement would be reviewed after a year, if necessary.

It was a "gentleman's agreement" and no legislation had been built into it.

Circulars had been sent to all police stations about the agreement, he said.

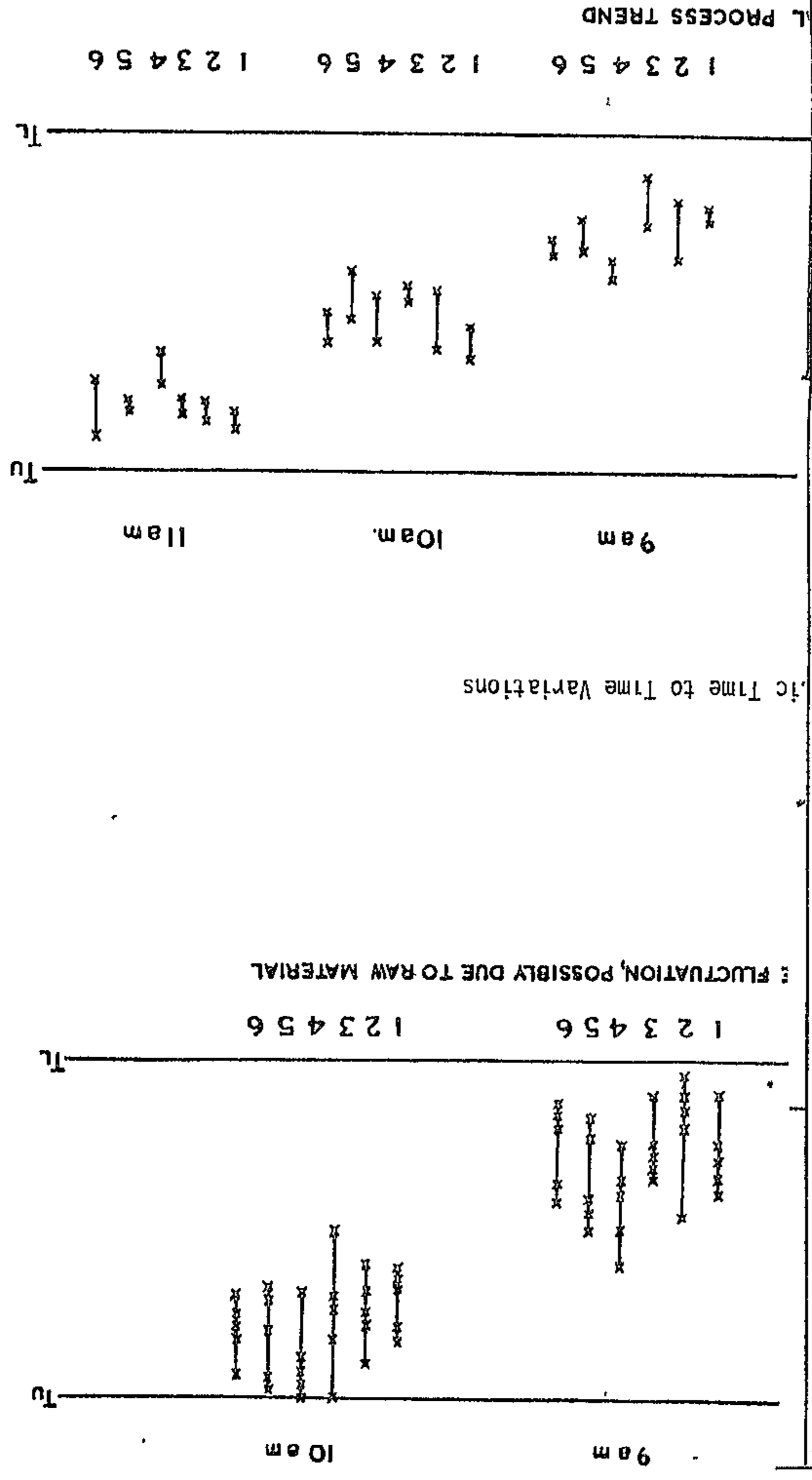
The president of the Southern African Society of Journalists, Mr John Allen, said the society welcomed part of the new agreement, but were still strongly opposed to the formal accreditation of certain senior journalists.

Mr Allen said if the agreement was properly tried, it would be an improvement on the previous agreement in that the police will have no say in the

selection of journalists covering everyday police activities.

The new agreement provides for the issue of new Press identity cards to journalists on an annual basis, which will be issued by editors and not by the Commissioner of Police as under the old agreement.

It also creates a category of accredited journalists, who will have access to the Commissioner or an officer designated by him to discuss confidential information. Their Press cards will be issued by the Commissioner.



cause of this fluctuation may be traced because it is associated with it may for instance be due to some steady change in the process, e.g. the condition of a plating bath.

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Restriction order: Charles Ngakula  
 Mrs. H. SUZMAN asked the Minister  
 of Justice:  
 Whether he consulted Chief Sebe or the  
 Ciskeian Government before serving a  
 restriction order on Charles Ngakula, if  
 not, why not?  
 The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE  
 AND FISHERIES (for the Minister of  
 Justice):  
 I do not consider it in the public interest  
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 consult in such cases.

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- It follows that the school should also be the concern of parents (I mean their children's school) and that it will be necessary to find ways of participatory management involving teachers, students and parents
- In this sense, the school must play a new role, that of a cultural development centre for the street, the quarter or the area. I have seen some British experiments at close hand which were particularly successful in this respect. as soon as school is out, the building becomes a centre for the students, and for adults and parents, who come to it for reading, music, theatre and sports. This goal obviously involves immediate elimination of unfortunate conceptions which up to now have separated the academic infrastructure from the out-of-school infrastructure.
- I should also like to insist on the need for a new conception of good citizenship. I often feel that teaching of national history should be suppressed insofar as it maintains at the end of the 20th century nationalistic attitudes of stupefying narrowness. Thousands of little Belgians continue to believe with unshakable firmness that of all the peoples of Gaul, the Belgians are the bravest; thousands of little Frenchmen are convinced that their hereditary enemies are the English, who burnt Joan of Arc, and so on. The great currents, at first sight opposed, which are rousing so many countries in Europe and abroad, are giving a new and greater importance to the idea of the region and that of belonging to the human race—and this while nationalistic patriotism continues to be inculcated.
- I shall end by cursorily mentioning several points which are far from lacking importance and which give food for thought. the learning of languages; the granting of scholarships well before entry into higher education or the university; the creation of diploma equivalents by political decision and no longer by the paralyzing way of national experts who weigh everything in their druggist's scales

MARCEL HICTER (SERIES B 45)

## Adult education, a factor in the global change of education

Adult education should produce 'functional demands' for changes in the school system. The organization of adult education, its objectives, methods, atmo-

# Railways bill CT 15/8/81 243 'muzzles press'

Political Staff

**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.** — The government's blackout on reporting of police "anti-terrorist" action is being extended to the Railway Police in terms of a bill before Parliament.

The provision is contained in the South African Transport Services Bill that passed its second reading yesterday.

The opposition spokesman on transport, Mr Ray Swart, described the clause as a "sinister provision" in a bill that was otherwise deserving of support.

Mr Swart objected to a clause that puts a blanket ban on any unauthorized report regarding "anti-terroristic" activities by the Railway Police.

The clause also effectively prohibits the disclosure of the names, or any other detail, of people who might be arrested in the course of the Railway Police action. A similar blackout on reporting of police "anti-terrorist" activities was introduced in the Second Police Amendment Act last year, causing a widespread public outcry.

Describing the press curbs in the Second Police Amendment Act as a "downright bad and disastrous provision", Mr Swart said the Transport Services Amendment Bill extended the press curbs to



Mr Ray Swart

cover activities of the Railways Police.

"We see this as an extension of a sinister provision inserted in other legislation, designed to muzzle the press and the media and to set the minister and his commissioners up as super censors," Mr Swart said.

The clause prohibits the unauthorized publication in

"any newspaper, magazine, book or pamphlet or by radio" any information relating to "the constitution, movements, deployment or methods of any member or part of the force concerned in any action for the prevention or combatting of terrorist activities".

The bill also prohibits the publication of any information relating to "any person against whom, or group of persons against which, any action is directed", unless permission is granted by the minister, or the Railway Police Commissioner.

The bill, which proposes to change the name of the South African Railways Administration to "the Department of South African Transport Services", was introduced yesterday by the Minister of Transport Affairs, Mr Hendrik Schoeman.

"In this connection, while it may only be of cosmetic significance, I want to suggest that the confusion which exists in the bill in regard to the two names should be resolved at this stage," Mr Swart said.

"In the interests of consistency, let us drop the word 'department' and call the administration merely 'South African Transport Services', which will at least emphasize the difference between the administration and other sections of state administration."

**No compromise**  
Apart from the provision on comment by the media on the activities of the railway police — which the PFP would oppose outright — the Official Opposition saw the bill as a comprehensive measure.

"We see it as a significant move towards a greater degree of autonomy for the administration and we will therefore support the bill at second reading."

Replying to the opposition's objection to the clause, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, Minister of Transport, made it clear no compromise was possible on the issue.

"We cannot concede," he said. A heated debate is certain to take place at the third reading of the bill.

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Nqakula  
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The head of the Media Workers Association of South Africa, (Mwasa), Mr Charles Nqakula (34), who was banned last Friday is the 13th black journalist to be restricted

Mr Nqakula, a journalist for 11 years, has also been placed under house arrest from 7 pm to 6 am on weekdays and for entire weekends

Since he can no longer practise his craft, he has lost the income he used to support himself, his wife and his two small children.

Mr Nqakula was elected acting president during Mwasa's annual congress in May to replace Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, the president, who was banned during his term of office early this year.

At the time of his banning, Mr Nqakula, was a senior reporter on the political staff of the East London Daily Dispatch

His three-year banning order prohibits him from attending any gathering.

He may not leave the magisterial district of King William's Town without the chief magistrate's permission.

He is not allowed to enter any educational institution, a trade union building or a printing and publishing house

# Sebe condemns Ngakula banning

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**EAST LONDON —** The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, has reacted sharply to the two and a half year banning order served on Daily Dispatch reporter Mr Charles Ngakula.

Mr Ngakula, acting head of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) was served with a banning order on Friday restricting him to the magisterial district of King William's Town and Zwelitsha.

Chief Sebe said "Mr Ngakula is a Ciskeian and we were not consulted. I am not prepared to leave matters there."

Asked for his view on the director of the Centre for Legal Aid Studies, Professor John Dugard's opinion that the ban would become invalid when Ciskei became independent, Chief Sebe said "I don't want to comment on that now but I can assure you we will not leave such brilliant talent lying dormant in an independent Ciskei."

Prof Dugard said at the weekend there was a precedent in Transkei with bans losing their validity at independence.

"I am not sure about names but I have a feeling that Advocate Fikile Bam was a case in point. He was

banned to some district in Transkei and the ban became invalid at independence.

"It can be reimposed, but only of course if the Ciskei issues a new banning order," Prof Dugard said.

Chief Sebe said "Mr Ngakula has contributed to the Ciskei through his excellent, responsible and balanced reporting."

"His handling of the Biko affair and the 1976 riots — which of course no black man condones — showed this clearly. His ability was also shown by his reporting of the Quail Commission. His reports went further than Jan

Smuts Airport and resulted in several inquiries from overseas."

Hitting at the ban which has interrupted Mr Ngakula's work as a journalist, Chief Sebe said "You don't do this to people like Ngakula whom you can reason with. He has his own opinions and is a good strategist. You rather talk to people like that."

"What many people don't know is that we are sitting on a tinder box as far as labour relations are concerned. We cannot ignore the fact that organisations such as the South African Allied Workers' Union have gained momentum here."

"Even in this field Mr Ngakula was balanced and factual in his reporting and it is ironical that just after he had tendered his resignation to his new-

spaper, such action should be taken against him.

"This ban is a real pity. We acknowledge Mr Ngakula's contribution during this exciting and challenging time of our history before independence. We certainly won't leave matters there," Chief Sebe said.

The president of the South African Society of Journalists, Mr John Allen, said the banning could be viewed as government recognition of Mwasa's strength reports Sapa.

He said that for the third time in eight months the government had banned a Mwasa president.

"What does the government think it is doing" by becoming the head of Mwasa, Mr Ngakula has apparently automatically qualified himself for a banning order." — DDR



# RAILROADING THE PRESS

**P**ERHAPS the most startling aspect of the Government's latest move to muzzle the Press, by prohibiting reports of some Railways Police activity, is that it comes less than a month before a State-appointed commission investigating the media is due to present its report to Parliament.

It is possible that the commission — headed by Mr Justice M T Steyn — will recommend measures substantially different from those contained in the South African Transport Services Bill, which has a clause banning unauthorised reports of Railway Police "anti-terrorist" activity or the disclosure of names and details of people detained in the course of such action.

The second reading of the Bill in the House of Assembly last week reinforced many people's fears that the Government has already decided to snap a short leash on the Press and to use the Steyn Commission's report to justify this — regardless of what the actual recommendations are.

As was to be expected, Judge Steyn declined to comment on the latest action because he believed it would be inappropriate. But there can surely be little doubt that he is concerned by the move.

But the cynics were not surprised. After all, a clamp on news of Railway Police action was the logical step following similar curbs contained in the Police Amendment Act introduced last year and restrictions in dozens of Acts and regulations before that.

Not only has the Government taken regular steps to stifle Press criticism and

In a surprise move last week, a Bill was read for the second time in Parliament which makes provision for further clamps on the Press. Coming as it did on the eve of the tabling of the report of a commission set up to investigate the mass media, it left many people wondering if the Government would give serious consideration to the expert opinions likely to be aired — or if it has already decided to muzzle the Press regardless of the recommendations.

Political Reporter  
**CHRIS FREIMOND**  
looks at the issue.

## WILL STEYN BE SIMPLY IGNORED AS THE MUZZLE GETS TIGHTER?

stop reports of events that show it up in a bad light, but in their running fight with the Press its leaders have spelt out in no uncertain terms the additional threats hanging over editors' heads.

### FREEDOM

As recently as April this year, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, told a meeting in Knysna that while he was in favour of "Press freedom", the Government would take steps to ensure that the media did not pro-

mote the cause of communism. And in 1979 the then Minister of the Interior and Justice, Mr Alwyn Schlesbusch, detailed envisaged legislation to curb the "misuse" of Press freedom.

These measures included a code of conduct for journalists who could be temporarily or permanently barred from reporting if they transgressed the code. Before that there were run-ins with Mr John Vorster and his predecessors. But the confrontations and warnings are only the

tip of the proverbial iceberg. The erosion of Press freedom stretches back to the early years of National Party rule and has been growing steadily ever since. Today there are nearly 100 laws and provisions hindering the free flow of information from the Press to the public.

Two major newspapers serving the black community were banned in 1977, and the publications that succeeded them were effectively closed down by the State. And as political and so-

cial problems in South Africa worsen, it would be naive not to expect even harsher and more wide-ranging measures to stop news of the true situation getting out.

### ARSENAL

The Government's already extensive arsenal for dealing with what it obviously sees as a troublesome Press includes:

- The Defence Act of 1957 effectively shrouds all Defence Force action in secrecy. It was this Act that prevented most South Africans from knowing that the Defence Force had invaded Angola in 1975 when the rest of the world was reading the news on the front pages of their newspapers.
- The General Law Amendment Act of 1962. Reports can be published which may not be published as incitement, instigation or, to endanger, among other things, the maintenance of law and order.
- The National Keypoint Act passed last year, which effectively prevents the publication of information concerning certain installations or factories, designated as keypoints, without official sanction. This law could be used to block the publication of information of attacks such as those on Sasol last year and on Voortrekkerhoogte last week.
- It is a formidable range of barriers and pitfalls requiring the utmost care by journalists — including frequent consultation with expert lawyers — if they are to avoid falling foul of the law.



MR JUSTICE  
M T STEYN,  
CHAIRMAN OF  
THE  
COMMISSION  
OF INQUIRY  
INTO THE  
MASS MEDIA

Handwritten notes: "243" circled, "PDM", and "19/8/81".

• The Internal Security Act of 1950 which makes provision for the banning of newspapers and makes it an offence to publish anything said by any person listed under the Act or who is named in the list of office bearers of any organisation listed as unlawful under the Act.

• The Police Amendment Act of 1980 which prevents the disclosure of the names and details of people arrested under the security law. Had this law existed in 1977 it would have prevented the publication of the death of Mr Steyn.

• Under the Police Amendment Act of 1977 "untrue matter" concerning police actions may not be published. The onus of proving the information to be true rests with the person who publishes it.

• The Prisons Act of 1979 and 1965 effectively sea off prison activities from the public. Any information published has to be proved accurate by the person who publishes it.

### FORMIDABLE

243

19/8/81 col 105-106  
22. Mr J. W. E. WILEY asked the Minister of Internal Affairs

- (1) Whether he has received reports of
  - (a) the current endeavours by the Argus Printing Company to increase its control over English-language news media and
  - (b) the said Company's alleged intention to withdraw its membership of the independent news agency SAPA,
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (for the Minister of Internal Affairs).

- (1) (a) No.
  - (b) No.
  - (2) The Newspaper and Imprint Registration Act, 1971 (Act 63 of 1971) requires that whenever a change occurs in regard to any of the particulars in respect of any newspaper furnished in the relevant application for registration, the proprietor of such newspaper must within fourteen days after the day on which the change occurred, notify the Director-General of Internal Affairs in writing of the change. No such notification has been received in respect of the matter raised by the hon member.
- It is not obligatory for the proprietor of any newspaper to furnish the information referred to in section 1(b) of the question, to the Minister or the Department of Internal

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Years 2-6  
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Amortised - years 7-10  
Balance at end of year  
A further accounting considered  
Explanatory Notes to ED22 re  
concept, in that  
(a) If a leased asset is  
provision must be made  
future payments required  
and  
(b) If use of a leased asset  
all foreseeable losses  
payments should be provided

lease expenditure account may be analysed as follows - (via (3)) will be the same each year. The deferred

Amortisation of	106
Deferred lease expenditure	2 664
Lease expense	2 664
Payment of lease rentals	60
Cash	60

Affairs However, I am at present considering the desirability that where the proprietor is a company the shareholding should be declared

19 AUGUST 1981

Amortisation of

Deferred lease expenditure

(2) Lease expense

Payment of lease rentals

Cash

(1) Lease expense : Years 7-10

(3) As for Year 1.

