

PRESS - 1992

JANUARY - MAY.

Mandela hails WM exposé

Weekly Mail Reporter (11) 243
NELSON MANDELA this week indicated that the African National Congress was arranging a meeting with the Inkatha Freedom Party to discuss *The Weekly Mail's* revelations of South African Defence Force support for the IFP. *WMail* 3/11-9/11/92

Speaking at a press conference this week, Mandela praised *The Weekly Mail* for its exposé

Asked if the ANC was going to take up the matter, he replied "These revelations are very useful and one must compliment your publication for the courage which you have shown in

digging out a matter of major national importance.

"We must naturally address the issue, but you will appreciate that I am not keen to go into any detail about the matter here. It is a matter of very serious importance. In fact, we are arranging a meeting with Inkatha and these are all matters which are to be addressed.

"But for the time being I would to emphasise how grateful all South Africans should be for the investigative journalism which is associated with your publication"

STAR 3/1/92
**Debate on free
press to be held**

Issues effecting the media in the new South Africa will be debated at a Cape Town conference later this month, said organiser Raymond Louw, a former editor of the Rand Daily Mail, yesterday. Mr Louw said participants would be journalists, politicians, trade unionists and academics who would discuss creating a climate for a free and impartial press.

Diseko just wrote what he saw

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C/Pren 5/11/92

By OBED MUSI

HE was one of those naughty reporters who write things as they see them and do not care what the outcome is. He was simply Nat Diseko.

At that time I was in the blessed chair of the news editor of the now defunct Rand Daily Mail, but if that made any impression on Nat he did not show it.

Come to think of it, Gavin Stewart, who manned the main news desk, is now Professor of Journalism at Rhodes University. But Nat made it clear to both of us that he did not think either of us deserved our positions.

He might have been right, though he could also be proved wrong. For example he once wrote a story which I felt was not only defamatory, but was bad in content. In any event it was not newsworthy because it contained so-called facts which we could not prove and allegations which made out the person in the story to be a thoroughly bad member of society.

Promises

That's when Nat marked me as a bad person "I'll never buy you a drink on tick again," he vowed and made other dire promises. That was in 1988.

Two weeks ago he was at the offices of City Press in Doornfontein and I wanted to know when I could take him to the "little place around the corner". I could not, for the simple reason that I did not have the wherewithal.

Possibly when Nat told me that the next drink he would buy me would be in a place I don't know he knew what he was talking about. But then let's get Nat in the right perspective.

He was the kind of writer who could not only feel the pulse of the people but translate it into words; the kind of guy who never forgot his old pals and was surprised when these so-called old pals forgot him.

Poor Nat. He did not know that old Tswana adage. "When the lion falls, even donkeys can kick him."

So, cheers, Nat!

Just tell bo-Blöke Modisane, Sy Mogapi, Henry Nxumalo, Can Themba, Hank Margolies, Obed Kunene, Duke Ngcobo, Casey Motsisi and all the other scribes that I'll be joining them soon.

Freedom of media essential - Mandela

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STAR

9/11/92

BLOEMFONTEIN — ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday issued a powerful call for freedom of the media, saying an informed public was essential to the democratic process

Saying openness in the negotiation process was an important prerequisite for the involvement of the public, the ANC leader committed his organisation to ensuring the country was kept abreast of events.

"An informed public is better able to make an informed choice and itself take part in the debates about society's

future"

His organisation had issued a draft media charter for discussion and amendment by the public, and other organisations should also strive for a "democratic media"

"We believe that all the parties engaged in negotiations ought to ensure accurate briefings to their constituencies

"On its part, the ANC will strive at all times to ensure that our members and the public as a whole are informed about and contribute to this crucial national debate," Mr Mandela said. — Sapa

Buthelezi hits out at Weekly Mail

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has dismissed allegations of collaboration between his party and the SADF, and accused the editor and staff of the Weekly Mail of being "loyal sycophants" and propagandists of the African National Congress

Chief Buthelezi, who accompanied the Zulu king to a meeting with President F W de Klerk, was asked to comment yesterday on disclosures in the Weekly Mail by former IFP central committee member Mbongeni Khumalo that Inkatha lead-

STAN
4/1/92 ENRICO KEMP

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ers and members had received training from SADF Military Intelligence in a bid to counter the ANC

He said Mr Khumalo was bitter because he had tried unsuccessfully to get a job in the department of the IFP chief minister

Allegations that IFP personnel had received training from the SADF were "a blatant lie"

He acknowledged that "some young people" received training in VIP protection after disclosures of

an alleged ANC plot to assassinate him (Chief Buthelezi) "These people were later reintegrated into the KwaZulu police," he said.

He said allegations of complicity between Inkatha and the security forces were deliberately put out before major events to discredit him and the IFP

President de Klerk said he had dealt fully with secret funding and operations at his post-Inkathagate news conference in July last year and that legislation on the restructuring of secret funding would be introduced — Sapa

Buthelezi ²⁴³ blasts Weekly Mail over new disclosures

SD vefan 13/1/92
INKATHA president
Chief Mangosuthu
Buthelezi has dis-
missed allegations of
collaboration between
his party and the SA
Defence Force.

In doing so Buthelezi
accused the editor and staff
of the *Weekly Mail* of being
"loyal sycophants" and
propagandists of the ANC.

Buthelezi, who accom-
panied the Zulu king to a
meeting with President FW
de Klerk on Friday, was
asked at a news conference
after the discussions to
comment on disclosures in
newspaper by a former
Inkatha central committee
member, Mr Mbongeni
Khumalo, that Inkatha
leaders and members had
received training from
SADF military intelligence
in a bid to counter the ANC.

Buthelezi - stating he did
not "wish to waste my
breath in replying to this
nonsense" - made various
allegations about Khumalo
and added,

"He is bitter because he
tried to get a job in my
department, the depart-
ment of the chief minister,
but was not successful."

Buthelezi described alle-
gations that IFP personnel
had received training from
the SADF as "a blatant
lie".

However, he acknowl-
edged that "some young
people" received training
in VIP protection after dis-
closures of an alleged ANC
plot to assassinate him
(Buthelezi).

"These people were
later re-integrated into the
KwaZulu police," he told
reporters.

Buthelezi said allega-
tions of complicity be-
tween Inkatha and the secu-
rity forces were delibe-
rately put out before major
events to discredit him and
the IFP.

"It is grossly irresponsi-
ble for people to continue
wasting their time and
throwing this muck at me,"
he said.

De Klerk said he did not
"know anything" about the
latest disclosures.

He said he had dealt fully
with secret funding and
operations at his post-
Inkathagate news confer-
ence in July last year and
said legislation relating to
the restructuring of secret
funding would be intro-
duced.

"Many of these issues
relate to a different time
and different circum-
stances, when we had to
fight terrorism. But we
have now adopted to the
new circumstances and we
have nothing to hide," de
Klerk said - Sapa

MBONGENI
KHUMALO

ANC charter calls for media revamp

STAR 14/1/92

Political Staff

The National Party was not only player and referee in negotiations — it was the commentator as well, the ANC said yesterday when it announced proposals for the media during transition and in the future South Africa

For this reason, Codesa had to place the SABC under multiparty control long before elections took place for a democratic government.

The proposals were contained in wide-ranging resolutions accompanying an ANC draft media charter, drawn up after a media seminar hosted by its department of information and publicity from November 23 to 24 last year and released in Johannesburg yesterday

The ANC said the media charter set out broad principles that could find expression in a constitution and a bill of rights, while others could be realised through legislation.

The preamble says: "Transition entails movement from a closed society into one based on the free flow of information and the culture of open debate.

"The basic principle around which a media charter should revolve is maximum openness within the context of a democratic constitution and bill of rights

"It would be erroneous to advocate the setting up of bodies which determine what society should and should not read, hear or watch.

"The outcome of negotiations depends on the assertion of these rights. It is crucial, therefore, to strive for these freedoms way ahead of the advent of democracy"

The ANC said a declaration of media freedom was not enough, but should be backed by an equitable distribution of media resources, development programmes, and an effort to create open debate.

According to the ANC, basic rights and freedoms included.

- The right to freely publish, broadcast and disseminate information and opinion, and the right of free access.
- Media censorship and mea-

Multiparty control of SABC urged

measures restricting the free flow of information should be prohibited

- The right of access to information held by the State or other social institutions, subject to limitations in the constitution and bill of rights.

On the control and regulation of broadcasting in the interim period, the ANC charged that the National Party had used the South African Broadcasting Corporation as a propaganda medium to promote apartheid

Domination

"The privileged relationship between the National Party Government and the SABC means that SABC programming, coverage and news reporting will not be fair, impartial and balanced during the interim period.

"There is an urgent need to free the airwaves from the domination of the National Party Government."

The ANC had therefore resolved that:

- The current restructuring of the SABC amounted to privatisation, which was unacceptable as SABC and TBVC broadcasters were public assets
- The restructuring of broadcasting was a priority and should be placed on the agenda of an all-party congress.
- The all-party congress should appoint an interim broadcasting consultative committee (IBCC) which would be responsible for the control and regulation of broadcasting during the interim period.

Its tasks should include:

- Taking responsibility for the SABC during the interim period by appointing a representative board of control for the SABC.
- Establishing guidelines concerning the impartiality of all broadcasts

- The TBVC administrations should be required, as part of the process of negotiations, to place their broadcasting under the direct control of the IBCC

- The IBCC should appoint an ombudsman to consider and redress breaches of impartiality through the right of reply and to correct inaccuracies accompanied by apologies.

The ANC also resolved that political parties should be given equal and adequate air time on a regular basis under their own editorial control

The ANC noted that the Government used and/or controlled a number of State information services such as the South African Communications Service, the Human Sciences Research Council, and the SAP/SADF Media Liaison Services.

It also noted that some State information services had produced disinformation and propaganda for the NP Government, and resolved that:

- The all-party congress should take steps to place control of these State information services under appropriate mechanisms of an interim government with a view to rationalisation and review of their usefulness, and ensure that funding, findings and services of these bodies should be open for public scrutiny and utility

On the print media, the ANC noted its concern "that the Government and the dominant elements of the print media will continue to distort the flow of information to influence the negotiating and electoral processes" and about "the democratic movement's lack of access to the print media".

The workshop believed there was a need for a "daily newspaper published from a democratic perspective" and directed the ANC to finalise its investigations into a daily newspaper and convene a meeting urgently to discuss the findings of its investigation.

The ANC also decided that an ombudsman should be appointed through a democratic process to receive and act on complaints relating to the infringement of press freedom, and that society should be able to legally challenge decisions of all these structures and persons.

ANC guidelines for media reform

BIDay 14/11/92

THE ANC yesterday released its draft media charter, which calls for no political censorship but insists on affirmative action to ensure an "equitable distribution of media resources"

The document, the result of a seminar held in November, calls for a constitutionally guaranteed free flow of information subject to rights of privacy, and the scrapping of all censorship laws

The document also slates the SABC and calls for a reconstitution of its board by Codesa. It criticises the print media, government's Communication Service (formerly the Bureau for Information) and the film industry

The draft charter, released to initiate debate, says it would be wrong to advocate the establishment of bodies which would determine what society should and should not read, hear or watch.

But a simple declaration on media freedom was not enough. "It has to be underpinned by an equitable distribution of media resources, development programmes and a deliberate effort to engender the

TIM COHEN

culture of open debate," the preamble to the charter says

The charter calls for the prohibition of all institutional and legislative measures which restrict the free flow of information or impose censorship.

While guaranteeing the right freely to publish information and opinion, the charter calls for the "democratisation of the media"

"Diversity of ownership of media production and distribution facilities shall be ensured," the charter says

The media should take account of the diversity of communities in respect of geography, language and interests, and affirmative action should be implemented to provide financial, technical and other resources to deprived sectors of society

The charter also proposes that journalists be protected by law from having to disclose their sources of information, and insists that media institutions "shall pro-

□ To Page 2

Media charter

From Page 1

vide facilities for the training and upgrading of media workers"

In a resolution on the control and regulation of broadcasting in the interim period, the seminar noted that the NP had a "privileged relationship" with the SABC because government appointed the corporation's board members

"The SABC has acted as the propaganda arm of the NP government to promote apartheid and had not fulfilled its role as a public broadcaster, the resolution said

Therefore, the seminar resolved there should be no restructuring of the broadcasting sector of government or the TVBC administrations' broadcasting until the control and regulation of broadcasting was decided by Codesa

Codesa should appoint an interim broadcasting consultative committee to control and regulate broadcasting in the interim period. This body should appoint a representative board for the SABC and establish guidelines to ensure impartiality. The new board should "revise current staffing and management of the SABC"

The state information services, such as the Communications Service and the Human Sciences Research Council, which

gather and collate information "used by the NP", should be placed under the control of an interim government.

The seminar expressed its concern that government and the dominant elements of the print media would continue to distort the flow of information to influence the negotiating and electoral processes

The seminar therefore directed the ANC to investigate the viability of establishing a daily newspaper

Times Media Limited MD Steve Mulholland said in response the ANC should be commended for its commitment to freedom of the media, although he found some of the ANC recommendations Utopian and unrealistic

For example, did the recommendation that all should have the right to free access to information and opinion mean that newspapers should be given away free

While it was true that the ownership of the media in SA was "somewhat unbalanced", to address this through a process of compulsion would risk violating the very freedoms the ANC sought to protect

The "distortions" needed to be dealt with, but to use coercive measures to "democratise" the media would be a contradiction in terms, he said

Media bosses hail ANC charter with some reservations

By Thabo Leshilo
Political Staff

The ANC's draft media charter for the transition period and beyond was welcomed by some media representatives yesterday — albeit with reservations — but condemned by the SABC

The charter, released on Monday, calls for the SABC to be placed under multiparty control before constitutional elections are held, the diversification of ownership, equitable distribution of media resources and development programmes

Times Media Ltd managing director Stephen Mulholland said he was delighted the ANC had committed itself to press freedom. But he was disturbed by its approach, which seemed to rely on coercion

Voluntary

"They seem to be talking of freedom of the press while issuing instructions about how the media should behave. This is a contradiction in terms."

He agreed with the ANC that ownership was concentrated and needed attention, but said this should be voluntary.

"You can't redress the evils of the past with new evils of control, instructions and laws."

"Their approach in redressing the perceived problems created by the concentration of ownership of the media is somewhat naive. What is meant by 'free' access to information?"

"Do they mean newspapers must be handed out free of charge to readers, as was the case in the Soviet Union where newspapers were free but there was no freedom of expression?"

SABC board chairman Professor Christo Viljoen said the ANC proposal confirmed old and known points of view without giving new insight.

He warned that the ANC's proposals would amount to interference in the operations of the SABC which could "turn the public broadcaster into a State-controlled broadcaster."

Professor Viljoen said the SABC currently had an auton-

omous, independent and representative council formed on the basis of expertise — not on political persuasions.

He denied that recent SABC restructuring amounted to privatisation and said restructuring was in line with sound business principles and international broadcasting developments.

City Press editor Khulu Sibiyana said "One must commend the ANC for recognising the importance of the free flow of information because any publication that propagates a particular party line is doomed to failure, especially in a democratic country."

"However, the ANC should go a step further and educate its followers about the importance of freedom of speech."

"The journalist's job has been a nightmare due to intimidation by their (ANC) grassroots."

Argus Group chairman Doug Band said he had not studied the full draft but it was encouraging that the ANC had in principle committed itself to a free flow of information.

He praised the organisation's recognition of the need for more training and development.

Influence

"We feel, however, that the proposed establishment of monitoring and watchdog structures for the media needs careful deliberation," Mr Band said.

He welcomed the ANC's intentions to establish its own daily newspaper to counter what it calls distortions by the Government and the dominant elements of the print media to influence the negotiation and electoral processes.

Argus had already indicated to the ANC and other parties its willingness to provide cost-effective access to its printing and distribution facilities and expertise.

Numerous attempts to get comment from Perskor and Nasionale Pers, the two main Afrikaans newspapers groups, were unsuccessful yesterday.

● ANC media blueprint

— Page 13

EVER SINCE the ANC's unbanning, the organisation has been pressed to come out with a clear picture of how it would like to see the media operating in a future South Africa. Behind the question has lain an unspoken fear that despite assurances to the contrary, the ANC would like so many other liberation movements before it, renege on its commitment to press freedom if it tasted power.

This week the ANC released its long-awaited media proposals. They are in the nature of offering reassurances to most people. There is something for just about everybody, and the broadness of many clauses means that whether one is delighted or frightened will depend largely on one's own interpretation of the organisation's bottom-line intentions.

Nevertheless, the proposals mark a significant moment, one at which the organisation has begun to commit itself to policy standpoints, rather than undefined statements of principle.

The ANC document, the product of extensive discussions at a department of information and publicity seminar held late last year, deals with both the transition period which lies immediately ahead, and the future. It comprises a draft media charter, an explanatory preface, and several resolutions dealing with specific media-related issues.

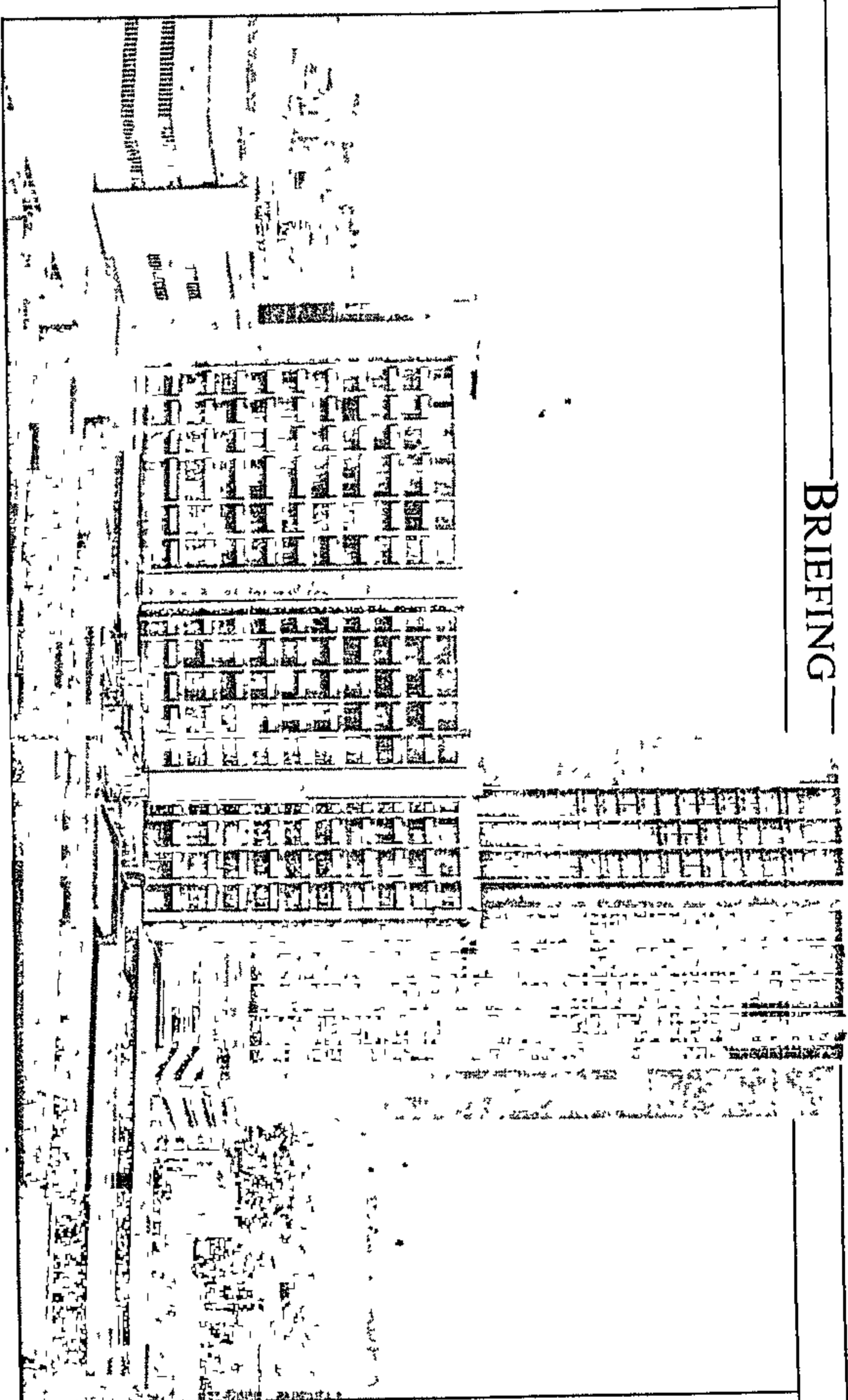
Its contents have been approved by the ANC's national working committee, and require only rubber-stamping from the larger national executive committee before acquiring the status of policy.

The preface to the charter clearly signals that the issue of the media is now set to become prominent. "Transition entails movement from a closed society into one based on the free flow of information. The outcome of negotiations depends on the assertion of these rights way ahead of the advent of democracy."

The ANC has stuck its political neck out on two issues of fundamental importance. It has

The ANC has tabled its vision of how the media should change in the period of transition — and what it should look like in the new South Africa

Political Editor
SHAUN JOHNSON
makes a preliminary assessment of the proposals



ANC media blueprint

Strat 15/1/92

enunciated its demands on what should be done to change the balance of media power in the transition period and it has made promises about what will come thereafter, should the organisation find itself in the Union Buildings.

At the outset, the ANC commits itself to the basic principle of "maximum openness", and says it would be "erroneous" to set up censorship bodies. Rather, the ordinary laws of the land should be invoked in the event of disputes.

This is qualified, however, by the observation that in the "old" South Africa, the free flow of information has been undermined by legislation, the structure of ownership of media resources, skills, language policy and social deprivation. These factors require, in the ANC's view, "a measure" of adjustment and affirmative action to ensure that the free society starts its life on a more equitable basis.

It is here that concern might begin to be expressed about the precise intentions involved in existing media owners say it is one thing for the State to broaden the range of media and access to it ("measures shall be taken to ensure that all communities have access to the technical means"), and entirely another if this means restricting or even prohibiting media already operating ("diversity of ownership of media production and distribution facilities shall be ensured").

However, subject to the limitations of the constitution, the ANC makes a clear promise "All institutional and legislative measures that restrict the free flow of information or impose censorship over the media shall be prohibited."

The charter provides for the retention of a State broadcasting service on condition that it is "independent of the ruling party and governed by structures representative of all sectors of society." It goes further than many Western countries in promising journalists protection by law from having to reveal their sources.

The ANC's draft charter lives up to its pledge to "create a society in which the free flow of information and open debate are guaranteed" — although this is contingent upon an interpretation whereby the organisation is seen as advocating an expansion of existing media resources rather than a restructuring of control of what is already operating. As manifestos ready operating As manifestos for proponents of maximum media freedom. It also obligingly promises redress to those who believe the current media scenario is grossly skewed.

The second section of the ANC document deals with the more immediate issue of what needs to change on the road to the new society: the SABC must fall under multiparty control, under the auspices of Codesa, and any moves to privatise it or

Message for bosses in Auckland Park the ANC has proposed that all measures that restrict the free flow of information shall be prohibited

Picture Sean Woods

home and broadcasting services must be frustrated

Codesa must appoint a commission of inquiry into the regulation of broadcasting during the transition and this commission must report within three months. Codesa must set up an interim broadcasting consultative committee to appoint a new SABC board for the interim period and to establish guidelines for impartiality. An independent broadcast monitoring group should monitor performance in this regard.

The State-run information services such as the SA Communications Service (formerly the Bureau for Information) should similarly be placed under the control of appropriate interim structures.

Concerning the print media the ANC expresses concern about "the democratic movement's lack of access" but it does not propose overt controlling measures for existing newspapers — rather, the ANC should establish a daily newspaper as soon as possible. However, it that "the Government and the dominant elements of the print media will continue to distort the flow of information and urge an investigation into "transitional monitoring and regulating of the media." This latter proposal is not expanded upon, save that "independent monitoring structures" are advocated.

The proposals also deal at some length with the need for skills training among the disadvantaged, as well as the empowerment and empowerment of the broadest range of people to participate in the process of developing policy for (these) media.

These proposals are sure to be tabled in the working groups now preparing for Codesa's second plenary meeting. Observers will have to take careful note of how much support the ANC can muster among the 19 delegations — and whether the Government is likely to accede to the majority's view. If it does the face of broadcasting at least will change dramatically within the course of 1992. □

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This week the ANC released its long-awaited media proposals.

They are in the nature of offering reassurances to most people. There is something for just about everybody and the broadness of many clauses means that whether one is delighted or frightened will depend largely on one's own interpretation of the organisation's bottomline intentions.

Nevertheless the proposals mark a significant moment - one at which the organisation has begun to commit itself to firm policy standpoints rather than undefined statements of principle.

Issues

The ANC document comprises a draft media charter, an explanatory preface, and several resolutions dealing with specific media-related issues. Its contents have been approved by the ANC's National Working Committee, and require only rubber stamping from the larger National Executive Committee before acquiring the status of policy.

The preface to the charter clearly signals that the issue of media is now set to become prominent in the substantive bargaining period heralded by Codesa. "Transition entails movement from a closed society into one based on the free flow of information. crucial questions about our society's future are on the agenda of debate and negotiation."

Demands

And further - The outcome of negotiations depends on the assertion of these rights way ahead of the advent of democracy.

The ANC has therefore stuck its political neck out on two issues of fundamental importance - it has enunciated its demands on what should be done to change the balance of media power in the transition period (in other words from now until elections), and it has made promises about what will come thereafter should the organisation find itself in the Union.

ANC's vision for the media

Sowetan 15/1/92
(243)

The ANC has placed on the table its vision of how the media should change in the current period of transition - and what it should look like in the new South Africa. **Sowetan Correspondent SHAUN JOHNSON** makes a preliminary assessment of the new proposals.

'All people shall have the right of access to information held or collected by the State'

Buildings

At the outset the ANC commits itself to the basic principle of maximum openness, and says it would be "erroneous" to set up censorship bodies. Rather, the ordinary laws of the land should be invoked in the event of disputes over the performance of the media.

This is qualified however by the observation that in the 'old' South Africa the free flow of information has been undermined by legislation the structure of ownership of media resources, skills, language policy and social deprivation. These factors re-

quire in the ANC's view a measure of adjustment and affirmative action to ensure that the free society starts its life on a more equitable basis - that the old inequalities are not simply replicated.

Promise

However, subject to the limitations of the constitution - a principle common in Western democracies - the ANC makes a clear promise of maximum freedom. "All institutional and legislative measures which restrict the free flow of information or which impose censorship over the media shall be prohibited."

In addition, all people shall have the right of access to information held or collected by the State and other social institutions.

The charter provides for the retention of a state broadcasting service on condition that it is independent of the ruling party and governed by structures representative of all sectors of society. It goes further than many Western countries in promising journalists protection by law from having to reveal their sources. In addition, an ombudsperson shall be appointed to receive and act on complaints, and such an appointment shall take place through a democratic process.

Pledge

In theoretical sum, the ANC's draft charter lives up to its pledge to 'create a society in which the free flow of information and open debate are guaranteed - although this is contingent upon an interpretation whereby the organisation is seen as advocating an expansion of existing media resources rather than a restructuring of control of what is already operating.

Skewed

As manifestos go, they are necessarily vague and subject to retrospective re-interpretation - it provides encouragement for proponents of maximum media freedom. It also obliquely promises redress to those who believe the current media scenario is grossly skewed. The charter is therefore politically flexible - and this no doubt formed part of the ANC's intention in drafting it.

So much for the media in the new South Africa. The second section of the ANC document deals with the more immediate issue of what needs to change on

the road to the new society. Here its demands are clear - the SABC must fall under multiparty control organised under the auspices of Codesa, and any moves unilaterally to privatise or homeland broadcasting systems must be frustrated.

Codesa must appoint a commission of inquiry into the re-regulation of broadcasting during the transition, and this commission must report within three months. Codesa must set up

an Interim Broadcasting Consultative Committee to appoint a new SABC board for the interim period and to establish guidelines for impartiality in political coverage.

An Independent Broadcast Monitoring Group should monitor performance in this regard.

The state-run information services such as the South African Communications Service (formerly the Bureau for Informa-

tion) and the Human Sciences Research Council should similarly be placed under the control of appropriate interim structures.

Concerning the print media, the ANC expresses concern about the democratic movement's lack of access, but does not propose overt controlling measures for existing newspapers. Rather, the ANC should establish a daily newspaper as soon as possible.

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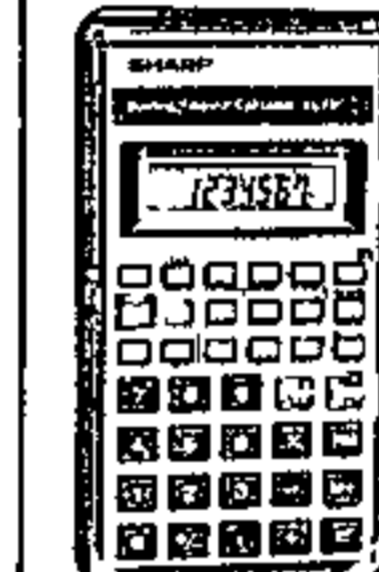


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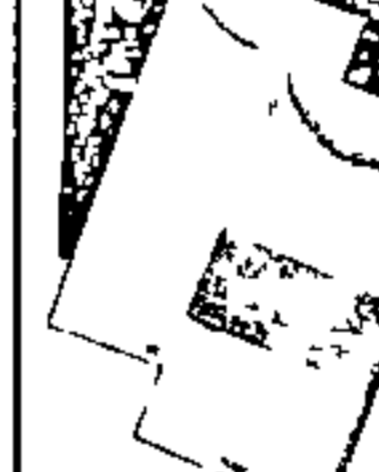
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Probe launched on violence by SADF 'front groups'

Sowetan 15/1/92.

243

ALLEGATIONS that SADF-funded "front organisations" are still fuelling township violence are to be investigated urgently, Mr Justice RJ Goldstone announced yesterday

Justice Goldstone, chairman of the Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation, said in a statement

"Having regard to the allegations that the 'front organisations' are currently in operation and sponsoring violence, the commission has resolved to investigate them immediately"

The announcement comes after a series of allegations in the *Weekly Mail* newspaper, which prompted both Minister of Defence Roelf Meyer and the ANC to request the commission to investigate

The latest allegations were published on

January 3

The *Weekly Mail* said it had acquired "extensive details, including documentary proof, of the SADF's involvement in promoting organisations that have been implicated in township violence"

It was further claimed that the documents showed the SADF used front companies to create, train, support, assist and advise such organisations to foster "black-on-black violence"

Weekly Mail assistant editor Eddie Koch said yesterday the news of the urgent inquiry was "a major breakthrough for us"

The "front organisations" identified allegedly included Ama-Afrika National Front in Port Elizabeth and two others in Somerset East and Cookhouse, the "Memesis" and the "Kekanas" - *Sowetan Correspondent*

Curb on police reporting to go

CT 15/1/92 (243)

Political Staff

THE notorious section 27B of the Police Act, which severely restricted free reporting on police activities, is to be scrapped, amid indications that the government is taking steps to remove curbs on press freedom

A memorandum on the Police Amendment Bill, tabled in Parliament yesterday, proposes the repeal of the section following "representations by the media"

Democratic Party media spokesman Mr Peter Soal said yesterday that the move was to be welcomed, because the section had been a serious impediment to the free flow of information

The government is also understood to be reviewing section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act, which compels journalists to reveal sources of information if ordered to do so by a court

However, no decision is thought to have been reached on this yet, although an announcement could be made during the forthcoming parliamentary session

The ANC's charter for the media published on Monday proposed that

journalists be protected by law from having to reveal their sources

Section 27B of the Police Act makes it an offence for any person to publish information about the actions of the police "without having reasonable grounds for believing the statement is true"

The onus is on the accused to prove the truth of the statement. Those found guilty could face fines of up to R10 000 or five years in jail or both

A subsequent amendment provided that no prosecution under Section 27B could be undertaken without the authority of the relevant attorney general

Found guilty

Media lawyers said yesterday that there had been relatively few convictions under Section 27B

It is understood that the Eastern Province Herald was the only newspaper prosecuted under the section, although cases against other newspapers were investigated

Former EP Herald editor Mr Koos Viviers (now editor of the Cape Times) and reporters Ms Juliette Saunders and Ms Jo-Anne Bekker were found guilty

Mr Soal, MP for Johannesburg

North, said yesterday that the repeal was to be welcomed

Section 27B had no doubt been abused by various policemen during the "dark and dismal" days of the various states of emergency

The media lawyers said the move was mainly of symbolic significance because the section had not been used in recent years

However, indications that the government was reviewing Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act may indicate a change of heart

Conservative Party general-secretary Mr Andries Beyers became one of several victims of Section 205 last year when he was sentenced to 14 days in jail. He had refused to reveal the source of an article published in Die Patriot about a witness in the trial of Mrs Winnie Mandela

Mr Beyers is the CP candidate in the Potchefstroom by-election

The Police Amendment Bill also provides for police officers to retain their commissions after retirement. It explains that it is often necessary to recruit ex-officers "to combat the exceptionally high occurrence of crime"

Currently ex-officers have to obtain a new commission from the State President.

ANC media charter gets wide backing

South 16/11 - 22/1/92
(243)

By Quentin Wilson

WIDESPREAD support from a cross-section of South Africa's media organisations and political parties has greeted the ANC's draft media charter.

The 15-page document, drafted after a seminar held by the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity last November and released this week, calls for a constitutionally-guaranteed free flow of information subject to rights of privacy and the scrapping of all censorship laws.

It also calls for a reconstitution of the SABC's board by Codesa after noting the "privileged relationship" between the National Party and the SABC.

In the document's preface, "Towards a Media Charter", the ANC said "In putting forward these draft guidelines for a media charter, the ANC seeks to encourage debate as well as public campaigns around society's media rights — without

which democracy and liberty would be meaningless"

Most media workers and organisations which studied the document praised its contents

Former Cape Times editor, Mr Anthony Heard, said the charter was an intelligent and major contribution towards a broadly-agreed social contract on the media for South Africa.

"A healthily diverse media primarily in private sector hands — but with current monopolies and near monopolies unbundled and help given to the historically disadvantaged to get a fair stake in print and broadcasting — is the best guarantee of the public's right to know," he said.

The South African Student's Press Union (Saspu) endorsed the ANC's resolution to restructure the control and regulation of the SABC before democratic elections.

"The SABC's reaction to the Inkathagane scandal, when they postponed the interview with Minister Adriaan Vlok after the publication of

the Weekly Mail's revelations, is just one example of how the SABC remains under the control of the Nationalist Party government," Saspu said.

"If we are to avoid a repeat of the disinformation campaign run by SWABC and SABC during the Namibian elections, it is essential that the electronic media be freed from Nationalist Party control
"It is in this context that we support the ANC's media charter."

Saspu, however, also criticised the charter, saying it ignored the essential role media could play in responding to the country's desperate need for education.

"Radio stations, in particular, could play a crucial role in broadcasting educational programmes in a country which is suffering from massive illiteracy," Saspu said.

Mr Peter Soal of the Democratic Party also supported the draft charter.

"It seems to be pretty non-contentious stuff. It is good that the ANC has applied its mind to the issue of media because in the transition process it is

of vital importance to the entire community and we will all be looking for fair and objective reporting by both electronic and print media," Soal said.

The South African Media Council said that the document "is in accord with the broad principle of freedom of information"

One dissenting voice thus far is The Argus, which reacted strongly against certain resolutions in the document this week.

In an editorial the paper responded: "It seems an unnecessarily complex and convoluted document."

The paper strongly disagreed with the ANC's commitment to redistributing media resources

"As for ensuring an 'equitable distribution of media resources', that also is contradictory to the spirit of press freedom

"A free press operates best on free market principles, with no economically artificial checks and balances. These are truisms the ANC, we hope, will discover," it said.

W/M call 17/11-23/11/92
**Picket is mightier
than the pen**

(243) ~~243~~
Journalists may put their pens down and pick up their pickets if a strike ballot to be held on Monday is successful.

This week a conciliation board failed to iron out a wage dispute between 620 members of the South African Union of Journalists at Times Media, the Argus Group and Sapa and their respective managements.

The union's minimum demand is for a 17 percent increase which is in line with inflation, according to SAUJ organiser Karen Stander.

TML, Sapa and Argus are offering 12, 14,5 and 15 percent respectively.

'No immigration' call

W/M call 17/11-23/11/92
The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has renewed calls for its members not to emigrate to South Africa until a new constitution is in place.



If you want free speech, keep the state out of it

51 Times 19/11/92

(243) ~~227/11/92~~

THE only sure way to protect freedom of expression — that is, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of intellectual inquiry — is to adopt a constitution that forbids the government, the political parties, and all other thugs to encroach on that freedom

Like the authors of the ANC's preposterous draft charter on the media, the founding fathers of the United States understood that democracy is impossible without free speech, unlike the ANC, they faced up honestly to the problem.

If the ANC is serious about freedom of expression, or about democracy, it could do no better than adopt as its own the first amendment to the American constitution, which says plainly "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble. . . ."

However, as the proposed charter makes clear, the ANC is much less concerned about freedom of expression than about its control and manipulation. Its charter pays a bit of lip service to free expression, allowing all the professional guardians of press freedom to applaud obsequiously, but then devotes itself to the serious business of bringing the media under what it calls "democratic" control.

The basis for control is being laid, quite deliberately and systematically, by the repeated assertion of myths. Among these is the repeated, assertion of monopoly control of the press.

That assertion is untrue. The only evidence adduced is that the dominant shareholders of the two main English newspaper groups are the mining houses, and that there are various industry agreements to co-operate in printing and distribution.

In fact, the newspaper market is changing by the day. New publications sprout like daisies, and some of them —

the Weekly Mail, Vrye Weekblad, Leadership — survive or prosper. The Sowetan (which the ANC does not like because its senior staff come from the Black Consciousness tradition) has displaced the Star as the country's biggest daily. The Citizen and Business Day, one conservative and the other liberal, have displaced the failed Rand Daily Mail. Friesheets multiply like rabbits.

The assertion of monopoly ownership carries a pernicious implication that South African editors, like communist editors, are simply the running dogs of their owners, mere propagandists. There is not a shred of evidence for this canard — in fact, South African editors have extraordinary independence — though it is put forward these days even by former editors who, if they have evidence of the corruption they imply, do not produce it.

The charge slanders men like Joel Mervis of the Sunday Times, Aggrey Klaaste of the Sowetan, and Khulu Sibiyi of City Press, Richard Steyn of the Star, and in fact any editor who has never lost his post (a category from which I am fortunately excluded by my own past misfortunes).

THAT access to information has been hampered, and sometimes denied, is true, but the damage was done by the totalitarian laws and propagandistic policies of the Nationalist government. As the government moves to dismantle those laws and policies, and to grant to the broadcasters the independence which they have so long lacked, the ANC perceives not liberation but threat, and the self-appointed guardians of the press fall strangely silent.

The ANC charter, plainly written in the expectation of becoming the government, assigns a variety of rights and duties to the state, to society, and to "media institutions". It condemns what it regards as the "privatisation" of the

SABC, which would put television broadcasting beyond the reach of government, and in fact says that "control and regulation of broadcasting should be recognised as a priority"

The ANC complains of lack of access to newspapers and magazines which, in typical journalism-school jargon, it calls print media, and wails that there is no newspaper published from what it calls "a democratic perspective"

This is just not true, even if one accepts the ANC's quaint definition of "democratic"

ITS own views, and its "democratic perspective", appear presumably in its own newspaper, *Mayibuye*, in *Umsebenzi*, the SACP newspaper; in *Work in Progress*, an excellent independent socialist periodical, in *South and New Nation*, and in a range of pamphlets, tracts and trade union publications.

The ANC's problem is not that it lacks access to the market, or to printing facilities, or to a distribution network — its own supporters, if they cared, could sell the product — but that, in a free market, it fails. The publications which it tries to foist on the public are stupefyingly boring, amateurish, and pedantic.

Freedom of expression encompasses not only the freedom of the individual to write or say what he pleases, but also the freedom to choose what he will hear or read. In a free market, newspaper readers pass judgment daily or weekly on the news and views offered to them, some publications survive, others perish, all are constantly evolving under the harsh judgment of their readers.

The American founding fathers understood this, the ANC understands it too, but it dreads nothing so much as an uncoerced public verdict on itself.

KEN OWEN

THE ANC's media charter, released this week, calls for a code of conduct for the media during transition and afterwards to be drawn up by Codesa and monitored by an independent organisation.

It says the monitoring group should be "representative of media-owners, workers, political parties, civil society, relevant experts and others" under an "ombudsperson".

A further safeguard suggests that "society shall have the right to challenge decisions of all these structures and persons in a court of law".



The ANC's resolutions, reached at a conference in November last year, are guaranteed to generate fierce debate.

The charter calls for the right of all people to "freely publish, broadcast and disseminate information and opinion and... the right of free access to information and opinion" — access that no political organisation, including the ANC, yet provides.

However, the ANC says these rights will be subject to "any limitations provided for in the constitution and bill of

ANC calls for a monitored code of conduct for media

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19/11/92
STWES

By CHARLENE SMITH

rights".

A prominent media lawyer noted that no country in the world allowed "absolute freedom of expression — it frequently clashes with the rights of other people".

He believed some censorship was always necessary. "How else do you control the dissemination of hate literature?"

The ANC's draft charter endorses the right of media workers to "form or join trade unions, political and other organisations of their choice".

This has been the subject of controversy in media circles, particularly since the unbanning of the ANC, with some newspapers refusing to allow journalists who are known members

of political organisations to work as political reporters, for example.

There is a fear in some quarters that journalists who belong to organisations may become propagandists for the causes they espouse.

The ANC document also criticises bias in the state broadcast media in favour of the National Party — a charge which, ironically, echoes that made by right-wing groups.



It lashes out at the efforts to privatise the SABC embodied in its present restructuring, and calls for an end to it.

The document calls for guidelines to ensure the "impartiality of broadcasts, especially news and current-affairs programmes" as well as —

more controversially — those of "commercial broadcasters and private religious broadcasters".

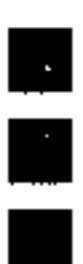
The charter also suggests an independent group be established to monitor broadcasts, "especially news and current affairs programmes, of the SABC, the TBVC broadcasters and commercial broadcasters during the interim period and to report its findings publicly".

The ANC also wants procedures entrenched to remove "racist, sexist and ethnically divisive practices from the broadcasting environment".

The organisation wants support, incorporating the skills of the ANC's Radio Freedom, to set up community radio stations — which the ANC sees as potentially the most powerful broadcast media of the future.

Community radio stations are common elsewhere in Africa. More than 43 operate in Nigeria, for example, and also in Western nations such as the United States, which has a plethora of them.

A pilot study by Rhodes University last year showed that although 83 per cent of those interviewed in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape were functionally illiterate, 98 per cent regularly listened to the radio and 96 per cent tuned to Radio Xhosa. Of those who listened, 53 per cent tuned into news broadcasts. Only 9,6 per cent watched television.



More specialised state information services such as the SAP and SADF media liaison services, the Human Sciences Research Council, the SA Communications Service and others also come under the ANC spotlight.

The ANC wants Codesa to place control of these state information services "under appropriate mechanisms of interim government with a view to rationalisation and review of their usefulness".

ANC media charter gets good reviews

THE ANC charter on the media, released this week, has been favourably received by most Press commentators. Most acknowledged that the organisation's commitment to the free flow of information and freedom of the Press was reassuring.

However, they pointed out that expressing support for freedom of the Press was one thing, and living up to that commitment was another.

The ANC said the media charter set out broad principles, which could find expression in a constitution and a bill of rights, while others could be realised through legislation. "It would be erroneous to advocate the setting up of bodies which determine what society should and should not read, hear or watch. Rather, judicial procedures should be effected if ordinary laws of the land are violated."

The organisation said media freedoms should be subject to other citizens' rights such as the right to privacy. "The outcome of negotiations depends on the assertion of these rights in which the public is informed about developments in the debates, a necessary prerequisite for a democratic transition."

Closed society

The ANC said South Africa has been a closed society, with a myriad of restrictions on the flow of information.

In addition to legislation, the structure of ownership of media resources, language policy and social deprivation had undermined access to information for the population. The charter also said media workers should be protected against intimidation and other forms of pressure which inhibited their work. Independent structures should be set up within defined sectors of the media to promote and monitor Press freedom, stated the charter. — Sapa

Media legislation expert Peter Reynolds comments on two restrictive laws

SA needs to eliminate unnecessary press gags

STAN 21/1/92

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THE Police Amendment Act, published in Parliament last week, provides for the repeal of Section 27B of the Police Act of 1958, one of the most inhibiting restrictions on freedom of the press South Africa has yet seen

Section 27B has long been a part of the myriad of laws which surround and inhibit the free and proper flow of information

Although I am aware of only one reported conviction under this draconian piece of legislation, it is on the statute books and, generally speaking, responsible members of the press consider themselves bound by it. Accordingly, many claims of police misdemeanours and questionable activities have not been reported. The passing of

section 27B will not be mourned

However, section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act remains

Section 205, or rather its implementation by the State against journalists, has for years been a matter of considerable concern. A number of lawyers have been involved in many cases in which this section of the Criminal Procedure Act has been invoked against journalists, who have been subpoenaed in an endeavour to force them to disclose confidential information concerning the identity of their sources against the threat of imprisonment without the option of a fine

I am pleased to say that, on a number of occasions, because of the maturity of certain senior

members of the Department of Justice, good sense has prevailed, with the problem being resolved without the journalist having either to disclose confidences or go to jail. However, the last such matter in which my firm was involved was the case of The Star's Patrick Laurence. He was subpoenaed to disclose information of a confidential source which the police claimed could assist them to investigate the alleged kidnap of a witness in the recent Winnie Mandela trial

Laurence went into the witness box to say why he would not disclose the information — that it would be a breach of his journalistic code of ethics. He was convicted and sentenced to jail with-

out the option of a fine. He gave notice of appeal, but bail was refused. Only an urgent application, brought at night before a judge in the Supreme Court, secured his midnight release from a prison cell. His appeal was lodged, but the State has failed to take any further action

The implementation of this law, like so many other laws, restricts the free flow of information and imposes what I consider unnecessary restrictions on the freedom of the press and, most importantly, the public's right to know

We need to clean up laws which unnecessarily gag the press, otherwise we can expect a future government to take over where the present one leaves off □

Magazine's view shoots press freedom

STAR 22/1/92

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in foot

"The most important advantage of a concentration of ownership is that the fewer the owners, the more interested they are in the business and the more determined they generally become in ensuring that it is successful"

THAT astonishing approbation for monopolism, contained in a leading article on newspaper ownership in the Financial Mail last week, surely deserves an award for novelty.