# Wiley warns of Argus take-over

**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Minister of the Interior, Mr Chris Heunis, is considering the desirability of proprietors of newspapers declaring their shareholding.**

The minister had been asked by Mr John Wiley (NP Simon's Town), whether he had received reports of the current endeavours by the Argus Printing Company to increase its control over English language news media and that company's alleged intention to withdraw its membership of the independent news agency, Sapa.

The minister replied "No", and added that the Newspaper and Imprint Act, 1971 (Act 63 of 1971) "requires that whenever a change occurs in regard to any of the particulars in respect of any newspaper furnished in the relevant application for registration, the proprietor of such newspaper must within 14 days after the day on which the change occurred, notify the Director-General of Internal Affairs in writing of the change"

"No such notification has been received in respect of the matter raised," Mr Heunis said

"It is not obligatory for the proprietor of any newspaper to furnish the information referred to in Section 1 (b) of the question, to the minister or the Department of Internal Affairs.

"However, I am at present

considering the desirability that where the proprietor is a company the shareholding should be declared," the minister said

## Sapa

Mr Wiley said during the Budget debate that the government would not stand idly by and allow the controllers of the Argus newspaper group to consume the entire English language press

Mr Wiley said the Argus group was involved in moves which would have the effect that South African Associated Newspapers' morning newspapers and the Sunday Times could be taken over for "rationalization" and that the South African Press Association could be emasculated

The result would be that the Argus would gain total control of the printed English word throughout the Republic, with the Afrikaans press struggling to meet the onslaught of such a Goliath, while Sapa fed information to the two Afrikaans groups

Quoting a Sunday Express journalist, Miss Marian Shinn, Mr Wiley said that press freedom would then die, choked by greed

Mr Wiley said that seven years ago he had warned that the Argus, having been prevented by the former Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, from taking over SAAN, was taking over the company by stealth

Although his warnings had met a torrent of denial and abuse, it was noteworthy, he said, that there was no factual information to refute his claim that Mr Harry Oppenheimer's JCI and Charter Holdings could control both SAAN and the Argus.

When the Argus and SAAN managements had disclosed their registered shareholdings in 1979 it showed that Mr Oppenheimer's JCI and Charter companies had increased their holding in SAAN to 39,23 percent

Together they held 5,7-million of the 6,3m shares, or 89 percent of English language newspapers in circulation. Only the Citizen, Daily Dispatch and Natal Witness were totally free of SAAN-Argus control, he said.

"One would think the controllers of the Argus would be happy with the Argus/SAAN near total control of English language newspapers, their joint ownership with SAAN of the Allied Publish

bought newspapers in Natal with a combined circulation of 56 000 and started others there

Miss Shinn, he said, had analysed an attempt by the Argus controllers to withdraw from Sapa and said that Afrikaans and English journalists saw the gathering of numerous media machines in the Argus "den" as a threat to press freedom

Argus wanted to withdraw from the Sapa franchise because it wanted to publish the Daily News in Durban earlier on Saturdays. The Argus also wanted to publish newspapers on a 24-hour basis with the aim of attracting more circulation and advertisers. It claimed that Argus input to Sapa in news and money, was not worth what the Argus was getting out of it

Miss Shinn had written that "after much gnashing of teeth", the Argus had withdrawn this three-pronged request and one of the consequences of this threat to Sapa had been that the agency's cost structure was being reorganized to accommodate Argus complaints

If the Argus had withdrawn from Sapa and published newspapers in direct competition with morning newspapers, the morning newspapers would have collapsed, Mr Wiley said

"If the Star gained only 20 000 copies from the Rand Daily Mail or the Citizen, its circulation would top 200 000, making it the biggest selling daily with unprecedented advertising attraction," he said

The English and Afrikaans newspapers would have to carry the extra financial burden of the Argus contribution of a third of Sapa's costs

The struggling English newspapers would fold as they could not carry the extra financial load and direct Argus competition

"The effect would be to make SAAN vulnerable for a full take-over for "rationalisation" purposes by the Argus which has long had greedy eyes on the lucrative Sunday Times," Mr Wiley said

The Afrikaans groups alone would not be able to carry Sapa and it would fold

"The ending of the previous franchise rules means that the old order of afternoon and morning newspapers is ending," Mr Wiley said

The Daily News would come out earlier on Saturdays, the Pretoria News already came out at 9am and the Friend had an all-day franchise

"In 18 months' time the Star's new presses will be installed and it is strongly rumoured that the Star will then become a round-the-clock Star Argus having already paved the way by getting its proposals for all-day franchises accepted by Sapa's board," Mr Wiley said

If the government was prepared to prevent Argus buying SAAN in 1968, "the government will not, I am certain, stand idly by while the PFP-supporting controllers of Argus consume the entire Eng-

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ing Company, which distributes their newspapers, and their ownership of CNA, the largest distributors of periodicals in South Africa

"Not a bit of it," Mr Wiley said. The Argus had recently expanded into commercial printing, magazines and knock-and-drop newspapers. It had acquired a 30 percent interest in Caxton, which published most of the free English-language suburban newspapers on the Witwatersrand. The Argus and Caxton had

and all its ancillary interests to the inevitable detriment of the Afrikaans newspaper groups and with a further consequence that Sapa, South Africa's only independent news-gathering service would disappear.

"If the Argus take-over is allowed to be completed, South Africa will go up in flames or be sold down the river exactly as the Rhodesians were defeated by a breaking down of morale and outside pressures," Mr Wiley said. — Sapa

C.T 20/8/81  
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# Argus chief rebuts MP's statement

The chairman of the Argus Company said today that Argus, whose shareholding was fully known to the Government, intended to remain members of Sapa, but was trying to cut costs.

The chairman, Mr L E A Slater, was responding to statements made in Parliament yesterday by the Minister of Internal Affairs Mr J C Heunis, and by Mr John Wiley, Nationalist MP for Simonstown.

Mr Slater said that details of the shareholders of the Argus Company and SAAN were handed to the Prime Minister some time ago. The Government, therefore,

knew who the shareholders were and was aware how widely the shareholding was spread.

In the case of the Argus Company, a copy of the letter to the Prime Minister giving details of the shareholding was sent to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the mass media.

## INVESTIGATION

Mr Slater added that Argus Company newspapers were members of Sapa and intended to remain members of Sapa. Within the organisation, the Argus Company was participating in an investigation aimed at restructuring Sapa to achieve certain economies.

Speaking in the Parliament's Budget debate, Mr Wiley said the Argus group was involved in moves which would have the effect that South African Associated Newspapers morning newspapers and the Sunday Times could be taken over for "rationalisation" and that Sapa could be emasculated.

The result would be that the Argus group would gain total control of the English word throughout the republic with the Afrikaans Press struggling to meet the onslaught of such a goliath, while Sapa fed information to the two Afrikaans groups.

"One would think the controller of Argus would be happy with the Argus-Saan near total control of English language newspapers, their joint ownership with Saan of the Allied Publishing Company, which distributes their newspapers, and their ownership of CNA, the largest distributors of periodicals in South Africa.

"Not a bit of it," Mr Wiley said. The Argus recently expanded into commercial printing, magazines, and knock-and-drop newspapers.

"Argus intends to be a dominant force in the printing industry and the new electronic media.

## CIRCULATION

He said Argus wanted to withdraw from the Sapa franchise because it wanted to publish the Daily News in Durban earlier on Saturdays. The Argus group also wanted to publish newspapers on a 24-hour basis with the aim of attracting more circulation and advertisers. He quoted an article which claimed that Argus input to Sapa in news and money, was not worth what Argus was getting out of it.

If the Argus group had withdrawn from Sapa and published newspapers in direct competition with morning newspapers, the morning newspapers would collapse, Mr Wiley said.

The English and Afrikaans newspapers would have to carry the extra financial burden of the Argus contribution of a third of Sapa's costs.

The Afrikaans groups alone would not be able to carry Sapa and it would fold, he said.

# No question of Sapa <sup>20/8/61</sup> going under <sup>2/10/61</sup> — chairman

There is no question of the SA Press Association going under. In fact it is to install a countrywide electronic editing system to strengthen its communication network, Sapa chairman, Mr Gideon Engelbrecht, said today.

Mr Engelbrecht, joint managing director of Nasionale Koerante, was commenting on the claim in Parliament by NRP Natal leader, Mr Ron Miller, that a well-known press group was busy "sinking" Sapa.

"The fact that the contract for the installation of the new electronic system will be signed shortly is a good indication of Sapa's liveliness," Mr Engelbrecht said.

"The organisation is anything but dead."

Mr Miller asked the Minister of Finance, Mr Horwood, to bring the Sapa issue to the attention of the Cabinet.

"If Sapa disappeared — it owes loyalty to no newspaper or group and serves most newspapers with local news to supplement the coverage of South African news — it would result in the Press in South Africa becoming polarised and the mouthpieces of political parties," Mr Miller said.

## DOWNFALL

Mr Engelbrecht said Mr Miller's assertion that a Press group sought Sapa's downfall was incorrect.

"The Argus group has indeed organised its news services and thought it could continue without Sapa. After discussions with the other members of Sapa, the Argus group decided to remain a member and meet its commitments to the association," he said.

It would be wrong to think that the withdrawal of one member of Sapa would bring about the demise of a co-operative news gathering and distribution service, he said.

"In any event the other members of Sapa — Nasionale, Perskor, SABC and the Natal Witness — are big and strong and had already given notice of their intention to go ahead with the association."

THE Government could not stand idly by and allow the controllers of the Argus newspaper group to consume the entire English-language Press, Mr John Wiley (NP Simon's Town) said in the Assembly yesterday.

Speaking in the Budget debate Mr Wiley said the Argus group was involved in moves which would mean that South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) morning newspapers and the Sunday Times could be taken over for 'rationalisation' and that the South African Press Association could be emasculated.

The result would be that the Argus would gain total control of the English word throughout the Republic with the Afrikaans Press struggling to meet the onslaught of

## Wiley <sup>243</sup> Argus on the English Press

such a Goliath, while Sapa fed information to the two Afrikaans groups.

Quoting a SAAN journalist, Miss Marian Shinn, Mr Wiley said Press freedom would then die, choked by greed.

Mr Wiley said that seven years ago he had warned that The Argus company, having been pre-

vented by the former Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, from taking over SAAN, was taking over the company by stealth.

Although his warnings met with a torrent of denial and abuse, it was noteworthy that there was no factual information to refute his claim that Mr Harry Oppenheimer's JCI and Charter Holdings could control both SAAN and Argus.

When Argus and SAAN managements disclosed their registered shareholdings in 1979 it showed that Argus companies had increased their holding in SAAN to 39,23 percent.

Only the Citizen, Daily Dispatch and Natal Witness were totally free of SAAN-Argus control. — Sapa

○ See pages 12 and 13.

## Govt 'knows' Argus shareholding

JOHANNESBURG — The chairman of The Argus Company said today that Argus, whose shareholding was fully known to the Government, intended to remain members of Sapa, but was trying to cut costs.

The chairman, Mr L E A Slater, was responding to statements made in Parliament yesterday by the Minister of Internal Affairs and by Mr John

Wiley, Nationalist MP for Simon's Town.

Mr Slater said details of the shareholders of The Argus Company and SAAN were handed to the Prime Minister some time ago. The Government, therefore, knew who the shareholders were and was aware how widely the shareholding was spread.

In the case of The Argus Company, a copy of the letter to the Prime

Minister giving details of the shareholding was sent to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media.

Mr Slater added that Argus newspapers were members of Sapa and intended to remain members of Sapa. Within the organisation, The Argus Company was participating in an investigation aimed at restructuring Sapa to achieve certain economies.

## 'No question of Sapa going under'

Argus Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG — There is no question of the South Africa Press Association going under.

In fact it is to install a country-wide electronic typesetter to strengthen its communication network, Sapa chairman, Mr Gideon Engelbrecht said today.

Mr Engelbrecht, joint managing director of Nasionale Koerante, was commenting on the claim in Parliament by NRP Natal leader Mr Ron Miller, that a well-known newspaper group was sinking Sapa.

The fact that the con-

tract for the installation of the new electronic system will be signed shortly is a good indication of Sapa's liveliness, Mr Engelbrecht said.

'The organisation is anything but dead.'

Mr Miller asked the Minister of Finance, Mr Owen Horwood, to bring the Sapa issue to the attention of the Cabinet.

If Sapa disappeared — it owes loyalty to no newspaper or group and serves most newspapers with local news to supplement the coverage of South African news — it would result in the Press in South Africa becoming polarised and the mouth-

piece of political parties,' Mr Miller added.

Mr Engelbrecht said Mr Miller's assertion that a Press group sought Sapa's downfall was not correct.

'The Argus Group has indeed organised its news services and thought it could continue without Sapa. After discussions with the other members of Sapa, Argus decided to remain a member and meet its commitments to the association.'

It would be wrong to think that the withdrawal of one member of Sapa would bring about the demise of a co-operative news gathering and distribution service.

FM 2/8/81

# CIRCULATION WARS

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The latest figures released by the Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC) — the watchdog of newspaper circulations — reveal upward trends and some radical shifts in the newspaper game (The FM's circulation has increased to new record levels see page 871 )

As regards dailies, the market has moved strongly upward. This is particularly noticeable in the case of *The Citizen*. It has upped circulation by 16,3% on the last six months of 1980 to 60 833. *The Citizen* was reinstated to the ABC after expulsion for inflated sales figures. The last published figures were 42 765 copies for the period January-June, 1980

Other above average increases are recorded for Bloemfontein's *The Friend* (10,6%), the *Pretoria News* (6,2%), *Beeld* (6,1%) and *The Cape Times* (5,5%). *Star* sales have remained firm with an increase of 4,5% as has the *Argus* and *Die Volksblad*

The *Rand Daily Mail* strengthened slightly to just under 110 000 (2,0%) after plummeting by 16,8% in the six months, January-June 1980

The *Argus* group's latest black publication, *The Sowetan*, has not achieved the circulation of its banned predecessor, *Post* (112 354 in January-June 1980) but scored sales of 65 315 for January to June, 1981

Weeklies' circulations (generally the Saturday issues of dailies) have all climbed, with the exception of the *Cape Herald*. Those which have sold particularly well are *The Pretoria News* (13,2%), *The Citizen* (11,2%), and *Die Volksblad* (7,6%)

The performance of the *Sunday Times*, which increased sales by 5,6% to 470 116, is excellent considering the large base (the highest newspaper circulation in SA) on which the increase is calculated

Bi-weeklies' circulations are up with the exception of *Kyk* and *See*

Of the periodicals (fortnightly), *Fair Lady* and *Rooi Rose* showed gains (4,1% and 1,5% respectively)

Of the monthly periodicals, all showed increases with the exception of *Bona*, a black magazine with an apolitical stance and dramatic human interest stories

*Bona*, nevertheless, still holds the top spot as SA's top-selling magazine, with sales of 314 488

*Your Family*, the top-selling magazine in 1979, is still firmly in second place, without too much threat from *Pace*, the new black contender

*Woman's Value* has achieved the most remarkable sales increase, with a 54,4% increase to 204 825, and seems to be making dramatic inroads

Dailies	sales per issue Jan/Jan 81	Average % change on Jan/Jan 80	% change on Jul/Dec 80
<b>The Argus</b>	101 700	-4,2	+4,3
<b>Beeld</b>	66 197	+2,0	+6,1
<b>Die Burger</b>	69 788	-3,4	+2,9
<b>The Cape Times</b>	64 095	-5,3	+5,5
<b>The Chronicle</b>	41 476	+8,4	+7,3
<b>The Citizen</b>	60 833	+34,9	+16,3
<b>Daily Dispatch</b>	29 609	-5,2	-5,8
<b>The Daily News</b>	87 425	-5,2	+2,5
<b>Diamond Flds Adv</b>	7 494	+1,8	+2,3
<b>EP Herald</b>	27 518	-2,7	+2,3
<b>Evening Post</b>	21 840	-6,3	-2,5
<b>The Friend</b>	7 336	+6,3	+10,6
<b>The Herald</b>	91 771	-3,7	-0,3
<b>The Natal Mercury</b>	58 300	-8,2	+3,3
<b>The Natal Witness</b>	18 830	-0,4	+0,6
<b>Oosterlig</b>	10 351	-1,0	+2,6
<b>Post Natal</b>	34 200	-12,4	+1,3
<b>Pretoria News</b>	25 849	-5,4	+6,2
<b>Rand Daily Mail</b>	109 819	-16,8	+2,0
<b>Sowetan</b>	65 315	—	—
<b>The Star</b>	173 206	-6,0	+4,5
<b>Die Transvaler</b>	45 942	-7,2	+2,8
<b>Die Volksblad</b>	24 848	-3,4	+4,7
<b>Weeklies</b>			
<b>Argus</b>	116 107	-5,1	+1,5
<b>Die Burger</b>	84 103	-2,0	+2,0
<b>Cape Herald</b>	58 802	-13,7	-9,8
<b>The Cape Times</b>	87 050	-5,3	+2,9
<b>The Citizen</b>	53 360	+24,8	+11,2
<b>The Daily News</b>	23 863	-9,8	+1,6
<b>The Graphic</b>	9 871	+15,3	+19,0
<b>Pretoria News</b>	14 195	+10,7	+13,2
<b>Rapport</b>	412 294	-1,2	+2,4
<b>The Star</b>	86 480	+1,1	+6,5
<b>Sunday Express</b>	91 438	+1,2	+6,8
<b>The Sunday Mail</b>	105 352	+1,3	+2,3
<b>The Sunday News</b>	37 207	+14,1	+9,8
<b>Sunday Times</b>	470 116	+1,8	+5,6
<b>Sunday Tribune</b>	125 807	-1,6	+1,4
<b>Die Transvaler</b>	36 385	-9,4	+0,3
<b>The Umtali Post</b>	5 336	+32,3	+14,8
<b>Die Volksblad</b>	17 784	-2,9	+7,6
<b>Weekend Post</b>	45 914	+2,3	+2,2
<b>Newspapers — bi-weekly</b>			
<b>Iilanga</b>	101 722	-3,5	+3,4
<b>Periodicals — weekly</b>			
<b>Family Radio &amp; TV</b>	164 641	+6,8	+2,5
<b>Farmers Weekly</b>	38 472	+9,3	+5,2
<b>Huisgenoot</b>	306 057	+20,3	+6,5
<b>Keur</b>	174 722	+9,3	+4,1
<b>Kyk</b>	18 188	+4,9	-2,6
<b>Landbouweekblad</b>	79 341	+0,9	+0,2
<b>Radio &amp; TV Dagboek</b>	112 326	+2,3	+0,5
<b>Scope</b>	193 476	+9,6	+0,9
<b>See</b>	20 545	-4,4	-3,6
<b>Periodicals — fortnightly</b>			
<b>Darling</b>	82 961	-8,3	-6,8
<b>Fairlady</b>	216 829	+6,9	+4,1
<b>Rooi Rose</b>	220 726	+4,1	+1,5
<b>Sarre Marais</b>	198 840	-0,9	-3,8
<b>Periodicals — monthly</b>			
<b>Bona</b>	314 488	+0,4	-10,2
<b>Car</b>	98 178	+18,6	+5,1
<b>Charmaine</b>	40 059	+1,1	+0,1
<b>Drum</b>	137 225	-5,8	-1,4
<b>Living &amp; Loving</b>	201 938	+3,4	-10,2
<b>Pace</b>	165 813	+12,1	+0,7
<b>Parade &amp; Foto Action</b>	27 443	+13,7	+4,8
<b>Patrys</b>	41 246	+1,7	-3,5
<b>S A Garden &amp; Home</b>	125 649	+21,2	+6,5
<b>True Love &amp; Family</b>	102 679	+11,9	+5,1
<b>Womans Value</b>	204 825	+68,2	+55,4
<b>Your family</b>	283 438	+16,6	+1,2



CT 21/8/81  
**Wiley 243**  
 misquoted

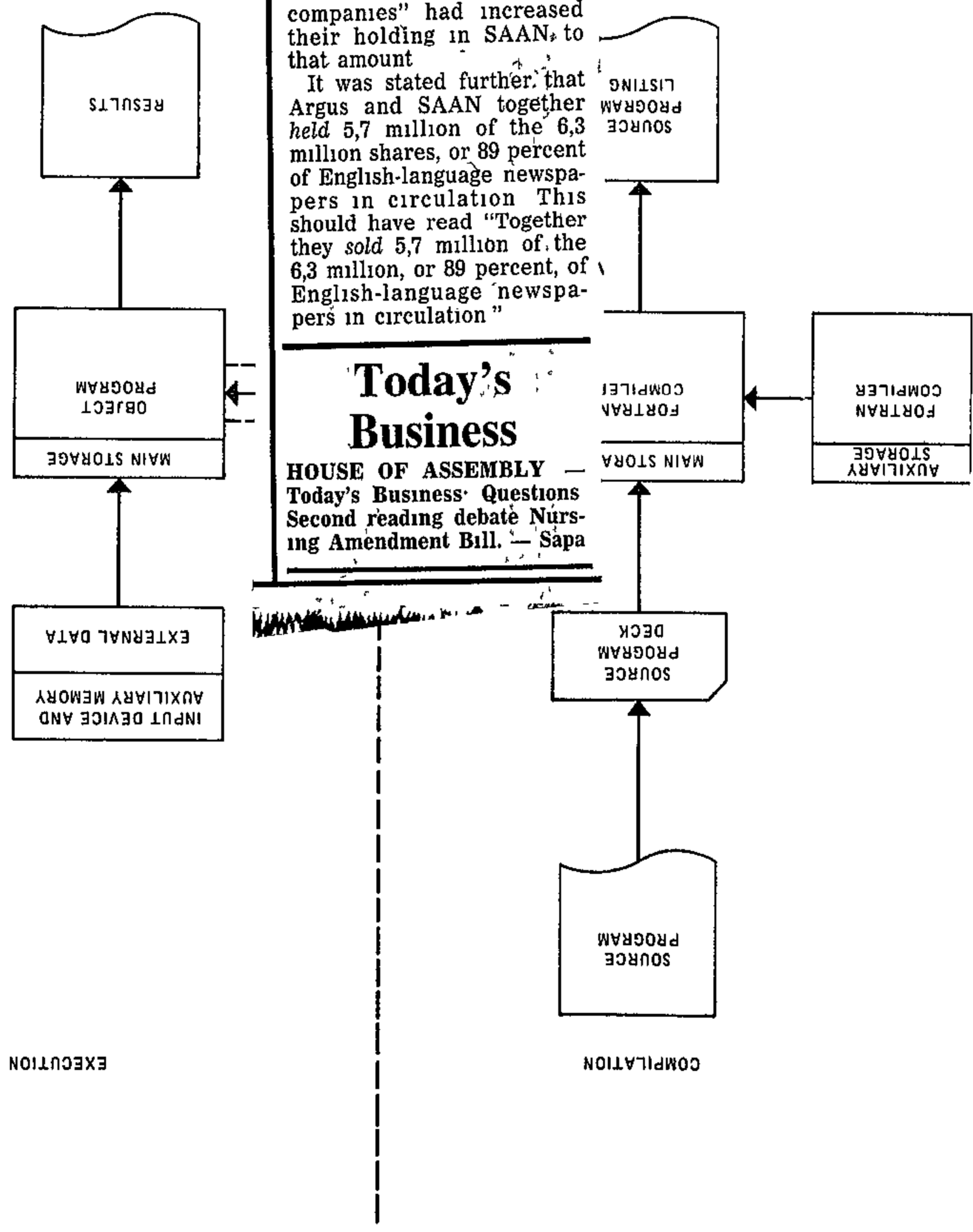
MR JOHN WILEY was incorrectly reported yesterday as saying the government would not stand idly by and allow the controllers of the Argus newspaper group to consume the entire English-language press

What Mr Wiley actually said was that the government "could" not stand idly by

The report also stated Argus and SAAN shareholdings in 1979 had shown "Mr Oppenheimer's JCI and Charter companies" had increased their holding in SAAN to 39.23 percent. This should have read "the Argus companies" had increased their holding in SAAN to that amount

It was stated further that Argus and SAAN together held 5.7 million of the 6.3 million shares, or 89 percent of English-language newspapers in circulation. This should have read "Together they sold 5.7 million of the 6.3 million, or 89 percent, of English-language newspapers in circulation"

Figure 1-4. T



Steps 1 through 4 can be performed in a fairly rapid sequence referred to as "the compile and execute process" shown in Figure 1-4. The object program is placed in main storage as it is created by the compiler (rather than being transmitted in the form of punched cards as described in step 3) and immediately executed.

Obviously mass storage devices cannot be one hundred percent reliable - files stored on them can be lost or corrupted. Also users may accidentally corrupt or delete their own files. So there has to be some sort of backup of mass storage files on another medium. There also has to be a mechanism for dealing with the inevitable overflow of files from the mass storage devices. The UNIVAC executive system provides this mechanism. When there is insufficient available space on mass storage an algorithm (using information from the Master File Directory) decides which files should be 'rolled out' to make space available on mass storage. This suggests that a tape is loaded and the files copied because on our system need to make another copy exists on tape.

Obviously there cannot be

Computing Service attempts out of date (60 hours a disc - files on removable on drum are not backed up

Each night Monday to Thurs

SAVVAR is run. This program (disc) files which have been each such file to be written and the date in the Mas time SAVVAR wants to make a Typically SAVVAR makes copy

On Friday evenings a program to be written on tape of ev disc. This includes the files the copy is made from notes the name of the tape takes a long time particula Typically SAVVAR copies all on mass storage simulta tracks of storage compa available. SAVVAR tapes are used again.) SAVPAR tap second last SAVALL.

In addition to ensuring bac program file before copy non-current copies of element of space (on disc and on t to make many update copies own files.

In order to prevent the M limit the time taken and nu been assigned for more than monthly (near mid-month) by being 'removed' is made on Directory is deleted. REMO 1100 files are removed each on request of a user - see

Another way the number of storage used is limited account and placing a limit the severity of this res storage used by departments Each department is alloc calculates the amount of storage which storage usage exce about possible deletion of

# Foreign Journalist on Defence Act charge

The Star Bureau LONDON - South African military authorities are pressing a criminal charge against a Johannesburg-based foreign correspondent for referring to army movements in a dispatch to his news agency.

Mr Nat Gibson, bureau chief of United Press International, confirmed today that he would appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on a charge under the Defence Act.

He said he was to have appeared on the same charge on August 4, but he was in the Kalahari and papers could not be served on him in time. Mr Gibson will now appear on September 8 and will be defended by Mr Kelsey Stuart.

Mr Gibson, who was born in Texas, was twice interviewed by military officers after sending a dispatch on racial rioting in the industrial areas of the Eastern Cape last June.

## TROOPS

Quoting a witness, he wrote that for the first time the authorities had sent troops and armoured cars to protect factories and installations in the area

Mr Gibson has been charged under Section 118 of the Defence Act

The summons carries the option of an admission of guilt fine of about R120. After consultation with his editors in New York, Mr Gibson has decided to contest the action.

This is believed to be the first time authorities have acted against a foreign correspondent based in South Africa.

date backup of all files. The at is not more than 24 hours ly applies to files on 'fixed' s often and user files stored

Y on Saturday a program called File Directory for (fixed that day and causes a copy of notes the name of the tape If a file is being used at the then the copy is not made. er night and requires 5 tapes.

n. This program causes a copy rrently catalogued on fixed been 'rolled out'. For these copy on tape. SAVALL also Master File Directory. SAVALL er of files are 'rolled out'. 23 tapes. If these files were equire approximately 100 000 ely 80 000 tracks currently (After that the tapes are or the partial saves since the

and SAVALL also PACK each ne EXEC8 @PACK command removes s.) This saves a great deal are developing programs tend s and neglect to PACK their rom becoming too large and to SAVALL, files which have not rom the system. This is done VE. A copy of each file the entry in the master file one year. Typically about f these are ever loaded again Low.

restricted and the amount of count holders to one file per this file. In contrast to is the system for restricting s is distinctly friendly. day the Computing Service rtment. Each department for t is sent a friendly warning re negotiable!

ENH

Perskor circulation figures  
\*5 Mr D J DALLING asked the  
Minister of Justice

Whether any charges are to be laid as a  
result of police investigations into the  
alleged falsification of Perskor circulation  
figures, if so (a) when, (b) against whom  
and (c) what will be the nature of such  
charges?

†The MINISTER OF JUSTICE

The matter is still being considered by  
the Attorney-General

147. Cape Times,
148. Cape Standard
149. Muslim News
150. Tatz, C.M.
151. An oral sou
152. Cape Standard, 2nd March 1943, p.9, cols.1 & 2.
153. Cape Standard, 27th April 1943, p.1, cols.1 & 2.
154. Cape Standard, 30th March 1943, p.1.
155. Cape Standard, 3rd January 1945.
156. Cape Standard, 26th January 1943.
157. Cape Standard, 8th May 1945.
158. Davenport, South Africa, p.260. Many people spoken to indicated that Harris was induced by the United Party to take this action.
159. Constitution of the Suid Afrikaanse Koorraad.
160. Muslim News, 31st March 1961.
161. Muslim News, 12th May 1961.
162. Muslim News, 16th June 1961.
163. Muslim News, 16th February 1962.

# Dispatch appeal: judgment reserved

BLOEMFONTEIN — The East London Daily Dispatch (Pty) Ltd, owner and publisher of the Daily Dispatch yesterday appealed in the Appeal Court here against a judgment which had dismissed an application by the company to strike out certain passages in the particulars of a claim against it.

Detective Warrant Officer Gerhardus Arnoldus Hattingh, of King William's Town, is claiming composite damages of R10 000 for the publication of allegedly defamatory statements about him. The case has been adjourned pending the outcome of the Dispatch appeal.

The Dispatch's application was dismissed in the Eastern Cape Supreme Court in Grahamstown on July 5, 1979. The judgment was given by Mr Justice N C Addleson (who has since died) with the concurrence of Mr Justice R A Solomon, who was an acting judge at the time.

The appeal yesterday was heard by Mr Justice Rabie, Mr Justice Diamond, Mr Justice Viljoen and acting judges of appeal Mr Justice Holmes and Mr Justice Trollip.

Judgment was reserved. Of the various allegations of defamation in the particulars of claim, the one that was sought to be

struck out was that the Daily Dispatch had published words which were meant and understood to mean that Warrant Officer Hattingh "had committed criminal offences by being involved with the breaking into the office of the Black Community Programme in Leopold Street, King William's Town, and damage such offices on the night of September 18/19, 1975."

The words published which were alleged to have borne the said meaning were that a private complaint had been made "to the authorities about W/O Hattingh's bullying propensities in connection with another matter."

Mr F Kroon, SC, who appeared with Mr L E Leach for the Daily Dispatch, said that an analysis of paragraph four of the particulars of claim revealed the allegations that the Dispatch gave extensive publicity to certain court proceedings involving its editor at the time, Mr Donald Woods, that during the course of those proceedings Mr Woods read out a statement linking W/O Hattingh with certain specified criminal offences including that at the BCP offices, and that the extensive publicity referred to was given in five specified articles in the Daily Dispatch of which

only the headlines were mentioned.

Mr Kroon said the paragraph did not allege that Mr Woods' statement made during the court proceedings was published by the Daily Dispatch in its coverage of those proceedings, nor that any of the articles referred to contained any publication of the statement by Mr Woods.

It was submitted that the lower court erred in finding it to be a reasonable inference from paragraph four of the particulars of W/O Hattingh's claim that in the five issues of the newspaper that reported the court proceedings in question, the statement which Mr Woods read to the court was published by the newspaper as part of those court proceedings in some or all of the five issues concerned.

The court had been asked to draw the inference that the reference to "another matter" was not only a reference to the "breaking in" incident, but was meant and understood to mean that he "had committed criminal offences — the breaking in, damage and theft."

Mr Kroon submitted that such an inference could only be drawn by a tortious process of reasoning where the words used —

"another matter" — had no apparent defamatory meaning. There was no connection between "bullying propensities" and committing criminal offences.

Mr Kroon said this was a classic case of alleging an innuendo, namely non-defamatory words which bore a defamatory meaning by reason of the alleged circumstances under which they were published.

He submitted that the published words were incapable of a defamatory meaning, even having regard to the allegations in paragraph four, and that that portion of the particulars of claim which related to the commission by Warrant Officer Hattingh of criminal offences should be struck out.

Mr Kroon further submitted that both paragraph four and the further particulars of claim should be struck out. He contended that the lower court erred in finding that it could be reasonably argued that paragraph 4 was material as relevant background to the alleged other defamatory matter relied on in the particulars of claim.

Mr J Wiltshire Jones, for Warrant Officer Hattingh, said in one issue the newspaper had published

a statement by Mr Woods in the course of the legal proceedings in which he alleged that Warrant Officer Hattingh had been involved in two separate acts of criminal conduct — the "Paton incident" in which the windows of the car of the author Alan Paton were smashed at Hogsback on the night of September 21, 1964, and the BCP incident.

Mr Jones said these allegations were given extensive publicity in five subsequent issues of the newspaper which covered the said legal proceedings.

In a sixth issue, when the occasion was no longer privileged, the Daily Dispatch published an article which directly accused Warrant Officer Hattingh of committing the Paton incident and alleged a private complaint by Mr Woods to the authorities about Warrant Officer Hattingh's bullying propensities in connection with another matter.

This complaint led to the Paton incident also being mentioned to the authorities.

Warrant Officer Hattingh alleged the innuendo was that this complaint referred to and was understood to refer to the BCP incident.

The court was told that the statements about the

Paton and BCP incidents were linked in five previous issues of the newspaper. Where a sixth issue mentioned specifically the Paton incident and also mentioned a second incident which was not precisely identified, it was reasonable for a newspaper reader to associate the second incident with the BCP incident.

Mr Jones said that Warrant Officer Hattingh would be entitled to lead evidence of the allegations contained in paragraph four of the claim as essential history of background and necessary for a proper understanding of all allegations on which he relied, including allegations which the Daily Dispatch did not seek to strike out.

The pleadings as presently formulated were said not to cause prejudice to the newspaper company in that evidence could be led at the hearing in respect of all allegations to which objection was made.

The company would accordingly derive no benefit from an order striking out the passages in question because this would not result in the elimination of a distinct and severable issue from the issues to be tried at the hearing.

A simple amendment would be sufficient to clear up any doubt which might exist as to whether the innuendo was reasonable in the light of the circumstances pleaded, said Mr Jones — SAPA.

Argus and SAAN newspaper groups  
27 Mr J W E WILEY asked the  
Minister of Industries, Commerce and Tourism

Whether investigations have been made into the Argus and SAAN newspaper groups in terms of the Maintenance and Promotion of Competition Act, No 96 of 1979, if not, why not; if so, (a) what aspects of the said newspaper groups have been investigated, (b) for what purpose have such aspects been investigated and (c) with what result?

†The MINISTER OF INDUSTRIES, COMMERCE AND TOURISM:

No. With the information which is available to us there is no reason to suspect misuse of economic power as a result of the existing structures in the Press. As is generally known, all other aspects of the Press are being investigated by the Steyn Commission at present.