Even in a general sense it cuts across the free market principles that journal propagates so vigorously. Applied to the press, it is downright absurd.

It is universally recognised that monopoly or even near-monopoly control of the media distorts democracy. That is why the United States, which regards the media as so fundamental to its democratic system that press freedom is entrenched in the Constitution, also has a law prohibiting a concentration of media ownership in any part of the country. It is good that the publication of

the ANC's media charter last week has prompted a debate on the state of the country's press and broadcasting services as we enter the delicate phase of national transition. But it is depressing that the debate should have started on such a malevolent note from a major publication.

The tone and content of the FM's leading article are so dismissive of the legitimate concerns many people have about the state of the media, and so offensive to those who express them, that they can only reinforce the worst thoughts of those who feel they are victims of media bias and perhaps provoke them into ill-considered action.

As an example, the article lashes out at one of these concerned critics, former Cape Times editor Anthony Heard.

To disagree with Mr Heard's arguments is one thing, but to insult his professional integrity and disparage his 16-year editorship of the Cape Times is totally uncalled for.

Mr Heard has had a distinguished career Cape editor of the FM, and the youngest person yet appointed to a major editorship in



Allister Sparks

South Africa. His decision in 1985 to publish an interview with ANC president Oliver Tambo, at a time when the man and the organisation were still banned and unquotable, revealed a degree of courage and political foresight that has been acclaimed internationally.

What is more, he is right — there is a problem with the media set-up in South Africa. Fortunately some senior people in the industry are aware of this. Solving it will not be easy, but at least we can begin by acknowledging the fact and then hopefully debating it in a more responsible way.

The problem can be highlighted by analogy. When Robert Mugabe came to power in Zimbabwe, he found his country's entire press was controlled by a white South African company. The situation was so obviously unacceptable to him that he nationalised the press, with disastrous results for media

freedom in that country.

A similar situation now faces South Africa. An incoming black government will be confronted by a broadcasting service nurtured for half a century in the culture of apartheid, and a newspaper industry one half of which is controlled by interests tied to the National Party and the other half by a single white mining company.

Again I suggest that this concentration of ownership within the white establishment will be so manifestly unacceptable that it will amount to a provocation to the incoming government to intervene.

If the people who control our press really care about the survival of press freedom — and thus of democracy — in the new South Africa, then I suggest they should begin now to consider ways of divesting themselves of some of their monopolistic control.

Even before that moment, as we reached the stage where an election has to be held for an interim parliament or constituent assembly, it will clearly be wrong if the media is so heavily weighted against newly legalised black parties whose message was structured to rectify it. □

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removed because they had, and their newspapers reflected, a perspective on the country which the owners felt jarred with mainstream white opinion (In the case of the English editors, particularly business opinion.) This is not to deny the professional ability or personal integrity of any of the country's present editors. But they are not a sufficiently diversified lot — and that is the problem.

For democracy to function properly there must be a full, free and continuous public debate on all contemporary issues. The media, print and broadcasting, provide the communication system through which this debate can take place.

To the extent that any significant sector of public opinion is inadequately reflected by the media, because of banning orders or because there are no papers or broadcasting stations reflecting that sector's perspective on events, the public debate is stunted and the democracy is glaringly apparent. There must be re-structuring to rectify it. □

SA's alternative press tackles the tough talkers

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South
16/11 - 22/1/92

Top journalists and writers gather at the University of Western Cape next week to formulate proposals to put to Codesa about South Africa's mass media. The future of the alternative press should be high on the agenda, argues South editor GUY BERGER:

MILLIONS of human beings want information in South Africa, but the alternative press is "failing to serve these customers", charges Mr Achmat Dangor.

Such tough talk is taken seriously by journalists in the democratic press, particularly when it comes from Dangor — the head of the Kagiso Trust funding organisation.

Listening intently, indignantly — and angrily — to Dangor's allegations at a media workshop late last year were representatives of South Africa's alternative publications.

Weekly Mail, South, Vrye Weekblad, New Nation and New African were there. So were magazines Work in Progress, Speak, South African Labour Bulletin and New Era, as well as two alternative news agencies.

Along with a smattering of European diplomats, the alternative journalists heard Dangor calculate that "since 1986, an average of R1-million per year in aid has gone into your publications".

The sum in 1991 amounted to R3-million "and this is at a time when people are asking for a massive infusion of aid to the alternative press".

It now needed to be asked, said Dangor, what impact these publications were having — and on whom. Did they improve the quality of life of ordinary South Africans?

Some 25-million South Africans were marginalised in their access to resources — rural people, the newly urbanised, and women and youth in particular.

Lack of education

Yet, the alternative press reached a maximum of one million readers out of a market of at least five million, he said. There was an absence of readers in the alternatives in the places where information was most needed.

Aware of the lack of education and reading culture in such areas, Kagiso Trust had put some sponsorship into radio — as opposed to print — media, said Dangor.

But, he declared, "this was a dismal failure".

Clearly disillusioned, he said he had concluded that the alternative media as a whole showed an inability to penetrate the areas that most needed to be educated.

According to the Kagiso chief, the political environment — including violence in the townships and unsympathetic corporate interests — was being used as an excuse by the alternative press to explain why it still needed funding.

"This is a bogeyman that is as big or small as you make it," he declared. "There is also an environment that is so hostile."

Dangor's case was that the alternative press today was in effect redundant. In the past, the alternatives had their own courage and vision — the mainstream press did not.

Recently, he asserted, the daily newspapers had begun to speak the same language as the weeklies, and the distinction between mainstream and alternative had begun to blur.

The latter were now even imitating



the mainstream in their format, when they ought to be "competing qualitatively, in a very different way".

Dangor went on to blast the alternative press for having sought a false salvation in professional management. "Their overheads went up — that was the only effect."

"You can't throw people at the problem. The alternatives must find new ways of operating without calling in top consultants."

Similar charges were raised at the workshop by accountant Mr Mike Martin, commissioned by Kagiso Trust to give an overview of the prospects for the alternative press.

He described the alternatives as having "appallingly low financial literacy" and criticised them for failing to recoup print costs from cover price and failing

to carry more advertisements. The alternatives had poor circulations, were overstaffed and lacked co-operation among themselves, Martin concluded.

Reaction came fast and furious from the alternative press contingent at the workshop.

Journalists attacked Dangor's "facile" and "cavalier" view that there was now no difference in content between the alternatives and the mainstream.

Labour Bulletin editor Mr Karl van Holdt branded Martin's approach as "Thatcherite". He said the accountant had failed to contextualise his analysis — and to make clear the imperative for the alternative press to survive.

Mr Devan Pillay, editor of Work in Progress, accused Dangor of generalising too much. The limits of print media and South Africa's levels of lit-

eracy had to be accepted, he said.

Pillay noted some of the alternative media did not even aim to be read by "the masses" — adding this did not mean they were worthless in consequence.

New Era editor Mr Hen Marais said the alternative press did reach key leadership figures whose decisions directly affected the needy constituency identified by Kagiso.

Ms Muff Anderson of AIA news-agency said Martin's facts and figures about the alternative press had ignored the value of the democratic processes behind the products.

Dangor's reply "What good is a process without a product?"

From SOUTH, came concern that Dangor seemed ill-informed. He implied that the alternative press was

complacently sitting back and expecting lifelong external assistance.

Despite the recession and the fact that print media notoriously take a long time to become commercially viable, most alternative publications were making encouraging progress. Fruits were already evident from the strategies underway to boost circulation and advertising, to rationalise production, to co-operate with other publications and to set up revenue-generating ventures like typesetting services.

SOUTH also argued there was an intrinsic flaw in Dangor's view. He wrongly assumed that the alternative press should be commercially viable and reach the marginalised "customers" — all at the same time.

The fact was that this deprived community — even if reached in large numbers — attracted no advertising, which was the lifeblood of commercial survival for print media.

A decision to service this sector of society therefore required that subsidies would have to be made available to media aiming to do so — which was not the whole alternative press.

Democratic worth

Stressing the democratic worth of alternative publications, the editors of Work in Progress and New Era said media was not just a commodity like beans in the market place.

Without the alternative press, there would be no democratic choice for readers in South Africa, they argued.

Marais said "You can't simply count heads (or readers) in deciding the value of the alternative press. You can't judge the — democratic media as if it should be a panacea for all problems. You can't measure contributions like the creation of a democratic culture."

Dangor had earlier given a practical rejoinder to such arguments. "The outside world does not want to pay for our democracy."

South Africans had to note that the terminology of funding had changed from struggle to development and empowerment.

Funding, warned Kagiso's man, was going to dry up, and the environment in which the alternatives operated was not going to change.

At the end of the workshop, it was clear this blunt news was something delegates could argue about — but it was outside their immediate control.

And the lesson for those present was that there may well be a strong case for the alternative press — but its existence will increasingly depend largely on the efforts, and support wishes of South Africans themselves.

Giants of Press in SA may split

(243) CF 25/1/92

By ARI JACOBSON

THE newspaper industry could be unscrambled soon as ownership of publications is under intense scrutiny on the eve of the new South Africa

Major English papers are controlled ultimately by one organisation — Anglo American The Information Scandal, which emerged in the late 1970s, exposed a move by the government of the day to prop up apartheid through covert control of certain publications. Up popped The Citizen and an indirect attempt was made to take over the Rand Daily Mail

Anglo American stepped in, however, and thwarted any government take-over of liberal dailies

SAAN, which then controlled most of the morning publications, became Times Media Limited (TML) and subsequently went into a joint operating agreement with the Argus group

Argus company chief executive Doug Band says "It would have been disastrous if Connie Mulder, Eschel Rhodie and the National Party had got hold of the Rand Daily Mail. We were vociferously anti-apartheid but, with hindsight, perhaps we could have done more"

Band states "Anglo has never tried to influence newspaper policy — every editor has his own style. Compare Ken Owen of the Sunday Times, for instance, with Nigel Bruce of the Financial Mail"

Critical of Anglo

Business Day's editor, Jim Jones, points out "Journalists have often written stories critical of Anglo management. They may have objected to these criticisms but we were never forced to drop the articles"

But with political pressure to unbundle newspaper ownership certain to grow, the Anglo American hold on the English Press will be increasingly under the spotlight

Former Cape Times Editor Tony Heard, writing in the Rhodes University journalism publication, Review, is adamant that "unless something is done about the ownership, control and direction of the mainstream media, within the next year or so, South Africa will hardly be able to say that the elections it subsequently holds are free. It is a national priority, every bit as important as devising a new constitution"

Finance Week's editor, Alan Greenblo, points out that "the whole of South African industry is over-

concentrated — the newspaper industry is just one good example"

He claims that deconcentrating newspaper ownership would be extremely complicated as there would be no guarantee that the new owners would not be those already holding an over-concentration in other industries

Similarly, there is the fear that publications would fall into the hands of political interests

The M-Net programme Carte Blanche recently highlighted the dangers facing a political correspondent on South Africa's largest daily publication, The Sowetan, because of intimidation and pressure

However, Sowetan's editor, Aggrey Klaaste, does not believe that political interests would swamp the future Press

He says "The new order will not be able to be autocratic or prescribe to the Press because there will be too many checks and balances — but like the fears of white business, it is not something that can be dismissed"

Despite the increasing political pressures on the industry, it is a simple fact, says TML's deputy MD, Roy Paulsen, that for economic reasons the

newspaper industry requires a concentration of publications to share expensive printing presses, production and distribution networks

But Paulsen and Argus's Band both agree that a spread of newspaper ownership is desirable

State assistance

Vrye Weekblad's often controversial editor, Max Du Preez, sees a newspaper monopoly in SA as untenable but does not want nationalisation

He does feel, however, that publications unable to survive should be given government assistance

Du Preez points out that in Holland and Sweden the governments provide assistance but exert no influence. He suggests that independent newspapers could be supported financially through a compulsory stake in the highly successful M-Net

M-Net's share price has shot up more than 500% since its public listing in 1990 and it has helped boost the earnings of all the major newspaper houses such as the Argus Group, Nasionale Pers, TML and Perskor

There is a realisation among the country's newspaper leadership that the structure controlling the Press will eventually be more loosely knit. Jones, for instance, envisages the dissolution of the cross-group holdings that exist in The Argus and TML companies

Some believe this could mean that a newspaper house would eventually be limited to one daily, one weekly and one monthly publication

4.7. DRAWING WITH COORDINATES

In-order to draw a precise drawing, you must somehow indicate the coordinates of the various points of the figure. There are certain methods and technics which give the exact position of the required coordinates.

4.7.1. Fig 9 Absolute coordinate system

In this method, each point is designated by a specific X,Y coordinate.

```

command:          Line (←↵)
From point:      4,4 (←↵)
To point:        5,4 (←↵)
To point:        5,5 (←↵)
To point:        4,5 (←↵)
To point:        4,4 (←↵)
To point:        (←↵)
command:
    
```

4.7.2. Fig 10 Polar coordinate system

In this method, each point is identified by a vector which has a magnitude and a direction. In other words, each subsequent point has the previous point as a relative origin from which it is displaced in a certain direction by a certain distance. This "relative" positioning is identified by the symbol "@" and the direction by the angle symbol "<".

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command:          Line (←↵)
From point:      3,3 (←↵)
To point:        @3<0 (←↵)
To point:        @3<90 (←↵)
To point:        @3<180 (←↵)
To point:        @3<270 (←↵)
To point:        (←↵)
command:
    
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Government's media clamps on the way out

S Times 26/1/92

By CHARLENE SMITH

THE government is poised to remove chunks of the myriad laws restricting the media — and topping the list is the Publications Control Act which might be scrapped in its entirety

The Act is expected to be replaced by lesser controls on what South Africans may see, hear or read

The government is also considering exempting journalists from the provisions of controversial Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act, which gives a mandatory sentence for refusal to reveal sources

Secrecy

Other laws under review include section 4a of the Petroleum Products Act 12 of 1977 and sections in some of the laws and regulations imposing secrecy in various sectors, including the nuclear industry, bilateral trade, foreign finance and strategic stockpiles.

The government is also considering proposals to establish an Independent Broadcast Authority. There is widespread speculation that the hierarchy at Auckland Park will be restructured soon.

A Department of Home Affairs spokesman said the department had been studying ways of reducing or removing press restrictions for some months.

It is expected that the government could follow Media Council proposals that "any proposed statutory limitation of freedom of speech and of the press should be subject to a judicial process"

Some media lawyers express reservations about this, saying that British judges, for example, rule

against journalists more often than not. However, it is believed that submission to judicial process is a lesser evil than statutory media restrictions.

A future Bill of Rights and Constitution is also expected to protect press freedom.

In its draft media charter, the ANC has already said it will grant "absolute privilege" to journalists not to reveal sources of information, which Media Council chairman, Professor Kobus van Rooyen says is of "special significance and would have our support"

The government is also expected to bow to long-standing pressure from extra-parliamentary groups and others to scrap all, or most of, the provisions of the Internal Security Act (74 of 1982)

Give all our people a voice

STW

26/1/92

PALLO JORDAN defends the ANC's Media Charter

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A FEW months ago the ANC approached a large white estate in Drakenstein to allow 130 of its members, most of whom lived and worked on the farm, to hold a meeting in the hall on the estate.

It was refused. The manager and the corporate power he represents were quite within their legal rights in debarring the ANC branch from the privately-owned hall.

The effect, however, was that the ANC members, 90 percent of them working or living on the farm, could not meet and exercise their basic right to freedom of expression.

The manager and the corporation had invoked no spurious public safety law. They had issued no banning order. Not one policeman had been deployed to disperse the meeting. Yet they had silenced some 130 ANC members as effectively as any law.

It is this distinction between the abstract right to freedom of expression, and the actual capacity to exercise that right that appears to elude Ken Owen judging by his review of the ANC's draft Media Charter (Sunday Times, January 19).

Consequently any suggestion that a democratic dispensation should attempt to

enhance the capacity of those portions of the South African community who have been victims of past discrimination to publish and gain access to media raises his hackles.

The ANC's draft charter on the media can be considered preposterous only by those who have become complacent about the state of this country's media.

At the time of Union, there were at least five separate African-owned newspapers in South Africa, published in both the African languages and English. If we are to accept Ken Owen's line of argument, the only reason why there is only one today is the iron law of the free market — they lost their readership. Anyone with a smattering of knowledge of the African and democratic press in this country knows that is untrue.

To state the case plainly, the property-owning classes among the urban Africans were bankrupted and denudded of their property rights through racial laws. As a result they could no longer sustain newspapers and publishing houses. Other publications, like the Guardian, were banned and their assets

were seized. All that the ANC charter suggests is that just as victims of racial oppression in other parts of the world were compensated for past discrimination a democratic state should consider similar, not necessarily identical, measures in the case of South Africa.

Ken Owen's idyllic picture of a media free market in South Africa is very far from the truth.

But in any case, does an unfettered media free market yield the best results?

Anyone familiar with the quality of US electronic media as compared with the output of the state-owned BBC would find laughable Ken Owen's dogmatic assertion that the free market inexorably sifts out the best product.

State control of broadcasting in a range of Western countries, including Britain and Canada, has not resulted in their transformation into government mouthpieces. In many other Western countries there are strict controls limiting concentration of ownership in television and there are especially strong prohibitions on newspapers controlling television and vice versa.

Ken Owen's critique of the ANC's draft Media Charter evades the central issue which is to entrench in a future constitution such provisions as will afford all South African citizens the right and capacity to exercise to the fullest their right to freedom of expression.

For one so keen to appeal to the authority of the drafters of the US Constitution, Ken Owen eludes over one of the central planks of the ANC's Draft Media Charter, which specifically calls for an end to all institutional and legislative constraints on the free flow of information. Thus he dismisses as "paying lip service to free expression".

The ANC has through the years stood up for the rights of those who have faced persecution because their views or artistic tastes angered some government official.

We undertook this often lonely task not to earn the praise of anyone, least of all that of Ken Owen. We undertook it because we recognise freedom of expression as an intrinsic value, which is indispensable for democracy. I defy Ken Owen to name one other political body in this country with a comparable record.

□ Dr Z Pallo Jordan is Secretary of Information for the ANC.

Stokvels get their own newspaper

By JOE MDHLELA

THE Centre for Black Economic Development this week launched a monthly newspaper *Nacssa World* to help reach its more than 100 000 members throughout South Africa

The launch took place at a Press conference in Johannesburg on Tuesday

The executive director of CBED and chairman of the National Association of Co-operative Societies, Mr Sam Muofhe, said the newspaper would be freely available to their members every month

He said the revenue to sustain the newspaper would be derived mainly from advertising

"We are hoping that the newspaper will be able to pay for itself, as to a very large extent we would like to maintain editorial independence," Muofhe said.

He said he was aware that big business was trying to make inroads into burial societies, women's clubs and "mehodisano", a venture that was totally their branchchild

"But I suppose in the free enterprise system these are some of the things we have to put up with," Muofhe said

He said there were close to 850 000 societies and clubs in the country with membership close to 10 million

These societies and clubs generated about R250 million a year.

"If societies and clubs knew the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and a portion of this money saw its way to the JSE, it would make a positive impact on share prices

"Disgracefully, societies and clubs still operate in an archaic fashion because they do not have access to information and training," he said

The newspaper would endeavour to educate societies and clubs about opportunities available to them.

"Through this medium we will try to educate our members about unit trusts and other business opportunities they can exploit"

Chairman of the CBDE Dr Nthato Motlana said the vision to own an authentic black Press dates back many years

He said even as late as during the days of the South African Students Organisation in the late 1960s and early 70s that vision was still espoused.

"Black people wanted their own black voice to articulate their own experiences," he said

He said the black militancy of the day ruled against the black Press having support from advertisement

But Motlana said the reality of today was that newspapers would need to derive revenue from advertisements



Housing sector forms Press club

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Sowetan 30/1/92

BY JOE MDHLELA

THE South African Housing Trust has established a Housing Writers Forum, the convener of the project, Mr Hennie Crowther, announced this week

The objective of the forum was to give recognition to journalists for their efforts to report on housing, economy and related fields

Through the forum the public would be informed about developments in the housing sphere, he said

The forum would be managed by the chairman, the secretary, the PRO and

five executive members.

The committee's function should include the organising of monthly meetings, invite a specialist to address the forum on topical issues and invite the media to attend monthly meetings.

"We are of the opinion that recognition of the media and their concerted efforts to report on this very important and complicated issue is long overdue," Crowther said

No quicker route to failure than politicians taking helm, calling the shots writes

Stanley Uys

Sale of a paper to ANC

STAR

30/1/92

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'part'

THE daft idea is being floated in South Africa that the proprietors of the English language press should gift-wrap one of their newspapers and sell it to the ANC — as a gesture of goodwill or recompense for historic guilt

Whoever has volunteered this suggestion cannot be a friend of the press, because there is no quicker way to kill a newspaper than to put it in the hands of a political party — any political party

As City Press editor Khulu Sibya put it recently "Any publication that propagates a particular party line is doomed to failure, especially in a democratic society." By failure, Mr Sibya does not necessarily mean financial failure, although that is usually the fate

The Afrikaans newspapers did very well, thank you, tapping the deep wells of Afrikaner sentiment for their circulations and the deep purses of Government patronage for their coffers

The situation would be different

only in degree if the ANC or any other political party, black or white, were to acquire a newspaper, and particularly so if that party became the government

The job of the acquired newspaper would be to publicise the party and smite its newspaper critics, not fulfil the historic role of a free press

In Britain, after World War 2, the Daily Herald began its downhill slide when the Labour Party (in particular a ruthless Ernest Bevin) forced it to toe the party line. There was the example, too, of Forward, a lively leftist newspaper, published in Scotland. It had a small circulation, but was well regarded, especially by MPs

Then it was brought to London to become a national Sunday newspaper to serve the party — and it, too, bit the dust

It's the iron law of journalism. Real newspapers cannot be run by political parties or committees or politburos. Editors cannot work if they have to look constantly over their shoulders at politicians

Champions of press freedom in South Africa should study Brit-

ain's Press Complaints Commission, which has just replaced the Press Council set up in 1953

The Code by which it operates is concerned only with ethics, not politics. It deals with accuracy, right of reply, invasion of privacy, harassment, chequebook journalism, financial journalism, and so forth

Implicit in the Code is recognition that, provided a newspaper obeys the law, the only democratic constraints that can be imposed on it are ethical ones

The struggle for the freedom of the press is to keep governments (and the party press) at bay

Judge Pierre Olivier (SA Law Commission) put it well when he said "Notwithstanding their avowals that they are committed to openness and honesty, party and government officials — and politicians — will usually seek to prevent thorough airing and debate of issues that are uncomfortable or embarrassing or which are critical of their actions"

South Africa, in the present, rapidly democratising transition

period, is highly fortunate

As Gavin Stewart, head of the Department of Journalism at Rhodes University, noted recently

"Legal controls have eased so much since February 1990 that our freedom to publish is now comparable with the Western democracies"

But what will happen when the transition period ends, and a new government begins its reign?

Will harassment of the press begin all over again?

Imagine what would happen to the editor of an ANC newspaper if he reported Winme's goings-on, or, say, a rift between Cyril Ramaphosa and Jacob Zuma. It would be the knackers' yard for him

One has only to read the SA Institute of Race Relations publication, "Mau-Mauing the Media", to understand what happens to black journalists who dare to criticise "the struggle"

The ANC's new media charter, for all its many sensible points, is not a reassuring document. There are too many "shall's" and "must's" in it

How is an "equitable distribution of media resources" to be achieved? Or "diversity of ownership of media production and distribution facilities"?

In the market place, or by coercion and decree?

Let's be clear about what a political party in South Africa is entitled to demand

● First, as an urgent step, it can insist on multiparty supervision of radio and television to ensure fair coverage during the transition period

● Second, in the longer term, it can insist on restructuring of the SABC to make it a truly independent corporation

● Third, it is wholly within its rights not only to start its own newspaper, but also to request assistance from existing newspaper groups — it's a fair request, and Argus chairman Douglas Band has already offered the ANC cost-effective printing and distribution facilities if it starts a newspaper

● Fourth, all political parties can press for revision of the press code of conduct

● Finally, political parties can ask for control of newspaper monopolies. Britain, for example, has a Monopolies Commission, and although Mrs Thatcher extracted some of its teeth it is able to prevent over concentration of press paper ownership (As far as I can see, the English language newspapers concede anti-monopoly control)

But to try to commandeer an existing newspaper would be political and financially folly

Robert Maxwell's Daily Mirror is an example. When he died, there was talk that some Tory millionaire or other should buy the newspaper and deprive the Labour Party of its only support among the national press

It was soon realised, of course, that when you purchase a newspaper and change its policies, you do not necessarily also purchase its readers — they go off to find another newspaper that gives them the opinions they want to hear

It's a lesson worth noting by all South Africa's political parties. □

Bloey 30/1/92

Industrial action ballot

SA UNION of Journalists members at Times Media Ltd, Argus and the SA Press Association yesterday voted 250-237 in an 80% poll in favour of industrial action following a failure to reach agreement in wage negotiations Argus journalists voted 177-156 in favour of industrial action, TML journalists 68-63 and Sapa journalists 13-10 for a settlement A union spokesman said the union would meet managements of the three companies today ~~243~~ (243)

Journalists say 'yes' to industrial action

By Shareen Singh

The majority of journalists at Times Media Limited, Argus and the South African Press Association are in favour of industrial action, the results of a strike ballot showed yesterday

South African Union of Journalists' president Sven Lunsche said there were 250 votes in favour of industrial action and 237 votes against in an 80,1 percent poll

The majority who voted for action were from the Argus company, with 177 yes votes, 156 no votes and four spoilt papers

At TML, 63 voted for

industrial action, 68 voted for a settlement and there were three spoilt ballots.

At Sapa, 10 were in favour of action, 13 in favour of a settlement, and one spoilt vote

"We are now analysing the results with a view to deciding what form of action to take," Mr Lunche said

At the request of the Argus company, the union would be meeting the management delegation of the three companies today.

Newspapers owned by the companies include The Star, Business Day, Sunday Times, The Daily News, The Natal Mercury and The Argus

STAR 30/1/92

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STAR 30/1/92
**Editors call
for press
freedom**

CAPE TOWN — The Conference of Editors yesterday decided to submit a resolution on freedom of expression to Codesa with a recommendation that it form part of the absolutely entrenched basic rights in the new constitution.

The editors recommended press freedom be entrenched in a new constitution even though there might be provision for freedom of speech in a Bill of Rights.

The editors decided that the Law Commission's proposed Article 12 of their Bill of Rights concerning freedom of speech did not explicitly refer to press freedom.

Therefore the editors preferred specific entrenchment of press freedom as in the German constitution

The clause the editors adopted was: "Everyone has the right freely to express and disseminate his opinion in words, writing and images and to inform himself."

"Press freedom and the freedom of reporting by broadcasting and film are guaranteed while diversity of information and opinion in the media shall be protected. Censorship shall not take place."

Editors want free expression

CT 31/1/92 (243)

THE Conference of Editors has decided to submit a resolution on freedom of expression to Codesa with the recommendation that it should be included in a new constitution as an absolutely entrenched right

The resolution is similar to a clause in the German constitution, which protects freedom of expression as a right fundamental to all other freedoms.

They noted that the Law Com-

mission's proposed Article 12 of a Bill of Rights, which deals with freedom of speech, did not refer explicitly to freedom of the media

The resolution put forward by the conference reads: "Everyone has the right freely to express and disseminate his opinion in words, writing and images and to inform himself unhindered. Press freedom and the freedom of reporting by broadcasting and film are guar-

anteed while diversity of information and opinion in the media shall be protected. Censorship shall not take place."

Mr Salie de Swardt, editor of the Johannesburg newspaper Beeld, was elected the new chairman of the conference. Mr Richard Steyn, editor-in-chief of the Star, is the deputy chairman. Mr De Swardt succeeds Mr Ed Linington, the editor of the South African Press Association.

(243) (148) (152)
For the record

It was reported in this newspaper yesterday that the majority of journalists at Times Media Limited, Argus and the South African Press Association voted in favour of taking industrial action over a wage dispute. TML managing director Steve Mulholland points out that only a majority of journalists who are both members of the South African Union of Journalists, and who voted, were in favour of industrial action, which should not imply that a majority of SAUJ members at TML voted for such action.

STAR 21/1/92

STRIKE BALLOT

Sunday Times Reporter

THE result of a ballot on industrial action by members of the SA Union of Journalists did not accurately reflect the view of journalists employed by Times Media Ltd, a management spokesman said yesterday. (162) (243)

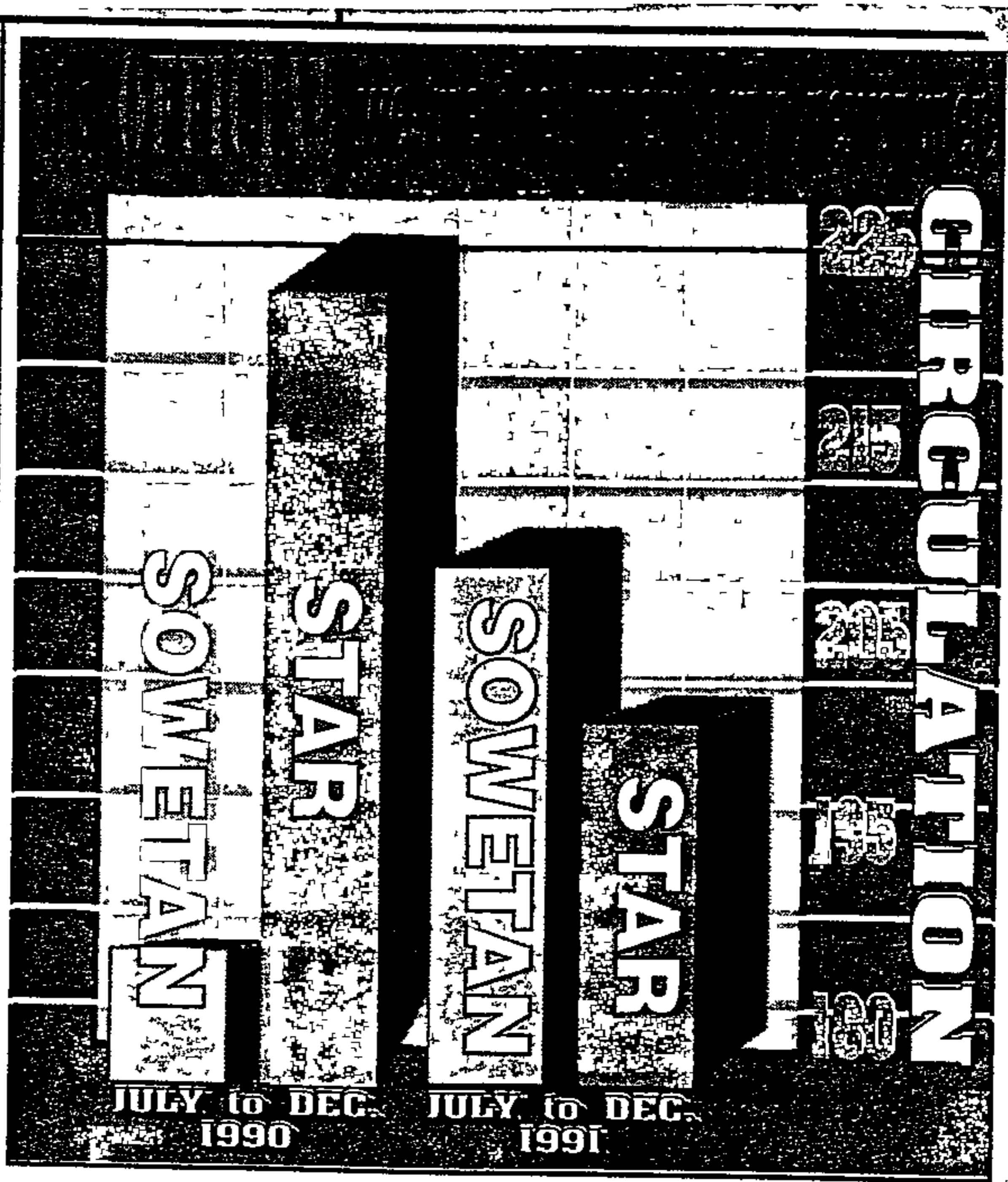
He pointed out that of the 231 journalists employed in Johannesburg by the company — owners of the Sunday Times — only 18 had voted in favour of industrial action. (182)

TML staff had also rejected industrial action at national level, with 68 voting in favour of a settlement in the wage dispute and 63 favouring a strike.

There are 1 214 journalists working for TML, the Argus group and Sapa in South Africa. Of these, 619 are members of the SAUJ, and 80 percent of them took part in the ballot.

The national result of the ballot was 250 in favour and 237 opposed to industrial action. (182) (243)

1052



IT'S official *Sowetan* is South Africa's largest daily newspaper (243)
 The Audit Bureau of Circulations has confirmed *Sowetan's* average daily sale at 208 591 copies for the period June to December 1991. *Sowetan* 4/2/92
The Star has been eclipsed and is second best at 204 256 for the same period.
 While most newspapers show declining

sales, *Sowetan's* circulation has grown by 11,5 percent on daily sales for the corresponding period in 1990.
The Star, for instance, shows a decline in sales of 7,6 percent.
 Coupled with a readership of 1,6 million daily, *Sowetan* is now not only the biggest but the most widely read newspaper in South Africa.

SAP's 'shield against nasty journalism' to be repealed

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Parliament has signalled that it will repeal a section of the Police Act which restricts coverage of police action

The legislation, section 27B of the Police Act, prohibits the publication of any "untrue matter" about the police or police action

It carries a fine of R10 000 or five years' jail, or both

Prosecutions

Speaking yesterday in the second-reading debate on the Police Amendment Bill, Deputy Minister of Law and Order Johan Scheepers said the section had led to few court cases but much adverse criticism

This was despite the fact that the section was seldom enforced, and where court cases resulted from prosecution, the accused were, in most cases, found not guilty

Only 15 cases had been investigated in terms of section 27B and there had been only three prosecutions, Mr Scheepers said

(243) STAR 5/2/92
"The negative reaction these cases drew was therefore far more damaging than the original contraventions of section 27B. This section was therefore counter-productive and it was in the interests of the South African Police that it be removed," he said

Mr Scheepers said he had always been convinced that the police did not need this section for its own protection.

It had resulted only in friction between the police and the media, "to no practical purpose and to the distinct disadvantage of the South African Police", he said

Mr Scheepers said that since the police had taken a further step in improving relations with the media, it was hoped the media "will recognise this commitment to the free flow of information by more balanced and objective reporting"

Although the police did not object to constructive criticism, Mr Scheepers requested the media to refrain from "unreasonable, unjustified, groundless and destructive criticism for the sake of criticism"

Peter Gastrow (DP Durban Central) welcomed the lifting of the section and congratulated Mr Scheepers for realising that the police did not need "a shield against nasty journalism".

The problem with the section was not that it had soured relations between the police and the media, but that it had had serious consequences for all South Africans as they had been prevented from learning the true state of affairs in the country, Mr Gastrow said

The section had prevented the media from publishing the truth about police action, especially in the 1980s, he added

Intimidation

It was also no use to say the application of section 27B had resulted in only 15 investigations and three prosecutions, as it had meant a threat, danger and intimidation to every editor and journalist

"The section intimidated the entire South African press and, as a result, the population was kept in the dark," Mr Gastrow said

The CP opposed the Police Amendment Bill

Press gagging Bill to go

Political Staff

(243) ARG 5/2/97

IN a significant blow for Press freedom, parliament has signalled that it will scrap a section of the Police Act which often hampered journalists in reporting on police activities

Section 27B of the Police Act forbids the publication of "untrue matters" about the police, and puts the onus of proving they were reasonably believed to be true on the defendants

"We are very, very glad," Mr Peter Gastrow (DP Durban Central) said in the House of Assembly yesterday. He described the outgoing section as a "Sword of Damocles"

To every newspaper editor and journalist this particular section meant a threat, danger, and intimidation," Mr Gastrow said

It had prevented publication of the truth about police action and urban violence, especially in the 1980s

Mr Johan Scheepers, Deputy Minister of Law and Order, said he had always been convinced police did not need Section 27B for their protection. Discussions with editors and journalists had revealed the great irritation it caused, resulting only in police-media friction

Changes in TV and newspapers could come sooner than most people — and not least our mass media captains — may think. Proposals on the media in transition drawn up at a conference last weekend could carry powerful clout with Codesa, SOUTH editor GUY BERGER reports

Fast forward, is the message to the media

South 6/2-12/2/92

AMUSED applause punctuated the earnest conclusion by journalist Mr John Mattison, the conference chairperson

It was because of the SABC-TV camera trained on him that the audience cheered as Mattison carefully summarised and repeated a resolution

With SABC delegates attending the conference, and with SABC-TV recording the chairperson's remarks, it seemed impossible that the broadcast corporation could overlook what was being said

Specially as the message was about Big Brother SABC itself

"This conference," said Mattison, adopting a tone of voice appropriate for TV, "has proposed that Codesa should nominate a body of eminent persons to choose a new SABC board by March 31"

It seemed unthinkable that SABC-TV could ignore this death sentence on its present controllers

But ignore the verdict the SABC did, apart from a brief reference on radio news

Also ignoring the conference were most of the mainstream press — even

though many of the proposals may well impact on the newspaper industry

This gathering was no ordinary talkshop. It was a watershed forum of figures from across the media and political spectrum, and whose business was to produce weighty recommendations for Codesa

Titled "Free, Fair and Open", the conference was organised by former Rand Daily Mail editor Raymond Louw and the Campaign for Open Media

It is certain to carry clout with Codesa. And if even a fraction of the proposals becomes reality, this will have a major impact on the SABC and the print media in the next few months and beyond

For a start, the SABC will be in for new times. From SABC-TV news chief, Mr Johan Pretorius, who made a brief visit to the conference, came an admission that "It would be naive to deny that the Corporation followed a fairly strict government-of-the-day line."

"But in the last two to three years the whole picture has changed completely," he said.

If today the SABC still made many mistakes, pleaded Pretorius, "please remember, the new approach is also new to us"

But few delegates were convinced by the SABC's self-proclaimed and sudden conversion to impartiality

● "A broadcast system," retorted one participant angrily, "should depend not on changes of attitude and approach, but on structures to guarantee impartiality"

● From another speaker came the heated charge that the Broederbond was still firmly in place at SABC headquarters

● Mr Nahum Gorelick, now head of what was formerly called the SWABC, told of broadcast bias during Namibia's independence elections, and concluded "Even the likes of Koevoet, the security branch and the police proved to be more flexible than the SWABC."

● BBC Africa Service journalist, Ms Akwe Amosu, warned "Coverage of the path towards democracy in this country is not safe in the Corporation's hands"

She urged that a democratic government, rather than the Nationalist

cabinet or Codesa, should be the body to undertake a major re-regulation of the airwaves

But, at the same time, an interim and independent broadcast authority should be set up for temporary reform

"There is little hope for an eventual democratic government, if there isn't immediate reform of the SABC," she said

If the weekend conference has its way, within two months Codesa will set up a panel of eminent figures. The panel will choose a new and representative board for the SABC and bantustan broadcasting, from nominations put forward by the public. It will also choose a new Interim Communication Authority to oversee the airwaves

The conference also discussed South Africa's print media in the democratic transition ahead

Former Drum editor and prominent British journalist, Mr Anthony Sampson, accused the mainstream press of failing both to reflect black viewpoints and to prepare whites for the coming changes

Criticising the concentration of press

ownership, he argued for "the reforming power of competition" in the newspaper world

Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez highlighted the imbalances between the resources of the mainstream and the alternative press and periodicals

In response, from the country's biggest newspaper company, the Argus Group, influential former editor of The Star Mr Harvey Tyson, proposed an "enlightened reconstruction of the established newspapers, so that the near monopolies are broken — preferably by the papers themselves"

Tyson also came out in support of an independent media trust fund to subsidise non-profitable media. And he spoke in favour of each major political player having a press that was close to it

Delegates backed a call, first proposed by SOUTH, that Codesa set up a task force to investigate ways of securing print diversity during the current period

The conference also made a strong call on Codesa to ensure that laws restricting press freedom be invalidated

After National Party control of public broadcasting and the government's arsenal of draconian laws curtailing the press, delegates wanted new politicians to repeat the pattern

All were aware of the delicate balance in asking Codesa to interfere in the media arena, at the same time as keeping state and party political control of the media at bay

The debates rocked back and forth — while the absent dominant players in the mass media missed their chance both to contribute and to inform their audiences about it

If most media captains, however, failed to take media coverage of the transition seriously, Codesa at least has a vested interest in pressing 'fast forward' on the issue.

Open media can be a powerful tool, argues Anthony Sampson

The facts about real democracy

STAR 7/2/92

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WHY can't the media in South Africa reflect more closely and vigorously the fast-changing political changes which the country is facing? An occasional visitor like myself cannot hope to understand the complex explanations; but he may sometimes see the wood more clearly than the trees

And many others are worried by the gap between the public awareness of politics, and the drastic changes being discussed in Codesa, or elsewhere at the top.

The "mainstream" press includes much intelligent reporting and analysis, but in my view it does not convey the wider context of the new politics, or the aspirations or anger of the townships. It is still preoccupied with white politics and events, and content to leave township reporting to the black press or alternative press

This can seriously endanger the political future, on both sides. It fails to give sufficient voice to black South Africa, to connect up the grassroots with the democratic process. And more importantly, it fails to educate white opinion

If whites are not being prepared for the possibility of a black majority government they may well face a devastating shock after the elections, just as white Rhodesians were appalled by Robert Mugabe's victory.

Since the initial bombshell of February 1990, when Mr de Klerk legalised the ANC, only a few media stories, as seen from abroad, have suggested a major change in the power balance. One was the Inkathagate scandal which compelled Mr de Klerk to demote two Ministers. Another was Mr Mandela's confrontation with Mr de Klerk, which remarkably was carried live by SABC

Black and white viewers alike were amazed to see a black leader openly and fiercely criticising a State President. But that amazement was itself a reminder of how little the media had prepared them for the facts of democracy

The explosion of free speech can be an awesome power, particularly after long constraints

I saw it last November in Kenya, when after years of inhibition the three main newspapers suddenly felt able to challenge President Moi, and competed to expose the corruption of his Ministers.

I was able to watch a similar explosion of media energy in February 1990, when the ANC was first legalised. Newspapers suddenly discovered a long-lost adventurousness, and black politics overflowed into the white world.

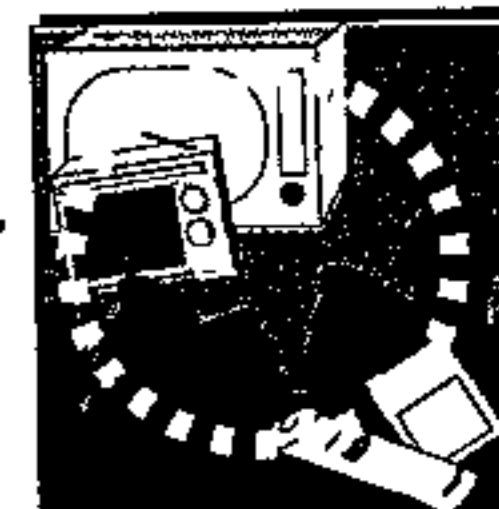
How does a press become insulated? It must surely have something to do with a structure of semi-monopoly which protects it from the need to adapt. Many South African journalists have complained about the almost uniquely concentrated ownership of their media. Any medium which enjoys a semi-monopoly is likely to lose touch with its audience, and to lose credibility.

In South Africa the most pressing political need is surely to extend the range of all the media, to make them represent a much broader public — both to inform them, and to reflect all their confusion, anger and worries.

The SABC, the most spectacular monopoly, should be divided in such a way as to ensure far more coverage both of opposition politics and of news from the black majority in the townships.

The major newspaper groups would also have to be broken up. This might well require an infusion of foreign capital. But even such competition would be much healthier than a purely local semi-monopoly, and would help to make the media more responsive to political change

● Anthony Sampson is a former editor of Drum magazine. This is an edited version of a talk he delivered at the weekend conference of the Campaign for an Open Media in Cape Town. □



RADIO AND TV

FM 7/2/92

Broadcasters get restless 243

A decision on so political a matter as the future of broadcasting is not likely to be made except within the context of Codesa. But many broadcasters feel there is no time to lose.

The weekend conference organised by the Committee for Open Media has already moved to form an interim independent communications authority to regulate broadcasting. The intention is that this should be established under the umbrella of Codesa.

The conference is also calling for the abolition of all laws that restrict media freedom and it wants a new board of governors to regulate public service broadcasters such as the SABC. Coupled with that is a demand for the appointment by the board of an independent CEO for the SABC.

Meanwhile, a new National Association of Broadcasters has been set up, comprising Radio 702, Bophuthatswana Broadcasting Corp, Ciskei Broadcasting Corp, Capital Radio and SABC commercial radio. The association is still informal, with its constitution to be finalised, but its purposes will include the promotion of broadcasting free of government intervention.

Radio 702 GM Stan Katz, a prime mover in the new association, believes broadcasting regulation faces an imminent threat of breakdown. An indication of the danger has come through the recent establishment of a pirate FM radio station operated by an unidentified rightwing political group. Propagandist-style broadcasts are made for an hour every evening in Afrikaans.

"The problem is bigger than the irrespon-

sible behaviour of one extremist political group," says Katz. "It reflects the widespread dissatisfaction of South Africans with the existing law, which leaves broadcasting totally at the discretion of a Minister."

To prevent the chaos that could occur from people taking the law into their own hands, he believes government (after consulting Codesa) should act quickly to set up an independent broadcasting authority.

"Something needs to be done pretty soon before there is a total breakdown in regulation," says Katz. "We must have a proper mechanism for assessing and awarding frequencies to would-be broadcasters. Without it people are tempted to take the law into their own hands, leading to technical chaos."

It is understood government has set up an interdepartmental working group to go through the submissions to the Viljoen task group (which completed its report on the future of broadcasting in August) and come up with guidelines to present to Codesa. The question is, can we afford to wait for that? ■

STANDARD
NEW
PH
Sowetan
243
and Star
STAR 81492
slug it out

SOWETAN has been waxing jubilant about its six-month Audit Bureau of Circulation figure for July to December, which showed the paper had beaten The Star's circulation by 4 000

Now, however, the smile is on another face — January circulation figures show The Star is 6 000 ahead of Sowetan, having sold 210 000 to Sowetan's 204 000

The Star's general manager, Graeme King, says advertisers spent enough money in The Star last year to pay for 7 190 pages, against Sowetan's 2 010

We wish our sister newspaper well with its number-chasing — but have no doubt advertisers are aware which newspaper brings results

Police press curbs lifted (243)

SECTION 27(b) of the Police Act — which restricted reporting on police activities — was effectively scrapped yesterday when the Police Amendment Act Bill was passed **CT 8/2/92**

The bill was passed by 102 votes to 19 in the House of Assembly and was passed unanimously by the House of Representatives and House of Delegates

Handwritten notes and markings along the right margin of the page, including a vertical line and various scribbles.