(a), (b) and (c) Fall away

DO 1/9/81  
2139  
243

# Don't shy away from the truth — lecturer

EAST LONDON — For writers to say all was well when the bulk of the people they wrote about were not happy, was scientifically questionable and journalistically reprehensible, Mr Basil Somhlahlo, of Fort Hare University, said here

Mr Somhlahlo, a lecturer in social work, was guest speaker at a farewell function organised by the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) for Mr Gordon Qumza who retired from the Daily Dispatch, after 34 years in journalism

Saying all was well in the midst of what was happening signified a bad state of affairs, Mr Somhlahlo said

He said the time we lived in needed men of vision who were far-sighted and solid

"Since truth is regarded as radical, our tendency is to shy away from the truth; say all the nice things that make our hearers happy," Mr Somhlahlo said

As a result people ended up, unwittingly or deliberately, being champions of saying the expected, which in the long term was a liability to progress

Making meaningful speeches had become a "risky business"

This was because, in the interest of diverse parties involved in the game of limited freedoms, there were shades of truth and stacks of lies from different degrees of officialdom

If the duty of newspapers was to motivate and direct action to some peaceful order, the guiding clarity of the journalist was of profound importance

He said people of stature and integrity, who measured up to this requirement were not only rare but a threatened species, especially among blacks

Mr Somhlahlo referred briefly to the dismissal of Mr Allister Sparks, former editor of the Rand Daily Mail adding that with his loss, a void had been created

"Men of vision and fairness are like the thin air of the desert," he said

He was not sure whether Mr Qumza's departure from full-time journalism was a blessing since it had happened at a time when balanced views needed prominence through the press, when most of the authentic and relevant spokesmen of the black masses had been silenced and when authentic writers were few and far between — DDR

## R11m US aid for Swaziland

MBABANE — The United States is to provide Swaziland with about R11 million towards a crop research and extension training programme to improve the productivity and incomes of small farmers in the country

A Swaziland Government official said yesterday the grant agreement, signed at the weekend, would be spread over five years. Swaziland would contribute R3 million

# Press Council finding on complaint of National Party against Cape Times

THE South African Press Council has ruled that it does not have jurisdiction to adjudicate in a complaint laid by the Federal Council of the National Party against the Cape Times

The complaint arose from a controversy concerning the publication of a political advertisement of the National Party during the general election campaign and news items and comment relating to the advertisement

The text of the Council's ruling follows

## Complaint 1581

Complainant Die Federale Raad van die Nasionale Party

Respondent The Cape Times

Coram The Hon Mr Justice O Galgut, Professor T van Wyk, Dr H McCaul, Mr C L C Hewitt, Mr V Norton

THE principle in issue in these proceedings is of some importance. For that reason I asked four assessors to assist me and also decided to set out fully the facts and relevant sections of the Constitution of the South African Press Council ("the Council") and the Code of Conduct

The General Election for Members of Parliament took place throughout the Republic on Wednesday, April 29, 1981. The two main political parties contesting the election were the Nationalist Party (NP) being the party in power and the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) being the official opposition party. Shortly before the election Dr Munnik, the Minister for Health and Pensions had made the much reported R20 per month subsistence diet statement. That statement was the subject of much discussion. Details thereof need not be repeated. The statement was much criticized by the opposition and the newspapers supporting it. The NP felt that it ought to take steps to counter any adverse effects the statement and newspaper comment thereon might have on the voting in the election. It decided to do so by placing a full page advertisement in an English language newspaper. An advertisement was duly drawn up. Its contents were highly critical of the PFP and the opposition press.

I shall hereafter refer to the parties as complainant and respondent.

On Monday, April 27 the advertisement was taken by the complainant to the advertisement section of the respondent. That section was asked whether it was

ble and damaging assertions, it was referred to me and I decided to publish it in full.

However, in view of the seriousness of some of the statements which obviously required contemporaneous response, I deemed it only fair to give those criticized a chance to reply immediately. This accords with a long-held tradition of fairness at the Cape Times, and with the spirit of the Press Code of Conduct.

"The Cape Times would welcome the matter being placed before the Press Council, and is considering further action in the matter," Mr Heard said.

Complainant, acting through its attorneys, thereafter lodged the present complaint with the Council. The gravamen of the complaint appears from the following extract from the attorneys' letter:

"Die spesifieke klagte wat ons kliente teen die Cape Times het is naamlik dat hulle 'n advertensie geplaas het in 'n dagblad op 'n betaalde basis en dat die Cape Times vóór publikasie daarvan hul direkte teenstanders, die Progressiewe Federale Party, uitgenooi het om vóór publikasie van die advertensie kommentaar op die inhoud daarvan te lewer in 'n poging om die effek van die advertensie te neutraliseer. Ons kliente beskou hierdie optrede van die Cape Times as 'n growwe skending van die privilege van 'n adverteerder."

It appears also from one of the annexures to the complaint that complainant had during the above-mentioned interview with the assistant editor asked whether the respondent expected to be paid for the advertisement.

In his answer to the complaint the Managing Director of respondent stated *inter alia*:

"As regards payment for the advertisement you may inform the Complainant on our behalf that this has been waived."

A credit note for R2 199.50 was enclosed. The Managing Director also included a statement by the editor. The relevant extract reads:

"In my view the advertisement contained serious charges against the PFP Opposition and also against the Cape Times and the Morning Group of newspapers, which had reported a press conference given by the Minister of Health, Dr Munnik. This sort of 'knocking copy' would not in the ordinary course be allowed, if, for example, one commercial firm wanted openly to at-

tion. We believe that the complaint is more properly cognisable by the Advertising Standards Authority of South Africa."

On July 16 I caused a memorandum to be sent to the parties. In that memorandum I pointed out that many of the documents which had been filed reflected opinions which were not admissible in evidence. I also added —

(i) that on receipt of the complaint I had realized immediately that there had not been a contravention of the strict letter of the Code of Conduct and

(ii) that this was not a matter cognisable by the Advertising Standards Authority (This view, I may say, was confirmed by the eminent chairman of that Authority), and

(iii) that the editor had stated that his conduct did not offend against the spirit of the Code and that he "would welcome the matter being placed before the Press Council", and

(iv) that I had accepted the editor's *ipse dixit* and ruled that a hearing should take place. (I pause to say that having received a complaint which did not in my view fall within Rule of Procedure 3(e) (iii), I was obliged by object clause 1(c) of the Constitution of the Council to order a hearing.)

(v) that I wished to know whether the editor had changed his mind and no longer wished the Council to adjudicate on the matter.

The reply to the question in (v) above was to the effect that "the editor agrees" that the Constitution of the Council does not permit of this matter being heard by the Council "and according he is not prepared to give the unequivocal statement demanded."

I interpreted the above ambiguous statement to mean that he no longer wished the Council to adjudicate upon the matter.

Having considered all the above I was of the view that the following were issues left for decision by the Council:

A Whether the respondent, having consented, *via* the editor, to the jurisdiction of the Council, could withdraw that consent.

B Whether the editor's contention was correct, *viz* that the conduct complained of was not in conflict with the spirit of the Code.

a newspaper, that conduct of journalists prior to such appearance, no matter how questionable, was not cognisable by the Council. Examples quoted were questionable methods of newsgathering and breaches of undertakings given by journalists.

Respondent's counsel in his full argument referred to various clauses in the Constitution, Code and Rules of Procedure. As to these more later. He urged that the whole purpose of the Council was to assist in upholding and maintaining the freedom of the Press, therefore conduct which did not conform to the highest standards of Press conduct, or which was likely to bring the Press into disrepute, was in conflict with the provisions of the Code, if not directly then impliedly, and was therefore cognisable by the Council.

It is not necessary to set out in detail the relevant clauses in the Constitution, Code and Rules to which we were referred. These were all considered.

The two assessors drawn from the panel of newspapermen are both eminent men in the newspaper world. They were of the view that the Council did not have jurisdiction to decide any matter which did not fall strictly within the wording of the Code read with the Constitution and Rules. They said that it was "never intended that the Council in its present form or its predecessor, the South African Press Board of Reference which was formed in 1962, should deal with matters other than what appeared in print." Hence, so they urged, the Constitution, Code and Rules had to be strictly interpreted and the Council could not take cognisance of pre-publication conduct alleged to be a contravention of the Code. The two assessors drawn from the panel representing the interests of the public held the contrary view. They are both eminent persons. They were strongly of the view that on a proper interpretation of the Constitution, Code and Rules the Council was empowered to deal not only with conduct in conflict with the letter but also with conduct which was in conflict with the spirit of the Code. It was their view that this intention was manifest from the wording of the relevant clauses.

Although I am not bound by the views and decisions of the assessors I place great value on their views. In fact this is the first case in which there has not been a unanimous finding.

I turn now to consider the various relevant clauses

to uphold the freedom of the Press by ensuring that the highest standards of conduct are maintained (see (aa), (bb), (cc) above). If these clauses stood alone there would be much to be said for the view that any conduct which is calculated to bring the Press into disrepute — as contended for by the "lay" assessors — is cognisable by the Council. It will be seen, however, (see (dd) and (ee)) that the Council is empowered to consider infringements, express or implied, of the Code. The "press" assessors urge that no one clause can be read in isolation and that these latter clauses indicate clearly that the conduct specifically detailed in the Code is to be used as the means by which the high standards are to be maintained. There is much to be said for this point of view. It thus becomes necessary to examine the Code.

It will be seen that clauses 1, 2, 3, 4 (a) and (b) of the Code (see (ff) and (hh) above) refer to *news* and state that the facts must be accurately reported and that comments must be based on correct facts. There is no reference to conduct preceding the dissemination of the news, statements of fact or comment. Insofar as these clauses in the Code are concerned conduct prior to the publication of the facts and comment does not conflict with the Code.

As to clause 4(c) of the Code (see (ii) above), this requires that "responsibility" in reporting in newspapers is promoted. In this regard the question may be asked whether a newspaper which accepts an advertisement and then itself comments on the advertisement on the day it appears, is acting responsibly and therefore "promoting responsibility in reporting." This aspect was not, as we have seen from the above-quoted portion of the complaint, raised before us.

Nor was it argued before us. The complaint was really directed at the fact that the advertisement was shown to the PFP in advance of its appearance.

I pause to say that I have not overlooked the word "implied" in clause (3)(b) of the Constitution (see (ee) above). Implied means something not expressly stated in the Code. This cannot be extended to mean any conduct which the Council may feel is calculated to bring the Press into disrepute. It can only mean not expressly stated in regard to news, i.e. facts and comments which appear in the newspaper. It would be stretching the

Issue of Tuesday, April 7. The reply was probably, but that the final decision rested with the editorial section. As will be seen later the editor decided to accept the advertisement. The cost hereof was R2 199,50 and complainant was debited in that amount.

The advertisement duly appeared in the respondent's issue of Tuesday, April 28. However, to complainant's great consternation there appeared in the same issue, on the front page, under an extremely large and prominent headline, an article in which the leader and two other prominent members of the PFP referred to the contents of the advertisement and made statements calculated to destroy the effect of the advertisement. An editorial in which the editor made remarks criticizing the advertisement also appeared in that issue.

It was obvious that the advertisement had been placed before the leader and other members of the PFP for their comment and in pursuance thereof their commentary was placed by respondent on the front page of Tuesday's issue. The purpose of so doing is self-explanatory.

Complainant regarded the above conduct as unethical and its immediate reaction was to seek an interview with the editor. After a second attempt so to do, complainant was advised that the editor was busy and could not see its delegation. After some discussion the delegation was referred to the assistant editor. They told him that in their view respondent's conduct was unethical and wished to know what respondent would do thereon. The assistant editor's reply was that complainant could issue a statement which would be published and if it so wished could complain to the Council. There followed further discussions which proved abortive.

Other Cape Town newspapers carried stories and comment on April 29 and 30 about the fact that complainant had complained to the respondent. These are not relevant to the issue presently before the Council.

Respondent, in its issue of April 30, under the headline "EDITOR REPLIES TO NAT COMPLAINT", set out the editor's reaction to the complaint. Relevant extracts from this article read:

"Mr Heard said 'Since, unlike any ordinary commercial advertisement, it was a politically-charged advertisement, and contained highly challenge-

hand, the Cape Times's practice is to allow politicians the freest opportunity to convey their viewpoints.

In view of the time factor and the need to allow those criticized the opportunity of effective reply, I instructed the Cape Times political correspondent to inform PFP figures about the advertisement while there was still time for them to defend themselves. Had the advertisement not been worded in such far-reaching language the question of giving an opportunity for defence would not have arisen. Similarly, had it appeared earlier than the day before the election, the PFP would have had adequate chance to reply effectively. The advertisement fell into a special category. It was in no way similar to ordinary commercial advertising. It was a controversial, politically-charged last-minute development in a general election campaign. It is a firmly-entrenched tradition of the Cape Times to give the right of contemporaneous or effective reply, and I felt that this consideration was paramount. The decision was taken by myself in the hectic atmosphere of the closing days of the election campaign. In retrospect, it would have been advisable to inform Mr Durr (the author of the advertisement) of the course we were taking so that he could decide whether to withdraw the advertisement or go ahead and have it commented upon contemporaneously."

The respondent's answer was sent to the complainant who thereafter, in terms of Rule 3(c) of the Rules of Procedure, requested adjudication of the complaint and sent further documents.

Having received the above request, I decided that the matter should proceed to a hearing on the issue set out in the complainants attorneys' letter.

Thereafter the respondent instructed its attorneys in Johannesburg to act on its behalf. Up to that stage the issue of jurisdiction of the Council had not been raised. However, on July 7 the respondents' attorneys wrote saying that in their view the complaint was not cognisable by the Council and that the question —

"seems to be whether or not it was ethical for the Cape Times to have accepted an advertisement for publication and then to have referred it to leaders of the Progressive Federal Party prior to publica-

tion that the conduct did so offend, whether the Council had jurisdiction to deal with the matter.

I pointed out that it followed that if the answers to B and C were in the negative the complaint could not be upheld.

The parties were advised of above view and were further advised that if the answers to B and C were both in the affirmative, the parties would thereafter be given an opportunity to address the Council. In view of the fact that the respondent had taken the preliminary point that the Council had no jurisdiction, this aspect was argued by the parties' legal representatives. There is no need to detail the respective arguments. The parties are assured that they have all been fully considered by the Council.

So much for the facts and events which preceded the actual hearing.

As to A above. The Council is not a statutory judicial or administrative body. Its objects are set out in the Constitution. A newspaper knowing these objects and the voluntary Code may well decide to consent to its conduct being adjudicated on by the Council even if it believes the subject-matter in issue is not, in terms of the Code, strictly cognisable by the Council. Such a consent can be compared to an *ad hoc* agreement to an arbitration. The Council could therefore inquire into the matter and give its adjudication. The difficulty which arises in this matter is that the respondent has now changed its attitude and intimated that it no longer wishes the Council to adjudicate in the matter and does not consent thereto. In these circumstances there is no consent before us. The fact that respondent had chosen also to answer the complaint and not take the jurisdiction point at the outset does not constitute an agreement to submit to the jurisdiction of the Council. In the absence of a firm agreement between respondent and complainant to submit to the Council's jurisdiction respondent cannot, as was urged by complainant, be made to submit to the jurisdiction of the Council (i.e. in the case not falling within the Constitution or Code).

As to B and C above. These were not dealt with in the above form. The point taken *in limine* on respondent's behalf, viz lack of jurisdiction, was considered. It was contended that the Constitution and Code were designed to deal only with what appeared (or possibly with what was about to appear) in

### The Council

- (aa) The preamble in effect stresses that a free press can best be assured by the maintenance of the highest standards of conduct and that it was therefore desirable to adopt a voluntary Code of Conduct and create a Press Council having, *inter alia*, the following objects and procedure
- (bb) Objects - clause 1(a) — to maintain freedom of the Press
- (cc) Objects - clause 1(b) — to maintain the character of the Press "by the adherence to the Code" (my underlining)
- (dd) Objects - clause 1(c) — to consider alleged infringements of the Code
- (ee) Procedure - clause 3(b) empowers the Council to consider and decide in respect of a matter which has been published, whether the conduct complained of "an infringement of the express or implied provisions of the Code, including any standards contemplated by the Code" (my underlining)

### Code of Conduct

- (ff) Clauses 1 and 2 stress that the freedom of the Press is indivisible from that of the individual, that news shall be presented in a balanced manner and truthfully and accurately, that where it later appears that a report was incorrect, it must be put right immediately and spontaneously
  - (gg) Clause 3 stresses that comment must be fair and based on facts truthfully stated,
  - (hh) Clauses 4(a) and (b) stress that newspapers must exercise care as to the reporting of certain subjects (which are detailed)
  - (ii) Clause 4 reads - "as far as is practicable ensure that honesty, objectivity, reasonableness, responsibility and correctness in reporting in newspapers are promoted" (my underlining)
  - (jj) Rules of Procedure
- These deal only with procedural matters and do not assist in deciding the issue before the Council.
- The Council is constituted

prior to the news appearing in the paper

As stated above there is to be said for the views of the sets of assessors I have, as stated given full consideration to the views. The decision of course solely mine (see clause 3(d) of the Constitution). It follows from what has been said that I have a great difficulty in resolving the ambiguity arising herein. The intention of the Constitution Code is to be gathered, if possible from the wording thereof. Because of the ambiguity I decided it was necessary to examine the background, i.e. the history of the relevant provisions in order to ascertain what the intention was when the Code of Conduct was first adopted.

In 1962 there was established the South African Press Board of Reference. This later became the South African Press Council. When the above Board was established a Code of Conduct was also adopted. I have studied the minutes of the meeting at which it was decided to establish the Board and to adopt a 'voluntary' Code. Having done so have no doubt that it was intended that the Board would have jurisdiction to deal only with conduct relating to news which appeared in the newspaper and not to conduct journalists and editors which preceded the appearance of the news. Such amendments as there have been to the Constitution and Code do not affect the issue before us. It is necessary to say that the word 'implied' was only inserted into clause 3(b) of the Constitution at a later date. However having regard to the meaning of 'implied', as set out above it cannot be said that the inclusion of the word 'implied' indicates an intention to confer jurisdiction on the Council in respect of conduct prior to the appearance of the news. I should add that I am strengthened in my view by the decision given by the Press Council under the Chairmanship of the late Judge H de Villiers in 1968 in the complaint of The SA Medical and Dental Council vs Die Beeld in which it was said -

"Concerning the merits of the case, the Press Council has concluded that there has been no contravention of any of the provisions of the Code of Conduct. The Press Council is not clothed with jurisdiction to adjudicate on the manner in which news is obtained, its jurisdiction is confined to news of comment as published."

- It follows from what has been said above that I am of the view that the Council is not clothed with jurisdiction to deal with this matter.
- As stated at the outset the principle involved is one of importance. The Newspaper Press Union will no doubt give consideration to the principle involved and take such steps as it deems desirable.
- In the result the adjudication is as follows:
- 1 That inasmuch as the conduct complained of did not relate to published news which in itself did not conflict with the Code of Conduct, the South African Press Council is not clothed with jurisdiction to adjudicate in the matter.
  - 2 That the initial intimation by the editor of the Cape Times to the effect that he would welcome the matter being dealt with by the Council would have enabled the Council to adjudicate in the matter in spite of the fact that it did not otherwise have jurisdiction.
  - 3 That in the absence of an agreement between the parties to submit to the jurisdiction of the Council the Cape Times was entitled, as it in fact did do prior to the hearing to withdraw the intimation in para 2 above and to take the point that the complaint was not cognisable by the Council.
  - 4 That the complaint of the Federale Raad van die Nasionale party against the Cape Times is not cognisable by the Council and cannot proceed further.



# Court sequel

Star 8/9/81

# to UPL story

(BAM) (243)



Mr Gibson

### Court Reporter

The Bureau Chief of United Press International appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court today on a charge under the Defence Act

Mr Nathan Clifford Gibson (43), based in Johannesburg, was not asked to plead and the case was postponed to October 5 at the request of the State

Mr Gibson appeared in connection with a telex report, on June 20, 1980, about the riots in Uitenhage, Cape, which allegedly referred to army movements.