Journalists carry Langa Skosana's casket. Pic. JOE MOLEFE

Skosana laid to rest amid warm tributes

Sowetan 10/2/92

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By MOKGADI PELA

SEVERAL senior journalists paid warm tributes to *Sowetan* sub-editor Mr Langa Skosana at his funeral service in Soweto on Saturday.

They described Skosana as an intelligent and humble man and praised his commitment to the profession and for his role in uplifting the standard of black journalists.

Sowetan Editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste said. "The unremarkable thing about Langa was that he was remarkable. He was a well-rounded journalist."

City Press editor Mr Khulu Sibuya said Langa was the pride of journalism.

"He was an objective and balanced writer who did not

curry favour with any political organisation," Sibuya said.

Media Workers Association of South Africa official Mr Joe Mdhlela described him as a man of great hope.

"Despite his ill-health he took it in his stride and

never complained until his last hour. He had achieved a few things in life. He was news editor of the *Star Africa* edition, deputy news editor of *Sowetan* and later a sub-editor of *Sowetan*," Mdhlela said.

Skosana died last Monday at the age of 51 after a long illness. He was buried at Croesus Cemetery.



WIDOW: Thandiswa Skosana

Arson probe at black h...

POLICE suspect arson after a fire caused damage estimated at R160 000 at the home of a black resident of Flora Park Pietersburg, Mr Abner Mapone.

Far North police lieutenant Cas Jones said the fire broke out when

C

Adspend shows real growth of 7%

TOTAL advertising expenditure on all media grew by a surprising 25,1% to R2,3bn during 1991, the final 1991 Adindex figures show.

Taking into account an average media inflation of 18% during the year, this amounts to a real growth of 7% in a contracting economy

Despite a deepening of the recession over the past year, this increase compares with an average 19% adspend growth in the previous three years. Total adspend has grown from R1,3bn in 1988 to R1,5bn in 1989 and R1,8bn in 1990.

The Media Shop MD Dick Reed said television continued to erode print's dominant share of the advertising cake, while radio, outdoor and cinema held their share at last year's levels.

Print, the largest category, dropped from 51,3% in 1990 to 47,3% in 1991 as it grew by only 15,3% to attract expenditure of R1,1bn.

Financial publications were the best performers, growing by 40,1%, and English consumer magazines also fared well with a 25,6% growth.

But freesheet newspapers and black, coloured and Asian newspa-

pers were hardest hit, falling by 7,8% and 4,5% respectively.

Television continued its rapid growth, increasing by 40,2% to R857,6m, to take its share of the total up from 33,1% to 37,1%, Reed said.

M-Net was the star performer — with a rise of 133,2% — followed by Bop-TV with an 84,8% growth. TV1 grew by 19,3% off a larger base to give it half (49,8%) of TV adspend.

Radio grew by 23,9% to R262,4m to maintain its 11,4% of total adspend share, and both outdoor and cinema held their share at 2,8% and 1,3% respectively. Adspend on outdoor grew by 29,7% to R66,2m, while adspend on cinema increased by 24,8% to R29m.

Reed forecast that radio, outdoor and cinema would maintain their shares, while the battle between television and print would continue, with TV taking the upper hand.

He expected adspend to rise by 22,9% to reach over R2,8bn during 1992, while television would increase its share from 37,1% to 38% and print's share would decline from 47,3% to 46,4%.

81p ay 11/2/92 243
MARCIA KLEIN

Striking journalists picket the Cape Times

Own Correspondent ^{STAR} 12/21/62

CAPE TOWN — Journalists at the Cape Times went on a one-day strike yesterday to protest against a wage offer by Times Media Limited (TML)

About 45 journalists picketed outside Newspaper House in the city centre. Placards said "A free press — not free labour", "Resist an annual pay decrease" and "We want to keep up with inflation too"

Objecting, TML said the journalists were "all privileged members of society enjoying salaries and benefits ranked in the top range available in this country".

It added "The Cape Times will continue to publish as it has done for an unbroken 116 years. It is sad that journalists have chosen to try to attack this great tradition."

The Cape Times was using freelance reporters and students, but sources said most sub-editors and the finance department were on strike.

The action follows a wage dispute between the SA Union of Journalists and Sapa, the Argus group and TML.

The journalists are opposing a 12 percent increase offer by TML. The Argus is offering increases of 15 percent and Sapa 14,5 percent.

Journalists at the three groups are demanding increases of 17 percent with a guaranteed across-the-board increase of 11,9 percent.

IANZA
R759⁰⁰
TRIDENT
BATHROOM
SUITE

Taxpayers to fund bulk of sponsorship

TAXPAYERS will fund a substantial bite of Sasol's sponsorship of the Jordan Formula One Grand Prix team

Tax consultant Michael Steyn said yesterday if the sponsorship amounted to \$10m, the actual cost to Sasol could be \$1.36m while government would have to foot the balance as tax rebates

Sasol public affairs spokesman Jan Krynauw did not disclose the cost of the sponsorship yesterday, but said it was less than the speculated \$10m

Steyn said Sasol would qualify for the 100% write-off against tax of all advertising and promotional costs accorded to all companies

It would also be able to claim an 80% rebate for sponsoring an international event in SA which attracted overseas sportsmen and visitors

This meant that, notwithstanding the 48% company tax rate, Sasol could be due for a 180% rebate on its sponsorship.

Price Waterhouse tax consultant Tienie Lategan said most companies battled to

EDWARD WEST

get the full 80% rebate and normally only received 30% to 40%. He believed the rebate would soon be phased out.

Krynauw did not deny the company would receive tax rebates, but said interest costs and the unclear nature of the legislation considerably reduced Sasol's ability to receive full rebates.

He said one of the main objects of the sponsorship was to promote the export of Sasol products overseas and gain foreign exchange

Sasol chemicals and solvents are used in various engine and body parts of the Formula One car.

Krynauw said the sponsorship of Formula One sport, generally accepted as the most technically advanced sport in the world, would promote Sasol internationally as a hi-tech company

This was essential to the joint ventures it hoped to enter with overseas companies and to the new export markets opening up.

Attorney-general loses appeal bid

WITWATERSRAND Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres was refused leave to appeal in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday against an order which found him liable for R100 000 in legal costs incurred by himself and Vrye Weekblad in a recent defamation case.

Von Lieres sued Vrye Weekblad and editor Max du Preez for R35 000 after the newspaper published two articles in January and February 1990 which defamed him.

Shortly before the matter went to court early last year, Vrye Weekblad tendered R15 000 plus costs in settlement for the first article and a further R5 000 plus costs for the second

Von Lieres agreed to settle the first claim for R15 000, but went ahead with his R35 000 claim in respect of the second article

Du Preez admitted the articles were defamatory, but challenged the amount of damages sought by Von Lieres.

Vrye Weekblad also published a full retraction and apology.

Mr Justice A P van Collier awarded Von Lieres R5 000 damages, plus costs, for the second article.

Vrye Weekblad then went back to court in August last year, claiming

SUSAN RUSSELL

that Von Lieres was legally obliged to pay the costs incurred by both parties from the date that he had been offered R5 000 in settlement

It was argued that Von Lieres should pay the costs from that date because the amount awarded had been equal to or less than what had been offered to settle the claim

Mr Justice van Collier found in favour of Vrye Weekblad and ordered Von Lieres to pay costs incurred from the date the R5 000 had been tendered until settlement of the case

Von Lieres was also ordered to pay the costs of the court hearing on the question of costs

The attorney-general, represented by L. Wainstock SC, applied yesterday for leave to appeal against the judge's finding. During his argument Wainstock said the costs involved were not "trivial" and referred to a sum of R100 000

Mr Justice van Collier dismissed the application, saying there was no reasonable prospect of another court coming to a different conclusion.

The judge ordered Von Lieres to pay the costs of yesterday's application, including costs of two counsel.

Life as seen by Soweto's youth

THEO RAWAN

MARKETERS, strategic planners, social responsibility executives and others interested in the black market will be given insights into the youth of Soweto in a study to be published next week.

The Alternative Consultancy's Gill Stacey interviewed 200 young people in Soweto and has put her findings into a report entitled 'Insight into Soweto Youth'

Publicity for the report describes the township youth as SA's fastest-growing market

It says the report will show what a wealth of information emerges when suspicion of outsiders by black youths has been removed. Stacey spoke to people between the ages of 15 and 25.

"They were from all income groups and educational levels, including the so-called 'lost generation' (children who dropped out of school during the lengthy education crisis).

"The youths opened up on issues as diverse as fashion styles, crime, political views, AIDS, the environment, education and spending patterns," says the consultancy's brochure.

At the launch on February 19, Soweto youths who participated in the research will describe the various sub-cultures to which they belong.

ABERDARE GROUP

Von Lieres refused appeal

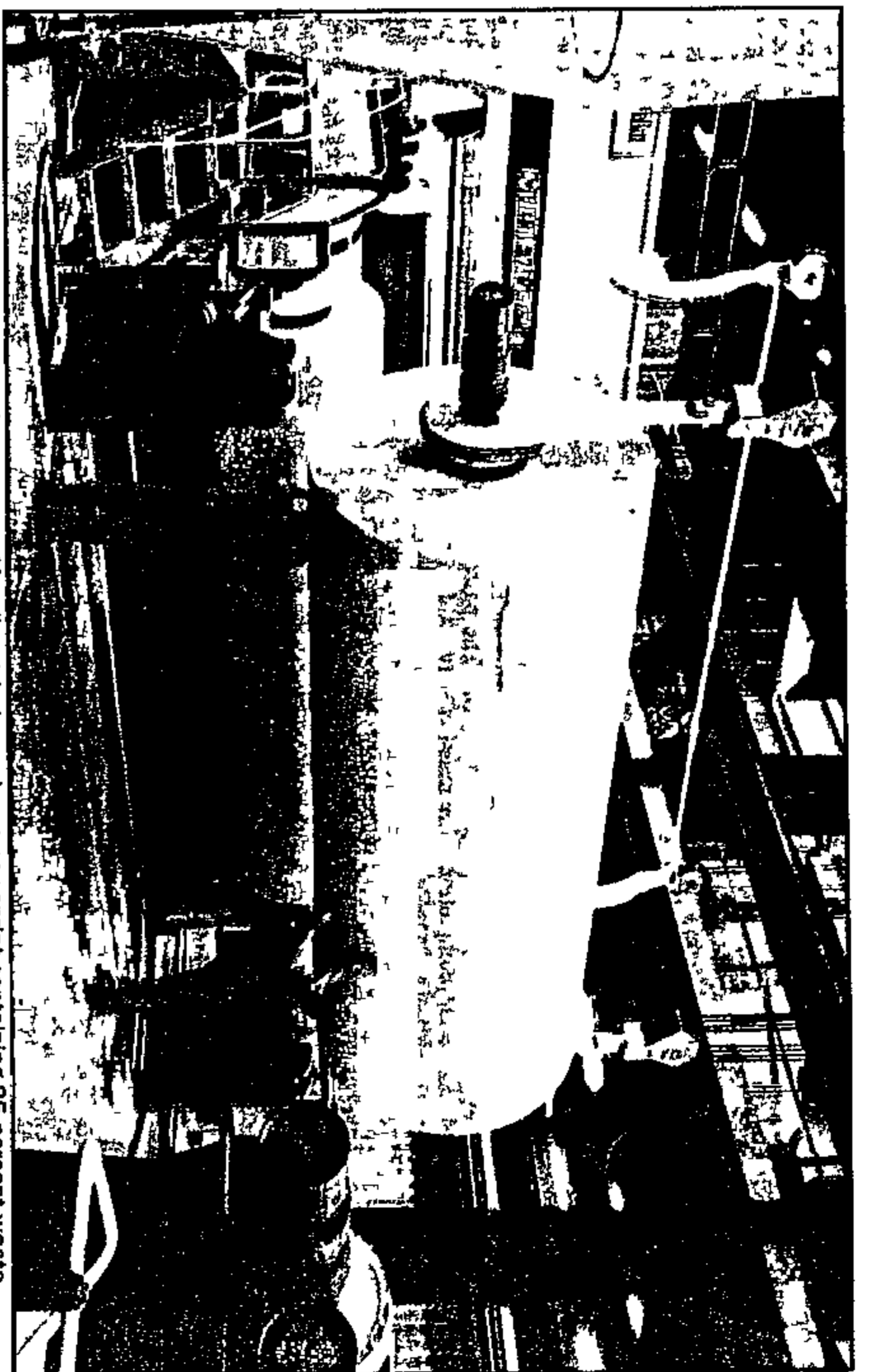
JOHANNESBURG — Witwatersrand attorney-general Mr Klaus Peter Otto von Lieres und Wilkau was refused leave to appeal yesterday against a Rand Supreme Court decision which found him liable for costs in the Vrye Weekblad defamation case.

Mr Von Lieres brought two defamation cases against Vrye Weekblad editor Mr Max du Preez and the newspaper's publishers. On March 12 last year Mr Du Preez and Wending Publications offered Mr Von Lieres R15 000 plus costs for the first defamation and R5 000 plus costs for the second.

Mr Von Lieres accepted the first offer, but the parties went to trial for the second. Mr Justice Van Coller awarded Mr Von Lieres R5 000 and ordered that he pay part of the costs of the defendants. — Sapa



Growing on trees beautiful scenery often has to be sacrificed for forests like this one in the eastern Transvaal

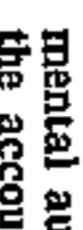


SA's biggest paper manufacturer Mondi regularly produces newsprint containing 25 percent waste

New Sprint to tackle paper pollution

Star 13/2/92

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NEWSPAPERS which have for years carried the banner for environmental awareness are now themselves under scrutiny by the environment lobby

The world over, newspaper people have never believed themselves to be among the "paddies" when it comes to environment. After all, paper rolls and quickly turns to soil. And anyway, it grows on trees

But waste experts have found that newspapers do not in fact rot as quickly as people think. You can pull a 40-year-old newspaper out of a rubbish heap and still clearly read about the unhappy love affair between Princess Margaret and Group Captain Townsend or the flight of the first jet airliner.

And although paper does grow on trees, those trees need to be planted in high rainfall areas — that's just where the country's most scenic and botanically interesting areas are. So far 1 million hectares of South Africa have been planted to timber and now the industry

(pulp and timber) needs another 1 million — which means another 1 million hectares of South Africa may have to be turned into a cheap imitation of Canada.

The electronic age has not lived up to its boast of creating a paperless world. In fact, the opposite is happening — paper consumption is steadily increasing.

The answer can only be in recycling. To cut down on waste paper volumes being dumped on municipal dumps, some parts of the United States will not allow newspapers to go on sale unless they contain a certain percentage of recycled material. In California, newsprint must contain at least 25 percent recycled paper. In South Africa, ironically, in South Africa, where there has been almost no

"green" pressure on the newspaper industry, newsprint already contains 15 percent recycled waste. In a recent experiment, the Star's sister newspaper, the Daily News in Durban, printed an edition on 15 percent recycled paper.

American newspapers to meet their recycling targets are actually buying recycled paper from South Africa. Mondi, SA's biggest paper manufacturer, is regularly producing newsprint containing 25 percent waste at its mill in Merebank, Durban. It could technically go to 40 percent if it had the supply of waste.

I visited the Merebank plant and spoke to John Lay, divisional manager of Mondi's paper recovery and processing. In the last few years his division has sunk tens of millions of rands into its recycling plant.

Newspapers tend to sympathise with the "green" movement — but how green are newspapers? JAMES CLARKE reports

"South Africa is actually ahead of the United States," says Mr Lay. "They are recycling about a quarter of their total paper consumption. South Africa — which uses 1.7 million tons of all kinds of paper a year — is recycling a third."

About 15 percent of newspapers and magazines are diverted to the pulp mills. The rest still ends up as landfill. The arithmetic of this has to be changed and Mondi, with its nationwide Paper Pick-up scheme wants to get South African urban dwellers into a rhythm of recycling news-

papers. About 30 percent of household rubbish is paper. Local governments are also concerned, waste paper is being used to clog the solid-waste stream and landfill sites are becoming very expensive. Mondi has spent R5 million just buying trucks for its Paper Pick-up, which now operates in many areas of the Witwatersrand, Pretoria, Durban and Cape Town. But South African households, even in supposedly educated areas such as Sandton where people profess to be "green" homeowners are not showing sufficient enthusiasm for separating paper.

New legislation, hinted at in last year's President's Council report on the environment, could force the issue. John Lay claims that since the 1970s a third of landfill volume in South Africa has been taken up by paper and the surplus largest item is newsprint. "Yet," he says, "that newsprint is worth money. Every 1 000 tons of it can be turned into 850 tons of perfectly good blank paper. To produce that much paper out of virgin pulp would use up 15 000 trees."

Mondi is currently recycling 600 000 tons of paper a year — a third of its annual production. Translated into trees, that saves 23 million of them. More importantly, it saves having to smother additional thousands of hectares of land with exotic trees. About 200 000 tons of recycled paper products are exported

annually to Asia, Europe and North America. Mondi has yet to produce a formal documented environmental audit, but when it does the accounts should look good even the water it uses contains one-third recycled waste water. According to the superintendent of the Merebank recycling plant, Owen Keates, newsprint can be recycled three or four times, but by adding virgin fibres its life goes on for ever. We stood next to minibus sized bales of newspapers each bale weighing almost a ton. It costs R500 a ton to collect and a further R350 a ton to process.

Mondi's Paper Pick-up is costing the company a considerable sum but it aims at falling into an economical rhythm of collection, transportation and processing, once more public support is forthcoming. John Lay has his eye on the 150 trucks which deliver knock-drop newspapers in urban areas. "If they can drop newspapers, why can't they also pick some up?" □



PENS DOWN ... The South African Union of Journalists (SAUJ) has expressed shock over threats by Times Media Limited (TML) to take legal action against the union following a one-day strike by some Cape Times journalists this week. The journalists "downed pens on Tuesday following a deadlock in wage talks. The SAUJ is demanding a 17 percent increase while TML is offering 12 percent. SAUJ president Mr Sven Lunsche slammed as irresponsible a statement by TML that "journalists are enjoying salary and benefits ranked in the top range available in the country". South 13/2-19/2/92 (243) PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

PUBLISHING

Warning lights

FM 14/2/92
Afrikaans publishing giant Nasionale Pers has decided to stop publishing *Red*, its quarterly glossy *Vogue*-style fashion magazine. Major financial losses are cited, two years after *Red* was launched.

"It's a shame, but with the economic climate being what it is and with *Red*'s limited appeal, advertising just did not come along," Naspers magazines manager Bob Harrison told the *FM* this week. Harrison says that while *Red* had a high pass-along readership, the magazine sold just under 20 000 copies. Production costs were fairly high and there was no immediate potential of increased advertising. "Naspers is a pragmatic company."

Red staffers were informed about the company's decision at the end of last month, when Harrison dropped off letters on their desks informing them of the termination plans. "It was exactly before the end of the calendar month. They could have done it better," one staffer told the *FM*. At this stage it is uncertain whether some of the staffers may take industrial action against Naspers for the sudden closure of the magazine.

Meanwhile, editor Karen Roos and her team are still hard at work to meet their deadline. The final issue is due next month. Harrison says the company has made suitable arrangements for its staff. Those who are still involved with the production after the end of February will be paid on a pro rata basis.

Red was launched in May 1990 after



Editor Roos .. it's the final countdown

243 Roos, who had previously worked for Naspers magazines, approached the company with her idea to launch a fashion magazine in the *Vogue* mould. Naspers, after some research, decided to back her in what the *FM* at the time described as "a costly, potentially risky venture." (*People* May 18 1990).

Before Roos (wife of M-Net MD Koos Bekker) started *Red*, she worked for publisher Jane Raphaely at *Cosmopolitan*. Some Naspers insiders believe that it was competition from *Cosmopolitan Directory*, a similar fashion supplement launched at the same time, which caused the early demise of *Red*. Not so, says Harrison. "There is no evidence of that. And it shows how competitive we are among ourselves. Remember, Naspers owns 50% of *Cosmopolitan*."

Harrison sees the end of *Red* as a warning light to other SA magazines with limited appeal. "We are lucky that the other magazines in our stable are not under pressure. But I think that some magazines are being kept alive by sentiment."

Eddie Botha

Journalists in pay protest

Weekly Mail Reporter
FOR THE first time in 116 years, the *Cape Times* almost did not hit the streets this week when journalists and editors at the newspaper went on strike. *W/Mail 14/2-20/2/92*

Members of the South African Union of Journalists (SAUJ) held a one-day strike on Tuesday to protest against Times Media Limited (TML) offers made at annual wage negotiations

SAUJ national organiser Karen Stander says it is unlikely that the strike will lead to action at other publications in the company's stable. Although the strike ballot was 80 percent in favour, the union did not achieve the majority vote of its members

TML has made an offer of an 8,4 percent increase with a 3,6 percent merit component. The union is demanding 17 percent for its members with 11,9 percent guaranteed.

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According to media reports, TML this week expressed regret at the strike. The company also said: "Journalists are all privileged members of society who enjoy top-ranking salaries and benefits."

Stander said that although the strike had ended, the union reserved the right to take further action.

The Argus Group and the South African Press Association have made better offers of 15 percent with 10 percent guaranteed, and 14,5 percent with 10,5 percent guaranteed respectively

However, no settlements have been reached because the union must make a joint agreement with the three groups in terms of its bargaining agreement.

Both TML and Argus have agreed to extend their housing subsidy to married women whose husbands did not already receive housing allowances.

Media codes 'destructive'

B/P Day 19/2/92

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MEDIA makers are stirring the pot of ideas on the role of the Press in a new society and have come up with a recipe to protect Press freedom by means of a code of practice. But International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (FIEJ) secretary-general Scott Low warns that such a concoction is likely to prove unpalatable in the long run as it opens the way for a future government to make its own nasty brew out of the code.

Low said during a recent visit to SA that experience among the 15 000 newspapers in 58 countries which were represented in FIEJ had shown that codes were ultimately destructive of the very purposes for which they were established.

"I would be concerned about a code of practice drawn up for the period of transition as my experience has been that what you put in place for the transition frequently has a way of becoming permanent.

"What starts out as a voluntary effort usually winds up being used as a weapon by governments which cherry-pick the rules in the code and selectively impose them against the Press

"The code, drawn up with the best of intentions, would then look very different to the people who drafted it. We in FIEJ usually advise against codes of practice."

A media conference held at the University of the Western Cape recently decided that the Media Council, media workers and publishers should draw up a code of practice for the industry and that an independent body should be established to monitor the Press, radio and TV during the transition.

Low believes it is urgently necessary for the newspaper industry to prepare for the transition by establishing a common front of all the players including managers, editors and journalists

"Governments know very well how to employ a divide and conquer strategy and will work very hard to point out to journalists that they are not the enemy, the boss is. This is the

LINDA ENSOR in Cape Town

most commonly employed strategy used by governments to destroy the independence of the Press, and codes of conduct usually facilitate this

"I would say there is a need in SA for the Press to consolidate and identify around common concerns in order to achieve broad consensus throughout its ranks.

"Reporters feel a threat from one source, managers from another source. When they communicate among themselves and identify common areas they need to be concerned about, they produce a synergy which is much more effective than a code of practice in protecting the independence of the Press."

Internal dialogue would also mean greater contact between the "estab-

ishment" and "alternative" Press

One of the reasons for Low's visit was to facilitate this communication as a prelude to SA gaining representation on FIEJ. Membership has been under discussion between the Newspaper Press Union and FIEJ for the past three years, with FIEJ pushing to have an umbrella body from SA as broadly representative of all sectors of the Press as possible.

The concentration of ownership of the SA Press has been an issue of concern for FIEJ and is also occupying the attention of newspaper groups vulnerable to the threat of nationalisation

Another common development in transitional periods, Low says, is for newly elected governments keen to have their own mouthpiece to take over part of the existing Press rather than establishing their own. He believes there are many organisations in SA which would like to get their hands on the media.

"There is the mistaken belief that redividing what already exists is better than coming up with ways of encouraging the entry of new players into the marketplace to create more diversity."

It also becomes fashionable for each interest group to have its own newspaper which then becomes the mouthpiece for boring and predictable utterances. What is needed is for a pluralistic diversity of a number of newspapers owned in a wide variety of different ways.

Governments have a wide array of weapons for stifling the development of the free Press. Low says Smart governments that do not wish to be seen to be throttling the freedom of expression can, for instance, apply pressure through their control of foreign exchange, vitally needed to import newsprint and printing equipment or, as in Eastern Europe, through the control of the distribution network

"The world is littered with printing presses which are rotting on docks. They have been sent and off-loaded but cannot get through customs because of bureaucratic technicalities"

Nigel Bruce responds to criticism that South Africa's media ownership is concentrated in too few hands

We need only fear monopolies licensed by government

Star 20/2/92

243

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ON January 23, The Star carried a column by Alister Sparks in which he observed that the Financial Mail had cut across the free market principles it propounded. It did so, Sparks said, by referring to one of the advantages of a concentration of newspaper ownership.

There is, in fact, more than one advantage, but the main one is that the fewer the owners, the more their minds are concentrated on being successful.

Sparks felt this deserved an award for novelty from some business school.

The recipient should more properly be the Cape Town University Business School because it is a view expressed in more general terms at a Cape Times function in December by Professor Brian Kantor of that establishment.

Our statement does not contradict the FM's view on monopolies, which is simply that monopolies licensed by government impair competition and are an impediment to economic growth.

A monopoly that is a result of market forces or superior busi-

ness ability, where there is no artificially high barrier to entry by competitors, is another matter. Economically, it is usually benign and vulnerable to competition from smaller, more efficient enterprises.

In time, competition will inevitably erode its dominance and correct the market balance.

But the ownership of large newspapers here is not a monopoly. There are more than four highly competitive companies involved. Even if, by some stretch of the imagination, they were considered a monopoly, the absence of any significant barriers to entry by potential competitors suggest that they are at worst economically benign and at best rather efficient.

Sparks suggests, too, that a fractured ownership of the media is so fundamental to the democratic system that in the United States there is a law prohibiting a concentration of media ownership on any part of the country.

The fact is that there is no law in the US that limits in any way a company or individual owning any number of newspapers.

There is, however, a federal law that prohibits ownership of both a television station and a newspaper in the same city or community. It is by no means a blanket ban. Gannett, publisher of USA Today and based in Rosslyn, just across the river from Washington, owns the Washington CBS affiliate, WUSA.

There are also instances where ownership of television stations by newspapers that predates the enactment of this law have been allowed to continue.

The US Justice Department does, however, require assurance, in terms of anti-trust laws, that joint operating agreements among newspapers are not intended to reduce competition or corner the market. Government policy has been to encourage joint operating agreements to promote or preserve competition.

Clearly, Sparks cast another aspersion that does not stand scrutiny.

It might be worth his remembering, too, that the National Party came into power in this country despite the majority of

circulating newspapers being in what it regarded as alien hands. Why should it be any different for the ANC?

Sparks decries the FM's reference to the existence of the alternative press as an indication that the elements exist for the growth in the future of community newspapers.

Neither the technological advances nor the economies of the newspaper industry are as forbidding as Sparks tries to imply. But then business was never his strong point.

The industry is much less capital intensive than it was even 10 years ago and only geriatrics are today intimidated by computers.

The small alternative publications have a combined circulation of only 167 000 a week (assuming his figure is correct) because they serve their markets inadequately and not as a result of market failure. They have certainly not been short of capital, if that be considered a barrier to entry.

Ask Achmat Dangor, head of the Kagiso Trust. In South of January 16-22, he is

quoted as saying that the alternative press is "failing to serve (its) customers."

Dangor calculated that "since 1986, an average of R1million per year in aid has gone into (alternative) publications."

The sum in 1991 amounted to R3 million.

It now needed to be asked, he said, what impact these publications were having — did they improve the quality of life of ordinary South Africans?

The concentration of ownership of newspapers here will not last indefinitely.

It happened for political reasons that are disappearing, if they have not already done so.

Indeed, the longer it remains, the more vulnerable the various publications will become to smart competitors.

It is a process, however, the pace of which would be forced by government at great peril, for fundamental civil liberties are at stake.

The information and ideas spread by newspapers make it easier for ordinary people to make rational political and eco-

nomie decisions. Obviously the more diverse they are, the better. But to argue that people are irrational without newspapers — or that a political party cannot win an election without a captive newspaper — is to elevate journalistic self-esteem into a philosophical verity.

Robert Mugabe nationalised SA-owned newspapers, most of which opposed Ian Smith, on Zimbabwean independence for one reason only to avoid having to face reality each day.

He has continued to do so with remarkable dexterity and diminishing economic gain.

If he is in any way a model for the ANC, we will all face ruin.

The test for any enterprise must be whether it satisfies its market sufficiently to survive. Newspapers are no exception.

To believe otherwise is to subscribe to the doctrine of justification by faith alone. Not even the Anglican Church does that any more. □

● Nigel Bruce is editor of the Financial Mail

Police to use seized photos

CIP/23/2/92
ON January 17 City Press photographer Siphwe Mhlambi was arrested while on duty in Johannesburg and his cameras and films were confiscated by police.

Mhlambi was arrested while taking pictures of police arresting two men at Ellis Park station.

City Press tried to secure his release from Jeppe Police Station for seven hours, and was only able to do so on condition that the films stay behind at the station. City Press had dealings with a Col Els, among others.

Mhlambi appeared in court on Monday, January 21, charged with "interfering with the police officer in the course of his duties". At this time an undertaking was given to City Press by the police that the films were on their way back to the newspaper.

On January 28 City Press's lawyers wrote to the Commissioner of Police, saying "It is not understood why the films were not returned either to the possession of our client or to Mr Mhlambi at the time of his release.

"At the time of writing these films have still not been returned to our client's possession despite assurances by the police on January 20, 1992, that they have been sent back to City Press."

On February 18 lawyers again wrote to the Commissioner, saying nearly a month had elapsed since the newspaper was told the films had been sent back.

This week Col Els phoned our lawyers, saying there was a misunderstanding and that no undertaking should have been given by the police to return the film. He said the films would be used in evidence and that he would have to get the permission of the prosecutor to return the films.

Media laws on parties to probed

Sowetan 26/2/92

CODESA decided yesterday to investigate whether any laws prevented organisations in the country from having access to the media

The African National Congress and the Government differed sharply at Codesa last week on whether the SABC was independent.

The investigation is part of Codesa's working group one, which has been mandated to investigate free political activity

The announcement was made yesterday at the World Trade Centre, outside Johannesburg.

"The discussions resulted in agreement that members of the sub-group would investigate if there are any statutory provisions in South Africa - including the TBVC states - which prevent any political party or any other agency from establishing or continuing its own means of mass communication and from exercising Press freedom and enjoying access to established print media," the statement said

The next meeting of working group one would also hear a report from the Government and ANC on

progress made in their bilateral meeting on Monday night regarding political prisoners and exiles.

Earlier, the Campaign for Open Media called for more openness towards the Press by Codesa.

Meanwhile, KwaNdebele's Intando Yesizwe Party has recommended that the possibility of adapting the existing economic development regions of South Africa into political regions

The party was commenting on the balance between central, regional and local government.

The IYP said it was in favour of dividing a country into regions to ensure the existence of effective administration and a meaningful exercise of democratic rights at regional level

The division of the country should be done within the parameters of the principle of a united democratic nonracial and non-sexist society, with the sovereignty vested in the national or central government

The regional government should have powers over regional matters - *Sapa*

(Handwritten scribbles)
(243)

AFTER more than 40 years of being censored, constrained and badgered by the NP government and others, the country's media finds itself in a relatively free condition. Editors and journalists are able to pursue challenging thoughts about restructuring constitutional and other media laws so that a government will not again be able to censor, interfere and impede the free flow of news, information and commentary.

These ideas extend to the structure and practices of the industry and the craft. The emphasis is steadily moving to break up monopolies such as the SABC and the major newspaper groups so as to create greater diversity of publication and of opinion, more competition and ultimately greater freedom. In addition, editors and journalists themselves are seeking to improve on the quality and professionalism of their work, their ethical standards and their responsibilities to readers.

The problem is being tackled in two phases: an urgent approach to achieve open, free and fair reporting and expression of opinion in the media during the crucial transition period that SA has embarked upon and which, hopefully, will lead to the establishment of a nonracial, democratic government, and a longer-term approach which will lay down concepts and guidelines for increasing diversity and freedom of expression, maximum news coverage, greater access to official and other information while protecting privacy and the rights of the individual.

The Campaign for Open Media and the Anti-Censorship Action Group, the journalist trade unions and various other bodies with an interest in the media have undertaken the task of achieving the interim goals. A well-attended conference at the University of the Western Cape came up with a range of constitutional and legislative proposals which have been submitted to Codesa for action. In addition, the conference also proposed measures dealing with the conduct of the media and methods of monitoring performance during the transition.

Into this turmoil has stepped K. Prescott Low, president-elect of the world publishers' body, the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers. Low is a sincere and well-meaning newspaper publisher from Quincy, near Boston, Massachusetts, who is genuinely concerned about the freedom of the Press. Un-

Cutting

media's shackles

RAYMOND LOUW

Under the heading "Media codes destructive" (Business Day, February 19), he declared his fears that media codes and monitoring could lead to state control.

His views amounted to an attack on the Campaign for Open Media plan to facilitate the drawing up of a code of practice.

Low has little knowledge of media affairs here and it was unfortunate that Business Day failed to enlighten him. He is clearly unaware that a stringent code of conduct already applies to the Press in SA and that it is the basis for the punitive powers vested in the SA Media Council. He is also unaware that journalist trade unions have opposed that code for 30 years and have refused to take up a seat on the Media Council.

The Media Council code is used by the public to bring complaints against the Press. A finding by the council that a paper has offended against that code can result in a fine of a maximum of R10 000 being im-

posed. In addition, the paper can be forced to publish the finding and any censure by the council chairman.

The journalist unions' objections have been ignored by the Newspaper Press Union, the newspaper publishers' body, and by the Conference of Editors. The journalists claim rightly that the Media Council and the code were introduced to appease government and not to improve Press conduct. Adherence to the code is "voluntary" — but if newspapers had not set up the Media Council they would have fallen under the Publications Control Act or become subject to a statutory council which government frequently threatened to establish.

A further cause for complaint is that the council has no jurisdiction over the SABC, which simply refused to subscribe to it. No alternative punishments were meted out to it.

The decision on codes of practice at the Cape media conference was not that the Campaign for Open Media should write the code but that it should facilitate a meeting of editors, journalists, publishers and broadcasters to enable them to draw

up a consolidated code broadly acceptable to them all.

Several other codes exist — one formulated by the SA Union of Journalists and others by The Star and the SABC. The conference hoped that these would be amalgamated into a single broad code to which everyone could subscribe. It is unlikely that that code would be linked to a ine or other punitive punishment. The question of how the code would be enforced — through a media council or an ombudsman, or whatever — was left to that meeting to decide.

Low also expressed fears about conference proposals to monitor the media during the transition and the possibilities of government interference in media freedom. Suffice to say that monitoring of the transition process is inevitable.

Foreign governments which imposed sanctions will demand it. The conduct of the media is a vital element in the process of democratic change. So monitoring will take place, but the Campaign for Open Media is proposing that it take the form of a "media watch", which will be conducted by experienced journalists and editors, some from overseas, and will result in their published comments on what they find. It happened in Zimbabwe and Namibia and is hardly to be feared.

LETTERS



PUBLISHING

Circulation slide continues

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FM 28/2/92

The second half of 1991 was another grim period for newspaper and magazine circulations. Among dailies, the only significant exceptions to a pattern of unremitting decline or at best stagnation were two black newspapers, *The Sowetan* and *New Nation*, and, surprisingly, an Afrikaans paper, *Volksblad*.

To iron out the seasonal factor, the comparisons are made with the equivalent period of 1990. It is normal for second-half circulations to be lower than those of the first half.

The Sowetan, which is now SA's biggest daily newspaper, put on an astonishing 13%, while long-time frontrunner *The Star* declined by 6%. The much smaller *New Nation* gained 15%.

It would seem, too, that *The Sowetan's* success story has only just begun. GM Rory Wilson believes 1992 will be the lift-off year for the newspaper. "After getting our production, distribution and sales functions jacked up, our focus this year will be on the editorial product," he says.

Wilson's hardest task, however, will be to translate circulation growth into advertising. Even given that the average income of a *Star* reader is significantly higher than that of a *Sowetan* reader, it seems a trifle ridiculous that the "white" newspaper (which in any event has a large black readership) outdoes the black paper in advertising revenue by more than six to one.

According to Adindex, *The Star's* ad revenues last year were R92m — excluding its classified ads. *The Sowetan*, on the other hand, attracted only R14m.

Make love and war

SA's largest ad agency group, Ogilvy & Mather Rightford, has injected its small subsidiary agency, Meridian, into Barker McCormac, in return for a minority stake in Barker's holding company.

Barker McCormac, ranked 13th among SA agencies in 1990, remains an independent company, competing in the marketplace with O&M. The deal increases its billings to about R70m, says chairman Alex McCormac. In 1990 the agency reported billings of R49m.

O&M's stake has not been disclosed but is believed to be about 25%.

McCormac says the deal was struck because of a need to broaden the agency's business base, which will allow it to improve product quality and service. It also gives the agency access to the international O&M network. A previous association, with Klerck & White under the Saatchi & Saatchi umbrella, ended in 1990.

Meridian, for its part, has suffered from the loss of the Checkers business which ac-

counted for more than half of its billings. Last year, the agency billed about R17,5m.

McCormac continues as chairman while Meridian MD Greg Garden will come into the enlarged agency in a senior position.

There are no client conflicts and no redundancies among the 80 staff involved.

The deal follows the linking of Mundels and Kuper Hands last week as a R65m agency.

Tony Koenderman

FM 28/2/92

ABC CIRCULATION FIGURES

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	Average sales Jul/Dec 91	% change from Jan/Jan 91	% change from Jul/Dec 90
DAILY NEWSPAPERS			
The Argus	100 137	-2,4	-3,1
Beeld	99 583	0,2	-0,3
Die Burger	72 619	-4,2	-2,6
Business Day	32 500	-1,1	0,7
Cape Times	59 030	-3,9	-0,7
The Citizen	133 601	-3,5	-1,0
Daily Dispatch	33 581	-4,0	-4,2
The Daily News	92 544	-4,0	-6,0
EP Herald	27 906	-5,2	-6,7
Evening Post	19 633	-8,3	-15,3
Ilanga	120 676	-3,9	-3,1
The Natal Mercury	60 063	-3,9	-4,8
The Natal Witness	27 609	-2,0	-2,2
New Nation	80 862	20,5	15,2
Pretoria News	24 299	-8,5	-5,6
Sowetan	208 591	4,3	13,1
The Star	204 347	-6,2	-7,6
Die Transvaler	42 703	-0,4	-8,9
Die Volksblad	26 309	2,2	6,2
WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS			
City Press	128 073	-4,7	-0,3
Rapport	360 321	1,3	-1,8
The Sunday Star	83 975	-4,0	-9,3
Sunday Times	521 315	-1,8	0,1
Sunday Tribune	122 880	-1,2	-2,9
The Weekly Mail	23 955	5,9	-11,8
Post Natal	48 141	3,9	-1,6
WEEKLY MAGAZINES			
Farmers Weekly	21 169	-7,8	-8,5
Finance Week	16 596	-3,3	2,9
Financial Mail	32 308	-0,2	-0,4
Finansies & Tegniek	18 399	4,8	8,5
Huisgenoot	502 965	-2,0	-2,7
Keur	113 394	-9,3	-8,8
Landbouweekblad	58 177	-4,2	-6,5
Personality	110 086	-4,6	-6,4
You	209 386	2,3	5,1
FORTNIGHTLY MAGAZINES			
Fair Lady	161 379	-0,9	-6,6
Rooi Rose	143 613	-7,9	-7,0
Sarie	231 392	-1,8	-0,2
Scope	124 731	17,8	8,0
MONTHLY MAGAZINES			
Bona	254 181	0,7	-12,7
Car	136 158	-1,2	0,7
Cosmopolitan	106 220	-2,2	-8,0
Drum	106 975	4,8	-18,1
Femina	108 001	1,6	-4,6
Getaway	55 316	8,3	28,3
Insig	8 356	-9,4	-13,3
Living & Loving	117 985	4,1	5,6
Penthouse	68 670	-3,3	—
SA Garden & Home	141 302	-2,1	-5,8
Thandi	37 479	-6,3	-10,5
Tribute	13 941	-11,6	-14,7
True Love and Family	58 925	-16,8	-10,0
Woman's Value	163 997	-5,1	0,8
Your Family	226 900	-0,6	-1,0

Source: Audit Bureau of Circulation

Sapa chief quits after 20 years

ED Linington, the South African Press Association's longest-serving editor, retired yesterday after nearly 20 years at the helm and over 36 years' service to the news agency. (243)

Since his appointment as editor on May 1, 1972, he steered Sapa through good times and bad, never hesitating to defend, even in the most difficult circumstances, the right to freedom of speech, and access to information.

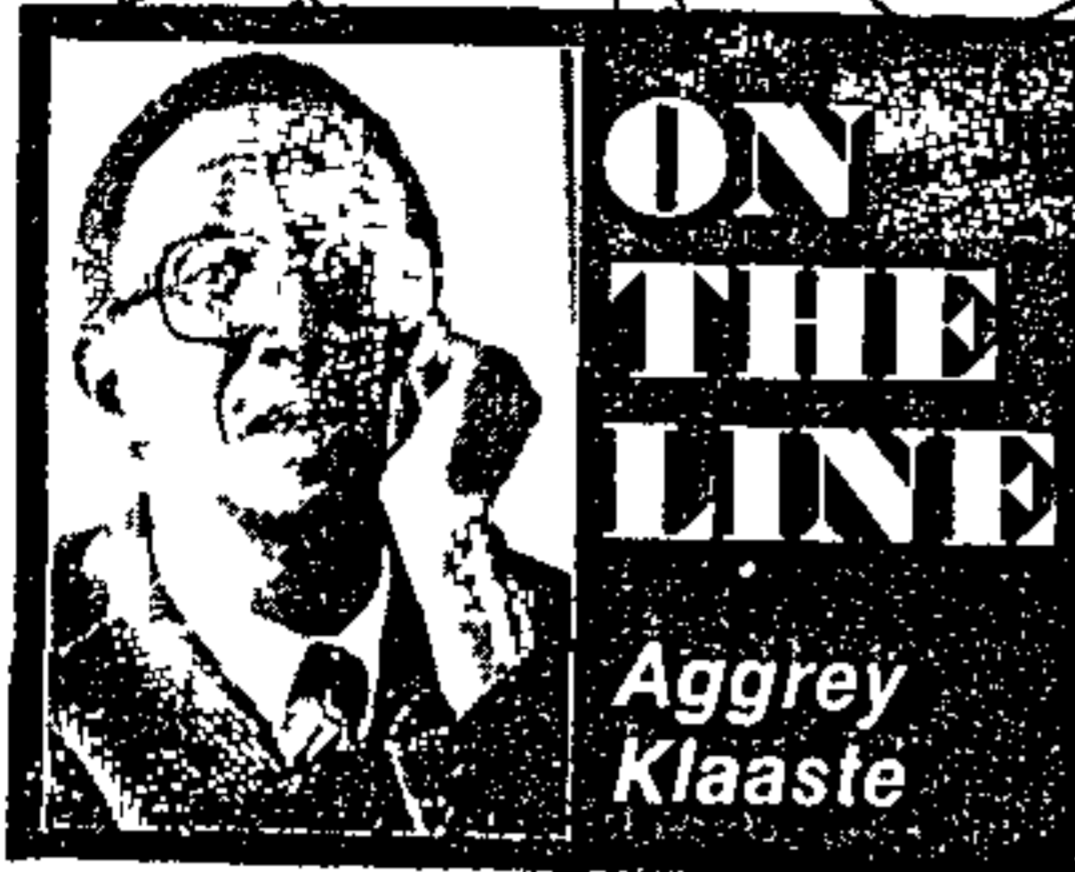
His total commitment, without political fear or favour, to factual coverage of news events in and around South Africa, firmly established the association's reputation as a vital source of accurate, independent news for the South African and international media.

Linington, 63, started his career in journalism with the *Bulawayo Chronicle* in 1950.

Looking back he remembers especially the June 1976 Soweto uprising, when Sapa's comprehensive and independent reporting firmly established its reputation here and abroad - Sapa

The truth is not a pretty picture

Sowetan 2/3/92 (243)



THE ugly, ungainly sprawl of dead bodies on the front pages of Sowetan is becoming the norm.

It is also getting me down

Newspapers use such dreadful pictures for various reasons

The immediate reason is aimed at getting what is rather indelicately called the "best" story or picture. In the old days it was called a scoop but with television and other forms of instant communication, scoops are rare

Sadistic

This does not mean journalists are sadistic or ghoul-ish. They are forced by dictates of the market - the readers who prefer bad news over good

Another reason is the endeavour to shock readers, with the intention (the hopeful intention, I must add) that such acts will be stopped

This sometimes works. Many times it does not. Sowetan tries to be the type of paper that responds immediately, preferably creatively, to problems in the community. If we can shock or advise, cajole or induce readers to be peaceful we give it our best shot

We start campaigns. We will soon start a peace crusade with the help of our communities and certain organisations

We will try to reach every mind, touch every heart

At the start of this year I said I would start a children's crusade, a process that will encourage people to do what is best for the children of South Africa. I have said that every married man and woman knows that the journey to marital bliss is often aided by a love for children

Personal

I have quoted my personal case. After 18 years of turbulence in the home, we are now sailing together as a family. If we have to be honest, the essential ingredient that kept the marriage intact came from our kids

Extending this paradigm

to communities I believe the essential "glue" that keeps nations together must come from its children

I have suggested that members of all organisations, political and otherwise, of all race groups should have plans to fight for the present and future happiness of our children

I thought that while I am nation building, we should remind ourselves of Steve Biko and how he had his own brand of nation building

I am not ashamed to say that the fundamentals of my thinking on nation building came from Steve Biko and Black Consciousness. I know I have upset the followers of this creed by not following the political or ideological imperatives behind BC to the letter

Biko was a revolutionary, not in the orthodox fashion that causes hair to grow on the puny political chests of weaklings, but in an honest and profound manner

Steve Biko's magic came from a love of people - all people - and what almost seemed like a romantic innocence about the goodness of man

Saintly

Such saintly people are usually martyred

Steve Biko could quite easily have taken the fashionable route to fame and "relevance" by using all the accepted slogans and beating his chest with orthodox rhetoric

What he did - and I am amazed at the way in which political organisations have failed to copy this - was to get intimately involved with communities. Most political organisations claim they have links with what is called "the grassroots". They are forever doing things for that mystical element called the people. What they actually mean is that the rallies, the funerals, the meetings that they hold are well attended

I am not suggesting that political organisations are devious. They simply mistake the myth for the fact. They probably honestly believe the things they are



FLASHBACK: The type of picture that is used on the front page of Sowetan. Sometimes people have to be shocked into consciousness

doing will benefit the people. Many political activists will sacrifice time and money will go to jail even for the sake of what they call the people. The problem is that they do not seem to be able to translate such noble sentiment into acts of commitment

Heroes

The people love political heroes. The people, however, also need leadership and support in the manifold complex things that make them human

Unless I am otherwise persuaded, the young men and women who worked with Biko had more regard and care for the people than for political power. What the Black Peoples' Convention and its sister organisations did was to understand the immediate concerns of people. They then attempted to heal the wounds of apartheid and

rebuild the black nation. The fact that they called this Black Power was perhaps unfortunate but right for their time

The Black Consciousness organisations of the 1970s and early 1980s worked in clinics, in theatre, in schools, in various developmental projects, often with rural communities

The struggle was not simply for becoming fashionable, but by sweating it out with the people

Building the total person. That is why they called it a conscious struggle - a struggle to do with the shift in consciousness about self

The truth of this will emerge in what is being called the new South Africa. Unless blacks are strong about who they are and where they come from, they will not be able to integrate with other nations. There will be little multi-racialism when the dice is

so heavily loaded against black South Africans

If we had followed Biko's example we would not have dead bodies on page one. The centre in black life would have held

Dynamic

We would have reinforced our *ubuntu*, would have firmed out our extended families, we would have become an example to the nations of the world by devising a dynamic socialism (with the small "s") that many of us still believe is part of the African ethos

I am afraid we will continue using gruesome pictures on page one of Sowetan. We will sometimes use them on our posters. This is because we often have to defend the actions of our people who have been brutalised by the evils of the past against those who are distinctly contemptuous of us

Boost⁽²⁴³⁾ for SA media

South Africa 6/3/92
A NEW institute for the advancement of journalism has been formed in association with the University of the Witwatersrand

The institute will be run by former Rand Daily Mail editor Mr Allister Sparks

Sparks said the institute's aim would be to raise the standard of both print and broadcast journalism in South Africa through training and research

It would also aim to prepare the media for the changes that would come with the country's political transformation

"There are inevitably going to be changes in both the newspaper industry and the broadcasting services, particularly with pressure for black advancement into more senior decision-making positions. Journalism must prepare for these changes," Sparks said - SA Press Association

New institute seeks to improve journalism

STAR 6/3/92

Staff Reporter (243)

A new institute for advanced journalism, designed to upgrade the standard of both print and broadcast journalism in South Africa, has been formed in association with the University of the Witwatersrand.

The institute will be run by former Rand Daily Mail editor Allister Sparks and will be controlled by an independent board of directors including media specialists and other prominent people.

Mr Sparks said the institute's aim would be to raise the standard of journalism in South Africa through training and research and also to prepare the media for the changes that would come with the country's political transformation.

"The new South Africa is going to require new media. There are inevitably going to be changes in both the newspaper industry and broadcasting services, particularly with pressure for black

advancement into more senior decision-making positions. Journalism must prepare for these changes," Mr Sparks said.

He said the institute aimed to develop a rich mixture of teaching and research programmes, ranging from sophisticated courses and seminars to basic classes at high school level.

Its academic programme would be organised around four broad areas of study: reporting and editing, graphics and design, media management and media ethics.

The institute also planned to launch a programme of free-ranging study for specially selected journalists, modelled on the Nieman Fellowship programme at Harvard University in the United States.

"Another programme will be to encourage township and other high schools to start student newspapers so that we can spot talent early and nurture it," Mr Sparks said.

News team

CT 6/3/92

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'threatened'

Own Correspondent

LONDON — A team of British journalists investigating links between South African security forces and political violence had drugs planted in their luggage, equipment stolen and were threatened, it was alleged here.

Mr John Carlin wrote in *The Independent* yesterday that a series of menacing telephone calls and an "ominous" visit to his home in Johannesburg followed the drugs find in a colleague's suitcase at Heathrow.

In the report Mr Carlin said the South African government had responded promptly to complaints from the British embassy in Cape Town.

At the "urgent bidding" of two cabinet ministers, a police captain had been appointed to investigate and one of his first tasks would be "to establish who were the police on duty at Jan Smuts Airport on the evening of February 6".

However, our Johannesburg correspondent reports that local police have no record of such an investigation.

Police liaison officer Lieutenant-Colonel Johan Mostert said he was unable to find any trace of such an investigation, or of any such request by a government minister.

The colleague in whose suitcase Heathrow customs officials found four bags of dagga and a dozen Mandrax tablets, BBC television producer Mr John Drury, was apparently held for nine hours.

The search followed an anonymous tip-off to Heathrow customs, Mr Carlin said.

Lawyers and "sympathetic" British officials had intervened and it seemed highly unlikely that charges would be laid, Mr Carlin wrote.

He quoted Mr Drury as being convinced that the trouble stemmed from conversations they had with security policemen who allegedly confirmed to them, off the record, that they were still targeting members of the ANC.

A spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order said that if the allegations of planting dagga and Mandrax were proved true immediate steps would be taken.

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Appeal Court has reserved judgment in the appeal brought by the Cape Town newspaper *The Argus* against an order to pay damages to Dr Oscar Dhlo-

mo. In his former capacity as secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Dhloomo sued *The Argus* and Joe Latakomo, former editor of the *Sowetan*, for defamation in reports published in the *Sowetan* in April 1986.

The reports followed a conference of the National Education Crisis Committee in March 1986.

Damages of R7 000 were awarded in the Witwatersrand division of the Supreme

Court by Mr Justice MS Stegmann when he found on July 10, 1990, that there was no consideration of legal or public policy to prevent an organisation which was, or resembled, a political party from suing for defamation.

Mr Justice Stegmann held that *The Argus* and Mr Latakomo had conveyed, by implication, that Inkatha was guilty of criminal conduct by inciting its members, or alleged members, and the Amabutho impi to assault the NECC organisers and delegates at the con-

gress Mr Latakomo was withdrawn as an appellant last year.

The main question in the appeal was whether a political organisation was entitled to sue for defamation.

For *The Argus*, Mr BE Doctor, SC, with Mr G J Marcus, argued that there were overwhelming considerations of public policy which militated against a political organisation being afforded the right to sue for defamation.

He submitted that the lower court had miscon-

ceived the nature of freedom of expression in a democratic society.

It was submitted that Mr Justice Stegmann's characterisation of defamatory attacks made by political spokesmen on their opponents as "irresponsible" was both unfounded and impractical.

A defamatory attack that was true was less defamatory, but it did not follow that it was "irresponsible" to

make it

There was a further difficulty that a defamatory statement might be true, but that the maker might not have evidence, admissible in court, to prove it.

Mr Doctor argued that the law of defamation was intended, primarily, to provide a remedy for injury to individual reputation. In the present case, no individual member of Inkatha could have instituted action, due to the absence of reference to individual plaintiffs.

By instituting action in

Judgment reserved in newspaper appeal

(243)

STAFF 7/3/92

the name of the organisation, and by implication of all its members, Dr Dhloomo had essentially sought damages for group defamation. There were sound reasons of public policy that militated against such actions.

Mr M Daley, for Dr Dhloomo, said the issue was if Inkatha, being a non-trading corporation and political body, ought to be denied the right to sue for defamation on the grounds of public or legal policy.

He submitted that the bal-

ance between the right of freedom of speech and the right of reputation of a political body such as Inkatha could, similarly, be achieved by allowing a greater level of criticism than would be permitted of a non-trading corporation that was not a political body.

To deny a political body like Inkatha the right to sue for defamation would create a situation in which freedom of speech could and would be abused.

The appeal was heard by the Chief Justice, Mr Justice Corbett, Mr Justice Hoexter, Mr Justice Hefer, Mr Justice E M Grosskopf and Mr Justice Goldstone — Sapa

SAP 'regret' over claims

PRETORIA — The police force has expressed regret that three British journalists did not follow the correct channels regarding allegations of harassment by members of the security forces

Police spokesman Colonel Johan Mostert said it created the impression the three, Mr John Carlin, Mr John Drurrie and Miss Brenda Goldleg, were seeking publicity for a programme they had made in South Africa

He said they had received considerable assistance from the security forces. (243)

Apparently, the three were investigating links between the police, the army and political violence when the alleged intimidation occurred — Sapa

(S) CT 7/3/92

Judgment reserved in Argus case

Clarens 8/3/92
JUDGMENT has been reserved in the Bloemfontein Appeal Court in the appeal by the Argus Company which was in an earlier case ordered to pay R7 000 damages to Dr Oscar Dhlomo. (243)

In his former capacity as secretary-general of Inkatha, Dhlomo sued the Argus and former Sowetan editor Joe Latakomo for defamation in reports published in April 1986.

The reports followed a conference of the NECC in March 1986. (243)

The agreed damages were awarded against the Argus in the Witwatersrand Local Supreme Court on July 10, 1990.

Judge Stegmann had found that there was no reason to prevent a political party from suing for defamation. (242)

Stegmann held that the Argus and Latakomo conveyed, by implication, that Inkatha had been guilty of criminal conduct by inciting its members, or alleged members, to assault the NECC organisers and delegates at the conference. - Sapa

Hugh Robertson reports on attempts to control US state television

Learning the lesson of fragile media freedom

STAR 9/3/92

BEHIND all the hoopla of the presidential primaries, and the evidence they provide of America's robust democracy, some disturbing events have shown just how fragile are some of the basic freedoms Americans take for granted — freedoms of intense interest to South Africans right now.

The first was an attempt in the US Senate to cut off \$1.1 billion (about R3 billion) in funding for the admirable non-commercial radio and television systems which provide civilised relief from the shallow crudeness of most of the commercial services

The object was to force National Public Radio (NPR), which offers some of the best radio available anywhere, and the Public Broadcasting System (PBS), its television counterpart, into dancing to the ideological tune of a coterie of right-wing senators.

According to the senators, NPR and PBS are hotbeds of liberal excess, paying obeisance to communists (believe it or not, they still fret about them), homosexuals, feminists, serial killers, blasphemers and drug addicts to the exclusion of ordinary, decent Americans

Another sign of how precarious is freedom of speech survives in the US came with a bid by the Bush administration to ban "indecent" television broadcasts. The genesis of the attempted ban was Senator Jesse Helms, a man deeply troubled by much of the modern world, who persuaded his colleagues to pass a law in 1988 prohibiting "indecent" television

But it was an episode with a happy ending

The Supreme Court refused to uphold the ban, thus allowing to stand a lower court's ruling that such a prohibition violated the

constitution's protection of freedom of speech

In effect, the highest court in the land had ruled that an act of Congress was unconstitutional. Just about every far-right spokesman was left hyperventilating

And then, almost miraculously, the Senate itself came to its senses and lifted the "hold" on funds for NPR and PBS, although the issue has still to come up for formal debate and the money has yet to be voted on. No doubt the conservatives will put up a fight, but of interest to South Africans is the fact that much the same struggle for influence over state-funded broadcasting now rages within Codesa

None other than the ANC's communications chief, Dr Pallo Jordan, recently informed the distinguished audience at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace that the ANC and other Codesa participants wanted an equal

say with the Government over the operation of state-controlled broadcasting. Not once did he refer to freedom of speech or the need for an independent media

Will Codesa liberate broadcast journalism, or will that closed club of politicians simply agree among themselves to share power over it? It seems an invariable international rule that when politicians are in a position to exercise influence over the media, they not only cling to that power but are ultimately prepared to abrogate freedom of speech

After more than 200 years of democracy, the US Congress passed a law which violated freedom of speech. And it was still prepared to consider withholding funds for radio and television on purely ideological grounds

How much more vulnerable is our own fledgling democracy to the grasping hands of politicians? □

Call to probe drug 'plant' (243)

LONDON. — The International Press Institute (IPI) called on South Africa at the weekend to investigate the treatment of a British journalist who allegedly had drugs planted on him by security forces when leaving the country recently.

The IPI, representing leading editors worldwide, expressed concern at the treatment of Mr John Carlin, South African correspondent of The Independent newspaper, and two BBC journalists, Mr John Drury and Ms Brenda Goldblatt

— UPI 6/9/92

London newsman outraged about police statement

STAR 10/3/92

By Michael Sparks

A British journalist in Johannesburg reacted strongly to statements by the police that he had made allegations of harassment simply as a publicity stunt

John Carlin, correspondent for the Independent newspaper of London said he could not believe it when police said they had given their full co-operation to a documentary team

"They were hugely unco-operative," he said

The documentary made by Mr Carlin and two BBC journalists looks at links between the Security Police, the Defence Force and political violence and is due to be screened this evening in Britain.

"The way they have reacted to what we have done sometimes makes me wonder whether we haven't stumbled across something without knowing about it," he said

Mr Carlin described some of the things he said happened while working on the project

- His office was broken into and a computer diary with names and phone numbers taken

- A white man went to his home to fix his video

machine, but he does not keep one at home

- Two people claiming to be computer technicians arrived at his home, but since his computer was not there they did not gain access.

- At least four telephone calls were made asking Mr Carlin to pick up a parcel He points out one of the aspects the journalists were investigating was the use of parcel bombs The parcel was never collected.

- Numerous threatening telephone calls

- John Drury of the BBC, who also worked on the documentary was stopped by customs in London where four bags of cannabis and a dozen mandrax tablets were found in his suitcase. But London customs had received an anonymous tip-off about precisely what would be in Mr Drury's suitcase

Mr Carlin said, "I want to believe the Government is on my side on this I believe (President) FW (de Klerk) is battling with these people behind the scenes."

The British Embassy has expressed "serious concern" to the Government and an official inquiry is under way



Van der Velden 'the ideal is to be totally objective'

FM 13/3/92

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He had moved over from the daily *Cape Times* but soon discovered that his speed and output would have to be jacked up a couple of notches because of deadlines throughout the day

It's not a job for egomaniacs wire service reporters get used to seeing their work with a newspaper reporter's byline on it

"It's an incredibly rushed pace of work and you must be right You are more in the backroom of the news industry It's not as high-profile as newspaper people. Your name is not known but the average wire reporter works three times as hard. It's a stressful job"

Van der Velden spent two-and-a-half years as Sapa's London bureau chief (and every other job, including teaboy) He returned to SA with his wife, Jill, and 18-month-old Matthew in December when the organisation was forced by financial constraints to close the office He took over on March 1 from Ed Linington (63), who retired after 20 years in the top job

The new editor is just 33 though his beard is flecked with grey and he has the grandfatherly habit of rolling his own cigarettes "When people remark on how young I am for the job, I say I couldn't agree more"

The self-deprecation is typical He says it took him four years to finish his journalism degree at Rhodes because he flunked a year And he admits that some of his fellow graduates may be surprised by his success "I was not the brightest student," he jokes

What he is serious about is the ever-present threat to freedom of the press "We have a vital task to fulfil to remain an independent source of news in SA" ■

MARK VAN DER VELDEN

FM 13/3/92

Nose for news

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SA Press Association editor Mark van der Velden says "The ideal is to be totally objective But, for that you need to be a machine However, we aspire to it every day"

Throughout the day, Sapa — a nonprofit news gathering and disseminating organisation, owned by the four major newspaper chains and individual members — cranks out the news

From cricket to crime to crackpots, Van der Velden and his staff of 44 spend each day searching for all viewpoints

"Every day we ask: 'Do we have a cross-section?' On the referendum, for instance, the 'yes' side is overwhelming and the 'no' is battling to make itself heard The hard fact is that the Nats are very much more organised We're doing our best to convey what is going on in the far-flung little towns"

Van der Velden is no stranger to referendum coverage When he joined Sapa in 1983 in Cape Town, he was thrown into the vote over the proposed tricameral constitution

Young — but experienced

STAR 14/3/92

243

MARK van der Velden, the new editor of the national news agency, the South Africa Press Association (Sapa), is not at all bothered by the fact that, at 33, he is regarded as young for his job.

"It really doesn't mean that much," he says modestly "People do raise eyebrows when they learn how old I am but it doesn't worry me I'm more concerned with making sure the job gets done"

Is he up to the job? "I've only been on the job for a week so ask me next year" he laughs "But I could have done without the referendum right now, though I would have liked a little time to find my feet."

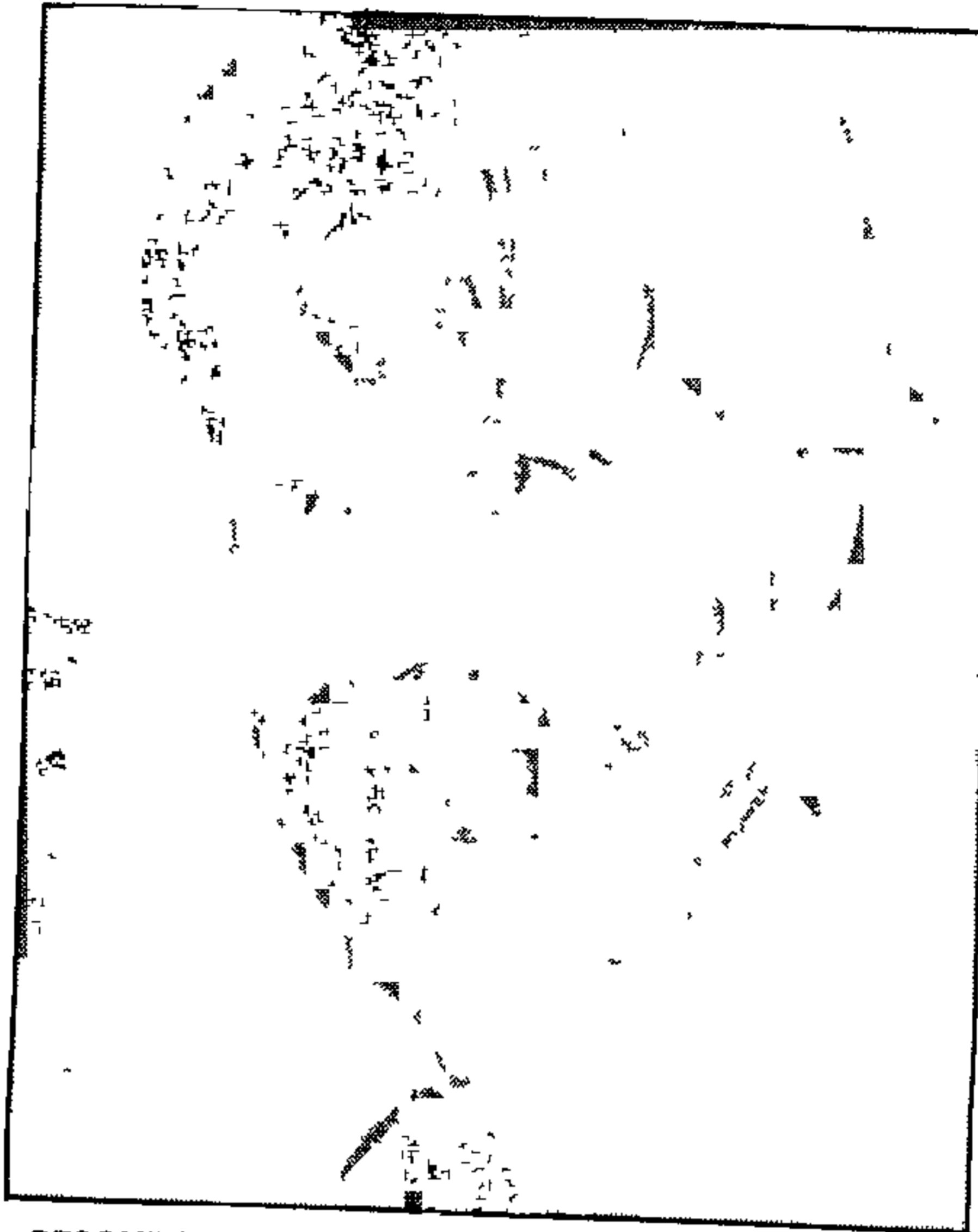
Most newspapers and many businesses and foreign news bureaux will rely on Johannesburg-based Sapa to break the news to them of what the results of the referendum are. The task will involve co-ordinating the agency's 44 full-time staff, its 600 stringers and its bureaux in Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Durban and Pretoria

But Van der Velden, who has worked for Sapa since 1983, is a man who finds his feet in almost any situation. A news agency reporter, he explains, is concerned with three things: getting the story first, getting it fast and getting it accurate.

This task, simple as it may sound, can be daunting when you are in a crush of dozens of local and international journalists competing with each other for facilities and favour.

"You learn a few tricks," he muses. "Like putting cotton wool into a ticky box so that it won't work for other journalists ... or even pulling the plug out a little so the connection is broken"

He travelled with President de Klerk to Dakar, filing his stories from the presidential plane. As Sapa's London bureau chief he followed ANC Presi-



RESOURCEFUL: Mark van der Velden, Sapa's new editor

Sapa's youthful new editor learned his trade as a crime reporter and honed it on travels with F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela. MANDY JEAN WOODS met Mark van der Velden.

dent Nelson Mandela around Europe and the US during his first visit abroad

"I was not allowed to be part of his official entourage so I had to make my own travel plans. In the US, for example, we visited something like nine cities in 10 days I had to be in a city before he arrived and leave after he left and arrive in the next city before he did"

His reports of the trip were used widely by the local media who, in many instances, did not

have reporters covering every leg of Mandela's trip

He has been a witness to many of South Africa's major political developments as a member of Sapa's parliamentary team. He covered Parliament's last all-white session and now, as editor of Sapa, will co-ordinate coverage of South Africa's first black government when it becomes a reality

His journalistic career began on a small Cape paper before

he joined the Cape Times as a crime reporter. Two years later he was invited to join Sapa

Just days after returning from spending three weeks covering the war that broke out in Namibia on independence, Van der Velden packed up his family and moved to London to become Sapa's London bureau chief. Crippling costs forced the bureau to close and he returned to Sapa, Johannesburg as deputy editor in late 1989

The challenge of the future, he says, will be to ensure Sapa "retains its well deserved name as a responsible source of independent news, presented without bias"

STAR
14/3/92

In the new South Africa, he notes, it will be essential to have an independent source of news of the kind Sapa distributes — a broad cross-section of news of the day from South Africa and the world. "A vital function in the new democracy will be freedom of speech and access to information"

Another long-term goal will be to develop Sapa into Africa's leading source of news. "In the 1960s, Sapa used to cover Africa as far up as the Congo. Obviously with the changes that have taken place, there is a lot more interest in South Africa — and vice versa — than in the past

"We have already made contact with a lot of African news agencies and newspapers and we are talking to many of them"

But back to immediate concerns. How will Sapa manage coverage of the referendum results and the budget on the same day?

Van der Velden comes back to earth with a bump. "It will stretch our resources but we will manage. We always have"

the deceased is Mr Malatudi Lebatha alias Lawani

(2) (a), (b) and (c)

No, Mr K Findlay and Mrs F Findlay were summonsed and appeared in the Veremiging court on 11 March 1992 on a charge of murder. The case was remanded until 10 April 1992.

Repealing of legislation pro the Press

*7 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs

- (1) Whether, with reference to each of the 11 Acts particulars of which have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, it is the Government's intention to repeal legislation which detracts from the free flow of information and restricts the Press from reporting, if not, why not, if so, what are the relevant details,
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B294E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

(1) and (2)

Of the 11 Acts referred to by the hon member, the Department of Home Affairs administers only the Electoral Act, 1979 (Act 45 of 1979). Since section 143 of the Electoral Act, which is at issue here, has it in view to prevent unjustifiable influencing of voters, it is not this Department's intention to repeal it at this stage.

However, in view of more recent developments, such as, *inter alia* discussions at Codesa, renewed discussions regarding the respective acts are now the proper course which will be formulated in more concrete form in due course and hopefully progress could be reported in course of time.

Mr P G SOAL Mr Chairman, arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, I want to say that I originally formulated this question to be addressed to the hon the State President, but it was obviously felt that this hon Minister had great influence with his colleagues in the Cabinet, and that he would be able to influence them to have these pieces of legislation repealed. May I ask if he would please undertake to talk to his col-

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

leagues in the Cabinet who are responsible for the 11 pieces of legislation that I outlined in my question with a view to having them repealed as soon as possible in order that there may be a free flow of information before we get to the situation at Codesa in which that is required? (243)

The MINISTER Mr Chairman, the hon member will have concluded from my reply that discussions were in fact taking place in this regard. Naturally I cannot give any undertaking on behalf of my colleagues as to whether they will repeal the legislation or not, but this is the process and I think my reply has been very clear in this regard.

Pretoria Regional Services Council.

personal loans

*8 Mr F J LE ROUX asked the Minister of Local Government and National Housing:

Whether the Pretoria Regional Services Council has granted any personal loans of money to any person or body in the year ending 31 March 1992, if so, (a) to whom or what body, (b) how much money was lent to this person or body, (c) at what rate of interest was it lent and (d) when does the loan have to be paid back? B295E

The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL HOUSING

No

(a)-(d) Fall away

Proposed structure: single education authority

*9 Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education

- (1) Whether a proposed structure for a single education authority, together with non-racial, geographic departments of education, has been devised by or for his Department, if not, why not, if so, (a) (i) by whom and (ii) when was this structure devised and (b) to whom has it been propagated,
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B299E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

- (1) No. In the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS) developed by the Committee of

Heads of Education Departments (CHED), and not by the Department of National Education, broad proposals in this regard were made. Comments on these broad proposals have been sought nationally and final recommendations on a future educational structure could be submitted by the CHED, as part of the ERS, to the Education Ministers. Devising an acceptable future education structure is, however, a process which is closely linked to future constitutional structures at present being negotiated.

- (a) (1) Falls away
(ii) Falls away

(b) Falls away

(2) No

Archival material: restrictions

*10 Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education

- (1) Whether any restrictions are imposed on the public scrutiny of archival material derived from South African State Departments and (b) by whom were they imposed,
- (2) whether the Government proposes to relax the current restrictions on the scrutiny of State archival material, if not, why not, if so, to what extent,
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B300E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

- (1) Yes
- (a) The making available of archives from Government departments to members of the public for research purposes is controlled by section 9 of the Archives Act (Act 6 of 1962). According to this section a so-called "closed period" of about 30-years is maintained as a general principle and documents dating from the period before 1961 are at present available. Individual applications to consult documents in archives depots which

still fall in the closed period are considered on merit.

(b) The Archives Act, 1962 (Act 6 of 1962)

- (2) No. The present arrangements are in accordance with international standards and no problems are experienced with these in practice.
- (3) No

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament

Valkenberg Hospital: security staff

*11 Miss M SMUTS asked the Minister of National Health

- (1) Whether, at the time of the escape of a number of psychiatric patients from the maximum security unit at the Valkenberg Hospital during February 1992, there were any security staff in the employ of this hospital, if so, where were they at the time, if not, why not,
- (2) whether security staff have been introduced since, if so, (a) what staff and (b) for how long,
- (3) whether any further steps are being contemplated in respect of improving security, if not, why not, if so, what steps?

B301E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH

- (1) No, the hospital does not have posts for security personnel on its establishment,
- (2) yes,
- (a) security personnel of the Department of Corrective Services and
- (b) from 17 February 1992 till 1 March 1992
- (3) yes,
- (i) the obtaining of quotations from private security companies with a view to the implementation of a security service from 2 March 1992,
- (ii) the limiting of patients to 65 for which the maximum security unit makes provision,
- (iii) the filling of vacant nursing posts,

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

61 journalists killed worldwide last year

(243) ARG 19/3/92
WASHINGTON — Sixty-one journalists were killed worldwide last year as attacks against reporters and the news media reached record numbers, the Committee to Protect Journalists said here

Five other missing journalists were feared dead, said the committee's annual report, *Attacks on the Press 1991*

Executive director Anne Nelson said the total number of attacks last year against journalists and the news media was 1,264 in 100 countries. The 61 journalists were killed in 17 countries.

The death toll, combined with a tally of those missing, was the highest recorded in a single year by the committee. The number of non-lethal physical attacks on journalists last year was also a record, said the report.

Committee officials defined journalists as people who report or write regularly for newspapers, magazines, broadcasts or other media outlets. The definition includes those who don't necessarily make a living from this work.

World political changes had provided no guarantee of Press freedom, Mrs Nelson said.

"The end of the great East-West rivalry has been accompanied by the re-emergence of nationalist aspirations and ethnic tensions.

"Journalists are not only exposed to the risks of crossfire in these conflicts but also suffer because they are wrongly perceived as partisans," she said.

The report said Yugoslavia had been the bloodiest killing field for journalists. The civil war there claimed at least 19 reporters' lives during the year. Two others were missing and presumed dead.

More journalists were killed during the first seven months of the Yugoslav conflict than during any comparable period of any other war, the report said.

In Vietnam, for example, 63 were killed or presumed dead between 1954 and 1975.

The committee was formed in New York in 1981 to monitor Press conditions around the world — Sapa-AP

Independents CT 20/3/92 join the NPU

(243)
Staff Reporter

THE Conference of Independent Editors yesterday joined the Newspaper Press Union, which they had shunned for "supporting" agreements with the police, army and prisons.

Editor of South, Dr Guy Berger, said South, the Weekly Mail, New African, New Nation and Vrye Weekblad would recommend that the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers accept the NPU as a member, as it was now fully representative

Newspapers join NPU

B/D ay 20/3/92
MEMBERS of the Conference of Independent Editors this week joined the Newspaper Press Union, signalling the end of a long division in the newspaper industry

South newspaper editor Guy Berger said the decision by the Weekly Mail, New Nation, Vrye Weekblad, South and New African meant mainstream and independent newspapers had achieved unity, and that successful affiliation to international bodies was certain to follow

Berger said the five weeklies would recommend to the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers that the now-representative NPU be accepted. (243)

Tension between the two sectors peaked when former president P W Botha tried to conclude a special agreement with the NPU at the expense of the independent media. Differences also arose when the independents defied media restrictions while NPU members supported agreements with the security forces and prisons

Berger said there was now common interest in maintaining Press diversity in the face of severe economic pressures on the newspaper industry

NPU chairman Ton Vosloo welcomed the 'five new members, saying the agreement ended a long period of division'. He said he was happy the NPU had applied to the international federation as a united Press

The application for NPU membership by CP mouth-piece Die Patriot was approved, Vosloo said — Sapa

Press ends division

SOUTH AFRICA'S alternative and mainstream press came a step closer to each other this week, when the independent weekly papers became members of the Newspaper Press Union (NPU)

South, Weekly Mail, New Nation, Vrye Weekblad and New African will be represented as a special category alongside other membership divisions in the industry-wide NPU.

Speaking for the Conference of Independent Editors, South editor Dr Guy Berger said "The development signifies the end of a long division in the newspaper industry"

Tension between the two sectors of the press peaked during the state of emergency when then-President PW Botha tried to conclude a special agreement with the NPU at the expense of the independent press

"In the new political climate, the two sides in the field have accepted each other as partners in a single industry, with shared interests regarding press freedom in a new dispensation," said Berger

"There is also a common interest in maintaining press diversity in the face of the severe economic pressures on the industry"

The five independent papers are recommending to the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (FIEJ) that the now wholly representative NPU be accepted as a member of the world body.

NPU president Mr Ton Vosloo welcomed the new members, saying that the association was pleased to be applying for membership of FIEJ as a united press

"There are still too many regulations and laws inhibiting press freedom and a united stand will help to clear obstacles speedily," Vosloo added

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has come out strongly in favour of press freedom. In a statement this week he also paid tribute to the contribution of the independent weeklies to democracy

While the established newspaper industry had built itself up over the years, the newer weeklies were working against a difficult economic climate to become self-sustaining, he said

"As the newspaper industry rejoins the world newspaper community, it is important that meaningful steps are taken to develop the weekly press and reduce the imbalances

"In this regard, businesses, advertisers, the European Community and other funders and the established press industry have an important role to play," Mandela said

21/3/92

Changing times for SA's main and alternative Press

IN years gone by, mainstream publications with no interest in upsetting the status quo sometimes neglected to take the government to task on issues of democratic concern. It was in this context of draconian political oppression that the alternative Press was born.

But with the current reform process well under way, the alternative Press no longer has the mission of exposing the government on issues of censorship, states of emergency or apartheid atrocities.

In this sense the political mainstream has become reasonably acceptable to the alternative Press, who are now forced to look at issues other than political ones to maintain circulation. And for the mainstream of TML, The Argus, Nasionale Pers and Perskor, the issues are no longer too sensitive to write about.

But pinpointing reader interests is not the only challenge facing the alternative Press. Previously funded by the international community for political rather than economic interest, the alternative Press is about to be left high and dry as foreign institutions cut or stop altogether the flow of funds.

Amid new political trends and harsh economic realities, the alternative and mainstream Press are converging. And while the alternative Press is facing an immediate struggle for survival, the biggest test for the mainstream Press is still to come. **TED MAGILL** reports.

European Community-funded newspapers Vryeweekblad, New African, New Nation and South have all been warned that the coffers will run dry in July this year.

The timing is not good. With an economic recession and competition from Eastern Europe for international capital, the alternative Press faces a battle for survival which must force them into the private sector to join the mainstream newspaper industry.

Just last week the alternative Cape newspaper, South, launched a new-look initiative as part of its survival strategy for the Nineshes. Editor Guy Berger said South had started out on the road to self-sufficiency at the beginning of 1991. South was expanding its advertising department and cutting back on editorial staff as the

paper sought strategies for self-sufficiency.

Berger was confident South would make it into the private sector but admitted the recession could send them (and other newspapers) out of business. "If the recession doesn't get worse, I have no doubt that we will make it," he said.

For New Nation, the rationalisation started late last year and has already showed results. Alluding to six digit figures, news editor Gabu Tugwana, said they had found ways of saving.

The Weekly Mail falls into a slightly different category. With no foreign funding, the newspaper was established on the shareholding of what co-editor Irwin Manorn calls "prominent liberals", and aimed from day one to be self-sufficient.

But times have never been easy. At the

moment The Weekly Mail still needs an additional 5 percent of advertising to start showing a profit. "It's on the edge of paying for itself," Manorn said.

In their latest endeavour to attract a bigger readership and thus a bigger slice of the advertising cake, Britain's The Guardian Weekly is inserted.

In a sense, the alternative Press has a headstart on the mainstream Press when it comes to catering for a future non-racial South Africa. As The Weekly Mail's co-editor says, "we pioneered non-racial attitudes in the media."

Under a new government in a non-racial South Africa, black middle and affluent classes will grow more quickly into a formidable economic force, so the business community have begun to see the alternative Press as an acceptable medium. Tugwana sees the future of New Nation assured by the fact that the business community are going to want to target the people New Nation is already speaking to.

Manorn makes a similar point with reference to the success story of the Sowetan. "Until 18 months ago it was a failure — now it's a runaway bestseller."

'Alternative Press' joins NPU

Staff Reporter

(243) ARG 23/3/92

FIVE independent weekly newspapers — the so-called alternative Press — have affiliated to the Newspaper Press Union (NPU)

The newspapers are Weekly Mail, New Nation, Vrye Weekblad, South and New African

South editor Dr Guy Berger said that joining the NPU signified the end of a long division in the newspaper industry

NPU president Mr Ton Vosloo said there was now a "truly unified Press", which had as its common goal the "promo-

tion and retention of a free, unfettered and independent publishing industry"

Dr Berger said: "In the new political climate, the two sides in the field have accepted each other as partners in a single industry, with shared interests regarding Press freedom in a new dispensation"

He said the editors of the five papers, members of the Conference of Independent Editors (Cine), would recommend the NPU joined the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (FIEJ)

Mr Vosloo said the NPU had applied for FIEJ membership

and Cine delegates would accompany the NPU delegation to FIEJ's annual convention in Prague in May

Reacting to the unity move, African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela said the present diversity of newspapers in South Africa needed to be maintained and extended for the free flow of ideas and information essential to democracy

● The Federation of International Periodical Publishers has accepted the Magazine Publishers' Association of South Africa's application for membership.

Media should serve people – Desai

Independent media trusts, subsidies for the alternative press and the creation of an independent broadcasting authority are among the proposals to be presented to the third national congress of the Pan Africanist Congress in Transkei from April 3 to 6.

Drafted by PAC secretary for publicity and information Barney Desai, the proposals mark the organisation's entry to the media policy debate and, if adopted, would form the PAC's media policy.

The PAC believes that freedom of the press and electronic media should be enshrined in a bill of rights.

Mr Desai, a former journalist and advocate, said the dominance of the print media by four major press groups "is the very antithesis of freedom of expression".

Press monopolies should be broken up and the ownership of newspapers by one company limited. In their place, independent trusts should be created to "ensure the influence of the people in the co-owner-



Barney Desai . . . opposes dominance of the print media by four major press groups.

ship of these enterprises".

A press council should be established to ensure the maintenance of standards in news dissemination and to safeguard the privacy of the individual. The council would have the power to take action

against anyone inciting harassment of journalists.

To ensure the survival of alternative newspapers, Mr Desai proposed State subsidies based on circulation.

The PAC further advocated an independent

public service broadcaster financed primarily from licence revenue. The service could decide itself whether to augment its income from advertising.

Regulation of the electronic media and access by new radio stations would be exercised through a national, independent broadcasting authority.

The monopoly of M-Net by the "big four" press groups was "undesirable". Ownership of commercial television by newspapers should be restricted to a minority shareholding. Public shareholding should be permitted.

About 12 million blacks listened to vernacular radio, and the PAC would "encourage the use of the electronic media to educate and mobilise our people to play an active role in the creation of a just society free of racism and oppression".

To make the electronic media accessible to all, the electrification of townships and rural areas was a priority — Sapa.

STAR 243192

(243) (11)

Future of free press (243) CT 25/3/92 'not good'

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — The chances of a new government respecting the freedom of the press were not good, a panel of South African editors and reporters told an international conference of journalists here

The panel was appearing at a conference on "Free Expression and Global Media" sponsored by the American University

Mr Max Du Preez, editor of Vrye Weekblad, said that despite his own paper's legal problems, the South African press was enjoying a "Prague Spring" and he was "not very optimistic" that it would last.

Tough times

A majority-based government was likely to be just as hostile to the press as the National Party had been.

"African politicians are all the same," he said "They like press freedom only so long as it supports them" Both Mr Thami Mazwai, day editor of the Sowetan, and Mr Cyril Madladla, of the Durban-based UmAfrika, felt that the way the major media groups had supported a "yes" vote in the referendum set a dangerous precedent, because the next government might use it to demand a similar degree of loyalty over issues that it deemed to be of national importance

There were tough times ahead, Mr Madladla warned, noting that "black journalists are already being more harassed by black political formations than by the government"

Mr Mazwai said "The gravest danger is that the whole process of change is being stage-managed by the government and the ANC with the help of the press but without popular participation"

Ms Rehana Rossouw, of the Cape

ANC and PAC's plans for media

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC at Codesa yesterday called for all broadcasting powers vested in state organs to be transferred to an independent communications authority

In a proposal submitted to working group one on free political activity, the ANC recommended that the authority be appointed by a media commission which should be set up by Codesa before the second plenary session at the end of this month.

"In principle, the levelling of the media playing fields should not wait for Codesa II," it said.

The primary tasks of the authority would be to ensure impartial control of all broadcasting and to effect limited regulation in the interim period.

"All the relevant powers vested in state organs including TBVC administrations, contained in the broadcasting, radio, post office and other acts should be transferred to this body." — Sapa

● The PAC, in a discussion paper for submission to its congress in Umtata next month, says that the control of almost 90% of all newspapers in South Africa by a "gang of four" conglomerates should be ended in the interests of press freedom.

— Political Correspondent

Town weekly South, said it was necessary for the alternative press to professionalise and become a business, rather than become "civil servants of the government"

"Are we still going to be sycophants of the liberation movements?" she asked.

Most panelists agreed that to be truly free the press also had to be financially independent, but they differed over whether the press freedom clauses of a bill of rights should ban racist speech

Mr Fred M'membe, managing director of Zambia's Weekly Post, said "My experience in black Africa is that racial issues have been used to suppress press freedom

"In Zambia, nobody is allowed to talk about tribal issues, but politicians regularly make decisions on a tribal basis. When you criticise them, they turn round and accused you of trying to stir racial tensions"

ANC moots interim authority for media

Own Correspondent

The ANC has proposed the creation of an independent communications authority (ICA) and a restructured Media Council to oversee the broadcast and print media during the interim phase leading to the adoption of a new constitution

The proposals were tabled at Codesa at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park yesterday

As a general principle the ANC accepts that all citizens should have the right of unrestricted access to information and opinion as well as the freedom to publish, broadcast and disseminate information and opinion, the ANC said.

The public media should serve society as a whole and be independent of political parties. They should be supervised by independent structures broadly representative of society

All media, including privately owned media, should subscribe to a standard of practice agreed



upon by the various media

To attain these ends, the ANC proposed that Codesa appoint a media commission consisting of "South Africans of high standing representative of the widest possible spectrum of forces"

The commission would be responsible for monitoring and overseeing government departments and institutions dealing with the media, monitoring the election campaign in co-ordination with the Electoral Commission, and appointing an ICA for broadcast media

The ICA would ensure impartial control of all broadcasting by regulating the allocation of frequencies, ensuring adherence to defined standards and norms, regulating licensing and re-regulating broadcasting "in a limited way in favour of communities and deprived sectors"

In respect of the print media, the ANC proposed that the

Media Council be restructured to make it more representative of society as a whole

The council's tasks should include addressing complaints

Responding to the ANC proposals yesterday, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said the Government did not regard the restructuring of the SABC board or its management as practical or necessary to ensure neutral broadcasting

Mr Coetsee said the term of office of the present board — until March 1993 — was relatively short and that a negotiated method of appointing a new board as part of the negotiations process seemed to be the advisable route to take

The Government supported the view that the SABC should be independent and neutral and believed that the SABC was already as independent and neutral as any public broadcaster could be

Mr Coetsee supported the idea of a complaints tribunal, saying this appeared to be a suitable body to deal with problems

Neethling 'to repay state'

243 CT 25/3/92

Political Staff

THE head of the police's forensic division, Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling, has undertaken to pay the state if the costs of his appeal against two alternative newspapers failed.

Even if he wins the appeal he had undertaken to pay the state for the attorney/client costs from the compensation received, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, said yesterday in

reply to a question tabled in Parliament by Mr David Dalling (DP Sandton).

The state has already paid an amount of R461 633,46 in legal costs and R120 000 as surety for counter claims.

The further provisional costs to the state are expected to be about R233 000.

General Neethling sued Vrye Weekblad and The Weekly Mail for defamation after ex-Captain

Dirk Coetzee claimed General Neethling had supplied policemen with poison to kill anti-apartheid activists.

He claimed R500 000 each from the two weekly newspapers.

His claims were dismissed in the Rand Supreme Court and the Transvaal Supreme Court, but he has now appealed to the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein.

● Future of free press "not good"

— Page 6

PUBLISHING TIE-UP

FM 27/3/92

One of the first fruits of last week's Yes vote in the referendum is a joint publishing venture between Times Media's *Leadership* and Britain's *First* magazines. In June, they will publish a major survey that will assess the chances of a democratic SA becoming the engine of growth in southern Africa and providing a buoyant market for British trade and investment.

In the normal style of both magazines, much of the material will consist of interviews with leading business and political figures in SA and Britain. They will discuss key issues such as nationalisation, the repatriation of dividends, and the honouring of international loans and agreements.

The publication will be called *Partnership* "to reflect the restored relationship between the political and business communities of both countries," says *Leadership*'s editor, Martin Schneider. At least 35 000 copies will be distributed in Britain and SA. The cost of advertising in *Partnership* will reflect the decision-making power of its anticipated readers. A full-colour page will cost R20 000.

First, which is a quarterly published in London independently of any major publishing group, is now six years old. Like *Leadership*, its editorial content consists largely of contributions from leading political and business figures.



FM 27/3/92 (243)

"People play democracy within their own organisations but can't accept it outside those bodies."

For a publication committed to ANC support in the past, some tricky egg-dancing may lie ahead as it tries to forge a new and



Sisulu looking towards the free market

New role for protest press (243)

The protest press has to find a new role now that its *raison d'être* — the fight against apartheid — has been all but removed. No-one is more aware of this than *New Nation* editor Zwelakhe Sisulu who is trying to reposition his publication as a promoter of education and development.

"We feel we have achieved what we set out to do and you can't just keep on being anti-apartheid," he told clients and staff of ad agency Hunt Lascaris TBWA last week. "We want to reposition the paper so that it focuses on development issues such as education and rebuilding the country."

New Nation was established and funded by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference but since 1987 the conference has been the conduit for funding from the EC. Now the EC is withdrawing funding for media and diverting it into development projects. FM 27/3/92

Like other editors in the new SA, Sisulu is concerned, too, with the need to popularise the culture of democracy.

"It is astonishing at this point we are about to become democratic and yet people still misunderstand the concept. For many people their only experience of democracy has been to vote for local authority councillors, who had no acceptance or respectability as democratically elected public officers

meaningful role.

"Broadly, we share the ANC vision of a nonracial democracy, but we are an independent publication. We are facing the possibility of an interim government in August, and the ball game has changed. When the ANC is in government we reserve the right to be as critical of it when it does wrong as we were of the NP government."

Whether this will overcome advertiser reluctance is still untested, but Sisulu knows that his survival depends on turning *New Nation* into a business.

"When we were founded it was as an expressly political project, a resistance paper. The bishops were a protective umbrella. Now it is owned by its management and we have to run as a business."

Capital is needed, though, and the new owners are looking for financial backing as well as advertising support. "People must give publications like this an opportunity," Sisulu says. "Times have changed."

Like other members of the alternative press, with which it has been lumped, *New Nation* has not so far succeeded in selling itself to advertisers as a viable commercial medium. But it is the fastest-growing urban newspaper in the country, its circulation having almost doubled from 43 000 in the first half of 1989 to more than 80 000 now.

"There is a movement there that you are not finding in other publications," says Sisulu. "Compared to *The Sowetan* we are read by the more educated people, the opinion-formers. There is a market out there and we can deliver."

Tony Koenderman

NOT without reason, South African journalists are far from certain that Press freedom is going to be any safer under a future government than it has been under the National Party. They must, of course, hope for the best, but there is not a great deal they can do at this stage to ward off the worst.

Against this background, the news that the "alternative" newspapers have become members of the Newspaper Press Union, mouthpiece and guardian of South Africa's newspaper industry, is welcome. The more solid a front the Press can present to any government, the better its chances of withstanding pressure.