According to the charge

sheet Mr Gibson allegedly published a statement, comment or rumour relating to the activities of the South African Defence Force which was calculated to alarm or depress members of the public

The report was to persons or to telex outlets unknown to the State while such publication had not been authorised by the Minister

About 12 foreign correspondents were present to hear the trial

Mr Kelsey Stuart is appearing for Mr Gibson Mr A van Wyk for the State

two-stage due  
 b) Compare the n  
 a) What is the n  
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 the S: to be 2  
 the variance of  
 containers, Form  
 and R1 for each  
 in overhead. If  
 carton. It is prepared to send  
 and wishes to estimate the mean number of efforts per  
 like a container. A firm has received 20 containers of efforts  
 Efforts are packed in cartons, 100 of which

is the variance  
 mean number  
 mean of  
 estimates  
 used in a  
 was opened  
 R50 will go

### Example 8.4

If  $S_w^2$  is close to  $S^2/M$   $R_{opt}$  will be close to L.  
 This is because if elements are assigned to clusters in a  
 fairly random way, complete inspection of a few clusters  
 will be as efficient as partial inspection of many, for the  
 same value of  $n = m$ , and  $d_1/m$  will be reduced.  
 If  $S_w^2$  is much bigger than  $S^2/M$  the means vary a  
 lot from cluster to cluster and many clusters should be  
 sampled to obtain reasonable results. Much therefore  
 depends on the initial estimates of  $S^2$  and  $S_w^2$ .

found to be

$$R_{opt} = \frac{d_1 S^2}{d_2 (S_w^2 - S^2/M)}$$

where  $S_w^2 = \frac{1}{M-1} \sum_{i=1}^M (X_i - \bar{X})^2$

(8.44)

# No study for Sisulu

By WILLIE BOKALA

MR ZWELAKHE Sisulu, detained former president of the Media Workers Association of SA (Mwasa) and news editor of the silenced SUNDAY POST, has been refused permission to continue university studies in jail.

Replying to a request for Mr Sisulu, a student with the University of SA (Unisa), to receive study and tutorial material to enable him to write examinations in October, the office of the Commissioner of Police said the request could not be granted.

Mr Sisulu, who is the son of Robben Island life prisoner, Mr Walter Sisulu, was detained in June this year and today completes 82 days in detention without trial. He is presently being held under Section Six of the Terrorism Act after serving the first 14 days of his detention under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act.

He was detained during security police swoops which netted close to 30 people in Soweto in a single week. Also detained during that week's swoop was SOWETAN news editor, Mr Thami Mazwai; second president of the banned Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC) and chairman of the SA Youth Revolutionary Council (SA YRCA), Mr Khotso Seatholo; and former Soweto beauty queen, Miss Masabata Loate.

Mr Sisulu was among the five newspapermen banned by the Government at the end of last year when the POST and SUNDAY POST newspapers were also silenced. He has been banned for three years with a restriction that do not allow him to enter a media concern and bars him from continuing his trade union work.

The Matjila, Mokgoatleng firm of attorneys was instructed by Mr Sisulu's wife, Zodwa, to seek permission to allow her husband to continue his studies with Unisa and to allow him to write examinations in October this year. In their letter of request the attorneys stated that Mrs Sisulu would be grateful if her

husband could be allowed to tutorial material to continue his courses.

Replying, the office of the Commissioner of Police said they acknowledged receipt of their letter but, regretted permission could not be granted. "We have considered the request but, can unfortunately not accede to it at this stage," the reply, signed Lt-Col H Gloy on behalf of the commissioner, said.

# Public confidence in Press Council 'shaken'

*C7 9/9/81 (243)*  
**Political Correspondent**  
**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY** — A Nationalist MP said yesterday that public confidence in the Press Council had been shaken by the council's inability to rule on a dispute between the Cape Times and the National Party

Mr Kent Durr (NP Maitland) said during the debate on the internal affairs portfolio that the Press Council had shown itself to be an ineffectual body and this was a matter for concern

The Cape Times had withdrawn its consent for the Press Council to adjudicate on a complaint after inviting the National Party to take the matter to the council

Mr Durr accused the Cape Times of taking the "absolutely indefensible" step of showing a Nationalist election advertisement to the Progressive Federal Party before publication and publishing PFP comment on the same day as the advertisement

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van zyl Slabbert, and the MP for Pinelands, Dr Alex Boraine, were among those who knew the contents of the advertisement before the newspaper appeared on the streets

"Without the knowledge or consent of the National Party, or myself in particular who was acting for the party, the newspaper invited comment in an attempt to negate the effectiveness of that advertisement."

When the National Party objected to this "unethical behaviour", the Cape Times



Mr Kent Durr

deputy editor had pointed out the National Party had a remedy in taking the matter to the Press Council

The Cape Times editor, Mr A H Heard, had said in a later statement that the newspaper's action in showing the advertisement to the PFP "accords with a long-held tradition of fairness at the Cape Times and with the spirit of the press code of conduct"

The editor had also said the Cape Times would welcome the matter being placed before the Press Council. When the National Party did that, it found the newspaper had "done a volte face" and was withdrawing its consent for the hearing on the grounds that the Press Council did not have jurisdiction in the matter

Mr Durr said it was "morally indefensible" to show an advertisement in advance to the advertiser's direct competitors, in this case an

opposing political party during a general election campaign

The Cape Times had said that, in view of the seriousness of some of the statements in the advertisement, they had required contemporaneous response and it was only fair to give those criticized the chance to reply immediately

"Were we in the National Party at any time given that opportunity when advertisements appeared which were incorrect and unfounded?" he asked

Mr Durr asked what would happen now that the Cape Times had frustrated the ability of the Press Council to hear a dispute

"By its own decision the Press Council, encouraged by the Cape Times, has shown itself to an ineffectual body and public confidence in the Press Council has been shaken"

The chairman of the council, Mr Justice O Galgut, had hoped the Newspaper Press Union would give attention to the important principle raised. Mr Durr said he hoped the NPU would make a statement as soon as possible "to allay public fears"

If the Cape Times was so convinced it was innocent, it should have submitted to Press Council adjudication. Mr Durr asked what had become of fairness, justice, the right of reply and the public's right to know

The Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, is expected to respond to Mr Durr when the debate continues today



# Nats 'disregard' Press freedom

no 10/9/81 (243)

## Parliamentary Staff

THE chief opposition spokesman on internal affairs, Mr Tlan van der Merwe, yesterday accused the National Party of showing a gross disregard for Press freedom.

He was reacting to remarks by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, who had said he would have to take a new look at the role of the Press Council.

Mr Heunis said it appeared to him there had been a misjudgment in the theoretical sense by the Press Council in its finding that it had no jurisdiction to adjudicate on a complaint by the National Party against the Cape Times.

Speaking in the debate on his department's budget vote, the Minister added that he could not say whether the chairman of the council was right or not.

There seemed to be real doubts about the methods of discipline at the disposal of the council.

The newspaper concerned had damaged itself as well as the Press.

Mr van der Merwe (PFP Green Point) said he did not believe the dispute between the National Party and the Cape Times was a matter for the Press Council at all. It was not a matter of Press ethic.

If the National Party had a complaint about the handling of an advertisement it was a contractual matter, and the NP could take the matter to court.

The attitude of NP members showed their disregard for Press freedom.

If the Press Council had to deal with this dispute, then it should also have the right to investigate certain Nationalist media, including Die Burger, for its refusal to publish advertisements from the Progressive Federal Party.

DD 11/9/81  
NPU head regrets  
Transkei news Bill

JOHANNESBURG — The president of the Newspaper Press Union, (NPU), Mr Peter McLean, said yesterday the NPU had noted "with regret" that the State President of Transkei, Chief Kaizer Matanzima, had signed into law the amended Criminal Law Amendment Act

Mr McLean said in a statement that an NPU deputation had arranged a meeting with Transkeian authorities to discuss certain provisions of the bill; but this had not materialised

"Thereafter Minister George Matanzima was again asked to meet a deputation from the NPU before the bill was assented to by the Transkei President

"There was no response to this request," Mr McLean said

The Act can compel the disclosure of sources of information about the government and makes it an offence for anyone in the public service to disclose, other than in the course of duty, information gained through his employment, for any purpose prejudicial to the state

Any person who publishes information he has reason to believe was disclosed in contravention of the Act must disclose his source

The penalty for contravening these provisions is a fine of up to R3 000 or imprisonment for up to three years — SAPA

# NPU renews pledge to guard public

243  
16/7/6  
rom

↓ = decrease

THE president of the Newspaper Press Union, Mr Peter McLean, has said the union would consider the implications arising from the decision of the Press Council on the complaint of the Federal Council of the National Party against the Cape Times

This would be done at the next meeting of the NPU's executive council and, in particular, it would consider whether provision should be made for adjudication of complaints of such a nature and, if so, on what basis and in which forum

In the meantime, said Mr McLean, it was necessary to counter certain misconceptions which had apparently arisen

It seemed to have been suggested the Press Council had in some way failed in its duty

Mr McLean's senior NPU colleagues in all four major newspaper groups agreed with him that any such suggestion was unfounded. It was the duty of the Press Council to interpret its own charter to determine whether the complaint fell within its scope

The council understood the gist of the complaint it had received as being directed at the treatment of an advertiser by a newspaper

Its finding that such a matter fell outside the purview of the code of conduct, which was concerned only with the editorial content of newspapers, was in entire accord with the practical views which members of the NPU themselves had always had of the purpose and meaning of their code

It had never been their intention to provide in the code for complaints on non-editorial sub-

jects. So complaints in regard to circulation figures, whether technical or ethical, rested with the Audit Bureau of Circulation, and in regard to advertising matters, under the Advertising Standards Authority

## Evident

When the NPU in 1977 adopted a rule imposing limitations on rewards for news hints, it deliberately grouped the rule under its general constitution provisions and did not insert it in the code of conduct where it would, in the view of the NPU, have been inappropriate (again because it did not relate to published editorial content) and the then Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, with a Cabinet committee, was informed accordingly

It would further be evident that, if there had been an oversight in not providing specifically for adjudication of the rather unusual type of complaint which arose in the Cape Times case, it did not follow that this was to be seen as a reflection on the Press Code or the Press Council

The NPU was continually reviewing the adequacy of rules applying to all the spheres of the activities of its members. If it found further protection for the public was required, it would carefully consider where and how this could best be provided, Mr McLean said — Sapa







# New book in US by Donald Woods

Star 22/9/89

243

By Henry Schuster  
The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — A new autobiography by Mr Donald Woods, former editor of the East London Daily Dispatch who was banned in 1977 and fled abroad later that year, has been receiving high praise in the American Press

"Asking for Trouble — The Autobiography of a Banned Journalist" is an account of Mr Woods's life from early childhood until he crossed the border into Lesotho at the end of 1977.

Much of the work is anecdotal but there is an attempt by Mr Woods to recount the political education that led to his stance against apartheid and friendship with Steve Biko.

Mr Woods offers a vivid account of what life was like under a banning order and how continued harassment by members of the Security Police led his wife and he to decide that their family should leave South Africa

He also corrects the report given out at the time that he swam across a raging Telle River to safety in Lesotho.

It was a convenient cover but the true story, he says, is that he set out from East London disguised as a priest with his hair dyed black. A Lesotho civil servant gave him

a ride across the Telle Ridge checkpoint early in the morning past a tired and unsuspecting border guard

Publishers Weekly refers to "Asking for Trouble" as "an autobiography that demands reading by anyone who would understand the injustices of the racial policy of Afrikaner nationalism."

Anthony Lewis of The New York Times calls the book "fascinating" and says it "brings to life the drama and pain of all South Africa."

Newsweek cites "Trouble" and Mr Woods's earlier book "Biko," as "an indictment of apartheid far harsher than any attack he could have launched at home"

Criticism of the book revolves around Mr Woods's personality, an overabundance of detail and his political education.

Sanford Ungar, an American who once worked for the Argus, takes Mr Woods to task in the Columbia Journalism Review for "a self-portrait that is flattering to a bizarre extreme"

Mr Woods is currently on a publicity tour of the United States for his book. He has also appeared at a meeting in Albany, New York, to speak against the visit of the Springbok rugby team.

# Nqakula not allowed to ferry his wife

DD 25/9/81 (308) (105) (125) (169) (243)

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — An application by the banned acting president of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa), Mr Charles Nqakula, for permission to ferry his wife between Stutterheim and Mount Coke at weekends had been refused, his wife said yesterday.

He would however be permitted to attend church at Zwelitsha on Sundays.

Mr Nqakula, a former Daily Dispatch reporter, was served with a two-and-a-half-year banning order on July 31 restricting him to the King William's Town and Zwelitsha magisterial areas and to his Mount Coke home at weekends.

Mrs Gertrude Nqakula, a teacher at Mgwali Secondary School, Stutterheim, said in a telephone interview yesterday permission had been sought for her husband to pick her up at school on Friday afternoons and take her back on Sunday afternoons to enable her to join her husband at weekends.

It had also been requested that her husband be allowed to attend services at St John's Anglican Church at Zwelitsha on Sundays.

She said a reply had been received on Wednesday from the King William's Town magistrate, Mr J. P. Seaman. The letter said:

"Your request for permission to fetch your wife every Friday afternoon from Mgwali location in Stutterheim district and take her back on Sundays, can unfortunately not be acceded to and is accordingly refused."

Mrs Nqakula said the request that her husband be allowed to attend morning

church services at Zwelitsha was approved, on condition that Mr Nqakula left the premises to which he was restricted for the sole purpose of attending the morning service not more than 30 minutes before the commencement of the service and that he returned immediately after the service.

Mrs Nqakula said that since the ban of her husband she had had to rely on friends to fetch her in her husband's car.

"The problem in this arrangement has been that friends have not always been available to assist as

they are workers," Mrs Nqakula said "I cannot rely on public transport, or on getting lifts"

"This problem is compounded on Sundays when we have to run around looking for people who will drive me back to school." Even if I possessed a driver's licence there would still be problems as it would mean taking the car with me to Mgwali and leaving those at home without transport, especially for cases of emergency."

Mr Seaman could not be contacted yesterday — DDR.

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN		
DEPARTMENT OF ACCOUNTING		
ACTION AND ESTATE DUTY II - 1981		
LINE/READING LIST - 3rd & 4th QUARTER		
THE INCOME TAX ACT	MEYEROWITZ	
	ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES	
	TUTORIALS	
ss.1 'gross income' definition paras. (g), (h); 11(f), 11(g), 11(h), 12, 13, 8(4), 8(5)	513 - 524, 765 - 786, 534 - 537, 1423 - 1426	T.1319 T.1409 T.1411

DN - 5 SEPTEMBER TO 13 SEPTEMBER

	The relevant paras. in Chapters 9, 11, 12 and 26	16.10 T.1051 (b) and (c) T.1401
VISION		

DN - OCTOBER 1981	T.1424, T.1425 T.1431, T.1432 T.1525, 14.5 16.7, 16.9
VISION	

IX 1980' AND THE SOLUTIONS ARE PREPARED ON THE BASIS THAT THE QUESTIONS

ARE UPDATED BY ONE YEAR.

DD 28/9/81  
**Nqakula**  
attends

**service**

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— The banned acting president of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa), Mr Charles Nqakula, yesterday joined the congregation at St John's Anglican Church at Zwelitsha to attend Mass for the first time since his banning

Mr Nqakula, a former Daily Dispatch reporter, was served with a two-and-a-half-year banning order on July 31, restricting him to the King William's Town and Zwelitsha magisterial areas and to his Mount Coke home at weekends

However, last week he received a letter from the magistrate of King William's Town, Mr J P Seaman, informing him that he could attend services on Sunday mornings at St John's church on condition that he left the premises to which he was restricted for the sole purpose of attending the morning service not more than 30 minutes before the start of the service and that he returned home immediately afterwards.

The Rev Patrick Ncanca, who celebrated Mass, blessing Mr Nqakula with holy water and incense and laid his hands on his head as well as on the heads of other members of the congregation

Mr Nqakula's application to ferry his wife between Stutterheim and Mount Coke at weekends to join him was refused last week — DDR

# Newsmen sacked

*Sawetlan*  
BY CHARLES  
29/9/81 MOGALE (243)

AT LEAST six black journalists employed by the South African Press Association have been retrenched.

According to Sapa chairman Mr Gideon Engelbrecht, the move to retrench the newsmen could result in more workers being dismissed with the closing down of the agency's homelands service.

Reporters on Sapa were shocked last Friday when they were served with notices terminating their services from October 1. They said they were sent off with two months' retrenchment pay.

A statement from the Writers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) accused Sapa of racial behaviour for retaining the services of the white head of the homelands' services while dismissing its black workers on the other hand.

"We feel our members were only employed to further the interests of Sapa during and immediately after the 1976 uprisings. The unrest is over, and Sapa is aware it can pick up copy elsewhere, and now our members are left in the lurch," the statement said.

"At about the same time last year, our members had to go through a similarly traumatic experience, when reporters went on strike and it is a great pity the same tragedy has to affect them now," the Mwasa statement added.

The journalists are Joshua Raboroko, Collin Nxumalo, Makgare Sekoto (all of Johannesburg head office), Dan Langa (Pietersburg), Siphon Keyi (Ciskei) and Shirley Matthews (Port Elizabeth).

"When the homelands' service is ultimately closed down," Mr Engelbrecht said, "for every black retrenched, four whites will be retrenched."

Star 29/9/81 (243)

## Sapa retrenches 6 journalists, begins money-saving revamp

Six journalists working in the homelands terminate their services with the South African Press Association tomorrow in what has been called a "revamping" of the news agency.

The chairman of Sapa, Mr G J D Engelbrecht, said the retrenchments were in line with the decision of the agency's board of directors to cut running costs.

"That is the reason we are retrenching some of our staff. This is only the

beginning and when the process is over there will be more whites affected than blacks," Mr Engelbrecht said.

Transkei staff would not be affected.

The Southern African Society of Journalists said in a statement it was "extremely concerned" at the loss of jobs and the implications for Sapa.

SASJ president, John Allen, asked why Sapa had deemed it necessary to cut back on staff and also why black staff in particu-

lar had been hit.

A spokesman for the southern Transvaal region of the Media Workers Association said today the decision was regrettable.

"But Sapa should realise that people cannot just be thrown out of jobs at such short notice.

"The white man has once more demonstrated to us that he likes us only when he can use us."

The retrenched will receive severance pay for two months, and all accrued benefits.

# 6 black Sapa reporters retrenched

29/9/81  
Room  
243

By MONTSHIWA MOROKE

SIX black editorial staff members of the South African Press Association (Sapa) have been retrenched by the company's board of directors.

Three of the retrenched reporters worked in Sapa's head office in Johannesburg and the rest worked in the homelands. They were sent letters last Friday informing them that their services would be terminated on September 30.

The manager of Sapa, Mr W J H van Gils, yesterday said the six reporters were retrenched because the company's board of directors decided to terminate the news agency's homelands service. He said the three Johannesburg-based staff members were part of the homelands service.

A spokesman for the six said those affected by the five-day notice were Mr Joshua Raboroko, Mr Makgare Sekoto and Mr Colin Nxumalo in Johannesburg. Others are Mr Dan Langa of Lebowa, Mr Sipho Keyi in the Ciskei and Mr Masoabi Motseta in Gaborone.

# Bosses advised to talk to the Press over strikes

Ev Post 30/9/11 243  
152  
122

Post Reporter

THE managements of firms where strikes occur should talk to the Press to clarify the situation and help prevent inaccurate reporting

This is the opinion of the head of the Department of Industrial Relations at the University of Port Elizabeth, Professor Roux van der Merwe

He was commenting on the refusal of several firms to give information to the Press about strikes

Prof Van der Merwe said his advice in management training courses was that, in the event of a work stoppage, companies should deputise a properly briefed representative to make statements to the Press

Small companies were often caught off guard by industrial unrest, and instead of making statements which would clarify the situation,

they tried to wish the Press away

"It is not good practice, however, to conduct one's negotiations through the medium of the Press," Prof Van der Merwe said

"Trade unions are prone to conduct their business through the Press — it is obviously to their advantage"

He said managers often complained that the Press was biased and hostile towards them "Trade unions are always prepared to speak, and if managements are not, one obviously gets a one-sided picture

"However, the Press also has a responsibility not to be biased in its reporting," he said

The executive director of the Midland Chamber of Industries, Mr Brian Matthew, said the South African Press tended to "over-report" work stoppages which, in countries where they were common, would not receive coverage at all

RDY 2/10/81  
243

# Expulsion order baffles journalist, prompts protest

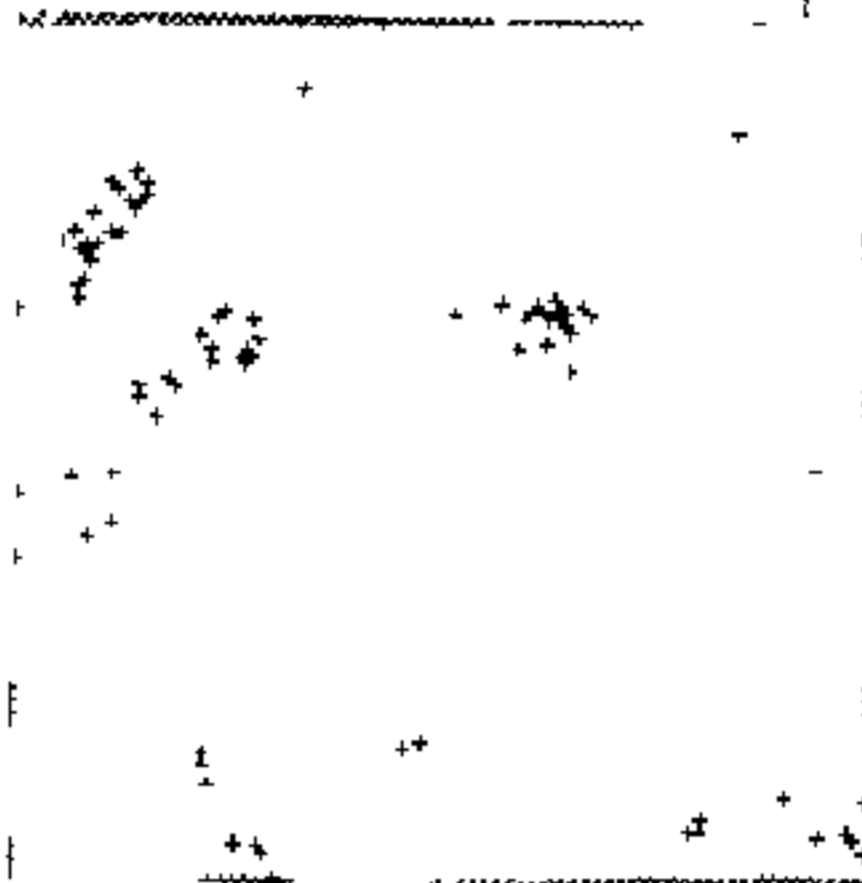
By MARTIN FEINSTEIN

MISS Cynthia Stevens, the Associated Press correspondent who has been ordered to leave South Africa, says she is "mystified" at her expulsion.

And the Foreign Correspondents Association of Southern Africa (FCASA) has condemned the decision as "ominous" and called on the Government to give reasons "without delay".

Miss Stevens was told by the Department of Internal Affairs on Wednesday she would have to leave the country by October 14 as her work permit had not been renewed.

Miss Stevens said she was baffled by her expulsion "I have not even had a hint of a reason — even off the record — and no specific allegations against me have been made. I haven't broken the law and my professional and personal conduct have been beyond reproach."



MISS CYNTHIA STEVENS  
kicked out of South Africa

## Fortnight

She said the acting Director-General of Internal Affairs, Mr J C Pretorius, had given her one week to leave the country but after representations this had been extended to a fortnight.

Mr Pretorius said it was policy not to give reasons for such decisions.

The chairman of FCASA, Mr Jonathan Kapstem, said the association believed Miss Stevens was entitled to an explanation "even if there can be no appeal".

"She has been denied accreditation since March, despite repeated attempts by the AP and the association to discover what seems to be the Government's objection," he said.

"Ironically, Miss Stevens recently wrote on the plight of fatally ill Fransie Geringer, 8, and prompted a spontaneous outpouring of sympathy in the United States and the creation of a fund that will bring the South African lad and his family to the US for a visit to Disney World."

He said the FCASA executive was "profoundly disturbed" by the decision.

Meanwhile, an extraordinary meeting of FCASA in Cape Town yesterday passed a resolution urging the Government to explain its decision without delay. FCASA has also requested a meeting with either of the two Ministers involved.



# AP expulsion deplored

THE Foreign Correspondents' Association of Southern Africa yesterday passed a resolution deploring "most strongly" the government's decision to expel a Johannesburg-based Associated Press correspondent, Miss Cynthia Stevens.

The resolution also urges the government to give an explanation of this decision without any further delay.

The Department of Internal Affairs decided not to renew Miss Stevens' work permit and informed her on Wednesday that "consequently it will be necessary for you to make arrangements to leave the Republic within 14 days".

A statement issued by the FCA in Cape Town yesterday said the association is also asking for a meeting with either the Minister of Foreign Affairs or the Minister of Internal Affairs to discuss this and other matters concerning correspondents in South Africa.

In Johannesburg, the chairman of the association, Jonathan Kapstein, said the FCA believed Miss Stevens "is entitled to an explanation for her expulsion, even if there can be no appeal to an administrative decision".

He noted that Miss Stevens was an experienced foreign correspondent "who has not been charged with violating any South African laws".

"Ironically, Miss Stevens recently wrote on the plight of fatally ill Fransie Geringer, 8, and prompted a spontaneous outpouring of sympathy in the United States and the creation of a fund that will bring the lad and his family to the United States for a visit to Disneyland".

Mr Nat Gibson, bureau chief for United Press International, is charged with violating a provision of the Defence Act in a story he wrote 15 months ago — Sapa

*Serial part*  
*but no reason for the substantial difference*  
*IC below bar — legal*  
*— over-estimated*

# 'Govt against black media men'

By WILLIE BOKALA

9/10/41

BLACK journalists in South Africa were being singled out and detained precisely for exposing the Government's racist policies, the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) said yesterday.

Mwasa were commenting on the continued detention of their former president, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, who is also former news editor of the silenced SUNDAY POST, and Mr Thami Mazwai, Mwasa's general secretary and news editor of the SOWETAN, who

have been held by security police since June this year. Mr Mazwai today, completes 106 days in detention without trial while Mr Sisulu has been in for 104 days today. They were both first

detained under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act and later changed to Section Six of the Terrorism Act.

Mwasa said in a statement released by its national council on Wednesday that more than 1000 of its members were demanding the immediate release of the journalists or that they be charged in a court of law publicly. The organisation said both Mr Mazwai and Mr Sisulu

were dedicated and committed journalists who were timeless fighters for a democratic South Africa. They were respected throughout the free world and it was significant that they had at one stage been chosen prisoners of the month by the International Federation of Journalists.

"The young men left their families abruptly and to our knowledge have been held incommunicado ever since. At the time of Mr Mazwai's arrest, his wife had a baby of

only a few weeks old.

free world are concerned about the continued harassment of their colleagues in this country. At least twelve journalists in the Transvaal alone have already been banned since the formation of the journalist's union. We feel, therefore, that it is not far-fetched to believe that they are singled out precisely for exposing the Government's racist policies," Mwasa said.

# Zulu paper joins 'work to rule' <sup>243</sup> call

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN—The Durban-based Zulu-language newspaper Ilanga today joined five English-speaking newspapers on a work-to-rule over a pay dispute with management.

And Post Natal was expected to take similar action after a meeting today.

Mr Frans Xolo, father of the Ilanga chapel of the South African Society of Journalists (SASJ), said the editorial staff had voted unanimously at a meeting on Friday to work to rule.

The Sunday Tribune chapel instituted a work to rule 10 days ago and following a deadlock in pay talks between management and the SASJ on

November 4, they were joined by the Sunday Times, the Sunday Express, the Rand Daily Mail and the Daily News

## OFFER OPEN

When the talks closed, management left open their offer of 18 percent across the board with a seven percent discretionary increase.

The SASJ's demand of 25 percent across the board for seniors was also held over for a fortnight

Journalists are planning to petition the Minister of Manpower Utilisation, Mr Fanie Botha, in an attempt to settle the pay dispute with their employers

They will ask him to establish a statutory conciliation board.

PDS/10/81 (243) (139) (195)

## Mwasa symposium

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— Dr Les Switzer, professor of journalism at Rhodes University, read a paper on the alternative media at a symposium held at Zwelitsha at the weekend

The symposium, organised under the auspices of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) was attended by journalists, students in journalism at Rhodes University and also students at Fort Hare University

and people interested in the news media.

The second paper on the feasibility and actual establishment of an alternative news medium in the Eastern Cape, was delivered by Mr Leslie Xinwa, senior reporter on the Daily Dispatch.

Each paper was followed by a question-and-answer session. Delegates formed themselves into groups to discuss the papers. — DDR

# More rhetoric than change

243  
BBW

The Zimbabwe government took over the country's major newspapers. Many people predicted a rapid disintegration of the press' quality or integrity. Were they right?

JENNY CARGILL reports.

Not a month after easing himself into the editor's chair at the Salisbury paper, The Herald, Albert Munyuki was called a "kaffir" by a white employee.

Was the man fired? No. Management, which had the right to do so, did nothing, says Munyuki.

But he wrote an editorial a little while later urging the expulsion from Zimbabwe of "scum" - white opportunists who had neither sought-after job skills nor any commitment to the post-colonial society.

That's the way it is in the Zimbabwean Press these days - plenty of rhetoric, but not as much change.

The old settler style has survived in the weekly bevy of predominantly white brides that still fills the newspaper columns, and Rich Man Poor Man which helps to keep the real-life social issues of beggarman and thief off TV.

Herald House in downtown Salisbury is as grey and civil-service-like as every other Argus edifice in South Africa.

It was Argus who sold out a 40 percent holding in five Zimbabwe newspapers, to the government-capitalised Mass Media Trust for R2,85 million in January.

But, despite the hullabaloo that the Trust meant the demise of press freedom in Zimbabwe, the Trust, even by Munyuki's own account, has the reputation of being toothless.

Certainly, it is no match for the still-intact Argus management, which according to one report, posted a notice in the Herald building instructing journalists not to take complaints to the Trust, which was not the administrator, only a shareholder.

The battle is not over, and the media is a good illustration of the contradictions in the society. Deputy Prime Minister Simon Muzenda lambasted international imperialism and neo-colonialism in a recent Africa Day broadcast to the nation - only to be followed by an advertisement proclaiming the virtues of a major bank enabling access to the centres of world capitalism.

## SWOPPING THE SHACKLES OF POWER

A lot is vested in Zimbabwe's ability at mass political mobilisation to counter the all-too-real structures of economic and bureaucratic power, both of which are predominantly white. Mugabe's government inherited a state structure from Smith and

Muzorewa which is still very much intact. The media has the arduous task of helping to break this down, even though it too is tied by the same shackles.

White ethnocentrism - resulting to some extent from the years of Anglo Saxon dominance in the world media - expresses itself in allegations that Press standards must, and have, dropped.

But according to Robin Drew, previous editor of the Herald, and the man largely responsible for initiating Africanisation on the paper "The newspapers are meeting the need of informing the people".

And for one foreign journalist, declared a prohibited immigrant by Smith's government and now living in Zimbabwe "They are better than before".

For, censorship aside, the RF tag seemed well earned by Argus publications. As the war intensified, the newspapers increasingly gave the impression of being willing parties to, rather than enforced participants in, the Government propaganda machinery.

Although Drew, said to have had numerous editorial battles during UDI days, insists the Herald was never an RF rag and was always in favour of a peaceful

PLEASE TURN OVER



1 RONTLINE September/October 1981 37

# The comrades and the soap operas

CONTINUED

settlement "But a war is not a time for reasonable assessment", he adds

Today, Press, radio and TV exhort the masses to work hard, to realise that the country is in a state of transition, to concede that changes take time, and to accept even the white or black who may have killed a close friend

Radio beams a thrice-weekly 15 minute spot entitled "The Struggle Against Apartheid", punctuated with the ANC equivalents of the freedom songs Radio Mozambique carried just over a year ago for Mugabe's Zanla forces

**H** Heard frequently on radio and TV, where the changes are more striking, are the nomenclatures "apartheid-ruled South Africa", "Zionist Israel" and "expansionist Morocco" Favour is shown a local or international figure by the prefix "Comrade". Hence, Comrade Machel and Comrade Tambo, but Mr Botha The revolutionary jargon comes mixed together with enough British and American soap operas to satisfy even the most virulent supporters of Western culture



MUNYUKI



MUSARURWA

Many whites object both to the new phraseology and the selection of news not enough "international news" namely Europe But, for the country's black majority, news is now welcomed as being more about 'us' written by 'us' rather than "them" writing about "them"

The media is leading and prominently reflecting the policy of reconciliation and reconstruction initiated by Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's government In this role, it is a self-conscious agenda-setter of the issues of the day

To Munyuki and Willie Musarurwa, editor of the Sunday Mail, journalism in third world nations is a service to mankind to inform, educate and mobilise the people for the task of nation-building For Ministry of Information Director Justin Nyoka reporters must be committed to promoting revolutionary ideas

**B**ut this view, common to radical black journalists in South Africa, has yet to acquire the theoretical underpinnings it needs in order to become a substantial counterforce in Zimbabwe

Rumour has it that a few hotlines from key government officials and Ministers ring when an extra-delicate story is on the editor's desk or has found its way into print

But, insists Munyuki, who himself stands accused of taking the meat out of a story after government pressure "I've never been told by the Ministry of Information how to treat a story"

## A TWIST TO TOUCHY STORIES

On Government-owned TV there is a twist to the pressures According to one source, it's the senior white employees who sabotage touchy stories - those with the black nationalist view of Zimbabwe's war

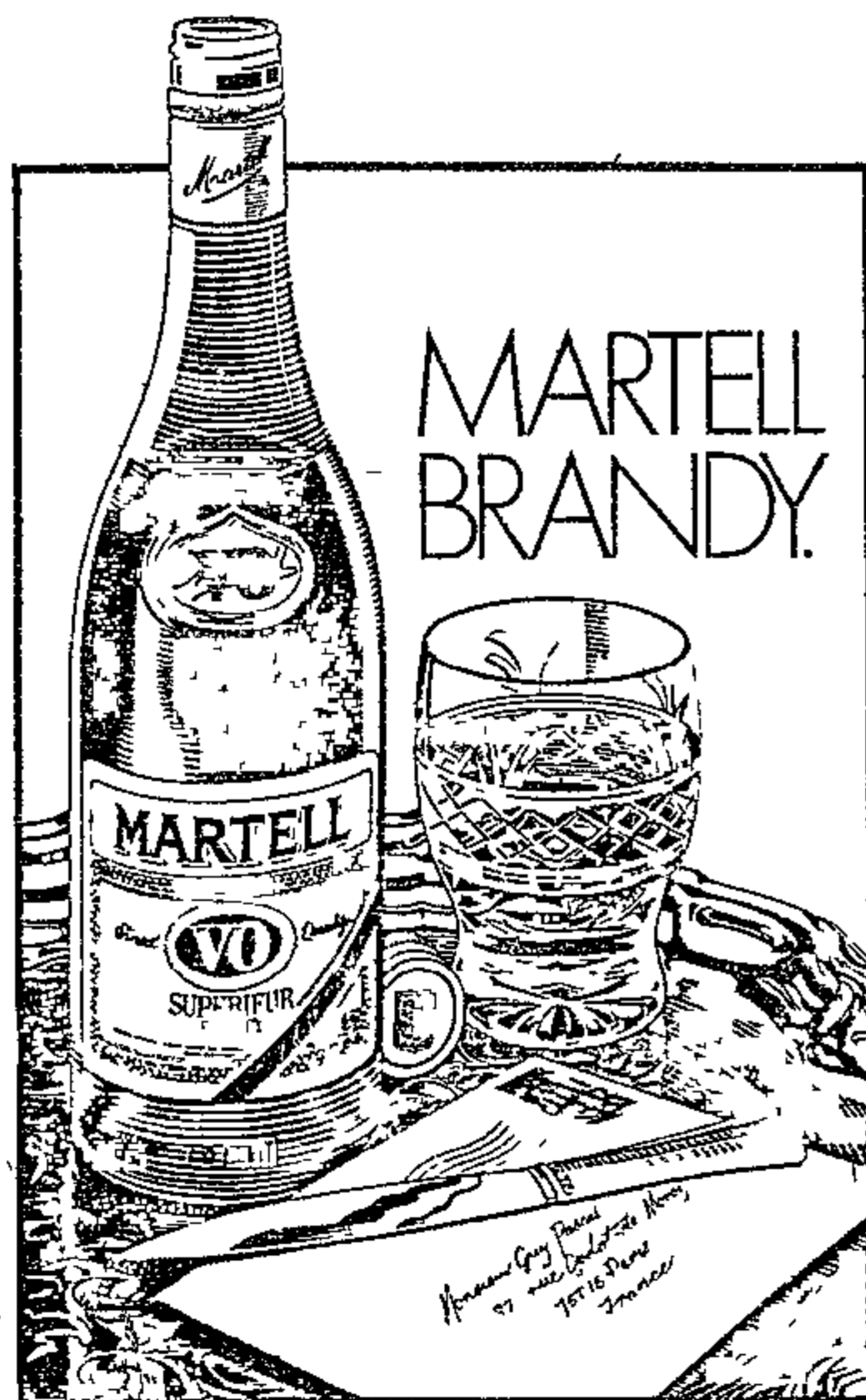
Willie Musarurwa, a veteran of this nationalist struggle on the Nkomo wing of the Patriotic Front alliance, is known as a fiercely independent spirit He has warned against a "stooge Press", and by all accounts he means what he says

But the position of Zimbabwean editors seems more lonely than that of editors elsewhere Munyuki, who says he is surrounded by Rhodesian Front lieutenants adds "Even as editor, I don't feel comfortable here"

Patriotic Front leader Joshua Nkomo complained bitterly that he had not been informed about the decision to create the Trust

Not surprising - if one report is correct. The Trust takeover was apparently accelerated in order to stop Nkomo from buying Bulawayo's Chronicle and Sunday Mail with Libyan money

There have been no visible signs that the three black editors appointed by the Trust are not allowed free expression of their editorial opinions But some people, of course, are less free than others, like their South African counterparts



ITS A QUESTION OF STYLE

(WV) 60289

*(Handwritten signature and number 243)*

240  
5/10/87  
Sapa to eliminate  
25 posts (243)

The South African Press Association has decided to reduce the agency's establishment from December by a further 25 posts in order to cut costs, chairman, Mr Gideon Engelbrecht, said today. These posts are 11 editorial staff, nine printer operators and five messengers in branch offices in Cape Town, Durban, Pretoria, Salisbury and Windhoek, and an additional to the six trenchments in the homeland service announced last week.