As one who was at one time closely involved in NPU affairs, this columnist can testify that it is capable of great resilience when in a tight corner. Considering the bitter political hostility, under the old party line-up, between the Government-supporting newspapers and those supporting the Opposition, the unanimity usually attained on vital matters was remarkable.

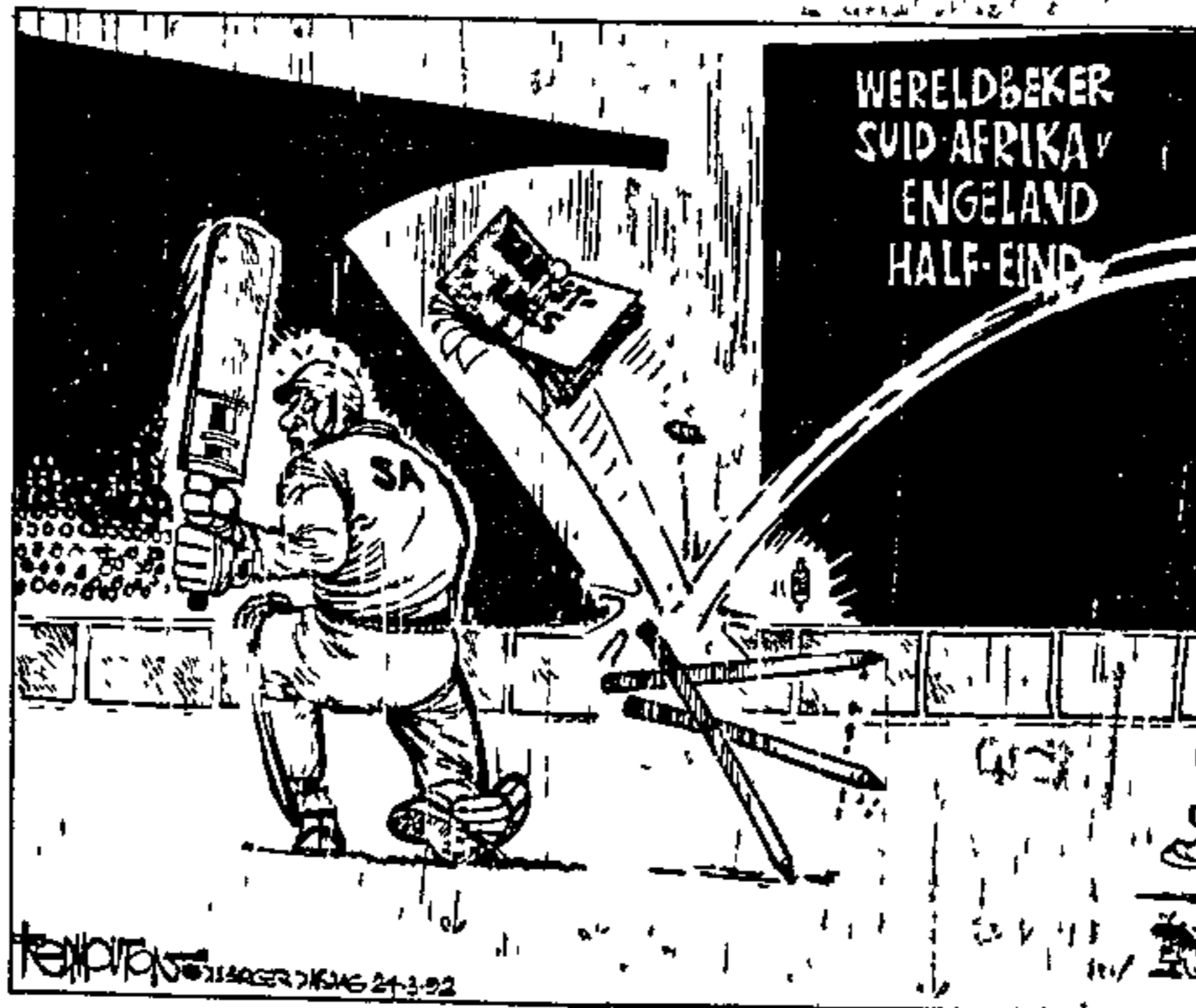
Nor should it be forgotten that when the former State President, Mr PW Botha, thought he could send the alternative newspapers to the firing-squad while maintaining a facade of tolerance towards the mainstream Press, he signally failed to secure the co-operation of the Newspaper Press Union.

The alternative newspapers have now made it clear that they will not be the lackeys of a regime they have struggled to put in power. They deserve success in maintaining that posture and in solving the economic problems that will almost certainly beset them.

Strong front needed to promote SA Press freedom

243

CT 27/3/92



Mwasa and SAUJ join forces

Sowetan

27/3/92

243

THE South African Union of Journalists and the Media Workers' Association of South Africa at Republican Press met yesterday and agreed to join forces.

This was done as a bid to co-ordinate possible national industrial action against the company

Both unions have declared deadlocks with Republican Press over wages and service conditions

SAUJ general secretary Miss Karen Stander said yesterday salaries at RP, the magazine arm of Perskor, were very low when compared with the rest of the industry

The company has offered both unions a 10 percent across-the-board, increase, which has been rejected by members.

Mwasa is demanding a restructuring of salaries while the SAUJ has demanded an increase of 15 percent across-the-board and 10 percent on merit

Stander said members of both unions were angered by the company's intransi-

gence, especially in view of the massive profits made. Many members were calling for a strike and a countrywide ballot was to be conducted soon.

Salary increases at RP have averaged less than 10 percent over the past decade, compared with an average inflation rate of about 15 percent a year, Stander said

Meanwhile, in the preliminary report for the period to June 1991, the most recent figures available, Perskor chairman Mr JM Buitendag said the company had recorded the "best and certainly its most satisfactory results to date"

During this period the company's profit before tax rose by 25 percent and net income attributable to shareholders by 48 percent

Republican Press owns the magazines Scope, Farmers' Weekly, Rooi Rose, Personality, Bona, Thandi, Your Family, Living and Loving, Garden and Home, Keur and the Republican Press Photo Stories - Sapa.



Grassroots calls for a time-out

By Justin Pearce

2143

GRASSROOTS Publications is reassessing its future, with the closure of the Grassroots newsletter and new plans for its other two publications, New Era and Learning Roots

The Grassroots newsletter was a pioneer of the alternative media in the Western Cape, founded in 1980 as a progressive community newspaper in a time of state repression

One of the reasons for the decision to close down the newsletter was a lack of clarity surrounding the role of a community newsletter in the present political conditions, the Grassroots Dissolution Committee said in a statement this week

"The very model of a community newsletter as an organisational tool, with participation by grassroots organisations, has to change," said committee member Mr Mansoor Jaffer.

"We cannot develop our new role in isolation. The alternative media



Mansoor Jaffer

as a whole is suffering this crisis and we must get together with others in the alternative media to map out a role."

Committee member Ms Chiara Carter added that Grassroots had inspired the growth in the alternative media since its foundation, and that because of the existence of



Essa Moosa

newer publications the role of the community newsletter should be reconsidered

It was decided to close Grassroots newsletter now, pending a decision on what form a community newspaper could take in changed circumstances

The drying-up of foreign funding

for projects in South Africa had also influenced the decision to rationalise Grassroots Publications' operations.

Grassroots Publications plans to make all operations financially self-sufficient, and is investigating merging New Era with another publication, possibly Work in Progress, which is published by the South African Research Service

Learning Roots, as the only progressive journal aimed at high school students, was more attractive to foreign and local funders and was in demand from schools as an educational resource, the committee said

Community organisations had ceased to participate in the Grassroots newsletter as they had done in more repressive times, the committee said

"It is because of the advances made by democracy that the role of Grassroots has been superseded," concluded committee member Mr Essa Moosa

South

28/3-2/4/92

Sunday Times

Well read by the well-read

S/Times 29/3/92
 Sunday Times Reporter

SO MANY people were glued to their television sets for the World Cup semi-final last Sunday that the sales of the Sunday Times fell by 32 000, from 550 000 to 518 000 copies.

That loss, remarkably, puts the Sunday Times into some sort of perspective as a phenomenon among South African newspapers. The Pretoria News, the Eastern Province Herald and its sister paper, the Evening Post, the Natal Witness, and Die Volksblad all sell fewer than 32 000 copies. Business Day, the Financial Mail and the Daily Dispatch in East London sell only slightly more.

Or, to put it in different perspective, sales of Rapport in the second half of last year were little more than 360 000, and the Sunday Star less than 84 000.

To most South Africans it comes as no news that the Sunday Times dwarfs all other newspapers, or that it sells across the length and breadth of the land, or indeed that it sells heavily in all communities.

What may come as a surprise, however, is that the Sunday Times combines the advantages of a mass medium with a very up-market readership profile. Its 2,65-million readers (the

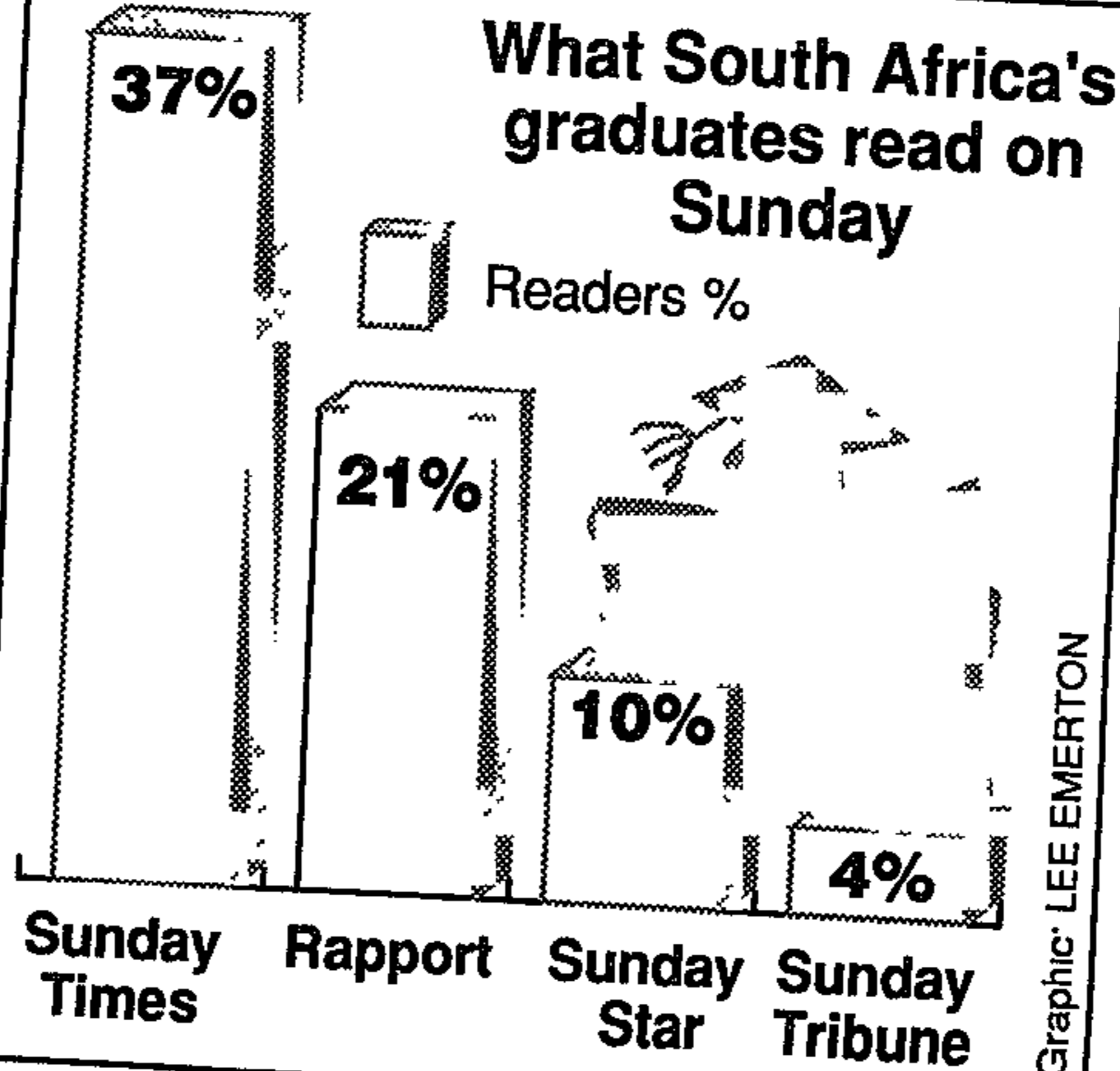


figure comes from AMPS, the independent organisation which surveys newspaper readership) include an unusually high proportion of the highly paid and well educated — the sort of people who might be expected to be watching M-Net on a Sunday morning.

For example, four out of 10 graduates of all races read the Sunday Times. Eight out

of 10 white readers have at least a matric education. So, too, in the black community, where two out of three black graduates read the Sunday Times, while one in five reads the Sunday Star.

Not only are Sunday Times readers clever, they are rich. No less than 38 percent of households that earn more than R6 000 a month take the Sunday Times. Comparable

figures are 28 percent for Rapport, nine percent for the Sunday Star, seven percent for the Weekend Argus, and only six percent for the Sunday Tribune.

Black families are poorer, but even in the black community the Sunday Times creams off the top of the market — more than half its readers earn more than R1 200 a month, and a quarter earn more than R2 000 a month. Put differently, half of all black families that earn more than R4 000 a month read the Sunday Times.

The newspaper's reach is enormous. The Sunday Times is read by 12 percent of the population. It is read by almost twice as many readers as Rapport, its nearest rival. The nearest competitors in the black market are the Sowetan and City Press, both with seven percent.

That, indeed, may be a portent of things to come in newspaper publishing in South Africa: the bottom end of the market going to the mass-circulation papers that target the black population specifically, and the top end to the newspapers that manage to put together a broad readership covering all races, all ages, all regions. Like the Sunday Times.

PARTNERS IN PRINT

LEADERSHIP, a publication in the Times Media group aimed at decision-makers, has joined forces with First magazine in the UK to produce Partnership, which will trace SA potential growth in southern Africa.

Partnership will examine prospects for growth in the area and offer advice for British and European investors and traders in what is expected to become a major economic community.

Aspects covered by Partnership will in-

clude changing patterns of trade between Europe and southern Africa, prospects of new trading developments, the ability of financial services to support foreign investors, the potential of tourism, agricultural activity, raw-material beneficiation and available off-shore financial services

Partnership will be published in June with an initial circulation of 35 000 in both the UK and SA. *SI Times (Buss) 29/3/92*

C

Sharp focus on a big shot — Joe Louw's back



GETTING THE PICTURE . . . Photo journalist Joe Louw, back in SA after 30 years in exile.

His tall and handsome in his youth women adored him and today he is more attractive than ever.

But Joe Louw, who left SA 30 years ago because of apartheid sex laws, has matured into a serious internationally acclaimed photo-journalist who refuses to dwell on the reasons he went into exile.

However, for decades there was a warrant out for his arrest under the so-called Immorality Act because he and a white woman had the audacity to fall in love.

Joe was detained by the Security Police and was badly beaten up. Later he was charged under the Immorality Act and given bail.

Joe and the woman fled to Mozambique. Although Joe will not discuss the affair, he left for the sake of the woman and her family.

"They've all suffered enough," he said, "and please don't publish her name."

Although the romance did not last — the woman is now married to a prominent member of the Frelimo government — leaving SA was the best thing that happened to Joe Louw, even though for 30 years in exile he pined for his country and his family in Kimberley.

Now Joe is back after making an international name for himself which began with a scoop of a lifetime — exclusive pictures of the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr in 1968.

Joe has joined a weekend Johannesburg newspaper as a specialist writer

DES BLOW on Joe Louw.
The City Press Investigating Editor speaks to the famed South African who took exclusive photos of Martin Luther King's assassination.

and his enthusiasm is as great as it was 30 years ago when he worked for Ruth First — the late wife of Joe Slovo — on *New Age*.

He spends days in townships just getting the feel with all his fears and tensions, something he has not experienced for three decades.

"I feel like a young reporter just starting out on a career," he says with enthusiasm.

Joe this week spent several hours reporting on the violence in Alexandra Township.

"In 1976, during the Soweto riots I felt isolated in America. I felt it my duty to be home to report on them, but in three hours on Friday I experienced in microcosm the 30 years of the South African unrest I had missed."

The arrogance which Joe displayed as a young reporter when I met him 30 years ago is gone. Meeting him for the first time it would be difficult to imagine that he is one of the most renowned journalists to ever come out of SA.

Over the last quarter of a century Joe's reputation has grown not from his work on newspapers, but for his work as a producer on documentary TV

specials which have taken him all over Africa and other parts of the world.

After leaving for Mozambique, he then went to Tanganyika (now Tanzania) from where many black South Africans were sent to the Soviet Union.

However, Joe was more interested in furthering his career in journalism and obtained a scholarship to study at Columbia University in New York.

He spent nearly six years at Columbia majoring in economics and then studied journalism at the university, which is reputed to have the best news television faculty in the United States.

After he graduated he worked as a television reporter with a major educational station in New York.

In April 1968 Joe was working as an associate producer on a documentary on Dr Martin Luther King Jr.

He was in Memphis with King when he was gunned down.

"I was eating dinner in a restaurant when for some weird reason I went back to my hotel room, three doors away from King's. Minutes later the shot was fired. I rushed out on the balcony of my room — without my cameras — and saw King fall.

"I ran to help, but seeing there was nothing I could do I ran back for my cameras."

"At first it was just a matter of realising the horror of the thing. Then I knew I had to record it for the world to see."

Joe shot four rolls of film, then rushed to a friend's studio to develop them.

"I never did photograph him full in

the face I felt I had to keep my distance and respect."

Having exclusive photographs was one thing, but to get them to the world was another. Memphis had erupted in a chaos of rioting and burning.

The young foreign journalist managed to catch a midnight plane out of Memphis to Newark where he took the pictures to *Life* magazine. By 6 am they had been rushed into print.

His enterprising journalism won the young South African a Pulitzer Prize nomination.

For the next 25 years Joe stuck mostly to television. He longed for his homeland, but could not return.

On two occasions he worked in the Frontline states close to SA.

Once in Swaziland he was tempted to sneak into SA to see his ageing mother, but was persuaded not to do so.

He bought a farm in Kenya which he still owns and where he has two children at school.

He says his homecoming last January was unbelievable. "My mother was overjoyed to see me when I visited Kimberley. She thought she wouldn't live to see me again."

"Despite the difficult times and the violence, I think SA has a great future," he says.

Joe says he has returned to his first love — the print media — but ever since becoming a successful TV documentary producer he has always wanted to make historical South African documentaries.

Vlok gets Act together

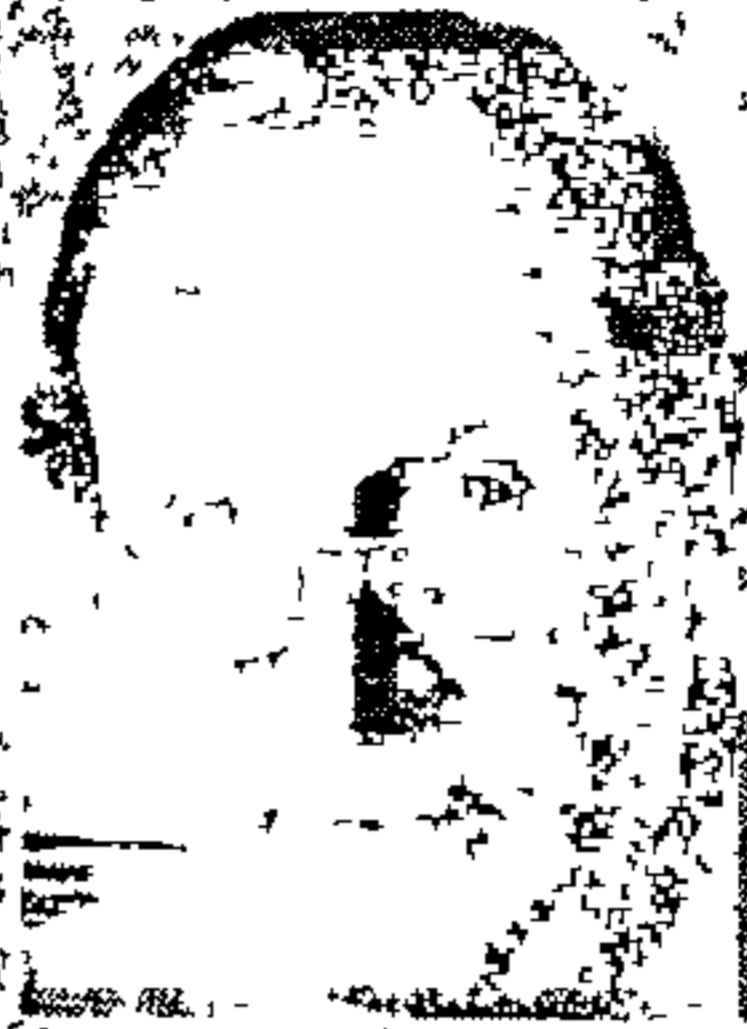
CIPRESS 29/3/92
THE section of the Correctional Services Act dealing with the publishing of incorrect information about prisons or prisoners is to be scrapped, the Minister of Correctional Services, Adriaan Vlok, says.

Vlok said at a press briefing on Robben Island the legislation put the onus on the publisher of the story to prove that reasonable steps are taken to verify information. ~~(243)~~ ~~(243)~~ ~~(243)~~

Contravention of Section 44(1) f provided for a fine of up to R8 000 or a maximum prison sentence of two years. - Sapa

C

Editors needed in Codesa 'to ensure Press keeps freedom'



Mr Peter McLean

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Peter McLean, deputy-chairman and chief executive of Argus Newspapers, has called for the involvement of editors and publishers in the Codesa talks to ensure that the freedom of the Press is protected in the Bill of Rights.

Mr McLean retired from the Argus Company yesterday after 38 years. In addition to his position with Argus, he held a host of top posts in newspapers and publishing.

Mr McLean said the onus rested on editors and publishers to ensure that whatever Press charter was adopted, the public's right to be informed was protected.

"We must have an oar in the water to ensure that when the new constitution is drafted there will be no restrictive legislation to make the job of the Press more difficult."

He said he was certain that a future ANC government would be aware that attempts to control the Press would destroy its credibility. There was not a great deal to be gained by reducing the Press to propaganda sheets.

Mr McLean paid tribute to newspapers for the role they have played in "serving the people of South Africa for the past 100 years and more".

Argus newspapers, he said, had never been afraid to expose bad government, unjust laws, maladministration or cover-up jobs.

"They have been fierce proponents of the freedom of the Press and the

right of people to know. They have published news, commentary and advertising which have informed readers.

"They have acted as a public forum in which they have reflected different perspectives of the facts and have carried the views, attitudes and opinions of the public, or sections of the public."

A heavy onus rested on our newspapers to ensure that there was no let-up or deviation from the goals and ideals which had driven them.

In addition to his post with Argus Newspapers, he is also a director of Argus Holdings, Caxton, CTP Holdings and Hortors, CNA Gallo and Protea Insurance. He is chairman of Natal Newspapers, Allied Publishing and the Pretoria News.

He has been President of the Newspaper Press Union, chairman of the South African Press Association and a member of the Media Council of South Africa.

He views the future of newspapers with optimism.

The Argus Company, he said, sells about 450 000 newspapers daily, more than half of which are bought by black readers.

The market of the future would be black.

"We are geared for that," he said.

"It has been said that the Argus Company has appointed its last white editor of the Star. Who knows? All that is certain is that the job will always go to the best person — white or black."

243

ARG 31/3/92

Malherbe new is SAUJ president

(243)
A REPORTER on the *Sunday Times*, Mr Peter Malherbe, has been elected as the new president of the South African Union of Journalists

In a poll of 65,4 percent for three candidates, Malherbe won 41 percent of the votes, the SAUJ announced yesterday

Sowetan 31/3/92
Malherbe favours a federation of journalists so that the SAUJ, the Media Workers Association of South Africa and the Association of Democratic Journalists can speak from a position of strength on issues of common concern

Speeding up media's appeals

Sowetan
2/4/92 Sowetan
Correspondent

24.3

A QUICKER appeal system against decisions by the censors to ban publications such as magazines is to be introduced.

Provision for this was made in the Publications Amendment Bill tabled in Parliament on Tuesday by the Minister of Home Affairs. Several aspects of the 1974 Publications Act are tidied up by the Bill.

Once it becomes law, an appeal against a censors committee decision against a publication published periodically has to be noted within three days from the date the decision was made known.

The appeal has to be heard and decided upon within four days of its being lodged.

Undesirable

This is shorter than the present time periods allowed. In some cases, a magazine declared undesirable can still be sold while an appeal is being considered. The censors are trying to close this loophole.

Censors committees will also be able to stop some publications or objects from being sold, hired or lent through a mail order system, yet can allow the same items to be distributed by book shops, lending libraries or wholesale distributors.

The censors will acquire the power to set conditions on the packaging cover for video versions of a film.

People applying for the certification of a film will also have to submit to the censors a copy of the video version.

The Bill also allows for a more effective and flexible way of appointing the chairman and members of the Publications Appeal Board, and to transfer the powers of appointment from the State President to the Minister of Home Affairs.

By ALLISTER SPARKS

ONE disturbing feature of the referendum was the lop-sided publicity campaign

I was one of those who exulted in the result but I must confess to unease at the way it was achieved and what this portends for the future democracy mandated by that result

Never before has the entire Press, English and Afrikaans, as well as the entire broadcast media been lined up in this way to give such a single chorus of support for one side in any national ballot. And never before has there been such an imbalance in the amount of money spent on other forms of electoral publicity

Big business was on the side of the 'yes' vote and poured funds into the parties campaigning for negotiations to continue. Not only that, business ran its own 'yes' campaign. The head of a newspaper company raised a private sector fund of millions, which was spent on advertisements in his and other newspapers, as well as M-Net

Ground rules

Against this the Conservative Party had its one little 20 000-a-week circulation newspaper, Die Patriot, and a handful of street posters. Some of the posters were quite clever but the total imbalance was almost obscene

While we may applaud the outcome we can't ignore the implications of how it was achieved. It has to be admitted this was not a free and fair election. If there had been objective outside monitors they would have had to report that it was distorted by the scale of the publicity imbalance

This is something that will have to be addressed as we lay down the rules for a future democracy. Sometime soon, perhaps early next year, South Africa will have its first one man, one vote election for a constituent assembly and interim administration. Once again we may see the democratic process being distorted, even as it is supposedly being instituted, by a lining up of the establishment Press, English and Afrikaans, and the SABC in monolithic support of the establishment party — either the National Party or a new Christian Democratic Party resulting from an NP-DP merger — to defeat or at least contain the ANC.

Once again we may see Saatchi and Saatchi organising a high-tech campaign and the private sector raising another massive war chest to saturate advertising space and TV time to fight off, this time, the socialist *gevaar*. On the ANC side, there will be support from only a handful of "alternative" papers. To suggest, as will be done, that

Lop-sided publicity for referendum campaign

(243) ET 2/4/92

this is all in accordance with liberal democracy and the free enterprise system is a travesty — and the kind of thing that gives both a bad name. It will be manifestly unfair and undemocratic and as far as practicable it should be prevented

As far as the Press is concerned, as this column has stated before, there should be an unbundling of the monopolistic control that has all the major Afrikaans newspapers in the hands of companies historically beholden to the National Party and nearly all the major English papers ultimately controlled by one giant business conglomerate

That unbundling should ensure that at least some papers end up in the control of a Press trust formed to ensure that there is a more varied expression of political viewpoints in our new democracy

Commission

More serious is the conspicuous reluctance of the Government to make any significant adjustments to the SABC before the elections. It is stalling on this at Codesa

The ANC's interim government proposals, presented to Codesa on February 24, include a media commission, together with an electoral commission to ensure the elections are free and fair. The media commission is intended primarily to monitor the SABC which, as a State broadcasting service, has a statutory obligation to be impartial

A number of organisations, including the Campaign for Open Media, the ANC and the Democratic Party, have put proposals for restructuring the SABC to Codesa's Working Group One — the group concerned with "levelling the political playing field". But the word from there is that they, too, are drawing little response

All the Government seems pre-

pared to do is to have an "Independent Broadcasting Authority" appointed by the State President (and therefore not independent) and a body to which complaints can be made. Such arm's-length grandfathering can make little difference to a large and complex institution whose corporate mind-set has been formed over decades

Restructuring

The SABC needs more fundamental restructuring. In the first instance, as the Campaign for Open Media has recommended, there should be a genuinely independent communications authority for the interim period when that crucial first election is held, then a commission of independent specialists to examine the whole issue of how broadcasting should be structured in the new South Africa

Behind all this lies a disturbing factor. Tertius Delport, the deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, made it clear in a briefing to foreign correspondents on Monday that, as far as the Government is concerned, the transitional stage will begin only when the elections are held

It means the National Party Government would be in sole control during the election campaign, referee as well as player. And, if it can get away with it, the SABC will be unchanged, as well

It is an attempt to set the scene for a repeat performance of what we have just witnessed — a media avalanche to bury the ANC the way the CP was swamped

It won't work, of course. As Bishop Abel Muzorewa discovered in Zimbabwe, the liberation imperative at that first full election is too powerful to be withstood by any propaganda campaign. But the attempt could create a lasting resentment that will not be good, either for the country or for the future freedom of the media



KAMUZU BANDA

Scribes' letter to Banda

243
24/4/92
By MATHATHA TSEDU

A CONFERENCE of Southern African Journalists has sent a letter of protest to Malawi leader Dr Kamuzu Banda over the continued detention without trial of a journalist.

The conference, convened by the Botswana Journalist Association (Boja) and held over five days in Gaborone last week, said in the letter that the detention of freelance writer Mr Simon Mhone since December last year had caused great concern.

"Mhone's detention without trial since December 1991 is an infringement of internationally recognised rights of journalists to freely execute their duties. This is a direct violation of Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," the letter stated.

The conference called on Banda to release Mhone without further delay. The conference was told that Mhone was a freelance journalist who was detained after filing a story for an international news agency.

Approved

The story had been approved by government censors beforehand, it was said.

It was also disclosed that in the heat of the rising tide of protests by Malawians who want the overthrow of the Banda dictatorship, many people had been herded into prisons where they were flogged and tortured and others killed.

The conference, which included participants from Namibia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Zambia and Uganda, also expressed alarm at Kenyan police harassment of journalists who were accused of "exaggerating" inter-tribal fights between the Kalenjins and Luos and Kikuyus on the other hand.

Boja chairman Mr Rampholo Molefe said after the conference that a protest note would also be sent to Kenya.

"We as African journalists are tired of looking on as our colleagues are brutalised by dictatorships. We are going to speak out against such abuses wherever they occur until this continent enjoys the kind of media freedom enjoyed elsewhere in the world," he said.

STAR 3/4/92 (243)

Mediator wanted for media dispute

The SABC and the Media Workers Association of SA (Mwasa) have asked the Minister of Manpower to appoint a mediator to settle their pay dispute.

The SABC has offered an increase ranging from 7 percent to 13 percent ceiling, while Mwasa wants a 30 percent across the board increase including a minimum wage increase from R950 to R1 500 a month — Staff Reporter

Investigative reporting wins the day

By SHAUN DE WAAL

w/ Mail 3/4-9/4/92
JOURNALIST Karen Lotter was acquitted on Tuesday of committing an indecent act for gain, in what was seen as a test case for investigative journalism. She had posed as a prostitute to expose the workings of the police in their treatment of prostitutes.

"The court cannot reject the accused's version that she was doing investigative journalism," said the magistrate, Mrs I Strydom. Lotter's defence had argued that, as she was an undercover journalist, she had no intention of having sex with the policeman; furthermore, she knew that the situation was a set-up to trap prostitutes.

Her description of police behaviour, and how it discouraged prostitutes from carrying condoms, was published in *The Weekly Mail*.

Lotter said it was necessary to pose as a prostitute to find out whether allegations of the South African Narcotics Bureau (Sanab) Vice Unit harassing prostitutes were true.

She said that in discussions with escort-agency women it had come to light that they were often humiliated when arrested and that condoms — issued by the City Health Department's Outreach programme to combat Aids — they had on them were confiscated. Prostitutes said condoms were often confiscated as evidence of soliciting.

The subterfuge was the only way to ascertain whether this was true, she said.

On the night of September 11, Russel Redman, owner of the Prestige Escort Agency, had alerted Lotter to the fact that a police trap was underway at Johannesburg's Downtown Inn. She went to meet a "Mr Botha" — who later turned out to be police sergeant André Holzhausen — in room 403.

Holzhausen paid Lotter her "fee" and told her: "Take of your clothes and let's get on with it." He stripped naked and, after telling her to take off her panties, told her she was under arrest and called in his part-

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ners. Lotter was photographed by policemen while still undressed. They confiscated condoms she had in her possession. She was taken next door to room 404, where there were several other women who had also been arrested. One of the eight women said she had been forced to pose naked for photographs. Later the policemen called in a stripper and watched her show before arresting her too.

They were threatened and told to plead guilty to the charges. The police denied all allegations, but said that "if an escort covers herself with a blanket during the arrest, the blanket will be removed for the taking of photographs which are to be used in court as an exhibit".

The magistrate said that the police's behaviour in the trap was not always above reproach, and that it was not necessary for Holzhausen to strip naked before he took Lotter into custody.

Join us in this unique venture

W/Mail 3/4 - 9/4/92

The Guardian, a quality

British newspaper renowned for its incisive and vigorous reporting, was founded under circumstances rather like those of The Weekly Mail.

By WEEKLY MAIL REPORTERS

There are certain similarities between *The Guardian* and *The Weekly Mail*. Both were founded as weekly newspapers during crucial historical junctures to publish the kind of news ordinary newspapers did not touch.

The Guardian, however, is 171 years old and has grown into a £200-million a year media group that employs 3 000 people in publishing, radio and television.

When *The Guardian* was begun in Manchester in 1821, people were deserting the rural areas and pouring into the cities, where unemployment was high. Because the franchise was linked to property, the new Mancunians lacked both influence and the

vote. There was a good deal of poverty and an official lack of interest in it.

Out of the liberal intelligentsia there rose a weekly newspaper with the purpose of sounding a radical voice against the appalling conditions of the time. An early editor said its job was

FROM today, the entire 32-page *Guardian Weekly* will be printed and published with *The Weekly Mail*.

The Weekly Mail will continue to provide hard-hitting news, features and analysis on South Africa and the region, with increased coverage of the rest of Africa; lively, often controversial arts pages; a range of columnists; and an expanded business section.

WM reviews — the PC Review, the Review of Books, education and environment supplements and others — will continue to appear regularly.

The world news section of *The*

Weekly Mail will fall away, its focus being assumed by *The Guardian Weekly*, which includes special sections of *Le Monde* and *The Washington Post*.

You'll find both *Guardian* cross-words, bridge and chess in *The Guardian Weekly* — plus arts, books and features.

The Weekly Mail and *The Guardian* have had a close relationship over the years, working together on exposing the "Third Force" and "Inkathagate". Now that relationship has been transformed into a unique publishing partnership. The joint venture, says *Weekly Mail* co-editor Anton Harber, "will

"to make righteousness readable". A later managing director added his job was also "to make righteousness commercial".

It was not the only alternative weekly, but it was the best, and the one that survived — despite one or two failed

enable us to provide readers with a comprehensive and high-quality package of local and international news — a powerful tool for those who are excited about South Africa's re-engagement with the world.

The cover price of *The Weekly Mail & Guardian Weekly* remains unchanged at R2,50, except in Zimbabwe, where air freight charges have forced an increase to \$5. *The Weekly Mail & Guardian Weekly* will only be available to readers throughout southern Africa. Subscribers outside the region will receive *The Weekly Mail* only.

attempts to go daily. (It finally succeeded in the mid-19th century.)

The Manchester Guardian had a hard time during the Anglo-Boer War, for supporting the "wrong side" — the Boers, its offices were stoned. But generally the newspaper enjoyed a

A package of quality journalism

good reputation at home and abroad. Although it was a provincial newspaper, the *Manchester Guardian* was quite influential — a state of affairs enhanced by its famous editor, CP Scott, who was also a Liberal Party MP, serving much of the time under a Liberal Party prime minister.

Scott bought the paper in 1912. In the late 1930s, his son, managing director JR Scott, in effect gave it away: he established a trust, directing that profits permanently be ploughed back into the company. The trust appoints the editor (who is ordered to run the newspaper "as heretofore", giving him editorial freedom) and approves the managing director. The system is a stable one: this century, *The Guardian* has had only six editors and seven managing directors.

The group now has interests in broadcasting as well as 40 newspapers of all sorts, from *The Guardian* itself — which became a national newspaper in 1961 — to provincial dailies and weeklies, a book publishing company, even a business consultancy.

Its commercial roots still lie in Manchester, where the group owns the largest daily, the *Manchester Evening News*, and 34 weeklies. It also has a dominant position in Surrey and runs the *Autotrader* car-selling magazines throughout the United Kingdom. It holds a share in the Spanish daily *El Mundo*.

On the electronic media front, the Guardian Group owns a successful television production company, Broadcast Communications plc and was recently part of a successful bid — with Disney, London Weekend and Scottish Television — for control of Britain's independent breakfast television franchise. It also owns 20 percent

of Transworld Communications, a major radio station operation in Britain.

The Guardian itself sells 430 000 newspapers per day, giving it 16,6 percent of the quality daily market in Britain, ahead of both *The Times* and *The Independent*. It has recently received a deluge of awards — 19 last year, including two separate citations as Britain's Best Newspaper of the Year.

A recent innovation has been the launch of a daily international edition which is published in Frankfurt and distributed throughout Europe.

The Guardian Weekly, which joins *The Weekly Mail* in this issue, was relaunched in 1919 and has been published in one form or another since then. Its distribution was designed to make up for *The Guardian's* provincial status; that continued until the parent paper itself went national, making British distribution redundant.

By that time, however, *The Guardian Weekly* had entered the United States market. In the early 1970s, the English section of the respected French daily *Le Monde* was added and in the late 1970s, a section from *The Washington Post* was included.

About 10 years ago, *The Guardian* established a North American edition (printed in Canada) and an Australian edition (printed there). The combined circulation, including the new southern Africa edition, is over 100 000.

The combined *Weekly Mail* and *Guardian Weekly* is the first such venture for *The Guardian* "It is a natural combination," says *Guardian* managing director Jim Markwick. "Both newspapers have the same kind of readers who expect an independent view of the news, incisive and vigorous reporting, and well-informed analysis. Readers of both newspapers show a keen interest in the world outside their borders. Readers of both newspapers expect quality."

See editorial on PAGE 20

Guardian spreads its wings

STAR 4/4/92

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IRRRESPECTIVE of which party wins the British general election next week, the country's Westminster political system is destined for a major overhaul. That's the view of Peter Preston, editor of one of Britain's major daily newspapers, The Guardian, who paid a fleeting visit to South Africa this week.

Preston flew into South Africa from London on Thursday morning and jetted out again on Friday night. But then, a general election isn't the best time for the editor of a major newspaper to be away from home.

Preston was in South Africa to see the launch yesterday of a joint venture between his paper's weekly edition — which currently sells 70 000 copies around the world — and the Weekly Mail. The Guardian Weekly will now be available in South Africa as part of the Weekly Mail.

"There are, of course, a number of commercial reasons for the venture," says Preston, "but none of these is overwhelming.

"The Guardian is a trust-owned group and that trust encourages us, when we can, to do things that are simply worth doing.

"It just seemed that putting the Guardian Weekly out here, with all its access to foreign affairs, would give people a bit of a feel of the debates going on across the world."

SOUTH Africa, he says, "could not have run apartheid and lived through sanctions without a great deal of introversion. Now that is all breaking down and people will want to look out to the world and feel part of it. In a simple way, it would be nice to contribute to that."

Preston (54) is the longest serving editor on Fleet Street. He became editor of The Guardian in 1975, having joined that newspaper from the Liverpool Post in 1963.

Despite the all pervasive influence of the electronic media, Preston believes there is a good future for the serious press in Britain.

"We are all trying to offer something different to TV, which is dominant. We offer a service that says 'You've heard 20 sec-

at the World Cup cricket, and even more in England's

Cricketer, he says, "is without doubt the most beautiful invention when it's working, even if it is pretty boring a lot of the time.

"Apart from extending tremendous sympathy to you on the vile workings of the devilish rain rule, I do believe we have got a pretty good side.

"It's just a pity that, in a sporting sense, the British are not cheered by success, instead enjoying failure so they can talk about sacking the manager."

The same might be said about the looming general election. "This election has worked on two levels. First, Britain is bored rigid. People are switching off their televisions by the millions.

"There are no new issues and people are being promised new things when they know in fact that there isn't any money. The facts of the economy are such that whoever wins won't have the funds to implement more than a quarter of their policies," Preston says.

"And people are fed up with politicians not telling them the truth."

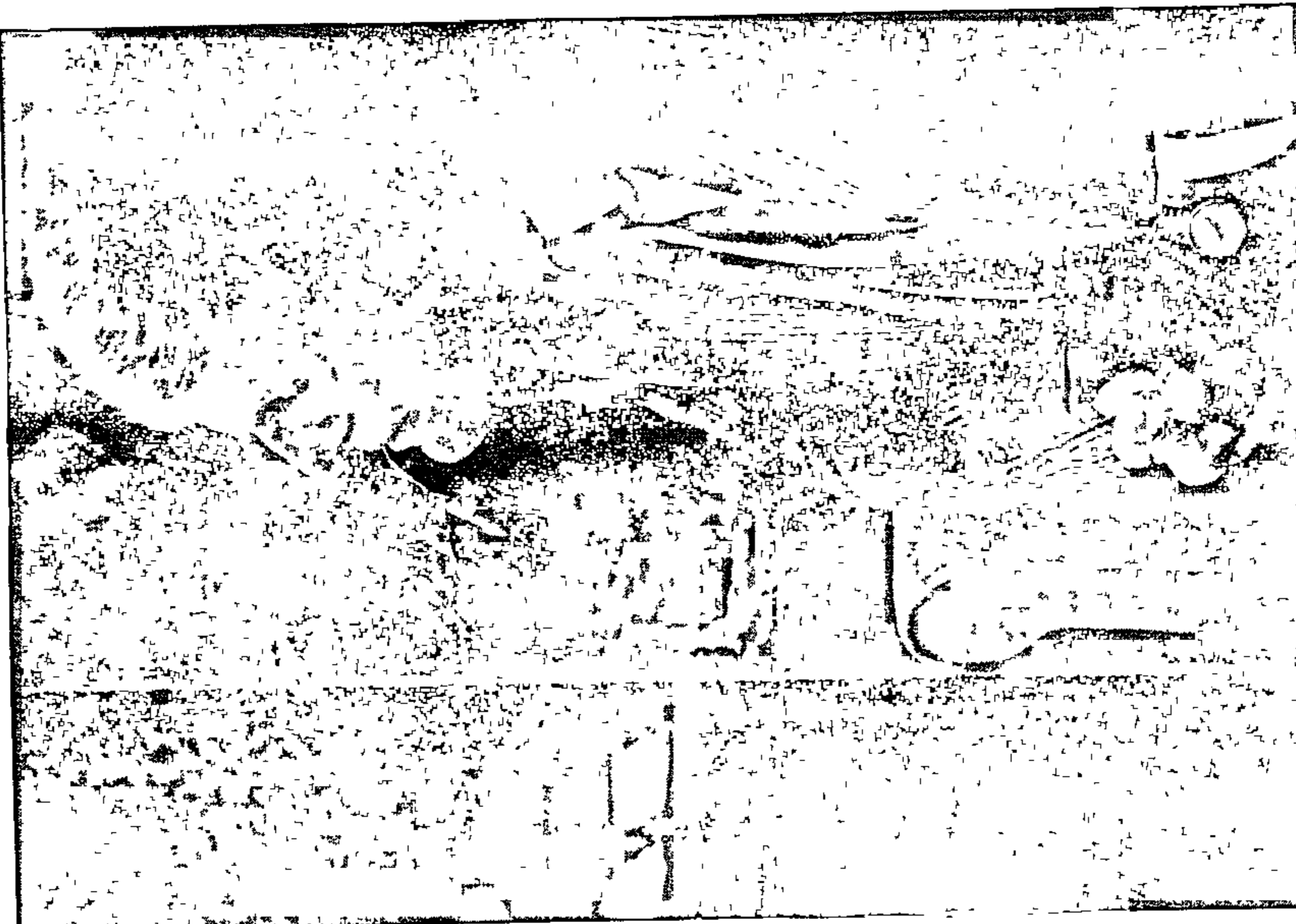
AT THE same time, he says, "it's a tremendously important election because Britain is now at the point where it can no longer avoid constitutional change, changes to the structure of Parliament and the voting system as well."

Almost any result will have change as the next stage, Preston says.

"If the Conservatives just win, you can bet that Labour will, over time, embrace proportional representation and do a proper deal with the Liberals.

"If there is a hung Parliament there's a possibility that the Liberals will become part of the new government and voting reform will be on the agenda.

"If Labour wins, it will be a bit slower but they will have to bring in proportional representation for Scotland, for the European parliament and for regional government. It won't be logical for Westminster to continue as it is. Mind you, nobody is thinking about that for two minutes, even though we do keep telling them."



VISITING EDITOR Peter Preston, editor of The Guardian, paid a fleeting visit to South Africa this week to launch the weekly edition of his paper in this country. Picture: John Hogg

'Whites-only ads protect the old from murderers'

By Donald Zake

South

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GROUP areas, white baasskap and separate amenities are flourishing six days a week in the classified advertisement columns of the National Party mouthpiece, Die Burger.

On one day the classified section carried no fewer than nine ads offering services under white supervision or lodging and holiday accommodation for whites only.

Die Burger's advertising manager, Mr Inus van Eeden, who is apparently unaware of the contentious ads, said his newspaper did not publish racist advertisements.

Racist advertising "is not applica-

ble any more", he said. If a client insisted on mentioning race, Die Burger declined to accept the advert.

"Absolutely. With all the developments (in the new South Africa) I think it is unethical to state race in advertisements," said Van Eeden. Among this week's ads were ones for plumbing "by a qualified white tradesman" and for a holiday room at the Strand — "whites only".

Three firms offered furniture removal or transport under "white supervision". One said "Efficient service. White personnel".

A Miss Van As in Goodwood

was "looking for white male to share house".

When phoned to ask why she had specified the race of her prospective tenant, she said, "That's surely my business. There's surely nothing wrong with that. It's not necessary for me to tell anyone why I wrote 'white' in the newspaper."

However, at DC Garden Services ("White supervision, top service") a Mrs Steppe was happy to explain the wording of her ad.