Some of the staff will be offered alternative employment in Sapa's head office in Johannesburg and the number of people declared redundant will therefore be fewer than

# Mercury press to lift <sup>PDM</sup> Saan's <sup>5 (1981)</sup> stake <sup>(243)</sup>

Financial Reporter

THE Natal Mercury has signed a contract for a R4 500 000 full colour offset printing press for delivery in the second half of next year

In announcing this yesterday Mr John Robinson, Chairman of Robinson and Co (Pty) Ltd, the owners of The Natal Mercury, said that South African Associated Newspapers had agreed to assist Robinson and Co finance the new press and had also approved a 10-year printing contract for the Natal edition of The Sunday Times

As a quid pro quo for these undertakings, the shareholders of Robinson and Co would be asked to sell a percentage of their shareholding to South African Associated Newspapers SAAN presently holds 37% of Robinson and Co

Control of The Natal Mercury would remain with Robinson and Co, said Mr Robinson. The present Board of Directors with five directors of Robinson and Co and two directors of SAAN would remain as constituted

Mr Robinson said he would remain as Chairman of Robinson and Co and retain his seat on the Board of South African Associated newspapers

When installed this new press would give The Natal Mercury immediate instead of pre-printed full colour facilities



# UPI chief: State withdraws case

By Zenaide Vendéiro  
Court Reporter

The State today withdrew charges in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court against Mr Nathan Clifford Gibson, Bureau chief of United Press International.

Mr Gibson (43), appeared on allegations that on June 20 last year he contravened the Defence Act by "wrongfully or unlawfully publishing a statement or comment or rumour relating to the activities of the South African Defence Force which was calculated to alarm or depress members of the public."

It was alleged that the publication, believed to

have been about the strike at the Volkswagen plant in Uitenhage, had not been authorised by the Minister of Defence.

The State prosecutor, Mr F Strydom, did not give reasons for the withdrawal of the charge.

● The Foreign Correspondents' Association issued a statement this morning expressing relief that the "silly charge" against Mr Gibson had been withdrawn.

The statement said: "South African newsmen operating in our home country are not subject to restrictions such as those we experience in South Africa."

**Expelled  
journalist  
leaves SA**

Star 8/10/81  
243

Miss Cynthia Stevens, the American journalist ordered by the Government to quit South Africa, left for New York last night.

Miss Stevens, an Associated Press correspondent in Johannesburg, was told by the Department of Internal Affairs last week that her work permit would not be renewed.

She was given 14 days to leave the country.

The Acting Director-General of the Department of Internal Affairs, J. C. Pretorius, gave her no explanation for the expulsion.

Miss Stevens's work permit and visa first expired last March. In June she was given a retroactive three-month permit and visa that expired on June 26.

# SAAN takes up 49 pc of Natal paper's shares

Star 9/10/87

243

## Own Correspondence

DURBAN — Mr John Robinson, life chairman of the Natal Mercury, has confirmed that 49 percent of the newspaper's shares will be sold to South African Associated Newspapers by the end of this month.

But he denied that the deal would give SAAN the controlling interest.

The present board of directors (five from Robinson and Company and two from SAAN) will remain as such.

"We will continue to control all policy decisions," Mr Robinson said.

The Natal Mercury, one of the country's oldest privately owned newspapers, was founded by the Robinson and Collins families and has remained under their control for the past 129 years.

Faced with rising costs and pressure to join

the country-wide Johannesburg-based SAAN chain, the Natal Mercury has for many years battled to retain its independence.

During a lean period in the early 1970s there were several bids to buy the newspaper.

An offer of R7-million was made in 1973 by a former staff journalist, Mr Lawrie Morgan. He was later shown by the Erasmus Commission of Inquiry into the Information affair to have been backed by Government funds.

At the time, Mr Morgan refused to name his backers and the offer was turned down. Shortly afterwards, SAAN bought 25 000 voting shares and 50 000 non-voting shares for R1,3-million.

Mr Robinson said that the major reason for the sale was financial.

"SAAN is helping us to finance the purchase of a R4,5-million web-offset machine and has given us a 10-year contract for the Natal printing of the Sunday Times newspaper.

"It has therefore been a matter of give and take on both sides, a partnership and not a turn-over, and it does not alter the fact that the Mercury still owns R100 000 shares in SAAN," Mr Robinson said.

He repeated assurances that there would be no upheaval at the newspaper and no jobs would be jeopardised.

Mr Robinson declined to say how much money SAAN was putting into his company, but it is understood that holders of non-voting shares are being offered R19,35 a share which is considerably less than the R25 paid by SAAN in 1973.

# Press giant sues rival for R11m

## CAPE GROUP SEEKS DAMAGES AFTER CIRCULATION FIGURES 'DEBACLE'

S. Tribune 18/10/81

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By TONY SPENCER-SMITH

THE Cape-based Afrikaans newspaper giant Nasionale Pers disclosed this weekend that it will sue its arch-rival, the Transvaal group Perskor, for more than R11 million following Perskor's falsification of circulation figures.

The chairman of Perskor, Marius Jooste, refused to comment yesterday.

A report on the front page of Nasionale Pers's Cape Town newspaper Die Burger yesterday said the case involved alleged damages suffered by its Transvaal morning paper Beeld following the "circulation debacle."

It said the return date for a letter of demand to Perskor was Thursday this week. The letter followed negotiation proposals from Nasionale Pers.

The report quoted the Nasionale Pers managing director, Dawid de Villiers, as saying that Perskor had again denied liability and indicated that it was not prepared to negotiate.

"Consequently our legal representatives have been instructed to draw up the necessary documents to institute court proceedings."

The impending claim for damages is the latest skirmish in the long war between the groups, which intensified when Nasionale Pers entered the Transvaal market in the mid-

in the first six months of that year.

The ABC suspended the membership of all three newspapers. The Citizen was reinstated later that year, but the other two were expelled and reinstated only in April this year.

Reports late last year said Perskor had agreed to pay advertisers, but by the misrepresentation, more than R1.5 million in compensation.

In a statement last year, Mr Jooste said the Perskor officials responsible for the irregularities would be axed and said the unfortunate occurrences should be seen against the background of the heated political struggle in the Transvaal and the commercial overtrading which had created a blast furnace of competition.

Mr de Villiers said yesterday that he did not want to give details of the claim at this stage, other than that it involved mainly advertising revenue. The amount mentioned in the letter of demand was R11.75 million. A summons had not been served yet.

Nasionale Pers, while it supports the National Party, has long been seen as more verlig than Perskor, and the war between the groups is a reflection of north-south Afrikaner political rivalries.

Beeld has far outstripped Die Transvaler in circulation and in fact had already done so last year.

which competed with Die Transvaler

Last year one of the biggest scandals in South African newspaper history exploded when the Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC) found that Perskor had grossly inflated the circulation figures for Die Transvaler, Die Vaderland and The Citizen to the tune of five million copies

circulation figures gave the opposite picture

There has been speculation that Perskor might compensate Nasionale Pers by giving it control of the Sunday paper Rapport — now owned on a joint 50 percent basis by the groups — or taking Die Transvaler out of the morning market, thus giving Beeld a free reign

# Nat plot

## to curb verligte editor

243 SUNDAY TIMES 18 10 87

DR WIMPIE de Klerk, editor-in-chief of Die Transvaler, flagship of the Perskor newspaper fleet, has become a prime target of rightwing intrigue in the National Party and there are moves to curb his influence, according to informed sources.

The campaign to curb Dr de Klerk forms part of a much wider rightwing strategy which will swing into full force at the Transvaal congress early next month.

According to informed sources, the rightwingers have scored a significant gain in their moves against Dr de Klerk with the appointment of a new, highly conservative deputy chief editor, Mr Jan van Vreden, to guard their interests in the newspaper's top editorial echelons.

Mr van Vreden's position is a new one in the editorial line-up — there is already one deputy chief editor

The first public signs of the broad rightwing campaign became clear this week in a series of tough resolutions that will confront the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, at next month's Transvaal congress

Mr Botha, whose cavalier treatment of the Transvaal congress in the past has earned him bitter enemies, faces a rough passage at the congress this year

The rightwing is obviously out for revenge and could also make a run against one of the Prime Minister's close and important Transvaal allies, Mr Fanie Botha.

There is speculation that an attempt might be made to oust Mr Botha, the Minister of Manpower, from his position as vice-chairman of the party in the Transvaal.

He alienated the rightwing shortly after the election when he tackled the Transvaal leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, during a meeting of the Transvaal head committee

He attacked Dr Treurnicht's controversial Marble Hall speech that had obliquely, but clearly, knocked Mr Botha's labour policies

Dr Treurnicht won the encounter, forcing Mr Botha to back down at a specially convened subsequent meeting of the Transvaal head committee.

According to informed sources, Dr Treurnicht also figures in the moves against Dr de Klerk, whose editorship of Die Transvaler has long been a bone of contention among rightwingers.

Die Transvaler is traditionally the mouthpiece of the National Party in the Transvaal, but rightwingers have long complained that Dr de Klerk's editorial policy is not representative of the mainstream of Transvaal Nationalism.

Informed sources say there is enormous significance in the still-to-be-announced appointment of Mr Jan van Vreden as deputy chief editor at Die Transvaler.

Mr van Vreden, described as a highly conservative Nationalist, was news editor at the Pretoria-based Perskor newspaper, Hoofstad, when Dr Treurnicht was editor there.

### 'Wimpie' faces a tough offensive



IVOR WILKINS

They formed a close association which has been maintained ever since, sources say.

Mr van Vreden was promoted from Hoofstad to editor of Perskor's Noord-Transvaler, a Pietersburg newspaper, after Dr Treurnicht's departure from the Press world into politics.

On Monday, it was announced within Perskor that he was to be appointed a deputy chief editor of Die Transvaler — but so far the appointment has not been publicly announced.

However, rightwingers, including Dr Treurnicht, were apparently aware of the move some time before even its internal announcement.

According to informed sources, Dr Treurnicht last week told a media confidante in Cape Town of Mr van Vreden's impending move to the Johannesburg-based daily and said the idea was that Die Transvaler would at last have a conservative within its top editorial structure.

Dr Treurnicht said yesterday he held no positions in Perskor and had nothing to do with Mr van Vreden's appointment. He confirmed he had heard about it, but did not recall making any comments about it.

He said anyone who tried to make a statement...

DR WIMPIE DE KLERK  
Prime target

He said anyone who tried to make a statement...

# Afrikaans Press giants set for court battle

AFRIKAANS newspaper giants Perskor and Nasionale Pers are set to go to court in an unprecedented R11-million action for damages over a row involving circulation figures

The claim stems from the discovery in 1979 that Perskor had falsified the circulation figures for some of its publications

Nasionale Pers claims that because Perskor inflated its circulation figures for Die Transvaler it thereby caused Nasionale's rival paper, Beeld, to lose revenue

Mr D P de Villiers, managing director of Nasionale Pers, said this week that his company had instructed its lawyers to take the necessary steps to proceed with the claim in court after Perskor had failed to meet an October 15 deadline for payment set out in letter of demand sent to Perskor towards the end of September.

Mr de Villiers said Perskor

## for court battle

Sunday Times Reporter

had failed to meet the deadline and had indicated that it was not prepared to negotiate the matter

"We have instructed our legal representatives to take the necessary steps to take the matter to court," he said

### Summons

In the letter sent to Perskor by Nasionale Pers's lawyers, Jan S de Villiers and Son of Cape Town, Perskor was told that unless it made payment by October 15 Nasionale would issue summons for a civil court action

The circulation row started when it was discovered that

Perskor had falsified the circulation figures for Die Transvaler, The Citizen and Die Vaderland

For years, Beeld and Die Transvaler have been locked in a circulation battle which is said to have cost both companies millions.

After the Perskor figures were adjusted it emerged that Beeld, not Die Transvaler, was the largest selling Afrikaans paper in the Transvaal

Nasionale Pers first tried to negotiate with Perskor to settle the dispute, but the rival group said that it was not responsible for losses incurred by Beeld

As a result, the letter of demand was issued

No Perskor representative was available for comment yesterday

make sinister deductions about the appointment was "plucking

them from the air"

Dr de Klerk writes a weekly political column and generally tends to act as a pathfinder for the verligte movement.

His views are anathema to the right wing and his position at Perskor has been uncomfortable for some time because his political convictions are not shared by the bulk of the giant organisation's top personnel and directors.

The Perskor conglomerate's directors include such prominent Transvaal rightwingers as Mr Mar- nus Jooste, the chairman, Mr M C Botha, the former Minister of Ban- tu Administration and Develop- ment, Mr Jack Steyl, the former Transvaal secretary of the National Party, and Mr Sybrand van Niekerk, the former Adminis- trator who defied the Prime Minis- ter's injunction that politicians re- linquish their newspaper connections.

Dr de Klerk was out of Johannes- burg this weekend and could not be reached for comment.

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THE British National Union of Journalists (NUJ) has highlighted the plight of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) leaders with a protest outside the South African Embassy.

The protest on Monday was part of a trade union week of action to isolate apartheid.

Mr Francis Beckett said "No sooner is a Mwasa president elected than he is rendered incapable of functioning as a journalist and is also restrained in other ways"

A statement released by the acting-president of Mwasa, Mr Goba Ndlovu, said in response "Mwasa is grateful that the world is aware of our struggle for liberation and the harassment faced by our leaders. We in Mwasa are convinced that what we do is only to uphold the truth as it is and to tell it as it is."

"The South African Government is trying to hide that truth and it is up to the free world to record events, as they happen in South Africa. True, our leaders have been suppressed and silenced but Mwasa's work must go on."

# CNA income up by 97,5 percent

MM 29/08/81

JOHANNESBURG — CNA Investments recorded unaudited pre-tax income of R3 175 000 for the six months to August 31, 1981, a 97,5 percent improvement over the comparable R1 608 000 recorded to end-August last year

Results at CNA are a pointer to Argus Printing and Publishing which is expected to report tomorrow

The CNA result was achieved on only a 37,6 percent increase in comparable sales — from R36 276 000 to R49 928 000

Tax was well up at R1 137 000 from the previous R587 000 and, with an unchanged preference dividend of R25 000, attributable income for ordinary shareholders more than doubled from R996 000 to R2 013 000

Earnings per ordinary share increased from 29,5 cents to 59,7 cents and the interim dividend has gone up 66,7 percent to 12,5 cents from the last interim of 7,5 cents

The directors say growth through the CNA retail

stores was particularly strong in the first half of the financial year. 'CN A sales increased R12 million, or 38,7 percent, to which 10 new store openings (1980 — 5) contributed R1 million. This achievement exceeded our budget forecast, with consumer spending holding up at levels higher than anticipated.'

They add that although they expect a deceleration in the sales rate increase through to the February year-end, their seasonal merchandising programme and expanding store network 'looks to winning increased market share and proportionately higher earnings for the full year.'

As the group has switched to the Fifo method of accounting, the board considers it in the company's best interests to widen dividend cover 'in these times of higher inflation, and replenishment cost' — (Sapa)



Tribune  
journalists  
work-to-rule

Labour Reporter

JOURNALISTS on Durban's Sunday Tribune newspaper yesterday embarked on a work-to-rule protest in support of pay demands, and colleagues on two other papers have threatened to do the same

A spokesman for the Southern African Society of Journalists said that the work-to-rule at the Tribune had already affected production, but the paper's editor, Mr Ian Wyllie, said the paper would appear as normal on Sunday.

The work-to-rule comes at a time when the SASJ and managements of most English-language newspapers are negotiating journalists' annual pay increases

African workers represented

S.A. = 20% In addition,

more than half of the 502

workers (i.e. 248 workers)

of

(four of fifteen) believed

in the desired number of

workers - while claiming to have

required number of workers -

migrants on at

63% of their

for reasons to

workers recru

have been in

Only 26.7% of

that it was b

permanent wor

no difficulty

complained of the inferior quality of the worker that was available.

It is interesting to note that all of the farmers who perceived

a shortage of labour were using African migrants as permanent

workers. While this may be explained as being a consequence of

their inability to procure Coloured workers, three of these

farmers expressed a clear preference for working with African

labour. This may well be a pointer to a somewhat surprising

result in the light of current hypotheses regarding the level

of African unemployment (further evidence of this result and a

possible reconciliation of it with other information on the high

level of African unemployment will be offered later); namely

that, at least with regard to agricultural employment (and the

wage which the farmer expects to be adequate to recruit migrants)

the supply of labour in the Transkei appears to be drying up.