"Older people prefer to have a white person there," she said. "So many old people are molested, murdered and raped. It's mostly (by

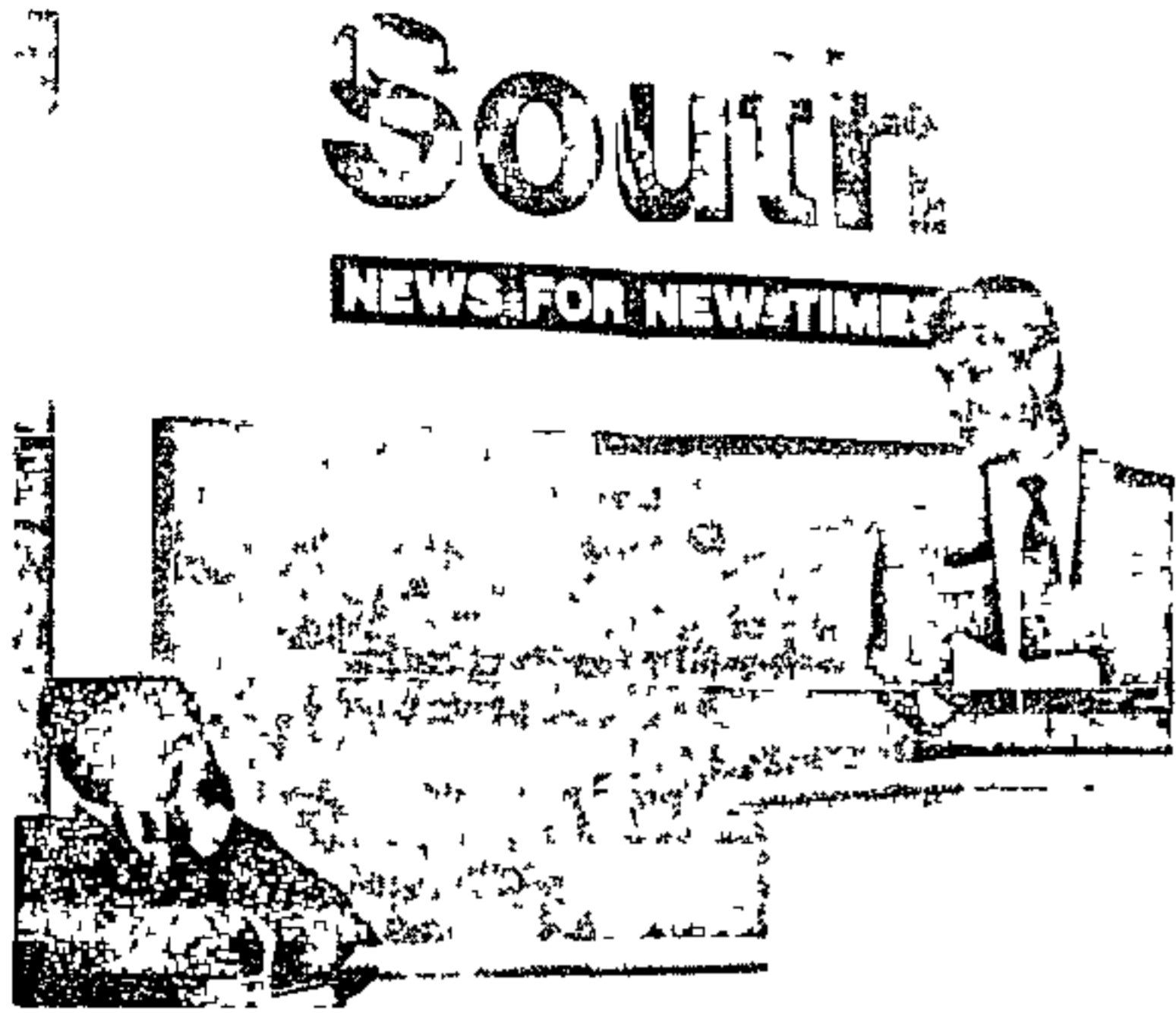
these blacks and coloureds

"You're actually protecting the older generation. We find they don't want a team that consists only of coloureds."

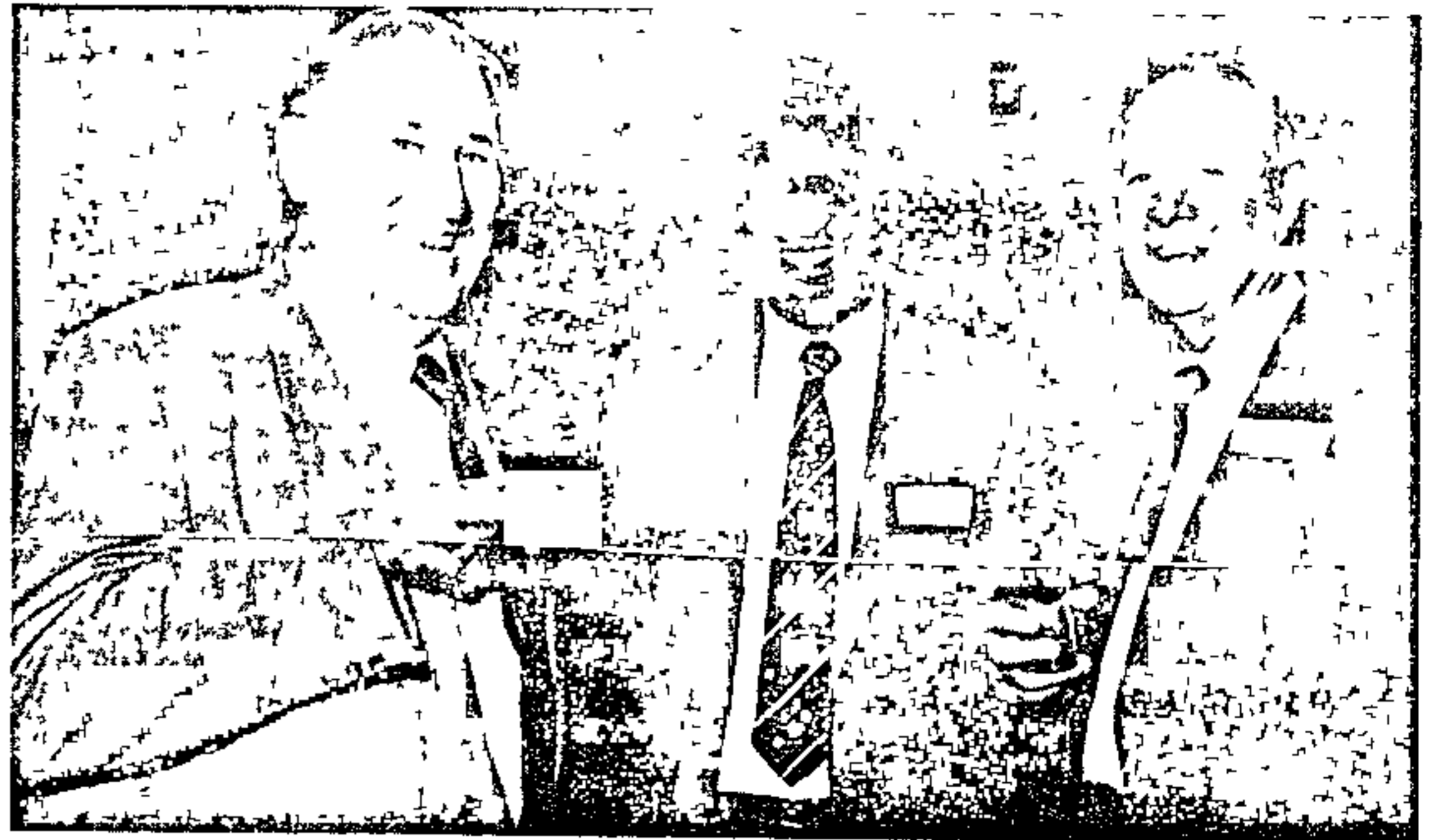
She said one of her coloured teams last year had been very bad. They had no respect for the business' equipment and did not work well.

It was necessary to have a white person oversee them because "it's necessary to have a higher intellect and IQ than that type", she said.

"There's no racial discrimination. It's only to render a service to the public," said Steppe.



AS I WAS SAYING Mr Matt Gennrich, public affairs manager of VW SA, and Mr Thabo Mbeki of the ANC at the SOUTH birthday celebration Photos, Sally Shorkend



A TOAST TO SOUTH German Consul-General Mr Erich Urmonait, Mr Humphrey Khoza, Shell general manager (public affairs), and Mr John Kilroe, chairman of Shell

SOUTH and the alternative newspapers are in an excellent position to keep voters informed as South Africa approaches its first democratic poll. This was said by Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC head of international affairs, at a function held on Tuesday evening to celebrate SOUTH's new-look and its fifth birthday.

At the function the revamped SOUTH was presented to advertisers and other members of Cape Town's business and diplomatic communities.

Mbeki said the alternative papers

Five cheers for newspaper that is a builder of bridges

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were important because they had established their credibility with people who were most in need of an informed perspective as they faced voting for the first time in their lives — probably

this year

"Because of their history, the alternative media are well placed to participate in coming events," Mbeki said

"These papers deserve to be

strengthened, and the advertising industry needs to pay attention to them."

Mbeki contrasted the position of the alternative press with that of the SABC, which was still showing evidence of political bias in its news coverage.

"Our view is that an independent body should be established (to control the SABC) so that it plays the role that it needs to play during the coming elections," Mbeki said.

SOUTH editor Dr Guy Berger said in his address that SOUTH had "survived the reign of the Bothas, and we will survive the reign of the Mandelas. We'll give any authority a run for its money!"

Mbeki responded in good humour, saying later that he had on occasion been unhappy by certain things SOUTH had said, but that this did not detract from his support for the independent media.

The business community was

represented by Mr Matt Gennrich of Volkswagen of South Africa, who read an address on behalf of Volkswagen chairperson Mr Peter Searle who at the last minute was unable to attend the function.

"SOUTH should be essential reading for anyone who wants to be part of the informed and, I might add, entertained circle of decision-makers in our society," Gennrich said.

"I also know that we can trust SOUTH and its sister papers to stand up for democracy in the years ahead."

"SOUTH strikes me today as a paper that not only builds bridges between communities, but which also transcends any narrow community identity."

"Thank you for helping show the way, and I am sure you will continue to do so as we break further new ground in our quest for a peaceful and prosperous democratic nation," the address concluded.

ENGEN

Congratulations SOUTH

on your 5th year as an independent weekly

We'll fuel the growth of a free press

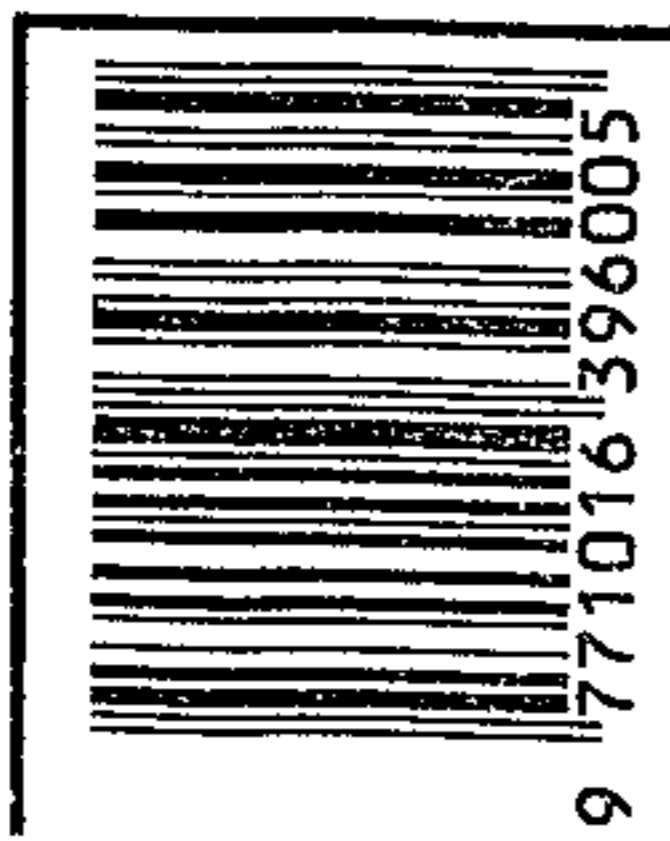


IN CONVERSATION Ms Dorothy Boesak and Mr Thabo Mbeki

Urgent application

IOOSTE Mothapo, Diep- meadow Council's direc- tor of housing, and Sibon- gile Mazibuko, a council legal advisor, brought an

urgent application against City Press in the Rand Supreme Court on Fri- day. The application at- tempted to restrain City Press from publishing fur- ther reports about the al- location of sites in Zone 4, Diepkloof. The applica- tion was postponed until Friday, April 10, to en- able City Press to file pa- pers opposing the applica- tion. *C.P. Press 5/4/92*



Falati's conduct angers Mandelas

By THEMBA KHUMALO *C.P. Press 5/4/92*

THE relationship be- tween Winnie Mandela and her co-accused, Xoliswa Falati, plummeted to its lowest ebb after Falati's "sensational press comments" this week. Falati told newspapers that she was reinstated to her backyard room by the ANC leader Nelson Man-

delas after Winnie had kicked her out.

Zondi Mandela, Man- dela's daughter-in-law, said that for the past nine months Winnie had been persuading Falati to move to the Mandela house at Diepkloof. Extension to make way for family members who were com- ing from the Transkei to help with arrangements

for Zinzi's wedding. Falati disappeared on Thursday - allegedly in the company of five men - only minutes after pho- ning a Johannesburg re- porter, saying something was about to happen to her and asking him to come to her aid.

Zondi said the Mandelas were enraged by Falati's latest behaviour. By

her sudden disappearance she wanted to create the impression she had been kidnapped. They were be- ginning to question her motives for being close to the family.

An ANC official who lives in KwaThema, where Falati originally comes from, said they were worried about her close links with the Man-

delas. She was over-zealous and involved herself in too many progressive structures during the day of the UDF.

He said it was well known in KwaThema that Falati's house was petto bombed four years ago by angry comrades, and that the police as Falati claimed.

See page 2

over soccer affairs.

ANC slams media over Winnie claims

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THE African National Congress yesterday appealed to the media not to lend itself to "mischievous purposes" in reporting on allegations against Mrs Winnie Mandela.

The ANC also accused sections of the media of waging a campaign to destroy the movement by conducting a "trial" of Mrs Mandela

Recent allegations have linked Mrs Mandela to the death of Azapo's health secretary Dr Abu-Baker Asvat

The media has also reported on her row with Mrs Xoliswa Falati, a co-accused in her kidnapping and assault trial, and has speculated that her marriage to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela was crumbling

"The national working committee of the ANC notes with grave concern the escalating trial by media," the organisation said "We recognise that such



WINNIE MANDELA

a campaign is not only directed at an individual, but is part of creating an unfavourable image of the ANC and particularly its president, Nelson Mandela

"Without detracting from the need for the media to report facts, it is clear to us that forces hostile to the ANC are continuously looking for ways and means by which to discredit, weaken and, if possible, destroy the ANC

"We appeal to the media not to lend itself to these mischievous purposes," the statement said

Mrs Mandela has rejected allegations of involvement in the Asvat murder and her lawyer has

said the claims prejudiced her pending appeal against conviction and sentence for kidnapping and accessory to assault of youths at her home

● Meanwhile, the Soweto police have confirmed that a senior police officer has been assigned to reinvestigate the Asvat killing.

Captain Joseph Ngobeni said the officer's brief was to look at the killing "afresh".

Sapa reports that no date has yet been set by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein for the appeal of Mrs and her co-accused Mrs Xoliswa Falati against their convictions and sentences for kidnapping and assault.

Reports in the past few days said the appeal would be heard on April 30, but inquiries reveal the court would not be in session on that day

The Appeal Court's term starts on May 4, and Mandela's appeal does not appear on the roll

SAUJ alarm over IFP intimidation ²⁴³

THE Southern African Union of Journalists yesterday called on the Inkatha leadership to act against the organisation's supporters reportedly responsible for attempting to intimidate journalists in the Maritzburg area

On Monday it was reported a group of journalists escaped injury when they were attacked by youths at Imbali holding aloft an Inkatha Freedom Party flag

Two reporters and a photographer from the *Natal Witness* were confronted by youths marching up a road

The youths, who were dancing the toyi-toyi and holding an IFP flag, charged as the photographer tried to take a photograph from their marked *Natal Witness* car.

The journalists were verbally abused and then attacked with stones before managing to get away. The vehicle was slightly damaged

SAUJ general secretary Miss Karen Stander said such behaviour was totally unacceptable *Sapa*

Sowetan 9/4/92

Africa media seen as propaganda

Sowetan 9/4/92

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By MATHATHA TSEDU

THE media in Africa has always been seen as compliant, and merely spewing Government propaganda.

Local upheavals and human rights abuses go unreported, with front-page prominence given mainly to ministerial speeches

Indeed, the credibility of the media in many African states is so low that inhabitants rely on European and American radio stations and newspapers to know what was really happening in their countries

The imminent demise of the Pan African News Agency (Pana), while due immediately to lack of funding by African governments, is also attributable to this lack of credibility. Many papers in Africa, knowing that their own national agencies are contributing state propaganda to Pana, are loath to use its copy as it invariably reflects government views

While many journalists in Africa have been diligent in their duties and have landed in jails and some exiled, by and large African media practitioners have been ready to turn a blind eye and spike a story that would otherwise anger or displease the authorities

They cultivated a culture of silence. But with the growing tide of uprisings that are sweeping one party dictatorships for multiparty systems on the continent, African journalists are for the first time collectively trying to come to terms with their responsibilities as communicators

A conference held in the Botswana capital of Gaborone two weeks ago looked at the experiences in six countries, including South Africa, and charted the way forward towards freer media on the continent

Ugandan publisher and editor Mr James Namakajo, who spent

FOCUS

many spells in detention under the Milton Obote and Idi Amin regimes and who is also a leading activist in African journalist movements, speaking on "Journalism and Africa's democratisation process", said some journalists had unashamedly worked against the struggling people of Africa

He cited the footage used to close the Zairean TV station in which President Mobutu Sese Seko is shown as descending to earth from Heaven, as proof of the abuse of technology to dupe semi-literate peasants who would see Mobutu as equal to God

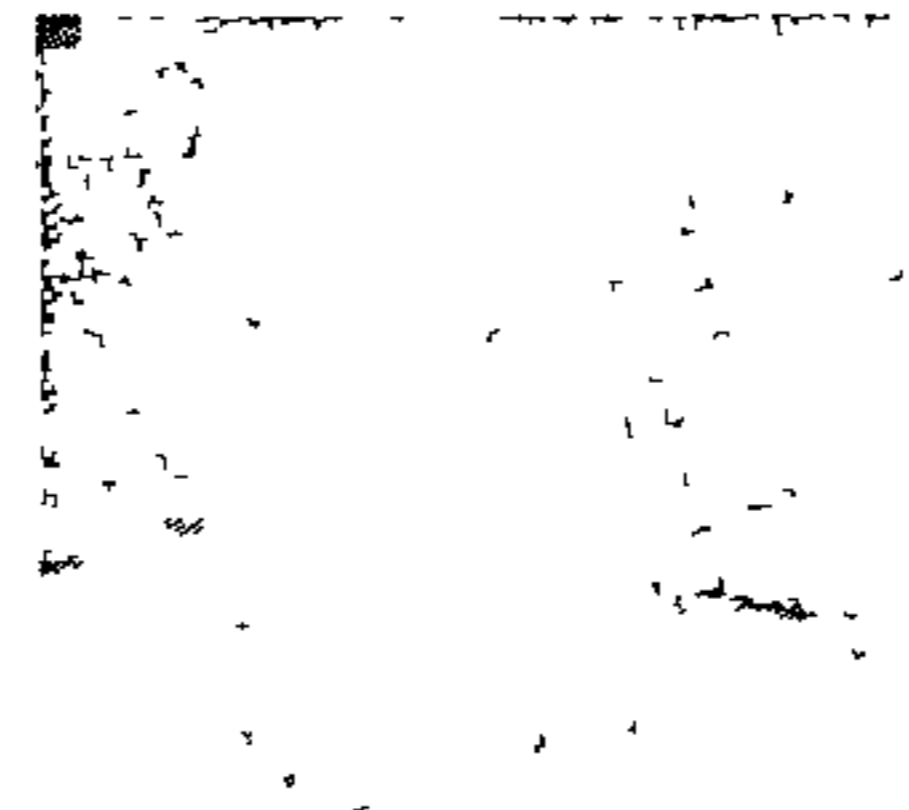
Vigilance

Calling for more vigilance and commitment to serving "the people and not the elite that rule over the people", Namakajo said the creation of sub-regional organisations that linked national associations and unions strengthens the fight of journalists for a free media

He said the West African Journalists Association (Waja), the Federation of East African Journalists Association (Feaja) and the Federation of Southern African Journalists (Fesaj) had already been formed to link up organisations and share information and resources

Zimbabwean participant and news editor of the Herald, Mr Oliver Gawe, pointed out how the Zimbabwean government had gained control of the media in the country when the Mass Media Trust was formed

Gawe said journalists had first thought the trust would defend



PROFESSOR MALEMA

their right to work independently, but soon realised that the politically appointed heads of divisions within the trust only safeguard the interests of their political masters

"The colonial authorities enacted a series of legislations to muzzle the Press, including banning publications and meetings. One is surprised, though, that after inheriting this whole arsenal of restrictive laws, government has not found it fit to repeal them", he said

Citing an example, he said Section 17 of the Law and Order Maintenance Act of 1960 provides for a police officer to "ban any private conversation in the street, a house or wherever if they suspect that such discussions are prejudicial to the state"

Participants from Namibia and Zambia also stated that colonial repressive legislations had been maintained and in some cases amended and tightened

In Botswana, generally regarded as the model of tolerance, a recent incident in which Mr Professor Nalema, a frail 23-year-old freelance journalist was arrested and allegedly assaulted by police for writing a story about a labour strike, has raised tension amongst local journalists who are now calling for the repeal of restrictive laws

Mr Professor Malema had been given a secret government document which argued against a 154 percent wage increase already

granted to parastatal manual workers

Malema was arrested in January this year by members of the Serious Crimes Squad and held under the National Security Act, which provides for 96 hours' detention. He says he was accused of threatening state security by writing the story, and was coerced into revealing his source

When he refused, he was allegedly assaulted until he bled and was refused food for the 30 hours he spent in the cells

Government control over state media, where it was used as if it was ruling party media, was decried and a call was made for air time to be made available for opposition parties

Freedom

Private newspapers, which are invariably more vocal, are denied advertising because politicians are the rich business people who also advertise in the papers

With small publications such as Mmegi responsible for the exposés that led to the resignation of Vice-President Peter Mmusi and the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Daniel Kwelakgobe, the concern is not without foundation

Calls are also being made for the enactment of a Freedom of Information Act and amendments that would ensure that journalists are protected from revealing their sources

The resuscitation of Fesaj and the letter of protest sent by Boja chairman Mr Rampholo Molefe on behalf of conference to Malawi's President Kamuzu Banda, to protest detention of freelance journalist Mr Simon Mhone, are just two examples of the steps taken that clearly put the journalists in the region on the road to a fight for greater freedom of the media in the sub continent and eventually in Africa as a whole

April 11 to April 16 1992

WOULD THE Argus company and Times Media Ltd be allowed to own as much of the media market in Germany as they do here?

Probably not, thanks to that country's laws against monopolies.

From the thirties, Germany's cartel-owned press staunchly backed the Hitler regime, explains Mr Adolf Bost, press officer for the German government.

"Anti-trust' thinking developed after the war, in the context of decentralising power in our society."

Germany's law against monopoly

Laws keep away press monopoly

Soult 11/4 - 16/4/92
has been used to ensure that the national press agency can have no shareholder with more than 1.9 per cent. of shares. It has blocked media centralisation moves around the Axel Springer media conglomerate.

The context that gave rise to the anti-monopoly laws also meant that many German newspapers were set up by trusts rather than corporations

Some of the better quality newspapers in Germany are owned by trusts that were established shortly after the

war. Of these, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung perhaps similar to the British Independent is the most prestigious of the national dailies.

"We have recently uncovered a big story in Mozambique," says Mr Udo Ulfkotte of the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung.

"There are increasing pointers towards Maputo acting as an willing intermediary in sales of South African uranium internationally."

Also based in Frankfurt, and

owned by a trust, is the smaller Frankfurter Rundschau with a circulation of 200 000 and a left-liberal approach

"Our founder was anti-fascist and the newspaper still focuses on issues like rights for political asylum seekers and immigrants," says political editor Ms Brigitte Kohl-Kols.

The staff's conditions of employment require them to sign a contract committing themselves to the principles of the paper.

ANC women strike out with 'The Rock'

South 11/4 - 16/4/92
"YOU HAVE touched the women; you have struck the rock. You will be crushed." 243 (24)

So goes a well-known cry of resistance. But if you would rather get away relatively unscathed by touching only on women's issues, you can buy "The Rock", the newsletter of the ANC Women's League. 3 (3)

Started last month, the 12-page newsletter will keep you up to date on the league's doings and on aspects of women's oppression. The head of the group's media section, Ms Lindiwe Zulu, said: "Since the Women's League returned from exile, many people have not been aware of what we are doing. The newsletter will inform people about our work to liberate women."

She said the newsletter aimed to give South African women a voice.

"We won't only cover league activities. We will also address issues facing women here in their daily lives," she said.

The first edition (March 1992) features stories ranging from women's participation at Codesa to contraception.

"At the moment we plan to come out every eight weeks, but later we envisage a regular monthly edition," Zulu said.

Handy read for freelance scribes in SA

Cipren/2/4/92

**Making Money from
Freelance Journalism
in South Africa by Ar-
thur Goldstuck (Pen-
guin) - R43,95c (incl
VAT). (243)**

THOSE who have always wanted to write for newspapers and magazines in their spare time, but did not know how, should listen hard to what Goldstuck has to say.

The most appealing part of this book is that it is probably the only one of its kind in the market today - written for South African journalistic conditions.

An added bonus is that Goldstuck covers many areas which are often neglected

Take for instance: 25 rules for presenting journalistic manuscripts; current recommended freelance rates (a tricky area); 10 rules towards successful features and what editors want.

Judge rejects urgent application

SUPREME Court Judge WP Schutz has rejected an urgent application by suspended Diepmeadow director of housing Jooste Mothapo to prevent City Press publishing details of his alleged involvement in land allocations in Zone 4 Diepkloof.

Mothapo and Sibongile Mazibuko, suspended legal adviser to the council, brought an urgent application in the Rand Supreme Court on Friday April 3, asking Judge Schutz to order City Press not to publish further reports naming them as officials involved in the allegedly fraudulent land deals in Zone 4.

They claimed that City Press reporting of charges laid against them and other council officials by the council was defamatory

In his ruling denying the application, Judge Schutz said the courts must be loathe to stop the press in what he regarded as its duty to uncover corruption. He said corruption was prevalent and persons in public office who found themselves under fire simply had to bite the bullet and in due course recov-

er damages.

Schutz found there was no basis for urgency and that Mothapo's founding affidavit had been prepared in late March, but only brought to court on April 10

Mothapo and Mazibuko argued that, by reporting that the council had laid charges against them, City Press had defamed them. They argued that "laid charges against" led the public to believe they were to be charged in court

The judge found that it was not defamatory to say that charges had been laid with the police, and that the man in the street understood that charges were laid with the police to commence an investigation.

Costs were reserved pending the applicants bringing any action within 21 days.

Since commencing the action to silence City Press, Mothapo and Mazibuko have been suspended from their jobs in the council

A special council meeting on Wednesday suspended them pending the outcome of an investigation by the TPA into allegations of corruption and mismanagement in the council.

Holomisa defends MK, Apla

LIBERATION movements should ignore calls for the dismantling of their military wings, Transkei ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said in Umtata this week. Holomisa was addressing a seminar on the integration of military forces in SA, attended by senior officers from the defence forces of SA, Ciskei, Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana and members of the ANC's Umkhonto weSizwe and the PAC's armed wing Apla

"The call for the dismantling of the military wings of the liberation movements must be ignored. All must concentrate on the establishment of the interim government which will level the ground for the Constituent Assembly elections," he said

"When a new govern-

ment has been installed, serious talks about the integration of the armed forces can begin in earnest"

While deliberating on the future of the armed forces, all armies should brace themselves for the possible dispatching of an international peace-keeping force. Because, should Codesa participants agree on this, no rumblings of opposition would be tolerated from any quarter of the armed forces

Holomisa said the dominance of one group in the military forces did not augur well for the future stability of a democratic government, as that group could be tempted to act against the wishes of the majority

"To reverse this odd situation, it is imperative that the system of recruiting presently employed

by the SADF be abandoned in favour of one encompassing the entire nation.

"If SA aims at being a stable society, the volunteer system should be embarked upon. This will lead to the emergence of a highly professional and efficient army," he said.

"We have reached a stage when foes have to fuse into a new force and forget the past with its rhetorical baggage. This requires the formulation of a new military tradition"

There was an urgent need for all forces to agree on an identified country to provide advanced training

The present SA government should offer an early retirement "package deal" to "securocrats"

Elnews

SSF

News set in braille for blind

(243)

STAR 13/4/92

Staff Reporter

Pupils at the Worcester Institute for the Blind, in the Western Cape, are now able to read newspapers for the first time, thanks to a joint effort by business and the media

A computer link-up between Sanlam's Golden Acre network and Nasionale Pers' Fore-shore headquarters now relays, via modem, the news and other educational material to the institute, where it is received on braille and voice printers.

This was announced recently by George Rudman, Sanlam's senior general manager, who donated R7 000 more to the institute, bringing the assurance company's total cash contribution to the institute to R22 000, in addition to equipment and technical assistance

Mr Rudman described the development as "an historic breakthrough", because the pupils had previously been restricted to minimal reference sources and did not have access to newspapers

IN RANDP
EIGH BRAL



THE
SOUTH
AFRICAN
BRAIL
ASSOCIATION

1992



Journalists subpoenaed

JOHANNESBURG — New Nation editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu and political correspondent Mr Enoch Sithule have been subpoenaed by the Klerksdorp police for allegedly failing to identify the sources of a number of published reports on taxi violence in the Western Transvaal.

This is according to the newspaper's deputy editor Mr Gabu Tugwana.

In a statement issued yesterday the newspaper claimed the subpoena appeared to be "yet another state harassment of the media".

New Nation said it would keep its sources anonymous and would only reveal them to its attorneys and the Goldstone Commission — Sapa CT 16/4/92

A UNIQUE occasion brought journalists, media trainers and representatives from community groups together for a three-day media festival in Grahamstown last weekend

Organised by the East Cape News Agencies (Ecna) and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), the "Media and Democracy Festival" aimed to raise awareness of critical media in the region and to break skills barriers.

During a panel discussion on "Preparing for radio in the new South Africa", a health worker involved in a Cape Town community radio station, Mr Gabriel Urgoiti, said there was an urgent need for community radio stations to be set up

Urgoiti, who helped set up a programme in Argentina to link isolated villages, said community radio stations were an "incredible exercise in empowering people and making them grow"

While organisations in SA were looking into the feasibility of getting licences through legal channels, "we should set them up now, with or without the licences", Urgoiti said

A spokesperson for Radio Freedom (the ANC station), Mr Thami Ntente, called for an end to the "monopoly" of airwaves by the SABC

He said a future broadcast structure should comprise public, commercial and community sectors

An interim body should be established during the period of transition to monitor and control the

Airwaves make headlines at media, democracy festival

Soult 18/4 - 23/4/92

243

SABC, Ntente said.

The managing director of the Transkei Broadcasting Corporation, Mr Leslie Xinwa, said state radio could best serve the population without bias or favour if the democratic process was in place

"The question of political education must take pride of place on radio if democracy is to have any meaning in the future," Xinwa said

THE EDITOR OF SOUTH, Dr Guy Berger, said imbalances between the alternative newspapers and the mainstream press still existed despite some attempts towards convergence

Berger said the alternative press, established through the solidarity of countries and people in Europe, was not yet fully self-sufficient

Although the alternative newspapers reached leaders and decision-makers, they had not been able to break the barriers of quantity.

have to survive in the marketplace and be entirely on our feet by next year."

Attempts were being made towards self-sufficiency and changes were being wrought in the character of the alternative papers

These included upgrading their quality to attract advertisers.

Berger said a partnership was emerging with the mainstream press "who also realise the value of the continued existence of the alternatives for themselves and democracy".

HE SAID a "dialogue" was taking place about their common interests and preliminary steps were being taken towards setting up a broadly-backed trust fund to help some publications become viable

Opening the festival, the group editor of Ecna, Mr Franz Kruger, said South Africa was closer than it had been to creating a democratic society.

Setting up community

radio stations

without licences

if necessary, was one

of the ideas that

emerged at a

three-day Media

and Democracy

Festival last weekend.

Bulelwa Payi

reports:

"The huge market for alternative information is difficult to penetrate in a commercially viable form. The current weeklies do not have the time or finance, for this, but we

"Hopefully, the negotiation process underway at Codesa will soon bring us an interim government of some sort and South Africa's first really democratic election."

He said, however, giving everybody a vote was not really enough to ensure fairness

"Voters must have enough information to make up their minds. The power to deliver that information is an important power and that is precisely the power of the media"

Journalists should throw their weight behind the democratic project by asking uncomfortable questions, monitoring the powerful and exposing what need to be exposed

MR JOEL NETSHITENZE, editor of the ANC journal, Mayibuye, said a constitution and bill of rights were among the measures needed to reverse the media imbalances

He said public media should not be controlled by the state but should be representative of society

The NP's East London MP, Mr Callie Badenhorst, said the government wanted to move away from control of the electronic media

"The Media Council should set a trend and be seen as a champion of media freedom," he said

Problems identified at the festival included the refusal of the Ciskei Council of State to respond to questions by local journalists and the lack of funding for community newspapers.

—Ana

Media outraged at Sisulu subpoena

By Brian Sokutu

Media groups are outraged at the issuing of a subpoena against New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu and political correspondent Enoch Sithole, forcing the newspaper to reveal its sources alleging police involvement in the western Transvaal taxi feud.

The subpoena, issued by Klerksdorp police, was served on the two journalists under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

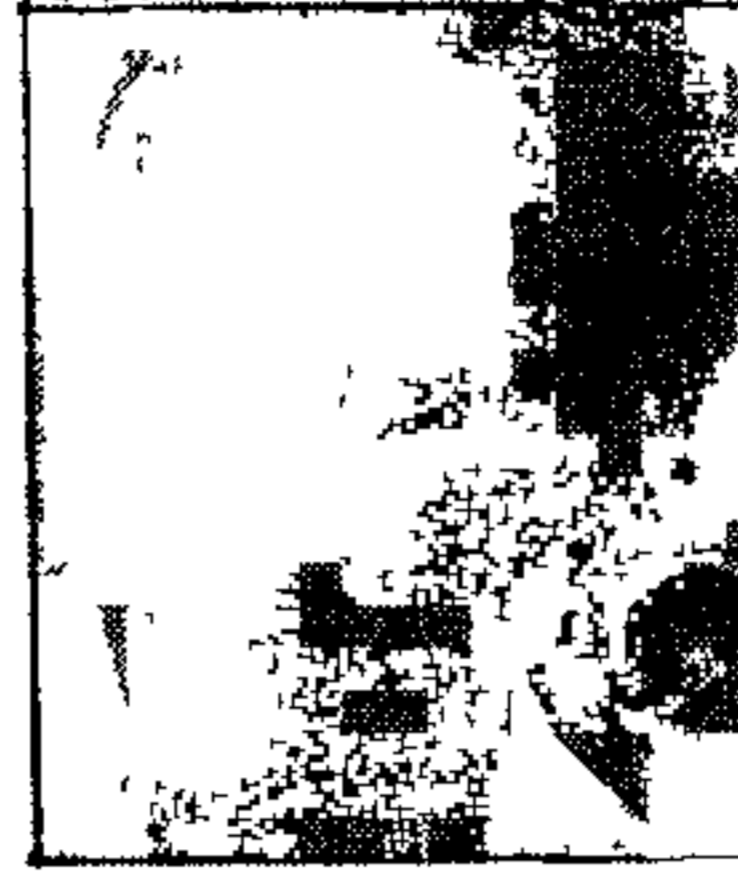
It followed New Nation's publication of an article in February which quoted a source claiming that police were biased in the taxi feuding between two taxi organisations — the Itireleng Long Distance Taxi Association and the Jouberton Main Line Express.

Some policemen "became interested parties in the conflict" because they owned taxis, alleged the source in the New Nation report.

Mr Sisulu and Mr Sithole face a jail sentence should they refuse to identify their sources.

"The editor would not have made it available to police because this is not an ordinary crime but political violence," reacted Campaign for Open Media chairman, Raymond Louw.

He called on police to



Subpoenaed ... New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu.

withdraw the subpoena.

In its response, the South African Union of Journalists said it was "appalled" at the police action. Said SAUJ general secretary Karen Stander: "The press is once more dragged in to do the job of policemen.

"We find this move inexplicable when the Section and its use against journalists is currently being reviewed by the Ministry of Justice, and when there have been indications that the Section will be amended," said Ms Stander.

The International Federation of Journalists has commended the refusal by the two journalists to disclose their sources, said the organisation's South African projects co-ordinator Jeanette Minnie. Forcing journalists to disclose sources severely curtailed the free flow of information, she said.

NEWS IN BRIEF

(243)

Proposals abandoned

8/10 am 22/4/92

PROPOSALS at a meeting of the SA Media Council's executive in Cape Town yesterday to cut the number of council members from 30 to 11 and move its headquarters to Johannesburg were abandoned when a compromise proposal to refer the issue for further investigation was accepted. The council is expected to discuss the matter again in October.

Media Council reconsiders

RESTRUCTURING of the South African Media Council to reduce its size and amend its constitution is likely to streamline its operation and reduce costs.

After a meeting of the executive council in the city yesterday, the Newspaper Press Union and the Conference of Editors unanimously agreed to report to the council on possible restructuring.

John Featherstone, on behalf of the Newspaper Press Union, proposed the reduction of the number of council members from 30 to 11, and moving its headquarters from Cape Town to Johannesburg.

These proposals were abandoned when a compromise proposal by Professor S A Strauss that the issue

be referred for further investigation was accepted. A proposal for the elimination of legal representation, which would make the council function less as a court and more as a decision-making body, was also abandoned.

Mr Justice G P C Kotze, the alternative council chairman, said Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee told him the council should not be reduced, but increased to include the electronic media.

The possibility of Codesa negotiating on media matters and that the decision of the council should be deferred for at least a year was also put to the meeting. — Sapa (243) CT 22/4/92

Ex-judge slaps

reporter

Sowetan 23/4/92
A FORMER Natal Supreme Court judge who is now practising as an advocate, Mr Anton Mostert, SC, slapped a reporter of *The Star* outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday.

The assault was witnessed by another reporter and members of the public.

Philip Zoio said he had been attempting to obtain information from Mostert.

Mostert admitted he had slapped Zoio.

"The act was in retaliation for two episodes of insufferable and insulting behaviour on the part of the reporter," he said.
Sowetan Correspondent

KENNISGEWING 378 VAN 1992**DEPARTEMENT VAN MANNEKRAG**

WET OP ARBEIDSVERHOUDINGE, 1956

**AANSOEK OM REGISTRASIE VAN 'N
VAKVERENIGING**

Ek, Gerhardus Coenraad Papenfus, Assistent-Nywerheidsregistrator, maak ingevolge artikel 4 (2) van die Wet op Arbeidsverhoudinge, 1956, hierby bekend dat 'n aansoek om registrasie as 'n vakvereniging ontvang is van die Media and Allied Workers Union Besonderhede van die aansoek word in onderstaande tabel verstrek.

Enige geregistreerde vakvereniging wat teen die aansoek beswaar maak, word versoek om binne een maand na die datum van publikasie van hierdie kennisgewing sy beswaar skriftelik by my in te dien, p/a die Departement van Mannekrag, Mannekraggebou 123a, Schoemanstraat 215, Pretoria (posadres: Privaat Sak X117, Pretoria, 0001)

TABEL

Naam van vakvereniging Media and Allied Workers Union

Datum waarop aansoek ingedien is 3 Maart 1992

Belange en gebied ten opsigte waarvan aansoek gedoen word

Alle werkers in diens in die Media-, Drukkers-, Verpakkings- en Verwante Bedryf in die landdrostdistrikte Benoni, Bethal, Bronkhorstspuit, Die Kaap, Durban, Johannesburg, Kempton Park, Krugersdorp, Middelburg, Nelspruit, Pietersburg, Pietermaritzburg, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria, Roodepoort, Rustenburg, Secunda, Springs, Stellenbosch, Vereeniging, Warmbad, Witbank en Wonderboom.

Vir die doeleindes hiervan beteken "Media-, Drukkers, Verpakkings- en Verwante Bedryf", sonder om die gewone betekenis daarvan enigerwys te beperk, die bedryf waarin werkgewers en hul werknemers betrokke is by—

(i) die produksie en verspreiding van nuus, en omvat dit werknemers in diens van die elektroniese media as fotografe, verslaggewers, koerantverspreiders, drywers, verkopers, masjienoperateurs, invoegers, klerke, tiksters, videokameraoprateurs, aanbieders en beeldmengers; en

(ii) die produksie van drukwerk van watter aard ook al, met inbegrip van stereotipering, fotogravure, litografie, drukkersingenieurswerk, drukkerspakhuiswerk, stempelwerk, boekbindery, liniering, afsnywerk, syskermprosesdruk, duplisering en inkmenging, en omvat dit die produksie van houers, sakke, omhulsels of enige ander soort houer gemaak van papier of enige ander buigsame materiaal,

en omvat dit alle bedrywighede wat met enige van voormelde werksaamhede gepaard gaan of daaruit voortspuit

Posadres van applikant Posbus 97105, Presas, 0114

NOTICE 378 OF 1992**DEPARTMENT OF MANPOWER**

LABOUR RELATIONS ACT, 1956

**APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION OF
TRADE UNION**

I, Gerhardus Coenraad Papenfus, Assistant Industrial Registrar, do hereby, in terms of section 4 (2) of the Labour Relations Act, 1956, give notice that an application for registration as a trade union has been received from the Media and Allied Workers Union Particulars of the application are reflected in the sub-joined table.

Any registered trade union which objects to the application is invited to lodge its objection in writing with me, c/o the Department of Manpower, 123A Manpower building, 215 Schoeman Street, Pretoria (postal address Private Bag X117, Pretoria, 0001), within one month of the date of publication of this notice

TABLE

Name of trade union: Media and Allied Workers Union

Date on which application was lodged. 3 March 1992.

Interests and area in respect of which application is made

All workers engaged in the Media, Printing, Packaging and Allied Industry in the Magisterial Districts of Benoni, Bethal, Bronkhorstspuit, Durban, Johannesburg, Kempton Park, Krugersdorp, Middelburg, Nelspruit, Pietersburg, Pietermaritzburg, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria, Roodepoort, Rustenburg, Secunda, Springs, Stellenbosch, The Cape, Vereeniging, Warmbaths, Witbank and Wonderboom.

For the purposes hereof "Media, Printing, Packaging and Allied Industry", without in any way limiting the ordinary meaning thereof, means the industry in which employers and their employees are concerned with—

(i) the production and distribution of news, and includes employees employed in the electronic media as photographers, reporters, newspaper distributors, drivers, vendors, machine operators, insertors, clerks, typists, video camera operators, producers and vision mixers, and

(ii) the production of printed matter of any nature whatsoever, including stereotyping, photogravure, lithography, printer's engineering, printer's warehousing, stamping, bookbinding, ruling, cutting, silkscreen process printing, duplicating and ink mixing, and includes the production of containers, bags, wrappers or any other form of container produced from paper or any other flexible material;

and includes all operations incidental to or consequent on any of the aforesaid activities

Postal address of applicant P O Box 97105, Presas, 0114

Kantooradres van applikant: Vierde Verdieping, Kamers 413 en 414, Fraser Building, Paul Krugerstraat 520, Pretoria.

Die aandag word gevestig op onderstaande vereistes van artikel 4 van die Wet

- (a) Die mate waarin 'n beswaarmakende vakvereniging verteenwoordigend is, word ingevolge subartikel (4) bepaal volgens die feite soos hulle bestaan het op die datum waarop die aansoek ingedien is, en wat die lidmaatskap betref, word alleen lede wat ingevolge artikel 1 (2) van die Wet op voormelde datum volwaardige lede was, in aanmerking geneem.
- (b) Die prosedure voorgeskryf by subartikel (2) moet gevolg word in verband met 'n beswaar wat ingedien word

G. C. PAPPENFUS,

Assistent-Nywerheidsregistrator.
(24 April 1992)

KENNISGEWING 379 VAN 1992

DEPARTEMENT VAN MANNEKRAG

WET OP ARBEIDSVERHOUDINGE, 1956

AANSOEK OM REGISTRASIE VAN 'N NYWERHEIDSRAAD

Ek, Gerhardus Coenraad Pappenfus, Assistent-nywerheidsregistrator, maak ingevolge artikel 19 (2) (a) van die Wet op Arbeidsverhoudinge, 1956, hierby bekend dat 'n aansoek om registrasie van 'n nywerheidsraad ontvang is van die Nywerheidsraad vir die Kontraskoonmaaknywerheid, Natal. Besonderhede van die aansoek word in onderstaande tabel verstrekk

Enige persoon wat teen die aansoek beswaar maak, word versoek om binne een maand na die datum van publikasie van hierdie kennisgewing sy beswaar skriftelik by my in te dien, p/a die Departement van Mannekrag, Mannekraggebou, Schoemanstraat 215, Pretoria (posadres Privaat Sak X117, Pretoria, 0001)

TABEL

Naam van nywerheidsraad Nywerheidsraad vir die Kontraskoonmaaknywerheid, Natal

Datum waarop aansoek ingedien is 24 November 1991.

Belange en gebied ten opsigte waarvan aansoek gedoen word Die Skoonmaakdiensnywerheid in die provinsie Natal

Vir die doeleindes hiervan beteken "Skoonmaakdiensnywerheid" die nywerheid waarin werkgewers en hul werknemers met mekaar geassosieer is met die doel om industriële en kommersiële persele en geboue skoon te maak, met inbegrip van woonstelle wat kommersieel verhuur word

Name en adresse van die partye by die raad
Werkgewersorganisasie

The National Contract Cleaners' Association, Postbus 11681, Marine Parade, 4056.

Office address of applicant Fourth Floor, Rooms 413 and 414, Fraser Building, 520 Paul Kruger Street, Pretoria.

Attention is drawn to the following requirements of section 4 of the Act.

- (a) The representativeness of an trade union which objects to the application shall in terms of subsection (4) be determined on the facts as they existed at the date on which the application was lodged and, as far as membership is concerned, only members who were in good standing in terms of section 1 (2) of the Act as at the aforesaid date shall be taken into consideration.
- (b) The procedure laid down in subsection (2) must be followed in connection with any objection lodged.

G. C. PAPPENFUS,

Assistant Industrial Registrar
(24 April 1992)

NOTICE 379 OF 1992

DEPARTMENT OF MANPOWER

LABOUR RELATIONS ACT, 1956

APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION OF AN INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL

I, Gerhardus Coenraad Pappenfus, Assistant Industrial Registrar, do hereby, in terms of section 19 (2) (a) of the Labour Relations Act, 1956, give notice that an application for registration as an industrial council has been received from the Industrial Council for the Contract Cleaning Industry, Natal. Particulars of the application are reflected in the subjoined table

Any person who objects to the application is invited to lodge his objection writing with me, c/o the Department of Manpower, Manpower Building, 215 Schoeman Street, Pretoria (postal address Private Bag X117, Pretoria, 0001), within one month of the date of publication of this notice.

TABLE

Name of industrial council Industrial Council for the Contract Cleaning Industry, Natal

Date on which application was lodged 24 November 1991

Interests and area in respect of which application is made. The Cleaning Services Industry in the Province of Natal

For the purposes hereof "Cleaning Services Industry" means the industry in which employers and their employees are associated for the purpose of cleaning industrial and commercial premises and buildings, including flats let commercially

Names and addresses of the parties to the council
Employers' organisation

The National Contract Cleaners' Association, P O Box 11681, Marine Parade, 4056

Media Council faces deadline

TIMES have changed for the South African Media Council which is facing a significant scaling down of its size and activities.

But the changes are not without controversy, and an impasse was reached at a council meeting this week. A sub-committee will now decide — within three months. Formed in 1981 by the mainstream press and designed largely as a buffer against a hostile government, the Media Council is now victim of economics in the more liberal political climate.

Public representatives on the council virulently opposed any changes at a meeting of the council this week, citing Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee and ANC negotiator at Codesa Prof Kader Asmal to back their case.

But driving the review is the need to slash the huge cost of the council, with its 30 members, air-travel to Cape Town for hearings and legal representation engaged for many cases.

Rejecting calls by some public representatives on the council to delay changes for a year, Argus executive Mr John Featherstone asked "Who will pay — must the Newspaper Press Union continue paying what it cannot afford to pay even now?"

Most editors are opposed to non-newspaper finance for the council fearing this could open the door to external pressure

The industry's proposal is to cut the council's members to 11, to relocate to Johannesburg and abolish the resort to legal representation at hearings. The council would also relinquish part of its present wide-ranging role which includes probing monopoly in the media and looking into media which are not members of the council.

Public representatives want to keep the council as is, and even expand it to include electronic broadcast media.

HoR Nats in talks at Ulundi

NATIONAL Party MPs led by the Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, Mr Jac Rabie, this week met with their counterparts in Ulundi, capital of KwaZulu. The Rabie delegation were received by KwaZulu Chief Minister, Dr Mangosuthu Buthe, his full Cabinet and Deputy Ministers. Mr Rabie said yesterday the purpose of the meeting was to explore matters of common concern like the need for co-operation on constitutional developments in South Africa. There was also agreement that co-operation and cultural exchanges should be promoted between the two Ministers of Education and Culture.

Trade show

THE State President's wife, Mrs Marike de Klerk, will open the Cape's premier industrial exhibition, the Cape Industrial Trade Show (CITS), at 8.30am on Tuesday, June 9, at the Cape Showgrounds, Goodwood. Exhibition space is virtually fully booked, and CITS will be open from 9am to 7pm daily until Friday, June 12. It will open on Saturday from 10am to 2pm.

Freedom of the media 'an unattainable goal'

STimesCape Metro 26/4/92 (243)

By EVE VOSLOO

PEACE can only be achieved in the open marketplace of ideas, which should give both sides an opportunity to speak freely, the chairman of the South African Media Council, Professor Kobus van Rooyen, SC, said in Cape Town this week.

Professor Van Rooyen, a former head of the Publications Appeal Board which heard appeals against the (then) rigid censorship in force in South Africa, was addressing a meeting of the Media Council in the civic centre.

He said that during the past decade, the Media Council — set up by the Newspaper Press Union and the Conference of Editors — had played an enormous role in furthering the freedom of the media and maintaining high standards of journalism.

This would have been impossible, however, "without the assistance of a lively, active press, which, throughout the most difficult of times, never lost its independence and continuously fought laws which gave arbitrary powers to government as well as laws

which criminalised acts which upheld nothing more than ideology", Prof Van Rooyen said.

Prof Van Rooyen said the Media Council recognised that absolute freedom of the media was an unattainable goal.

When however, laws granted unfettered discretion to government to ban newspapers, place people on a non-quote list, detain people without trial, prohibit or make virtually impossible reportage on public activity and in a state of emergency to close newspapers down for three months, seize films, banish journalists from unrest scenes, etc "the Media Council has made its views known to government by way of negotiation, proposals and a constant watch on arbitrary action".

"Although the laws referred to mostly had criteria referring to, for example, state security and peace and good order, it needs little argument to convince one that these wide and vague criteria are open to abuse".

Opposition to these laws by the Media Council had led to the channelling of its proposals into amending and repealing statutes, said

Prof Van Rooyen

"We also have a promise that all the laws which inhibit a free media are being scrutinised at present. The remaining limitations must also be able to satisfy the requirements of a Bill of rights, which we most certainly will have under a new constitution".

He also said that in the past few months the Media Council had made extensive proposals to the government on the Publications Act and the Section 25 duty of journalists to reveal their sources.

"Our proposals regarding the Publications Act accentuated the protection of children by way of age restriction and the freedom which adults should have to choose freely to see adult films and read books they want to read. We have not asked for the freedom to distribute pornography — and we believe this accords with modern Western thought — but proposed that vague criteria be scrapped.

In the case of films the Media Council had requested that the Supreme Court should have the final say, that the criminal courts should deal with pornography, and that statutory control — if it is to remain — should accentuate age restriction.

"An informed public will then

make the choices concerning its children".

On the revelation of journalists' sources, the Media Council had requested absolute privilege as a starting point but failing that granting courts the discretion to decide when it will be contempt of court not to reveal sources.

Laws should not be a set of restricting and prohibiting rules, but rather a set of protecting and permitting rules, he said.

"Once one follows this approach, freedom of the media should be the rule which accords with the general open and free democratic air".

At the meeting a decision on a proposal by Mr J G Featherstone of the NPU that the Media Council's membership be cut from 30 to 11, that it move from Cape Town to Johannesburg, that the parties be barred from hiring lawyers and that the power of the conciliators be increased was postponed.

Mr Featherstone said that expansion of the council's functions over the years and its size had made it expensive. Because of the recession the media had to look hard at the bureaucracies it had created and the NPU was not prepared to fund anything beyond what was absolutely necessary.

smashing savoury

FOR MONTH-END SHOPPERS!

ALL GOLD TOMATO SAUCE

DP Youth backs De Beer

By NORMAN WEST, Political Reporter
THE Democratic Party Youth (Western Cape) has declared its backing for DP leader Dr Zac De Beer who wants the five rebel DP MPs who defected to the ANC this week to resign from the DP. STimes (Cape Metro)
And Mr Dave Gant, chairman of the National Executive Committee of the DP, said the NEC also backed the demand that the defectors should go. 26/4/92
The five are Mr Jan van Eck (Claremont), Mr Jannie Momberg (Simonstown), Mr Dave Dalling (Sandton), Mr Pierre Cronje (Greytown) and Mr Reg Haswell (Maritzburg South).
A spokesman for the DP Youth said yesterday it had taken a stand on the issue at a meeting held on Tuesday. "We wish to stress that the executive unanimously agrees with steps taken by Dr De Beer on the issue and reiterates the commitment of the youth to the DP as an independent party with liberal democratic principles".

Cradock	40	Springbok, Dr Van Niekerk Hospital	6
East London, Frere Hospital	88	Hospital	6
Elfort	14	Springbok, Alexander Bay Hospital	56
Fort Beaufort	23	Hospital	24
Graaff-Reinet, Midland Hospital	28	Springbok, Black Mountain Hospital	61
Grahamstown, Settler's Hospital	57	Hospital	33
Humansdorp	17	Springbok, Nababeep Hospital	32
Joubertina	3	Stellenbosch	50
King William's Town, Grey Hospital	52	South Peninsula Group	52
Middelburg, Wilhelm Stahl Hospital	50	Eaton Rehabilitation Hospital	78
Port Elizabeth, Motherwell CHC	1	False Bay Hospital	66
Port Elizabeth, Provincial Hospital	339	Lady Michaelis Hospital	15
Queenstown, Frontier Hospital	98	Princess Alice Hospital	21
Somerset East, Andries Vosloo Hospital	63	Wynberg, Victoria Hospital	25
Steynsburg	28	Other	13
Uitenhage	26	Sutherland	17
Umtata, Sir Henry Elliot Hospital	12	Swellendam	4
Walvis Bay Region	73	Victoria West, B J Kempen Memorial Hospital	59
Walvis Bay		Vredenburg	17
		Vredendal	4
		Vredendal, Lamberts Bay CHC	59
		Woodstock	1
Western Cape Region		ACADEMIC REGIONS	
Atlantis, Wesfleur Hospital	6	Groote Schuur Region	
Beaufort West	43	Avalon Treatment Centre	23
Beilville, Karl Bremer Hospital	230	Groote Schuur Hospital	218
Bredasdorp, Otto du Plessis Hospital	20	Heideveld MOU	5
Caledon	42	Mowbray Maternity Hospital	116
Calvinia, Voortrekker Hospital	7	Peninsula Maternity Hospital	16
Citrusdal	8	Tygerberg Region	
Faure	22	Tygerberg Hospital	173
Gaun's, Van Rooyen Hospital	12	Tyberberg Hospital	9
George	66	Tuberculozes Hospitals	
Green Point, Somerset and City Hospital	434	Kimberley, West End	381
Hermanus	5	Port Elizabeth, Empulweni	40
Knysna	13	Upington TB	22
Ladismuth	23	Worcester, Brewelskloof	43
Malmesbury, Swartland Hospital	17	Ysterplaat, Brooklyn Chest	52
Manenberg, G F Jooste Hospital	13	Santa Centres	
Montagu	2	Bethelsdorp, Algoa Chest	144
Oranjezicht, Volkshospital	68	East London, Fort Grey	12
Oudtshoorn	6	George, Harry Comay	5
Pinelands, Conradie Hospital	102	Graaff-Reinet, Margery Parks	33
Porterville, LAPA Munnik Hospital	8	Grahamstown, Temba	29
Port Nolloth	4	Port Alfred, Majone Parrish	225
Riversdale	36		
Robertson	2		

Psychiatric Hospitals	192		
Bellville, Stikland	36		
Fort Beaufort, Tower	89		
Grahamstown, Fort England	128		
Kimberley, West End	57		
Port Elizabeth, Elizabeth Donkin	145		
Queenstown, Komani			
Provincial Administration of Natal			
Addington Hospital	80		
Dundee Hospital	65		
Estcourt Hospital	60		
Empangeni Hospital	40		
Grey's Hospital	10		
Newcastle Hospital	148		
Northdale Hospital	39		
Port Shepstone Hospital	20		
Provincial Administration of the Orange Free State			
National Hospital, Bloemfontein	109		
Universitas Hospital, Bloemfontein	128		
Provincial Administration of Transvaal			
*Bethal Hospital	7		
Boksburg-Benoni Hospital	32		
Ga-Rankuwa Hospital	60		
*H F Verwoerd Hospital	89		
Johannesburg Hospital	363		
Kahe de Haas Hospital	30		
Laudium Hospital	30		
Lenasia Hospital	61		
Leratong Hospital	156		
*Paul Kruger Memorial Hospital	19		
Rob Ferreira Hospital	14		
*Beds were closed in various wards			
SA Communication Service: number of publications	243		
221 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Communication			
(1) (a) What total number of publications was produced by the South African Communication Service in 1991, (b) what was the title of each publication, (c) what was the total cost of producing these publications and (d) who printed each of them;			
(2) whether the printing contract in respect of each of these publications was put out to tender, if not, why not, if so, what are the relevant details?			

- 43) Avanti NMB
 44) Lingelhe News NMB
 45) Smaldeel Nuus NMB
 46) Camdeboo News NMB
 47) Indaba Zonxweme NMB
 48) Bofolo News NMB
 49) Khayamandi News NMB
 50) Dukathole News NMB
 51) Msamomhle Elethu NMB
 52) Mkwenkwezi News NMB
 53) Kwezinaledi News NMB
 54) Nkenkwezi News NMB
 55) Kati-Kati News NMB
 56) Nkululeko News NMB
- HEAD OFFICE PUBLICATIONS
 57) RSA Beleidsoorsig National Book Printers
 58) RSA Policy Review National Book Printers
 59) SA Panorama (Eng) ABC Press
 60) SA Panorama (Afr) ABC Press
 61) SA Today Perskor
 62) Beleidsgids/Policy Guide J G Ince and Son
- 63) Amptelike Jaarboek van SA Cape and Transvaal Printers (CTP)
- 64) Official Yearbook of SA CTP
 65) Kuisgids CTP
 66) SA at a glance CTP
 67) Witskrif op Grondher-
 vorming—'n opsom-
 ming en agtergrondstuk Government Printer
- 68) White Paper on Land Reform—a summary and background study Government Printer
- 69) Economic Realities of SA CTP
 70) Parlement van Suid-Afrika CTP
 71) Parliament of South Africa CTP
 72) Openings toespraak van die Staatspresident CTP
 73) Opening Speech of the State President CTP
 74) SA Profile CTP
 75) Lessenaarkalender/Desk calendar ABC Press
- 76) Jaarverslag/Annual Report CTP
 (c) R6 422 058
 (2) Yes Tenders for printing contracts are dealt with by the Government Printer
- Fund-raising number: certain organization
 230 Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of National Health †
- (1) Whether a certain organization, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of her reply, obtained a fund-raising number from her Department, if so, (a) for what purposes was this number allocated and (b) what is the name of the organization,
 (2) whether her Department is exercising any control to ensure that the funds raised are utilized for the above-mentioned purposes by the organization concerned, if not, why not, if so, (a) to what extent and (b) with what result,
 (3) whether, in view of certain allegations which are being made in the media in respect of this organization and particulars of which have been furnished to her Department, she intends inquiring or causing such an inquiry to be made into the financial statements of the organization concerned, if not, why not,
 (4) whether she will make a statement on the matter?
- The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH
 (1) Yes,
 (a) to establish a special fund for the making of awards to, or the funding of projects of one or more organizations which, in the Republic of South Africa, including those territories which previously formed part of the Republic of South Africa—
 * provide opportunities to people, preferably self-employed or unemployed, in the form of business advice and practical skills training, or
 * provide opportunities in the form of sports training and the

- provision of better sporting facilities to disadvantaged communities, or
 finance further education in the arts and music in disadvantaged communities, and
 * which are authorized to collect contributions in terms of the Fund-raising Act, 1978 (Act No 107 of 1978), or organizations approved by the Director of Fund-raising and
 (b) the Ithuba Trust
- Dora Nginza Hospital: amount budgeted/revenue
 233 Mr E W TRENT asked the Minister of National Health
 What, in respect of the Dora Nginza Hospital, (a) was the amount budgeted for each category of expenditure, and (b) (i) was the revenue and (ii) were the sources thereof, as at 31 December 1991?
- The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH
 B542E
 (a) Personnel expenditure R16 163 907
 Administrative expenditure 261 180
 Stores and live stock 4 034 676
 Equipment 126 800
 Professional and special services 777 600
- Miscellaneous expenditure 291 185
 R21 655 348
 (b) (i) and (ii)
 Hospital fees R376 226
 Meals 16 080
 Commission on insurance 22 648
 Other sales and sundries 110 311
 R525 265
- Own Affairs
 Departmental schools: number of classrooms
 49 Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture
 (a) What is the (i) total number of classrooms in schools administered by his Department and (ii) average number of classrooms for such (aa) primary and (bb) secondary schools and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?
- The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE
 B388E
 (a) (i) 44 789
 (ii) (aa) 16,5
 (bb) 27,4
 (b) Cape 1992-04-10
 Natal 1992-03-25
 OFS 1992-04-16
 Transvaal 1991-12-31

Lagardien biased against the PAC

Sowetan 27/4/92

243

I HAVE been following Ismail Lagardien's reports on the PAC ever since it was unbanned and I think I have every reason to refer to them as garbage.

If Lagardien wants to be taken seriously as a journalist, it is time that he started reporting in an unbiased way instead of feeding readers with stinking worms

This is not an endeavour to curtail so-called freedom of the Press. After all, people like Lagardien do not deserve such rights

What irritates me most about Lagardien is that he cannot go on reporting beyond the "one settler one bullet slogan"

For him to expect a public renunciation of the slogan or an apology for that matter from the PAC leadership is tantamount to expecting the PAC to apologise about or for the historic and noble struggle it waged against the oppressive regime and settler colonialism in particular

Lagardien needs to be told that the PAC is not fighting abstracts. No wonder Apla combatants are not bombing Wimpy's and toilets. The PAC is fighting settler colonial domination and the evil forces behind it

No wonder so called "black policemen" received their shame from Apla cadres

If anyone deserves not to be taken seriously in the media, and if anyone has a sure place in the Moscow circus, it must be you Lagardien. You are nothing but a circus clown with a foolhardy wish to destroy the PAC

Clowns like you never built the PAC and they will never destroy it. Thinking that you will help marginalise the PAC through your stinking reporting and analysis is like trying to marginalise reality

The PAC is not a structure in isolation. It has a membership of people oppressed by the settler regime. We in the PAC do not wish and neither do we entertain the hope of being baasboys if that is what you expect from us

Lagardien, you are living in a dream. Maybe you should consult the sangoma. You'll surely get her number in any Sowetan copy

To Ma Afrika, let's carry the torch of liberation to greater heights. Do not be disturbed by Lagardien

MOLOANTOA WA GA MOGALE **KWA**
THEMA, SPRINGS

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Focus shifts from Press gags to racy phonecalls

81 (Day) 29/4/92 (243)

DAVID HOFFE
Bell, Dewar & Hall

AS WITH so much else since Rubicon 2, the focus of Media Law has undergone significant change

Before that the role of the Press lawyer was fashioned by the relentless accumulation of security laws which took a stranglehold on the country. This role was largely defensive and reactive, and much time was spent advising editors and journalists on how to stay out of prison

This culminated in the Emergency Regulations promulgated during the State of Emergency which was first declared in June 1988

It was a bizarre time for the Press and its advisers.

Lawyers pored over definitions such as those uniquely euphemistic SA activities, "unrest" and "security action", in order to find gaps for the Press to slip through

So, for example, on a close reading of the definitions, it turned out that "security action" did not include preventive measures taken before "unrest" had commenced

Distinctions

Accordingly a photograph of a police roadblock in Soweto could not be published if it had been set up to terminate "unrest" that had already flared up, but could be published if set up merely to pre-empt "unrest" that was threatening. Many hours and much money was spent on prizing from the regulations such subtle and quite bizarre distinctions

Of course the security laws and emergency regulations had other more pernicious effects. At first editors were cautious, gradually became a lot bolder, and towards the end of the state of emergency simply disregarded the regulations altogether and published at will

Respect for the law took a hammering and it was a time during which the Press was governed not by the law but by fiat

Thankfully, with a start having been made at dismantling security legislation, the tide appears to have turned



DAVID HOFFE

The two most important provisions to have been discarded, in so far as the media are concerned, are those governing what can be published about the conduct of the police and the administration of prisons.

Although the relevant provisions of the Prisons Act had been alleviated by an informal agreement between the media and the Department of Prisons (an agreement not countenanced under the Act and accordingly of no legal status) the media had been severely curtailed in what they could say about the conduct of the police and the running of prisons

A law of great interest and indeed concern to journalists, is that which forces them to disclose confidential information to the police, if this information is material or relevant to any alleged offence being investigated by the police

Confidentiality of a journalist's source is his or her life blood and without protection from disclosure many an informant would never have revealed the information that resulted in the stories of corruption in high places which have been published in SA

Journalists enjoy no special privilege of confidentiality (unlike lawyers)

Whether they should be afforded special privilege and to what extent and under what circumstances, raises ethical and jurisprudential problems

It is encouraging for the future that this issue appears to be attracting the serious attention of both government and the ANC, because this particular law has undoubtedly been abused in the past, its most recent victim being the editor of New Nation

With the demise of security legislation, the common law protecting the citizen from unjustified attacks by the Press appears to be re-emerging and taking its rightful place

The law of defamation, as far as the Press was concerned, reached a low point in 1982 when the Appellate Division in a judgment with far reaching consequences for the media, set the bounds of liability of the media for defamation

The effect of the judgment was to place the media in a special category by denying the media a defence that would be open to others, namely that publication was made in the reasonable and bona fide belief that what was published was true and in the public interest

The effect of the judgment is to place a some times impossible burden on the media to justify the truth at the expense of its duty to inform on matters of public interest (a duty now recognised by the courts — at least in the Transvaal)

The criteria of reasonableness (in effect due diligence on the part of the media and reliance on reliable sources) has been suggested by certain leading academic writers as a solution to the problem and it is believed that any reform of the law governing the media ought to look closely at this solution.

It strikes the right balance between the rights of the individual on the one hand, and the right of the public to be informed on the other. It avoids the pitfalls of US law which is heavily weighted in favour of the media

But the most exciting developments, certainly for the media lawyer, lie ahead in the field of radio and television and other electronic media

With the deregulation of the airwaves in the offing, the focus of media law as practised in the past will widen and change considerably, as it has done in the US, Britain, Europe and Australia

Advise

The media communications lawyer will be called on to advise on a host of issues including the drafting of legislation governing the regulation of communications by radio, television, wire, satellite and cable

A new and potentially lucrative communications business is offered by the premium rate telephone service, which appears to be posing incipient problems of censorship

While existing censorship legislation (the Publications Act) could conceivably be used to prevent production and possession of tapes used by service providers, it would appear to have little or no application to the industry as a whole

To pre-empt regulation by government, it appears that the industry is, as in Britain, introducing a form of self-regulation



Werksmans has expanded its sports and entertainment department to cater for the increasing demands being made by clients in this area of the law. Four of the firm's members, from left, Mandy Yachad, Howard Pelkowitz, Derek Rabin and Ira Epstein, service the needs of clients in this department. All four have been involved in major concert and event tours to SA, says Rabin. "Although the members of the team have been doing this type of work for some time, the exciting prospects facing us on the international sports and entertainment front demanded that we establish a more formal group to meet the challenges," says Rabin

Media 'supports status quo'

Sowetan 30/4/92

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By MOKGADI PELA

BLACKS should not expect fair treatment from white-owned publications, a caller to the Radio Metro Talkback Show, sponsored by *Tribute* magazine, said last night

Blake of Bloemfontein told host Tim Modise that black businessmen must join forces and establish their own newspapers to address the problem

He said only then would news affecting blacks be



reported in a balanced fashion

A media analyst, Mr Dumisani Mahlasela, said advertisers had a hold on the media. He said the media generally favoured the

status quo

Mahlasela said the media was supporting Codesa because newspaper owners felt it would serve their interests

Another caller complained about an article in *Sowetan* which said Ms Bridgette Motsepe was part of an ANC delegation to Moria

Mahlasela said while the article suggested "other things", he had no problem with it

South 2/5-7/5/92

Editor stands firm

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NEW NATION editor Mr Zwicklakhe Sisulu says he stands firm in his refusal to disclose information to the state, in spite of the subpoena served on him two weeks ago.

Sisulu and journalist Mr Enoch Sithole were subpoenaed under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act to disclose their sources for an article published in New Nation. The article alleges police involvement in a taxi feud in the Western Transvaal.



"It is now up to us to give the police a statement, or to appear in the Magistrate's Court," Sisulu said.

"The question of police violence is one of the most important facing us at the moment, so I would feel uncomfortable about giving information to the police.

"We would be happy to co-operate with the Goldstone Commission."

FAREWELL to eightie

South 2/5-7/5/92

243

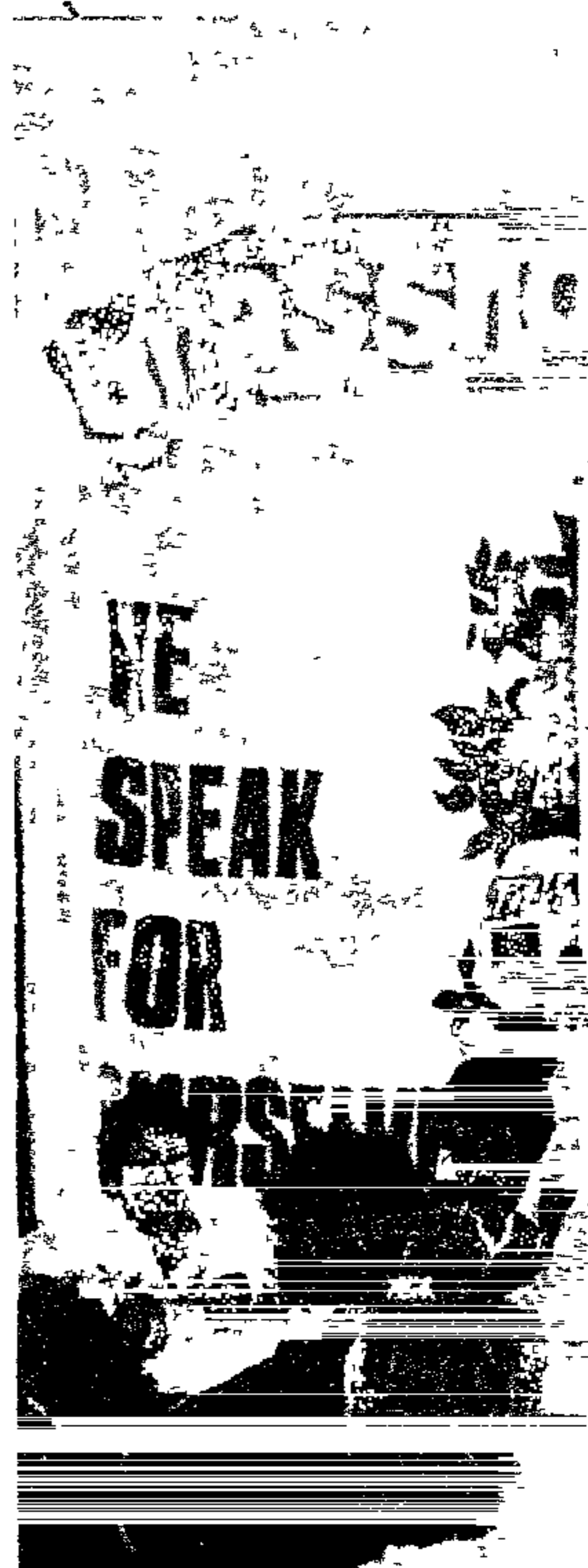
Gail Reagan



After 11 years of being a voice for the voteless in the turbulent eighties, the country's first community-based alternative newspaper has formally decided to cease publication



DEFIANCE: A picketer stands outside the paper's former Corporation Street offices which were gutted in 1985.



PLOTTING THE COURSE: The

agitational role Grassroots served as a broad forum and was in a real sense laying the basis for the umbrella organisations which ultimately gave rise to the UDF (United Democratic Front)

"Through its pages, Grassroots played a co-ordinating role, promoting worker unity and joint worker/community struggles

"Through its method of distribution, Grassroots gave organisations access to their constituency. And, finally, it served to train activists and to develop a common organisational approach"

By the end of 1983, the paper was debating a new role and direction

The debate was engendered by increasing political polarisation. The President's Council proposals had been tabled and the tricameral elections were imminent. The formation of the UDF in August 1983 indicated a shift to greater emphasis on national political issues and campaigns which was in contrast to the localised, community focus of Grassroots

Should the paper have become a political organ of this new Congress-orientated body or kept its wide-ranging localised emphasis? The debate was overtaken by what former Grassroots organiser Saleem Badat calls a "natural progression"

The paper initiated a content-shift which aimed to popularise the UDF and its campaigns while resolving to remain "a mass-based popular news-

WHEN Grassroots closes down later this year, one can without shame at the cliché, proclaim the end of an immensely important chapter in the history of the Western Cape

From its unassuming birth in 1980 Grassroots grew to be a child of its times — reflecting the challenges and changes of the era and area that produced it

Grassroots community newspaper hit the streets in 1980 armed only with the conviction expressed in its first edition that "there is a tremendous need for a communications media for community organisations in the Western Cape"

The paper's "main role was to write about the bread and butter issues affecting the man in the street in his everyday life"

In the Peninsula and its environs, the emergence of Grassroots was both result and reason for the resurgence of community and political activity in the early eighties

The focus of this activity was high bus-fares, increasing food prices, unfair working and poor living conditions, low wages and a rejection of "gutter education"

The protesters were civic and youth activists, workers, students and residents from local communities

The voice was Grassroots

In this atmosphere of renewed resistance and excitement, the impact of Grassroots is perhaps best captured by the words of the poet Jorge Rebe-lo. He exhorts his people to speak their dreams and hopes so that

*later I will forge simple words
which even the children can understand,
words which will enter every house
like the wind
and fall like red hot embers
on our people's souls
In our land*

Bullets are beginning to flower
On the brink of the tumultuous eighties, bullets were beginning to flower, and Grassroots was the forge for the simple words that would enter homes like the wind to fall like red hot embers on people's souls

As the first community newspaper in the country, preceding Speak in Johannesburg, Ukusa in Durban, Eye in Pretoria and Umtomnyama in Port Elizabeth, Grassroots started without a model

The paper positioned itself as community-rooted and alternative — in content as much as in format. To date, there is no South African equivalent for the participatory structure, process and practices pioneered by Grassroots Publications

The idea of a community paper, although imitated by journalists in the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa), was developed through consulting more than 50 community organisations

By 1981, the paper's single staffer and first organiser, Johnny Issel, had been detained and banned. His job was taken over by Leila Patel, who together with three additional staffers were responsible for the final product

The initial Board of Trustees was converted into a broader body and executive with representatives from community and worker organisations

Newsgathering took place in a forum of community activists who also wrote stories. Once the paper had been printed, it would be folded by hand by teams of youth activists

The paper, first sold at five cents and then ten cents, did not follow commercial distribution channels. It relied on a network of supporters to get into homes, factories, schools and shops

For activists, door-to-door distribution of Grassroots allowed them access to homes, enabling them to popularise their organisations

Johnny Orford, in a paper on Grassroots' first three years, says "All facets of the newspaper served to build organisation and unity in the Western Cape

"Through its content it played an

'Roots ploughed fertile field

South 2/5-7/5/92

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THE CLOSURE of Grassroots newspaper may leave a media void in the Western Cape, but in its wake is a rich legacy of publications

In 1984 the project initiated a rural newspaper in the South Cape, called Saamstaan, which became the prototype for other rural community newspapers like Bricks in Namibia and Namaqua Nuus in Namaqualand

The high school student newspaper Learning Roots was set up by the project in 1986, and the activist-orientated magazine New

Era a year later

Grassroots also ventured into basic media training through its Education and Training project

Launched through a successful multi-media winter school in 1984, the Education and Training project trained scores of activists in media theory and skills throughout the Western Cape.

In liaison with the Community Arts Project (CAP), a media "suitcase" was designed to teaching rural communities the rudiments of the communications trade



SCENES FROM THE PAST: Grassroots staffer Veliswa Mhlawuli is freed from detention in 1989

SALUTE = flagship



annual general meeting of the paper served as forum to debate issues affecting the project

Grassroots hit the streets in 1980 armed only with the expressed conviction that there is a tremendous need for a communications media for community organisations in the Western Cape'

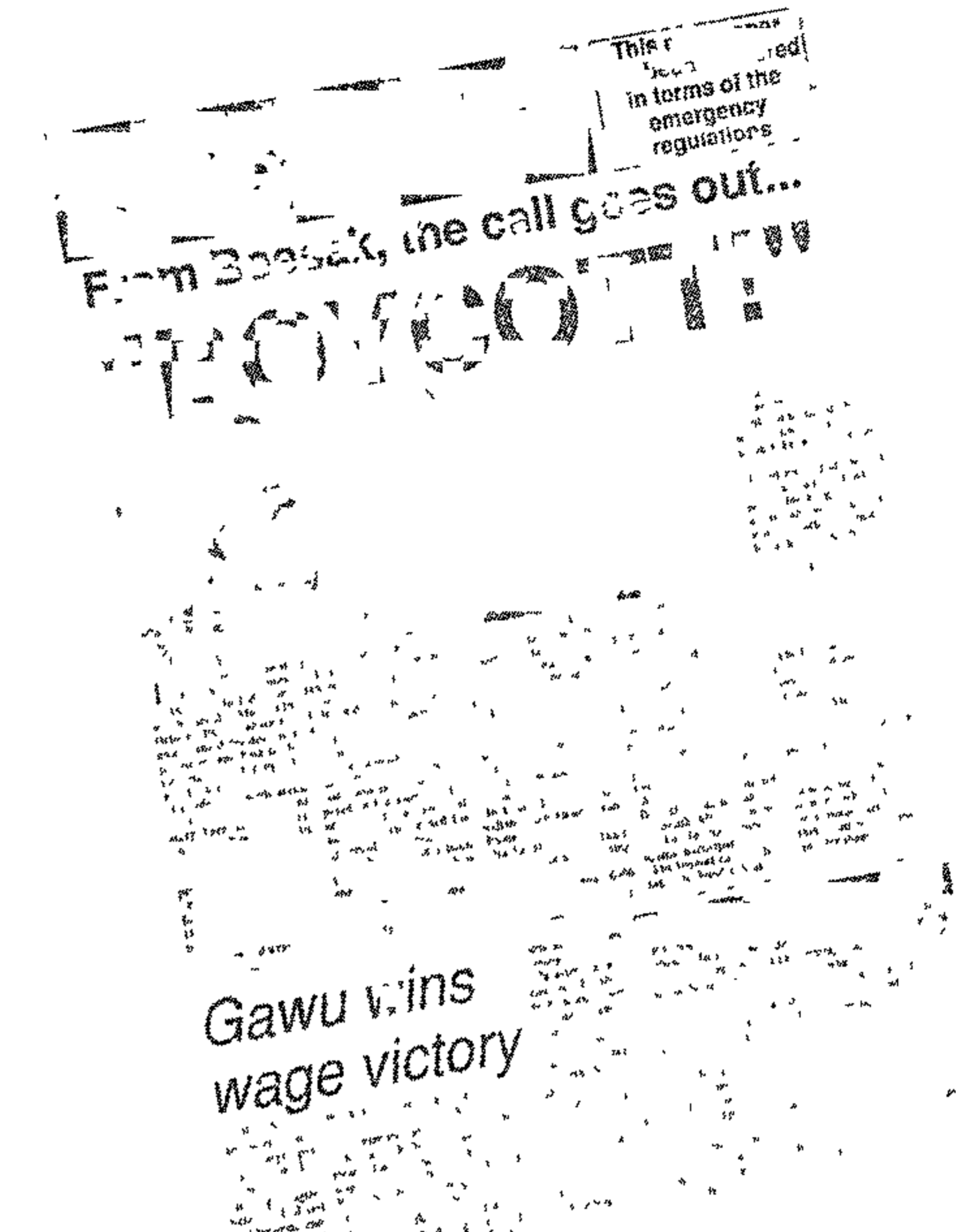
...which is the product of mass ...
The paper also started to cover ...
...popular local struggle that char- ...
...towards the end
...This broadening of content to ...
...brought tension between content and ...
...As Grassroots supporters had to be ...
...national politics, their participation ...
...of the distribution methods
...By 1985 the country was in the ...
...the decline in participation in the ...
...became a permanent feature.
...Activists, if not in detention or in ...
...increasingly elementary level — the ...
...the year has ...
...to symbolise repression and ...
...in the eighties.
...It was a time of balaclavas and ...
...shut-down schools and ...
...funerals, rent boycotts and ban-

...nings that was captured on the ...
...world's TV screens and newspapers
...Grassroots faced new challenges as ...
...it had to produce media in a highly ...
...repressive environment
...On the one hand, without it being ...
...debated, the project opted for record- ...
...ing the truth — the atrocities of the ...
...state, the struggles, defeats and victo- ...
...ries of the community
...On the other, it became more ana- ...
...lytical, attempting to make known the ...
...strategies of the state, as well as agit- ...
...ating for appropriate responses
...This was the year that Grassroots' ...
...offices in Corporation Street (Cape ...
...Town) were gutted The arsonists ...
...remain unknown
...The fire forced the project into a ...
...semi-underground, rootless operation ...
...for more than a year Grassroots hit ...
...the streets when its staff was not in ...
...detention or it was safe to print
...At the same time, the staff were ...
...responsible for an anonymous "Emer- ...
...gency Update" which would change ...
...hands between heavily disguised ...
...Grassroots members and media ...
...activists on suburban street corners
...Rocked by the resistance, the state

added emergency measures to the battery of over 100 media regulations governing the flow of information
In 1987 South Africa saw prohibitions on coverage of security force action, consumer boycotts, promotion of work stay-aways, street committees and people's courts, student boycotts and the circumstances of detainee
It also saw the imposition of regulations allowing for the three-month closure of publications carrying "subversive propaganda"
By the end of the year, SOUTH and New Nation had received warnings Both got the chop in May 1988, by which time Grassroots, Saamstaan, Weekly Mail, Sowetan, Izwelethu, Work in Progress and others had also been warned
In an attempt to formulate a joint response to the threats, Grassroots initiated discussion between media groups in the Western Cape In May 1988, the Save the Press Campaign came into being
In February 1989 Grassroots and New Era and were banned for three months At the same time, an annual general meeting of the project was banned It went ahead at a secret location and was attended by more than 200 representatives
A national and international campaign reduced the banning period and on May 18, 1989, the day the ban expired, Grassroots hit the streets
But a year later, in May 1990, the last issue of Grassroots appeared

Uprooted by the changing times

GRASSROOTS WAS no stranger to debate And as the eighties drew to a close on a defiant note, the publication found itself grappling once again with what it meant to be alternative, democratic and community-based
After a consultative process and a feasibility study into commercial viability which took more than a year, the project decided at the end of 1991 to close down Grassroots as a community paper
The last issue of Grassroots appeared in May 1990
In a press statement, the project cited three main reasons for the decision to close shop
● the need for clarity around the role of community newsletters in the present conditions
● the need to rationalise and have a clear programme of self-sufficiency
● the lack of participation of community organisations
The statement emphasised that the entire project was not being closed down, only the community newspaper The sister publications New Era and Learning Roots would continue to be published
The move was in part "motivated by the desire to give the other two publications, Learning Roots and New Era, a greater chance of survival"
Learning Roots has made a tremendous impact on Western Cape high schools and is confident that it will survive as a popular youth newspaper
As part of moves towards rationalisation, New Era magazine is discussing a merger option with the Johannesburg-based publication, Work In Progress
The Grassroots statement reiterated its commitment to building democracy and urged that "the alternative media still has an important role to play"



Times Media to quit board

243

CT 4/5/92

Own Correspondents

JOHANNESBURG — Times Media Limited (TML) is to withdraw from the South African Newspaper Press Conciliation Board — the main negotiating forum between media companies and the South African Union of Journalists (SAUJ) — on July 31

TML group secretary Mr Barrie Harris said yesterday that he believed the move would lead to better communication between TML, which publishes the Cape Times and other publications, and journalists

The company still intended to negotiate with the SAUJ, but outside the conciliation board

"We want to be able to negotiate working conditions with our own

staff, without the constant presence of competitors," Mr Harris said

He said the conciliation board's method of negotiation was outdated, and that some TML journalists who were not union members wanted to be able to negotiate directly with management

The SAUJ negotiates with managements of TML, Argus and the South African Press Association under the board's auspices

SAUJ general secretary Ms Karen Stander said yesterday the board was likely to fall apart if TML left, and the union would fight TML's decision, which was in breach of a 1983 agreement stating that no party could unilaterally leave the board

Editor pays tribute to SA cameramen at exhibition

STAR 5/5/92

Staff Reporter

(243)

Photographers and cameramen were reporters in their own rights since no words could convey the anguish, danger and discomfort often depicted in photographs, The Star's Editor-in-Chief Richard Steyn said in Johannesburg last night.

Mr Steyn was officially opening a week-long exhibition of the winning photographs in the 1991 World Press Photo Awards at the Standard Bank Gallery.

The exhibition moves to New York next week

The awards were made in Amsterdam last week by Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek

South Africa is only the second country to have exhibited the photographs

Mr Steyn paid special tribute to South African news photographers who often worked under

difficult conditions in dangerous situations

"Without them it would be difficult to inform the public and mobilise their opinion," he said.

World Press Photo exhibition manager Kari Lundelin of Amsterdam said the exhibition would be seen in up to 50 countries. The next venue would be New York, after which the exhibition would move to Paris. The only other African country to which the exhibition would travel was Egypt.

● David Turnley of the Detroit Free Press/Black Star was the overall 1991 winner — but two South African-based photographers, Juhan Kuus of Sipa Press, France, and Gideon Mendel of Network Photographers also won awards.

Mendel won second prize in the People in the News section and Kuus third prize in the Daily Life section

Gag on the Press lifted in new Bill

Political Staff

(243) (62/83)

A GAG on the Press which limited what people knew about South Africa's prisons is to be dropped in terms of the Correctional Services Amendment Bill published in Parliament

Section 44 (1) (f) of the Correctional Services Act of 1959 is to go This section said that any person who published false information about prisoners or prisons would be sentenced to a fine of R8 000 or two years in jail, or both

ARG 5/5/92
A memorandum on the Bill said few prosecutions had been instituted

under Section 44(1)(f), and since the establishment of a Press Code, which was drawn up by newspaper editors and with which journalists associated themselves, "problems in this regard are being met effectively".

The memorandum said Section 27B of the Police Act of 1958 which contained a similar provision "is also being repealed"

Correctional Services officers have said that when Section 44 (1)(f) is removed from the statute book, newspapers will be able to interview former prisoners about their experiences in jail

Censor Board

'here to stay'

243
Political Correspondent

CIS/5/92
SOUTH AFRICA'S morals watchdog — the Publications Control Board — is to stay

Home Affairs Minister Mr Gene Louw told Parliament yesterday that the publishers of girlie magazines were still trying to get away with murder.

There was also still a tendency for filmmakers to indulge in unnecessary violence and sex in their films.

The Publications Control Board would accordingly not be phased out, he said while introducing the debate on his budget vote.

Mr Louw said ~~it~~ it was undesirable to have children exposed to wanton violence, one could not censor the news on television.

Day, May 5 1992

CALL!

WIN THE JACKPOT!



1 256

1) Calls cost R5,97 per minute
Jackpot winner will be chosen out of

Censor Board

'here to stay'

²⁴³
Political Correspondent
SOUTH AFRICA'S morals watchdog — the Publications Control Board — is to stay

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Mr Louw said while it was undesirable to have children exposed to wanton violence, one could not censor the news on television



SA Police withdraw subpoenas

By Philip Zoio 6/5/92

Police yesterday provisionally withdrew subpoenas issued against New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu and reporter Enoch Sithole, who were to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court under section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

Sisulu and Sithole had been subpoenaed by Klerksdorp police to reveal the source of allegations that police had been involved in the western Transvaal taxi feud.

Sisulu yesterday said the newspaper would not deal with the police but had submitted statements to the Goldstone Commission.

The statements were the basis of a series of articles published in the New Nation in February, in which a source claimed the police were biased in confrontations between two taxi organisations.

Restrictions on press lifted

Political Staff

THE government yesterday tabled a bill to lift reporting restrictions on conditions in prisons.

CT 11/19/72
A memorandum to the Correctional Services Amendment Bill states that since the establishment of a press code, problems which the clause was aimed to resolve had been effectively dealt with (243)

The bill also ends the "discriminatory measure" in terms of which a woman member of the department was deemed to have retired voluntarily when she married

'Independent body to oversee changes in radio, television'

MICHAEL MORRIS (243)
Political Correspondent

LEGISLATION is due before parliament this session to establish an independent telecommunication commission to oversee changes in radio and television, Minister of Home Affairs Mr Gene Louw has announced.

Speaking during the broadcasting budget debate, Mr Louw announced that

- The TSS sports channel was to be temporarily extended to "blacked-out" areas — such as Fish Hoek and Somerset West — "reasonably quickly and at low cost to the SABC", and **ARC 6/5/92**

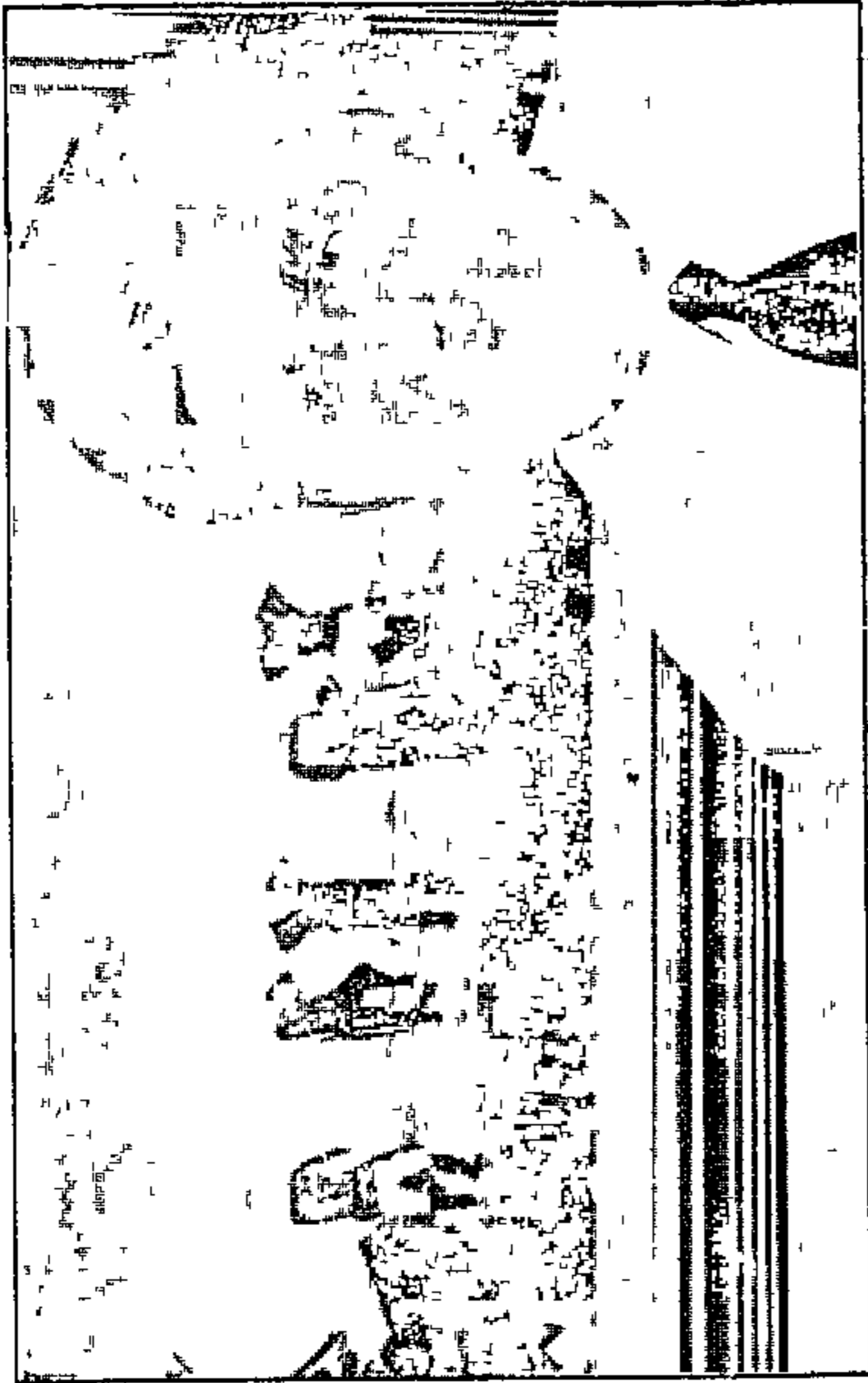
- Investigations were continuing into satellite technology

for cheaper and better country-wide distribution of SABC services and the creation of additional distribution channels

Mr Louw was called on during the debate by Democratic Party spokesman on broadcasting Mr Peter Soal to restructure the SABC board and install a monitoring mechanism in its newsroom to restore public confidence in the corporation

In a speech read on his behalf by Mr Mike Ellis (DP Durban North), because he was absent at Codesa, Mr Soal suggested that SABC radio stations that were running at a loss should be privatised and turned over to individuals to operate as community radio stations.