(b) Hex River Valley

From Table 2 we note that 640 workers are employed permanently

on the eighteen farms visited, the mean number per farm being

36 workers. It was suggested as a 'rule of thumb' that one

permanent worker per hectare may be regarded as the optimum

level of employment for table grape farms in the valley.

Workers permanently resident on the farms including both

Coloured farm workers and permanent African workers (who qualify

to remain permanently in the area in terms of Section 10 of the

Natives (Urban Areas) Act as Amended) comprise 65.5% of the

## Journalists work to rule

EDITORIAL staff on the Sunday Tribune have adopted a work-to-rule policy over a salary dispute with management - and three other Durban chapels of the South African Society of Journalists are deciding their course of action.

The SASJ chapels of Daily News, Post (Natal) and Ilanga were holding meetings yesterday to discuss what course of action they themselves will take.

The dispute follows three weeks of wage negotiation

with newspaper management, still under way, with no agreement being reached.

The SASJ is requesting a 25 percent across-the-board increase for senior journalists while newspaper managements are offering 18 percent across-the-board and seven percent on merit.

The Natal Mercury chapel was also meeting to discuss management's offer.

FM 30/10/81

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## WAITING FOR STEYN

The Steyn Commission is believed to have completed its report on the mass media. The press, however, will have to wait at least until January to learn its fate — that is the earliest Interior Minister Chris Heunis can table it in Parliament.

The report has been plagued by delays amid reports that government was unhappy about the feedback it was receiving about probable recommendations. *Die Vaderland's* columnist, Voorslag, reported that it seemed government was worried that the report would not go far enough — presumably in recommending restrictions on the press.

Originally it was hoped the Steyn report would be ready for the start of the recent parliamentary session. However, the commission was unable to complete its work in time and it was then hoped the report could be handed to the Minister in late August or early September.

The chairman, Justice M T Steyn, announced it would definitely not be ready before Parliament prorogued.

The reason given for the delay is that the report is far bulkier and more detailed than originally expected. The commission considered 172 memorandums and the typed oral evidence runs to more than 6 000 pages. The report itself is expected to cover around 1 000 pages.

The completed version of the report is in English and officials are completing the Afrikaans version.



Justice Steyn . . . now wait for next year

Tribune  
staff work  
to rule

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Sunday Tribune journalists have reverted to "work to rule" after Argus management failed to meet an ultimatum by 5 pm yesterday.

The newspaper's chapel laid down the ultimatum which included an across-the-board pay increase to senior journalists over and above the 25 percent wanted by the South African Society of Journalists.

The father of the chapel, Mr "Snooky" Jacobs, said that journalists of The Tribune had agreed to a temporary suspension of their "work to rule" so that management could review their pay demands.

"The editor said he was open to negotiations but could not meet these conditions so we have therefore reverted to work to rule," he said.

# Durban paper in pay dispute

CT 31/10/81  
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JOHANNESBURG — Sunday Tribune journalists yesterday resumed their work-to-rule after the Argus management had refused to meet their demands

The chapel father of the Durban newspaper, Mr Snooky Jacobs, said journalists had initially embarked on a work-to-rule on Wednesday to protest in support of pay demands

But after the president of the South African Society of Journalists, Mr John Allen, had addressed them, journalists decided to suspend their work-to-rule temporarily if management agreed to certain pay demands by 5pm yesterday

Mr Jacobs said it had been "up to newspaper management to respond to the gesture of good faith and to heed the warnings of disillusioned journalists"

But when management had not met the conditions by the stipulated time, journalists resumed their work-to-rule

Mr Jacobs said the Argus Company had yesterday declared a record half-yearly profit of R7,6 million

The SASJ would meet representatives of the different newspaper managements on Wednesday to continue with negotiations, he said

● It is understood that apart from the SASJ demand for a 25 percent across-the-board increase, the Sunday Tribune chapel also asked for an undertaking from Argus management that they meet chapel representatives for in-house negotiations on salaries for senior journalists

The chapel received a reply from management yesterday which said management would not meet the pay increase demand. However, they were still prepared to negotiate, management said

Staff members said as a result of their action, production on the newspaper was behind schedule

**Argus profits soar, page 8**

# Journalists again working to rule

31/10/87 243

SUNDAY Tribune journalists yesterday reverted to their work-to-rule after Argus management refused to meet their conditions

The Chapel father of the Durban newspaper, Mr A Jacobs, said journalists had initially embarked on a work-to-rule on Wednesday in support of pay demands.

But after the president of the South African Society Journalists, (SASJ) Mr John Allan, had addressed them, journalists decided to temporarily suspend their work-to-rule if management agreed to certain pay demands by 5pm yesterday

Mr Jacobs said it had been "up to newspaper management to

## Mail Reporter

respond to the gesture of good faith and to heed the warnings of disillusioned journalists"

But when management had not met the conditions by the stipulated time journalists reverted to work-to-rule

Mr Jacobs also said the Argus company had yesterday declared a record half-yearly profit of R7 600 000. The SASJ's negotiations with management resume on Wednesday

VIRTUALLY all information regarding the defence of South Africa is secret or confidential — until it is released by the Defence Force. The Defence Act prohibits publication of any information relating to the composition, movements or disposition of the SADF

However an agreement exists between the Minister of Defence and the Newspaper Press Union under which certain concessions are granted to the Press and arrangements made for the release of information. The aim of the agreement is "the release to the Press of as much information as may be released within the framework of security and with the least possible delay". There is a Directorate of Public Relations, headed by a Brigadier who is assisted in media liaison at headquarters lev-

el, by a colonel, a captain and a lieutenant. The various branches of the SADF also have their own public relations staff officers. Press requests for information or confirmation must be made by accredited military correspondents or senior staff known to the public relations directorate.

This amounts, in effect, to a system of pre-censorship of most defence information. A request by the Defence Force for a blanket ban on publication of military matters was however rejected by the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into reporting on Defence and Police matters.

The new director of the SADF public relations directorate is Brigadier Kobus Bosman. LIN MENGE reports

**T**HERE is something wooden about Kobus Bosman — a particularly smooth, hard wood which is impossible for Pressmen to dent.

He will chat amiably for an hour and say nothing in particular — for the record. Off the record he will give quite convincing reasons why particular news items should have been delayed or suppressed, and less convincing reasons why the reasons themselves should remain off the record.

But that presumably, is what the job is about — total imperturbability in the face of Press protests and entreaties. That is not to say that Brigadier Bosman wants to be seen as the chief censor — far from it. His is a balancing act between the right of the public to know and the interests of national security — on a rope tautly spanned by his superiors, the Minister of Defence and the Chief of the SADF.

And if executing the policy of the Minister and the Defence Force chief is his first priority, the second is building the SADF's image.

Image is all important to the SADF — as to any defence force. As the first Steyn commission report put it with Biblical aptness, the image of operational efficiency and the fighting spirit must be maintained and strengthened — by the Press as much as by other agencies — "for if the trumpet gives an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?"

# The man

# who controls

# what you know

PUBLIC IMAGE . the new director of the SADF public relations directorate, Brigadier Kobus Bosman.

ROM 2/11/81

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Ensuring that the trumpet sounds with certainty is Brigadier Bosman's chief preoccupation. Other people in this deeply divided country may have other preoccupations — such as the right to conscientious objection, or the immorality of asking blacks to fight for a country which denies them its citizenship — but they are not Kobus Bosman's concerns

## Accusation

Who is he? The son of a teacher, he started off farming in the Free State, then joined the SABC news department where, in time, he came to be diplomatic and political correspondent and finally news editor

In 1976 he became staff officer media liaison for the SADF. He lives in Pretoria with his wife, two sons, one a medical student and one at school, and a small daughter, "blonde and beautiful". Four years ago he suffered a heart attack. Now he's a regular jogger

So Brigadier Bosman came to the SADF not as a soldier but as a journalist — a Nat propagandist some would say. He rejects that accusation

"I speak from an absolutely non-political platform," he says. "The SADF is a national force and it is non-political. I think that was demonstrated in the last session of Parliament — everyone who spoke on Defence did so from a non-political platform. That makes it so much easier to sell the SADF's image and I get along equally well with journalists from Nationalist and Opposition newspapers"

What about the notorious SADF document which proposed action to "nullify the Opposition"?

"That was just a flash in the pan. We had built up such a good relationship with the Press that it did not harper our task or our relationship with the Press"

How does that relationship work?

"Media liaison is more difficult in Defence than in any other organisation because there are certain obstacles, and the most important is security. In building

an image we have to move carefully through the position of South Africa in the world today, a position in which the SADF is playing a very important role, and problems which arise out of it such as the arms embargo

"My philosophy of public relations is simple the PRO, no matter where he is, is only a medium between the top structure and the Press and the public. The PRO who builds his own image is doing the concept of PR a disservice — so please don't make a big thing of this article"

There are three sections which he must manage media liaison which now falls under Colonel Tim Krynauw, public relations headed by Col Frickie van Oudtshoorn, and periodicals, such as Paratus, which falls under Col Pierre Coetsee

Media liaison staff officer is the job which often woke Kobus Bosman at midnight. Besides Press queries there might be calls from overseas, confronting the SADF with highly sensitive

information and needing a speedy reply. He admits the job was a strain

"But it is not our task to vet information," Brig Bosman said. "We work according to policy directives issued by our Intelligence people and if we have problems we refer the reports concerned to the Intelligence division of the SADF"

"In my experience in the past six years we prohibited so few things they are really not worth mentioning. The media in South Africa has a very good understanding of what should not be published, so we seldom get queries that are absolutely unrealistic. I'm only executing policy, but I do think that over the years we have built up a very good relationship with our military correspondents"

## Credibility

But what about the first Angolan invasion, and the failure to tell the public about it until nearly a year later?

"Maybe that did knock a bit of a hole in our credibility. It is something that we have to work to restore. But there were distinct, good reasons for not disclosing that we were in Angola — we didn't do it for funny's sake, and I believe the public understand those reasons"

"That is why our relationships with the media, and especially the liaison committee of the SADF and the NPU are so important. That is where problems can be raised and a compromise reached. Because we're non-political we can solve problems in collaboration with the media"

He does not go along with the accusation — he says he is not even aware of it — that the Press is being deliberately manipulated to denigrate the SADF, but he does believe that protest demonstrations came into being with worldwide TV, and that the Press can unwittingly aid terrorists by giving out certain information. Such information, in his

opinion, would include revealing where the enemy made their mistakes or were particularly successful, or how home resources were strained to the utmost to cope with an attack. What of relations with the wider public?

## Bad eggs

"It is part of our task to reply to letters from the public and the Press and we do believe we've got our finger on the pulse of the public. The Defence Command Council is very well aware of every bit of public concern and regards the Press as our watchdogs. Of course it is important for the Defence Force to be concerned with strategic and security considerations, but the biggest asset of the force is the men, and concern for them is an important policy matter"

Back to the image-building of those men. What about all those bad eggs in the conscript basket who rob and rape and even kill

innocent members of the public?

"If a man commits a murder and he is, incidentally, a soldier, I don't think you can blame the Press for always bringing that fact out. However unfair it is, it is news, so we must accept it. But a national defence force reflects all the problems of the nation, be they alcoholism or whatever"

Shouldn't the SADF disassociate itself more promptly from crimes committed by servicemen, such as the shooting by an officer of a black child, for instance?

"There is no question that we disassociate ourselves, but we have to be careful not to find a man guilty before he has been proved guilty"

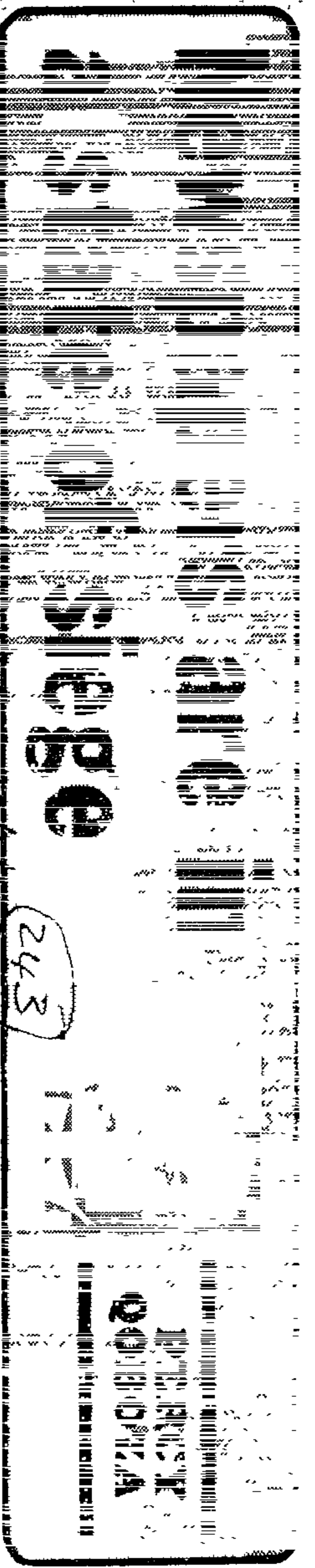
A final — and frank — word from the image-builder

"My job is to create the best balance I can, and also to project the best image I can. If I do find a tendency to mal-balance, I'll do my utmost to create a balance to the other side"

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YOU do not have to be a magician to know that something is cooking in the Government mind concerning the Press. Started off by that gentle "request" from the Government for the Press to "put its house in order" there has since been a deluge of "warnings" from various highly placed members of the Cabinet.

And mark you, all of this started off some time before the Steyn Commission handed the Government its report. The most ominous of the "warnings" came from the Minister of Police, Mr. Louis le Grange, who was quite blunt — if "action is taken, the Press would have itself to blame".

The guerrilla war between

newspapers and the Government is a historical process. It illustrates, in itself, the glaring admission by the rulers of the land that apartheid and a free and vigorous Press would find it difficult, if not impossible, to exist side by side.

The Government, on the one hand, irritated by the exposures of the hardships imposed on people by its system, clearly finds the Press a sitting duck for our ills. If some people in government had it their way, the Press would be co-opted tomorrow into the so-called total strategy in which they do nothing but sing the praises of the Government.

Newspapers on the other hand, are in a state of siege. Mindful of

the great tradition that has been established here over the centuries, and jealous of their independence and free reporting of news and events, they suddenly find themselves on the attack from both sides.

The Government thinks newspapers are going too far. Readers, on the other hand, are becoming increasingly critical of what they perceive as a retreat by many of the newspapers.

### Irrational

We now know that threats by the Government are not idle. It has shown that under pressure it can resort to the irrational and indulge in such reckless actions as shutting down newspapers, and throwing newspapermen into jail.

I think the Prime Minister, Mr. P. W. Botha, possesses a better perspective than his predecessors, John Vorster, in such matters as closing down newspapers. I do not, therefore, expect he will close down newspapers.

But I expect he will come up with a variety of little rules and regulations that would further complicate the lives of already overburdened journalists.

The Government realises that the comparatively free Press in this country has helped to give the country an appearance of democracy.

But I also suspect they will be going for individual newspapermen. Whatever strategy they employ, it does mean that the newspapers are in for a long hot summer. How long the Press can continue doing battle with its

back to the wall, remains unclear.

The tragedy about all of this, is that if and when action is taken against newspapers and newspapermen, it only helps isolate and destroy this country internationally.

You can expect a very harsh reaction from the United States, for one. There are a few things Americans treasure dearly, and one of these is the freedom of the Press.

They may take decades to understand the intricacies of apartheid, but they would immediately understand its dimensions if they discover it is a system that makes it possible for a government to close down newspapers.

Having said that, is it possible to understand just what the Government's real objection is to the English-language Press? Apart from the usual prejudices nurtured from youth against anything "Engels", there seems to be very little explanation.

Reporting prominently the views of people the Government finds unacceptable earns you the dubious accusation that you support "subversion".

Reporting that so-and-so has been arrested and locked up without trial brings the accusation that you are hampering police investigations. Reporting the plight of families whose breadwinners are jailed without trial, brings with it the ridiculous tag that you are soliciting sympathy for the enemies of the State.

Reporting a funeral of a man killed in a skirmish, and showing pictures of the thousands who

attend the funeral, brings with it the stigma that you "glorify terrorists".

You will recall that in all the accusations against the Press, the question of whether they are lying or telling the truth has never been the central debating issue. If there is one thing that newspapers and newspapermen in this country can be proud of, it is that in the exercise of their trade, their integrity has remained intact.

### Press Council

In the final analysis though, the ultimate judges of the integrity of newspapers will be, not the Nationalists, but the readers. Years ago we mistakenly allowed ourselves to be party to the setting up of a Press Council. We did it because we were confident that our men and women in the trade were people of high integrity, and that we therefore had nothing to fear.

Even more serious, we mistakenly believed that by setting up, voluntarily, this watchdog we would get politicians off our backs.

It has not happened. The politicians are using that council less and less. For obvious reasons. They have had no cause to complain or a strong enough case to bring before that council.

They are now doing the things they know best. Abandonning the rule of law and scuttling to bush from whence they are waging the guerrilla warfare against the country's Press. And what comes to that, they have put themselves to be the ultimate masters!

*Star*  
*23/2/81*  
**Union asks  
UK govt ~~to~~  
to help SA  
journalists *(243)***

**The Star Bureau**

LONDON — Leaders of the 32 500-strong National Union of Journalists have expressed concern to the British Government at the detention of journalists in South Africa and the way others are harassed while carrying out their duties.

After talking to Foreign Office Junior Minister Mr Richard Luce, the NUJ general-secretary, Mr Ken Ashton, said he had found the Minister "extremely helpful and receptive".

A campaign by the International Federation of Journalists to help colleagues in South Africa has been going on throughout the year. Britain's NUJ is the largest national body within the IFJ.

The Minister asked for a list of South African journalists against whom action had been taken and wanted more information about them, said Mr Ashton.

"I pointed out to him that there were more than 100 pieces of legislation which inhibited journalists and publishers in this country."

The delegation asked the British Government, in view of the way journalists were treated, to think again about its position in relation to sanctions against South Africa.

"He was not in favour of that," said Mr Ashton.

"He was more sympathetic when I turned to the need for the training of black journalists in South Africa."

Mr Ashton said he told the Minister there was one white journalist for every 1100 white residents, whereas there was only one black journalist for every 52 000 blacks.