LABOUR



TML's Barrie Harris ... CB methods outdated

Photo: JOHN HIGGINSON

TML on collision course with journalists' union

TIMES Media Limited (TML) may soon face its second strike this year if it does not hastily review its decision to pull out of the South African Press Conciliation Board.

The South African Union of Journalists (SAUJ) has an unambiguous precedent behind it should it decide to take the matter to court.

The 1983 case of Bleazard v Argus and others found firstly that major newspaper companies had a duty to negotiate salaries with the then South African Society of Journalists and secondly that pulling out of the conciliation board (CB) amounted to an unfair labour practice.

"It was an early judgment and regarded as a breakthrough," says Edwin Cameron, a labour lawyer from the Centre for Applied Legal Studies.

Earlier this week, TML group secretary Barrie Harris informed the union that the company would withdraw from the CB on July 31.

Harris says the company has had problems with the CB for a long time negotiating alongside its major competitors was not good for the company, the CB's negotiating methods were outdated and ineffec-

Newspaper giant Times

Media Limited has earned the wrath of its journalists by its decision to pull out of the press conciliation board,

reports FERAL HAFFAJEE

tive and the company would prefer to negotiate with its own staff instead of union representatives from other companies.

Harris also says that it has received petitions from *Sunday Times* staffers who want to negotiate directly with management and not through a union to which they do not belong.

"It is arrogant of TML to tell journalists who will negotiate for them," says SAUJ general secretary Karen Stander. "Negotiating teams represent regions not individual companies," she adds.

Standar says that in the 51 years the CB has existed, there has only been a one-day strike earlier this year. This track record is the only evidence needed to prove that the CB has been effective.

Standar says that should TML go ahead and pull out of the CB, it would fall apart and take the union's

crucial unemployment fund with it. The SAUJ admits that the CB is not without its faults for this reason, the union is taking a lengthy proposal on restructuring the CB to its congress later this month.

Among the proposals is one for a two-tier bargaining system one to be conducted with TML and the other to be conducted with the Argus Group and South African Press Association.

But Harris seems adamant about the TML decision and says "in the long term it will lead to better relations with our staff". He is adamant that the CB is inefficient and points to the way the strike earlier this year was carried out.

"The union insists on a national conciliation board but then goes on a selective strike." Only *Cape Times* journalists went on strike because the union did not achieve a majority of all its members in other ballots.

He alleges that the CB also means that groups are brought into arguments that they are not involved with.

Harris says that TML has attempted to discuss the issue with the union since June 1991 and has even given it concrete proposals on alternatives but that the union has never come back to the company.

50 magazine journalists go on strike

Own Correspondent

STAR
12/5/92

DURBAN — A new chapter in labour disputes was opened yesterday when more than 50 journalists at Durban's Republican Press went on strike.

The strike, the first by white-collar workers at the company, could threaten the publication of several magazines owned by Republican Press, an arm of the Afrikaans media giant Perskor.

The magazines include Scope, Living and Loving, Keur, Personality, Your Family and Rooi Rose.

The striking journalists, members of the South African

Union of Journalists, came out yesterday to enforce their demand for an across-the-board 15 percent and 10 percent increase on merit

They demonstrated outside the company premises in South Coast Road, Mobeni, with a variety of messages on their posters

Some read "You can't be Living when you are hardly Living", "All we've got is personality", "Our wages are low, but our spirits are high"

A spokesman said that all journalists had gone out except for those at the magazine Garden and Home.

He accused management of being totally unco-operative.

The spokesman said that the journalists were hoping that members of the Media Workers Association of South Africa would join them. Mwaswa had previously also threatened to go on strike

Republican Press group personnel manager Fanie Gouws said that he was not prepared to carry on negotiations through the press, and for that reason he was not going to comment on salaries.

He pointed out, however, that only members of the SAUJ were on strike out of a total workforce of 2 400.

243

We answer to no party.

**We answer to the
people.**

243

Sowetan 12/5/92

Our purpose as journalists is to inform, not to indoctrinate. We hold sacred our people's democratic right to know the truth. Therefore we must always be objective and unbiased. We must never take sides with interest groups or political parties, for if we do we will no longer be objective and unbiased. Our own opinions, beliefs and emotions must not influence how we report news. When we express opinions we must clearly identify them as such. We must expose injustice, corruption and wrongdoing whenever we find them, no matter where we find them. The welfare of all our people, whether or not their beliefs are the same as ours, is our deepest concern. We must be compassionate. Above all, we must be fair.



SOWETAN STANDS FOR YOUR RIGHT TO KNOW.

Worker strike may affect pop magazines

Sowetan 12/5/92

MORE than 50 workers have gone on strike at Durban's Republican Press

The strike by journalists could threaten the publication of several magazines owned by Republican Press, an arm of the Afrikaans media giant Perskor. These include *Scope*, *Living and Loving*, *Keur*, *Personality*, *Your Family* and *Rooi Rose*

Sowetan Correspondent

The striking journalists, members of the South African Union of Journalists, came out yesterday to enforce their demand for an across-the-board increase of 15 percent and 10 percent on merit. They demonstrated outside the company premises

in South Coast Road, Mobem, with a variety of messages on their posters. Some posters read "You can't be *Living* when you are hardly *Living*." "All we've got is *personality*," and others.

A spokesman said that all journalists had gone out except for those at the *Gar-den* and *Home* magazine. He accused management of being intimidatory and totally unco-operative. The journalists were organising a braai to be held at their demonstration today.

He said that the journalists were hoping to be joined by members of the Media Workers Association of South Africa later today. Mwasa has also threatened to go on strike of being intimidatory and totally unco-operative. The journalists were organising a braai to be held at their demonstration today.

Republican Press group personnel manager Mr Fanne Gouws said that he was not prepared to do negotiations through the Press and for that reason he was not going to comment on salaries. He pointed out, however, that only members of the SAUJ were on strike out of a total workforce of 2 400.

Stayaway ends

Sowetan 12/5/92

THE week-long stayaway in Mantsburg which was marked by daily protests and marches into the city has been temporarily called off.

The announcement was made at the weekend by the African National Congress, the SA Communist Party, Congress of SA Trade Unions and the Imbali Co-ordinating Committee

The stayaway was ended after the Mantsburg Cham-

ber of Commerce and Industry undertook to recommend not to penalise workers who had stayed away and to urge the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry to investigate the conduct of security forces stationed at Imbali

The chamber also undertook to use its influence to ensure that 32 Battalion and the riot police are withdrawn from Imbali -
Sowetan Correspondent

Concern at attacks on journalists

Sowetan 12/5/92

243

THE Foreign Correspondents' Association, representing about 160 overseas journalists working in South Africa, yesterday expressed concern about the safety of its members in increasingly volatile townships

In an open letter to the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress, Azanian Peoples Organisation, Inkatha Freedom Party, National Party and the Committee to Protect Journalists in Washington, the association said its concern arose from several attacks on journalists in recent months by groups across the political spectrum

The letter further urged political leaders to take immediate action to restrain their supporters. - Sapa.

“YOU KILLED OUR MARRIAGE”

Nhlanhla Mbambo tells his story.



WIN

Worth over R26000

AN **Uno!**




Journalists to continue their strike

Sowetan 13/5/92

(187) (243)

JOURNALISTS at Republican Press, the magazine arm of the Afrikaans media giant, Perskor, continued their strike yesterday and vowed to maintain the action until management talks to them.

South African Union of Journalists' coordinator Mr Keith van der Walt has accused the company of hiring freelancers and paying them R200 a day which worked out to R4 000 for 20 days

This, he said, was more than double what the company was prepared to pay their "loyal" sub-editors who had served their magazines for a long time

The company had said that it was not prepared to talk to the journalists as long as they were on strike.

The journalists went on strike yesterday to enforce their demand for an across-the-board increase of 15 percent and 10 percent on merit.

Van der Walt said that moves were afoot to contact other journalists to express solidarity with them in a march in town on Saturday

He also appealed to Perskor shareholders to talk to Republican Press group personnel manager, Mr Fanie Gouws, to persuade him to talk to them as their grievances were genuine.

He said he had no comment on the plea by the journalists to shareholders, saying that they were free to do so. The company's magazines would be produced and not a single one would be affected by the strike

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will open from Monday
May 18, in the mornings.
It is at the Dutch Re-
formed Church, 17 Oak-
lands Avenue, Orchards

Stitch in time Margaret Freen

STAR 15792
A-G refused leave to appeal

BLOEMFONTEIN —
The Appeal Court has
dismissed — with costs
— an application by Wit-
watersrand Attorney-
General Klaus von
Lieres, SC, for leave to
appeal against an order
for costs made against
him in a successful defa-
mation action against
Vrye Weekblad.
The action against the

paper's owners, editor,
printer and distributor
arose from reports in
Vrye Weekblad in Jan-
uary and February 1990.
Mr von Lieres had ac-
cepted a settlement
tender of R15 000 and
costs on a first claim, but
rejected a tender of
R5 000 on a second
claim — Sapa.

Fraud

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Go-ahead for press follow-up

Pretoria
Correspondent

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STAR 15/9/92

The South African Police yesterday agreed to allow a follow-up publication today on The Weekly Mail's exposure last week of covert police activities carried out from so-called "safe houses".

The decision — within hours of the newspaper going to print — to allow the publication of a report relating to "information networks" operated by the SAP was made during an out-of-court agreement reached following a proposed urgent application to have been brought by the SAP in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

After reading the report, S Maritz, SC, counsel for the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, agreed to publication under cer-

tain conditions

"The Weekly Mail will publish its story with certain amendments required, leaving out detail that could identify the policemen involved," the editor of the paper, Anton Harber, said yesterday after the go-ahead was given.

The court was to have been asked to prohibit the "publication or dissemination in any manner of information" pertaining to the existence of undercover operations and structures of the SAP.

Police would also have asked "that the position, or any other information, of premises, offices or buildings from where covert operations are performed" not be made known by the newspaper.

Alternatively, the SAP planned to ask the court for a provisional restraining order on the newspaper pending the outcome of an investigation about the allegations

which had been brought to the attention of the Goldstone Commission.

Last week The Weekly Mail published a report, based on "the outcome of an intensive six-week investigation", claiming it had discovered a police safe house, and named several policemen allegedly involved in covert operations from the safe house.

In an earlier application also heard yesterday, the Commissioner of Police successfully obtained an urgent interdict against the Afrikaans weekly newspaper Vrye Weekblad.

The matter was, however, heard in camera before Mr Justice de Villiers at the request of counsel for the Commissioner of Police.

It was believed the interdict was obtained to prevent the newspaper from publishing "certain allegations" which the SAP claims to be false and defamatory.

May 15 1992

Attorney-general loses appeal

BLOEMFONTEIN — An application by the Transvaal attorney-general Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau SC, for leave to appeal against an order for costs made against him in a successful defamation action against the owners of Vrye Weekblad, its editor and the printer and distributor of the newspaper, has been dismissed with costs by the Appeal Court.

The defamation action arose from reports published in the Vrye Weekblad on January 19 1990 and February 23 1990, in which Von Lieres und Wilkau was defamed in his professional capacity.

Von Lieres und Wilkau accepted a settlement tender made by Wending Publications Ltd and Albertus BS (Max) du Preez on March 12 1991 — with which Caxton Ltd later associated itself — of R15 000 and costs on the

first claim, but rejected their tender of R5 000 on the second claim.

The trial proceeded on the second claim and damages of R5 000 were granted. (243)

In the Witwatersrand Local Supreme Court on October 16 1991 Judge A P van Coller ordered Von Lieres und Wilkau to pay the costs Wending, Du Preez and Caxton incurred after March 12 1991 when the tender to settle out of court was made. B/day 15/5/92

Von Lieres und Wilkau contended that he should not have been responsible for the costs incurred between the date of the settlement tender and the date on which Caxton associated itself with the tender.

Van Coller found, however, that the attorney-general was responsible for the costs from that date — Sapa.

World Bank vice-president
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Interdict against Weekly Mail averted

8/10/92 15/5/92
AN URGENT Supreme Court application by the Police Commissioner was averted yesterday when the Weekly Mail agreed out of court to amend an article on police covert operations it was to publish today

Another police interdict against Vrye Weekblad newspaper succeeded in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday

SAP Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe approached the court yesterday with an application interdicting the Weekly Mail from in any way publishing information about the existence of police "undercover operations and structures".

After reading the proposed article, SAP legal representative Sam Maritz SC indicated that the application would not be put before court and that the article could be published with certain amendments.

Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber said his newspaper would publish the story with

243
STEPHANE BOTHMA

the required amendments. These related to the identification of policemen believed to be involved in covert operations. The planned court action followed last week's exposure by the newspaper of covert police activities in the Vaal Triangle, including alleged attacks on township residents

Court papers indicated that the commissioner intended asking the court for an interdict restraining the Weekly Mail from publishing details of the location of premises from which police were conducting undercover operations. It was also intended that the Weekly Mail be prevented from publishing pictures of these premises, photographs of any member of the SAP involved in the operations and any details which could identify policemen involved

□ To Page 2

Police block report in Vrye Weekblad

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The police obtained a court order yesterday blocking a report due to be published in the Vrye-Weekblad

However, a similar Supreme Court application against the Weekly Mail was dropped when the newspaper agreed to amend an article on police secret operations which it publishes today

Weekly Mail editor Mr Anton Harber said his newspaper would publish the report with the amendments required by the police. The amendments relate to the identification of specific policemen believed to be involved in undercover operations

The planned court action followed last week's exposure by the newspaper of covert police activities in the Vaal Triangle, including alleged attacks on township residents

Court papers indicated that the Commissioner of Police, General Jo-

Von Lieres plea dismissed

BLOEMFONTEIN. — An application by the attorney-general of the Transvaal, Mr Klaus P O von Lieres und Wilkau, SC, for leave to appeal against an order for costs made against him in a successful defamation action against the owners of Vrye Weekblad, its editor and the printer and distributor of the newspaper, has been dismissed — with costs — by the Appeal Court here. The defamation action arose from reports published in Vrye Weekblad in January and February 1990 in which Mr Von Lieres und Wilkau was defamed in his professional capacity. — Sapa ²⁴³CT 15/5/92

han van der Merwe, intended asking the court for an interdict restraining the Weekly Mail from publishing details of the location of premises, offices and buildings from where police were conducting operations.

In the action against Vrye Weekblad the SAP successfully applied before Mr Justice Isak de Villiers in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday for an interim interdict against the paper.

The matter was heard in camera and will be heard again on June 2

NEWS IN BRIEF

Media workers' strike goes on

Journalists at Republican Press went into their fourth day of a strike yesterday waving banners and picketing in a bid to get a 15 percent pay increase

As picketing continued, the South African Union of Journalists said management had forbidden non-strikers to talk to striking colleagues

SAUJ assistant co-ordinator Gavin Crutchley accused the management of "blackmailing" senior editors

An RP spokesman said management was not available to comment to the media this week.

Fifty RP journalists in Durban, three in Cape Town and six in Pretoria are on strike for better pay and working conditions. The management has offered a 10 percent increase - Sapa

Top cop withdraws ~~action~~ action on hit squads

Sowetan 15/5/92

THE Commissioner of Police yesterday withdrew an urgent application against the *Weekly Mail* restraining it from publishing new allegations on police hit squads

The withdrawal followed an agreement between the two parties that the allegations may be published but that no member of the police be identified

Weekly Mail is today due to publish a report claiming that members of the police were involved in a covert operation in the Vaal involving assassinations, attacks on houses, kidnapping and other forms of harassment

Six policemen were allegedly involved in the establishing of a safe house in Vanderbijlpark, from where these activities were planned and launched

Sundays will definitely NOT be the same again as the new Sunday Star launches in a blaze of colour tomorrow. The tabloid promises to throw newspaper traditions to the winds. SUSAN RAMWELL reports.

STAR 16/5/92

NEWSPAPERS are a proud institution. But institutions are not most people's idea of fun — particularly on a Sunday morning. The new Sunday Star promises to throw newspaper "traditions" to the winds

Against a background of static to declining world newspaper readership figures, the firm hold of electronic media recreating ideas about "news" that you "see" rather than read, the editorial and management teams of the Sunday Star decided it was time to shake off legacies handed down over aeons about newspaper style.

They decided to dish up to readers what research showed they wanted "news you can see, news you can use, news you can handle," said Sunday Star editor Dave Hazelhurst

The result, for readers to see and judge for themselves in its new tabloid format, launches tomorrow with unprecedented fanfare and point-of-sale promotion for an SA newspaper.

Punchier

Look out for promoters dressed up in T-shirts with a message that will only make sense to you once you grasp the gutsy approach to news reporting that the new Sunday Star is promising to take

The shirts, like some of the double-page spread newspaper advertisements, ask "So What?" The new Sunday Star plans to answer that question with news that is punchier, shorter, more relevant and straight to the point, unlike any "read" you've been offered before

Both the design of the new Sunday Star and the advertisements which promoted it extensively in The Star and Saturday Star for a week before the launch, were pre-tested positively among readers "Focus groups and surveys have shown that readers like an ordered, logical, sectionalised paper," said Hazelhurst.

The new Sunday Star is organised into compact, exciting sections, many pull-outs, an easy-to-read quick-guide index that leads you straight to the pages you most want to read, and a layout that is clean and modern

Rocket

Sections include News (national and world), Insight, Sport (an inside pages section as well as the back page), Life (incorporating Review), Money (replacing Finance), Computing, and Showtime

This newspaper was created to do more than "jerk us into the '90s" — it aimed to "rocket us into the 21st century

by sharing adspend between television and print, so print, appropriately, is the main medium

And since The Star readers were the main target, The Star newspapers were the appropriate choice of medium

Copylines

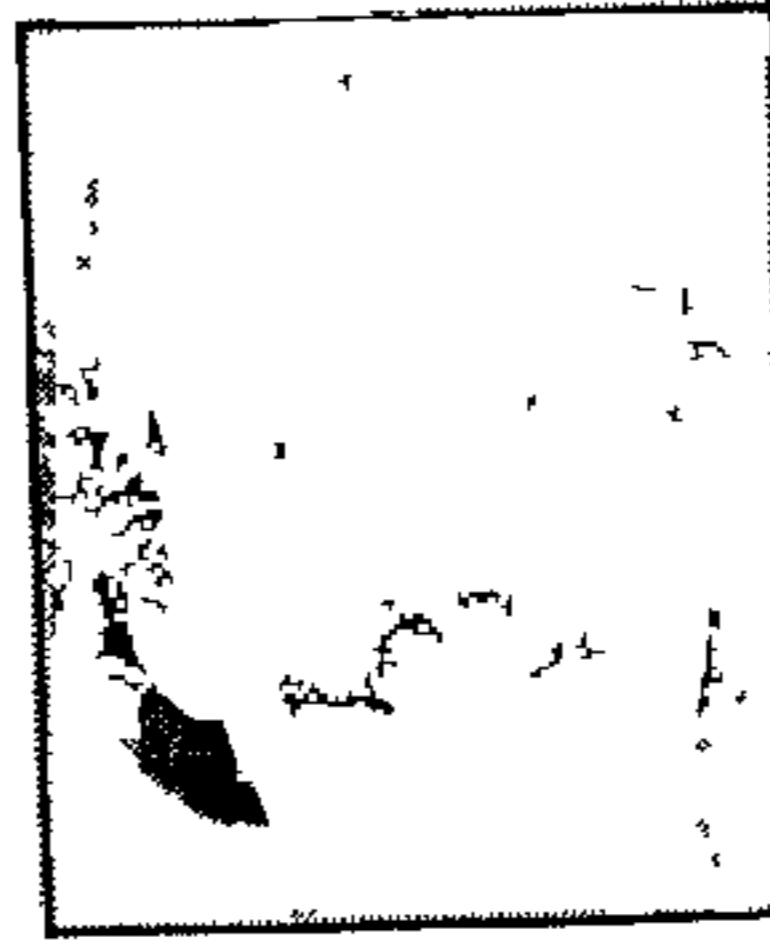
For maximum effect, eight different executions of double-page spread with clever copylines were chosen to appear every day for the week preceding the launch

But a hard-working budget has made this launch a particularly well-rounded one, with extensive below-the-line and point-of-sale promo-

day Star logo and might have wondered about some of the odd graffiti peppered around it, like "So What?" and "Bites like hell"

All the DPS print advertisements have featured a picture of the new newspaper to draw attention to the tabloid size.

On the left-hand side of the DPS there have been attention-grabbing pics and copy lines such as "Think of us as the Night Cricket of Newspapers", a picture of a red chilli and the description — compact, colourful, versatile, and it bites like hell, a beautiful girl in a stunning black-and-white outfit and the line "We're



PETER SULLIVAN: Wooing readers.

tional support

The Parktown "Graffiti Wall" is probably one of the most noticed elements of the package

Most Johannesburg drivers will have noticed the bright-red new Sun-

colourful, even in black and white"

Reader and advertiser competitions with top prizes such as overseas trips will be run every week in the new Sunday Star adding to its expected appeal.

A telesales campaign to push subscriptions is underway and street sellers will be wearing T-shirts and promoting street sales in a big way

"This is one of the most exciting and innovative newspaper launch and marketing exercises in the world and it may well provide some interesting results that international newspaper publishers will take note of," said Peter Sullivan "

Gutsy tabloid rockets into 21st century

NEW-LOOK Star to rise

tomorrow

POLICE BID TO GAG PAPERS

By **CLAIRE ROBERTSON**

THE police took two newspapers to court in an attempt to silence them this week.

Within 24 hours of Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel's warning on negative reporting about the police, Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail were defending their right to publish revelations about secret police activities.

On Wednesday Mr Kriel told Parliament the police would in future approach the courts to ban publication of any allegations which were clearly unsubstantiated.

The next day the police launched an urgent application against the Weekly Mail to stop reports on a secret police operation.

They withdrew their bid after the newspaper agreed to withdraw certain details, including names and addresses of policemen.

As a result, the article published on Friday was littered with black lines deleting information.

Vrye Weekblad was subject to an urgent interdict on Thursday. An interim order was granted forbidding the publication of a report about the police.

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10 9.

COMPANIES

Publico overcomes tax, turnover setbacks

8/0cy 18/5/92 243

SPECIALIST newspaper and magazine publisher Publico upped its earnings by 19,7% to 24,3c from 20,3c a share in the year to end-February despite a reduction in turnover and a hike in taxation.

Actual turnover figures were not given, but turnover declined by a marginal 3,2% compared with a 30% rise in the previous year. Chairman Jack Shapiro said this was partly due to recessionary conditions and partly the result of the group tightening up on some operations to concentrate on improved profitability.

Despite the turnover decline, a significant improvement in margins resulted in a 31,5% rise in operating profit to R3m (R2,3m). Shapiro attributed this rise to "effective cost containment, consolidation and rationalisation policies".

In addition, focused funds and working capital management saw financing costs drop from R393 000 to a minimal R26 000, while gearing was reduced from 28,4% to 18%.

Although pre-tax profit was up by 57,2% to R3m (R1,9m), a hike in the tax rate from 21% to 42,6% resulted in a threefold increase in taxation to R1,3m and a 14,3% rise in profit after tax to R1,7m. The tax hike was due to a prior tax advantage which had been utilised.

Attributable earnings were 21% up at R1,9m (R1,6m). MD Reuben Sha-

piro said this increase reflected the group's good publications and strong titles, which had attracted a lot of adspend. In addition Publico had made full use of its assets and had kept costs tight.

A R63 000 extraordinary profit related mainly to the recovery of a loan written off in previous years.

A 9,3% higher dividend of 8,2c (7,5c) a share was in line with a three times dividend cover.

Since year-end Publico launched its Medical Television Network (MTN), which "has transformed Publico into a wider spectrum communications and media group". It also continued to expand its publications into new market niches. Shapiro said these events would make a contribution in the future.

He said that the difficult economic and political climate created certain opportunities, and Publico had the management expertise and the financial reserves available to capitalise on these.

The group's gearing was such that it could expand, but it was a matter of finding the right publications and products, he said.

Publico Holdings, which has an effective 75% shareholding in Publico, declared a dividend of 6,15c a share for the period.

MARCIA KLEIN

SADF angry over 'trial by newspapers'

Sowetan

18/5/92

~~242~~ 243

THE South African Defence Force had been subjected to an unfair 'trial by media' following allegations that SADF members had ordered the assassination of Matthew Goniwe and three other African National Congress activists.

This was said by SADF chief General Kat Liebenberg at the weekend

In addition to the publication of allegations that the orders had been issued for the "removal" of the ANC activists in 1985, the media had also criticised the SADF concerning the killing of academic Dr David Webster, Liebenberg said

He said he found it unfortunate that the Defence Force was being unfairly subjected to a trial by media, while an investigation was underway - "and, by abiding by

the rules applicable to such an investigation, (the SADF) is left defenceless".

"While I have the fullest confidence in the due process of law, I find the emotional, one-sided and at times offensive nature of the reporting on this matter disappointing"

The media allegations have been directed at Lt-Gen C P van der Westhuizen, the SADF's Chief of Staff Intelligence

Liebenberg said the Defence Force and specifically the officers concerned, had cooperated fully and had provided affidavits to the Eastern Cape's acting Attorney General

An overseas visit by Van der Westhuizen had also been cancelled to allow him to be available for the investigation, Liebenberg said - Sapa

Education supplements 'a trend to be watched'

GAVIN DU VENAGE

243

EDUCATIONAL supplements will soon become permanent features in the newspaper mix and offer a largely ignored advertising vehicle, says Hunt Lascaris TBWA media director Lyndall Campher.

"We have already seen moves in this direction, with educational supplements being introduced into several major dailies and weeklies. The new trend to watch is the emphasis on adult education."

Campher said in a statement that "tradition-minded" media buyers had so far ignored this market, and publishers also showed a lack of experience in promoting it.

6/19/92
"The single most disturbing trend in the SA media sector is the worship of cost-per-thousand calculations and the discounting of rates," she said.

The educational supplement was worthwhile because of the synergy achieved between editorial subject matter and the advertiser's message.

Families which believed in the value of education were potential achievers, and it would pay advertisers to develop relationships with them.

Campher said the white middle class was struggling to survive in the recession, with high inflation and interest rates eating into disposable income.

"In this scenario, families which do not have R150 000 bonds to pay off, but do have cash to spend, become the prime prospects," she said. "Therefore, the use of advertising vehicles to reach the township middle class and community role models will become very important."

SA press 'lagging behind'

BUDAPEST — South African newspapers had failed to keep up with the pace of political change, former Cape Times editor Mr Tony Heard told the annual assembly of the International Press Institute here yesterday.

In a speech read for him by Dr Guy Berger, editor of South, he said the established media — with one or two exceptions — had not produced the scoops about death squads and government

wrong-doings that the less affluent alternative newspapers had

Editors he had polled, while agreeing that press restrictions had eased considerably, had said there were many other problems

Sunday Times editor Mr Ken Owen said "The worst problem is intimidation, especially of black journalists.

Cape Times editor Mr Koos Viers had said that in the repressive period the country had lost

too much journalistic talent and now had to "re-invent the wheel" **CF 20/5/92**

Natal Mercury editor Mr John Patten had suggested the press was experiencing an Indian summer, before more restrictions

Business Day's Mr Jim Jones had said government departments remained as closed to inquiry as ever, while the ANC had been displaying similar symptoms — Sapa **(243)**

Allegations false, says Kriel

ALLEGATIONS by the weekly newspaper Vrye Weekblad that state-funded agencies may have been responsible for a handgrenade attack on the home of Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse in 1988, were unfounded and slanderous, Law and Order Minister Heñrus Kriel said yesterday

243 B/D 21/5/92

NEWSPAPERS

FM 22/5/92

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The new improved *Sunday Star*

Will the repackaging of the *Sunday Star* arrest its circulation decline and restore its fortunes? That could depend on whether readers perceive the changes to be meeting unfulfilled needs and not just cosmetic. Even Mario Garcia, the US expert who helped to redesign the publication, is known for his view that while good design enhances good content, it cannot save a bad newspaper.

Previous tinkering with the formula since it first appeared in 1985 has not been able to assure the success of the *Sunday Star*. In difficult economic conditions, when people tend to reduce second-choice newspaper purchases, circulation has slipped from almost 102 000 in the first half of 1988 to 84 000 in the second half of last year.

This has been reflected in declining advertising. According to Adindex figures, *Sunday Star* revenues fell 17% last year to R4,9m, compared with 1990. The *Saturday Star* (excluding the property section) grew by 53% to R4,6m, while the *Sunday Times* grew 33% to R66m.

The redesign is radical, using the latest user-friendly design and layout techniques from the US. Editor Dave Hazelhurst believes the editorial content changes are also fundamental. To attract a broader readership, the paper is moving a little down-market, finally abandoning its initial pretensions to being a "quality" paper. But Hazelhurst insists it still retains the best of its old writing, combining this with news and features that "touch people's lives".

Is this any different from the human interest that dominates the *Sunday Times*? Hazelhurst thinks so. "Everything is geared to helping the reader, whether he wants a quick scan or a good read. The layout is important in this, but it is not there for its own sake. It is 'text-driven design', intended to drag people into the stories."

Others are not so sure. Among ad agency media directors, the people whose decisions will ultimately make or break the *Sunday Star*, reactions are mixed. "They have certainly gone in the right direction," says Ogilvy & Mather media director John Montgomery. "The old *Sunday Star* had become tedious and boring. It is brighter, more colourful and well laid out and, as a reader, I like it. But people will be obliged to choose between the two Sunday papers."

Grey Advertising media director Mark Anderson believes the revamp will save the paper from oblivion, but SBBW media director Janet Watermeyer found it "a disappointment. I like the format, but the content is not as radical or as meaty as they promised." Hazelhurst hopes the more broadly based editorial formula will pull in more than the traditional Johannesburg northern

suburbs white reader. "We hope circulation will be up to at least 100 000 by the end of the year. That is attainable, and we would grow from there."

Shock tactics

Whether depicting a priest kissing a nun, a man dying of Aids or an African guerrilla grasping a human thigh bone as a macabre swagger stick, the advertising of Italian garment manufacturer Benetton is intended to shock.

While traditional advertising usually tries to associate something desirable or attractive with its products, Benetton breaks the mould either by using real-life news photographs, or by setting up provocative posed scenes with a deep though sometimes too-subtle social message. How can this possibly work? What does selling trendy fashion garments have to do with a picture of a black woman breastfeeding a white child? Or of desperate Albanian refugees clinging to a tramp steamer?

There are those who find this style of advertising so objectionable that they refuse to buy the products. But Benetton, which spends 4% of sales on advertising (US\$800m last year), is more than happy with the results, according to PR director Paolo Landi. "It has not affected sales negatively. Our business is doing very well."

has already made a mark with the controversial depiction of dying Aids victim David Kirby. Is this exploitation of another's hardship or pain? Perhaps. But is it any worse, or more dishonest, than exploiting hopelessly unachievable aspirations? "These photographs seem to escape people's attention until they appear in our ads," points out Landi. "The Kirby photograph was awarded a prize by *Life* magazine but nobody noticed it until we put our trade mark on it." Even Kirby's father approved.

Benetton, says Landi, creates clothes "to dress in not to dream of. The real world is not necessarily always beautiful and rich. Our clothes are to wear every day. Our communication is that we are living in the real world. We select photographs that make people think about what is happening in the world. We are tired of traditional advertising which tries to make reality beautiful."

The models are attractive, but not necessarily in a conventional way — a girl with braces on her teeth, a boy's face spotted with acne. A lot of it is frankly in bad taste. But "reality is often in bad taste," says Landi. "These are real photographs that have been featured in publications around the world."

Benetton's target market is modern, young (15-35) and female. "This advertising portrays an intelligent organisation. Intelligent

people empathise with an intelligent organisation." As Landi told a lively press conference last week. "We are sitting here discussing topics of importance which normally advertising doesn't evoke at all. And you remember the name Benetton. This is the actual truth in Benetton's campaign." *Tony Koenderman*



Landi was in SA last week sussing out the possibilities for increasing its 43 outlets and discussing collaboration on Aids education with the Medical Research Council. SA reaction to the ads will be tested in August-September when a Benetton campaign breaks in local media.

In the Aids sphere, it



Benetton ads you remember the name

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**Mags
form to
merger**

THE Johannesburg-based *Work In Progress* magazine has merged with *New Era*, a Cape Town publication.

WIP management said in a statement the merger was part of a determined effort to rationalise the independent media.

WIP/*New Era* would continue to champion the cause of a nonracial, non-sexist and just democracy in South Africa.

Work In Progress was launched in 1977 and *New Era* began publication in 1986. - SA Press Association

Here's what *Weekblad* couldn't print

AW and Order Minister Hennus Kriel this week ducked questions directed at him about the state's alleged involvement in grenade attacks on the Uitenhage home of the leader of the Labour Party, Allan Hendrickse

Twice he avoided answering directly whether state-aided bodies were responsible for the attack

Instead, he resorted to the time-honoured government response that the police would act against anyone who broke the law, at the same time suggesting that allegations of this sort were a figment of the press' imagination.

It was, at best, not very imaginative avoidance of the issue or, at worst, deliberate sidetracking of the central question of whether state-funded agents were involved in bombing Hendrickse's house

His replies and avoidance techniques were, in any event, not convincing.

The police resorted to legal action against *Vrye Weekblad* to prevent it from publishing allegations that the police were directly involved in the bombing of the Hendrickse home in Uitenhage in 1988. No one was injured in the incident

This decision and Kriel's ambivalent replies in parliament can only have served to create the impression that the police have something to hide

Kriel said in the House of Representatives that the *Vrye Weekblad* allegations that state-funded agencies or bodies had been responsible for the grenade attack on the Hendrickse home were unfounded and slanderous

Last week the police took legal action to prevent the *Vrye Weekblad* publishing

allegations that the state was involved in grenade attacks on

Allan Hendrickse's house.

This week Hennus Kriel faced a barrage of questions

in parliament.

By Weekly Mail Reporter

editor, Max du Preez, had been thoroughly investigated by police

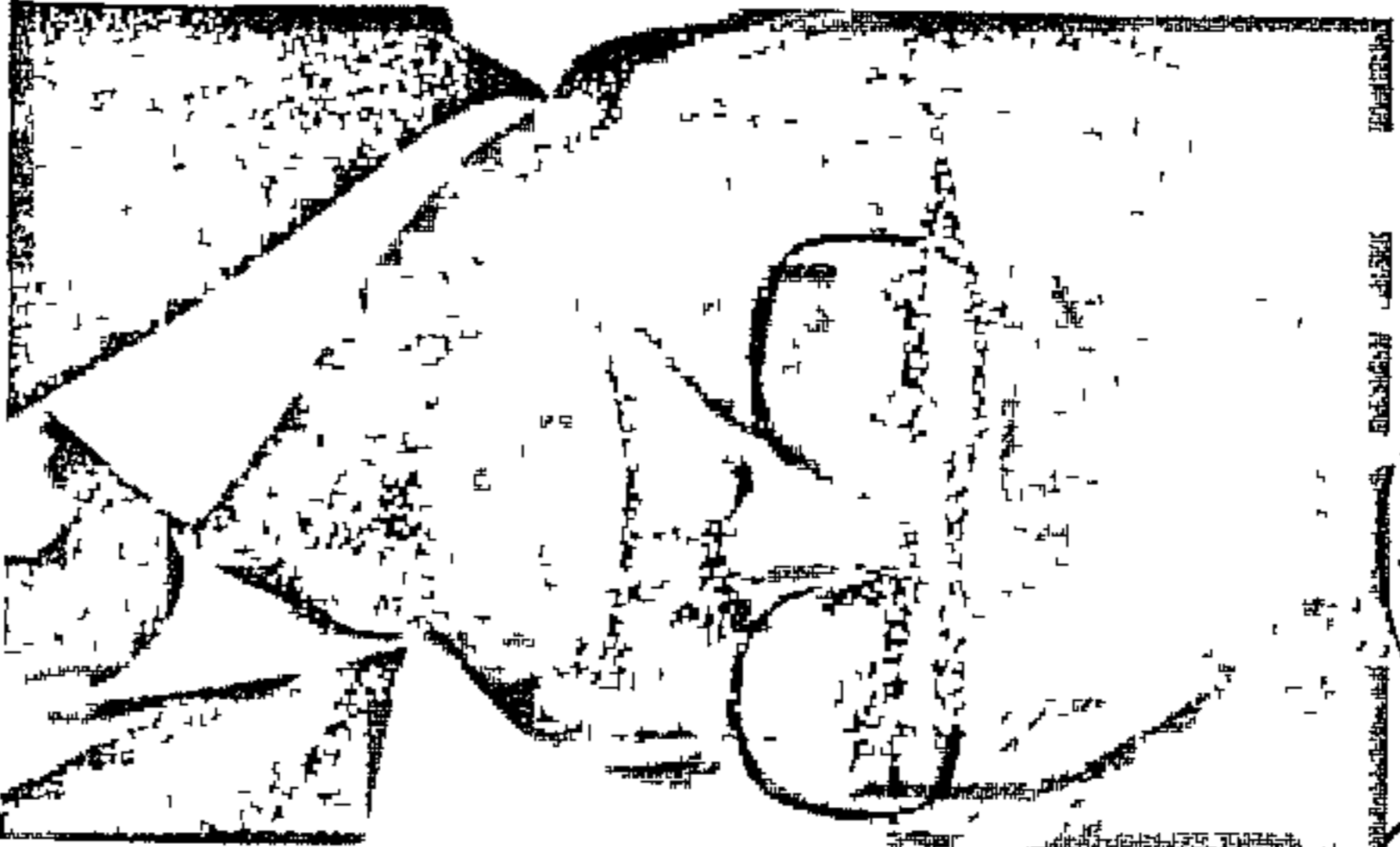
After their investigations, the police sought and obtained an interdict in the Pretoria Supreme Court on May 14 prohibiting publication of the article containing the allegations.

When he had completed his prepared reply, the LP MP for Schauderville, Michael Hendrickse, a son of the party leader, asked: "Does he totally rule out the possibility that state-funded bodies and/or persons working for such bodies were responsible for the over-mentioned handgrenade attack?"

Kriel replied that the question he had replied to had related to a specific incident and the available information had been corroborated

On the basis of the information supplied to the judge, he gave an interim order to the police and on the return date evidence would have to be placed before him that the allegations by *Vrye Weekblad* were the truth

"If the police are guilty of contraventions then those men who transgress must be punished. That is



Hennus Kriel ... 'I answer as I like'

our departure point

"I would also like to make the suggestion that the South African Police have not been declared scott-free by the South African press

"If allegations are made against the police, they must be based on facts not gossip, because the situation is that everyone can write what they like. The perception of the police as criminals is then created

"If the investigation eventually takes place after the due process is completed and then it must be reported that the police are innocent, then it is published very small in the back pages

"This is what the police object to. It is all very well if we are guilty, but if we are innocent,

then the freedom of the press must not be misused to act against us

"Then we have the normal legal means which every institution and citizen in this country has, namely to go to court to protect the interests of the police"

Michael Hendrickse "The minister has not answered my question yet. I want to know from him whether he denies that any state-funded bodies were responsible for that attack. The answer is simply yes or no. He must say so"

Kriel "The honourable member cannot say to me that a question must be answered 'yes' or 'no'. I answer questions in my own way. The honourable member can put his questions as he likes and I will answer as I like

"The position is that we do not know who did it. That is very clear. Thus far the police have not been able to trace the offenders. Who they are I do not know. I hope this answers the honourable member's question"

The LP MP for Addo, Peter Hendrickse, another son of the party leader, then asked "Was it only as a result of these allegations which have been levelled against the police force for criminal activities having been made public that the investigations took place?"

"Does the honourable the minister

not believe that it would be in the interest of the police as well as the people of South Africa that these allegations, substantiated or unsubstantiated, be made public and defended in public by him?"

Kriel. "I have no problem with that proposition. None whatsoever

"We will make it known as soon as we have completed our investigation and as soon as we have ascertained who did it. At this stage, to actually allege, as *Vrye Weekblad* does, is not fair to the police"

Peter Hendrickse "Arising from the honourable minister's reply, does he not have the right to take *Vrye Weekblad* to the courts if their allegations are not true? Does the honourable minister not have the right to sue them, as was attempted in the past? If they are prepared to make these allegations in public, why is he not prepared to allow them to do so?"

Kriel "We have that right, but we believe prevention is better than cure"

So, the mystery of who bombed the Hendrickse house in 1988 continues, as it does in the case of many other bomb attacks on building housing anti-apartheid organisations, such as Khoiso House and Cosatu House in Johannesburg, Khanya House in Pretoria and Community House in Cape Town

Luring those readers from TV's glitz

w/maail 22/5-28/5/92 (243)

In the age of television, newspaper readers want more than old-fashioned words. They want pictures especially in colour. **FERIAL HAFFAJEE and PAUL STOBER** report on two glitzy new papers

THERE is a new breed of newspaper on our streets and it's making its mark with as much fanfare as it can muster. It's a newspaper in which design and colour are as important as text — all the better to capture the increasingly inattentive new generation of reader.

These readers are products of the television age, says US newspaper consultant Dr Mario Garcia, the man responsible for the overhaul of the new-look *Sunday Star*, which hit the streets last weekend.

The *Sunday Star* was a traditional middle-brow South African newspaper which, despite a strong investigative journalism record, looked too similar to its successful rival, *The Sunday Times*, to grab a market share. By early this year it was selling less than half of the daily *Star* and there was talk that it faced closure.

Instead, the editorial staff pushed through a bold plan to remake the newspaper, changing both its look and target market.

The new *Sunday Star* has moved to a smaller tabloid format (the same size as *The Weekly Mail*), and added some distinctly downmarket elements — swirls of colour over text and photographs, plenty of graphics, snippets, teasers and short breezy news stories.

And — a feature almost unheard of in South African journalism — advertising 'islands' are allowed to float in the middle of articles.

According to Garcia, American research has shown that 77 percent of newspaper readers don't remember life without TV and 66 percent don't remember life without colour TV. All newspaper readers watch at least one hour of TV a day.

The TV age and the pace of life has made them impatient readers, he says, and today's newspapers should reflect this. "They should have the speed of television, the relaxed visuals of magazines and the directness of radio."

They must find all this in the newspaper they buy because they're accustomed to a multimedia environment.

The tabloid is the best shape of new age newspapers, says Garcia. It's easy to read and resembles a television screen. You can read your way into a story as easily as if you were reading a map because there are a number of points of entry.

Where conventional design dictates a headline and a story, Garcia's new pages have "teasers", headlines, photographs and visuals all built into the story. Colour is essential to the new design and can be used to attract a different readership.

Pastels are for more affluent readers, while less wealthy readers prefer brighter colours, he says. The *Sunday Star* is clearly punting for an increased lower income readership. "I've turned the volume up on the *Sunday Star* by at least two to three notches," says Garcia.

He has also tried to segment stories for the impatient reader. A spread in the new *Sunday Star* will comprise a number of smaller stories to allow the reader to read selectively. It will usually contain a "fact file" into which all the hard and useful facts of the issue will go.

Advertisements are essential to 'new age' design — but what of those ads hanging incongruously in the middle of a page?

Ads are an important part of what the reader wants to read. Why put them aside? says Garcia, adding that "ads need to be more harmonious with the text."

Three days before the *Sunday Star* launch, Caxton's publishers of many suburban free sheets, launched a weekly tabloid of local news, *The Northsider*, aimed at Johannesburg's northern suburbs.



'I've turned up the volume on the *Sunday Star*,' says US design expert Mario Garcia. At left, the results, from last week's first issue. Photograph KEVIN CARTER

The Northsider uses fewer typographical tricks than the *Sunday Star*, but obeys very similar principles: short, quick reports and features, colourful panels, and intensely local news.

So far, only "test" editions of *The Northsider* have appeared for the editorial staff to gauge market reaction and refine the product.

Northsider editor Cliff Buchler says the newspaper has also been influenced by Garcia's ideas. He said his newspaper is fundamentally different from the *Sunday Star* because it concentrates "only on local issues that national newspapers don't do at all."

The Northsider is a dramatic break from Caxton's six Johannesburg free sheets. It is the first newspaper that the company will sell (at R1,50). There is also a remarkable change in design and there will be a lot more hard news, he says.

The Northsider will be sold in areas where Caxton's delivers free sheets and is aimed at upper-middle and middle class readers.

In addition to a new way of thinking about design, new age newspapers also demand a new kind of journalism. There must be a realignment of what news means, says Garcia.

Newspapers are always about 10 hours behind television in covering stories, he says. They should stop trying to compete. There should be more human interest and more anecdotal writing, says Garcia. These are what he calls "evergreen" reports or invisible news, and he would like to see more of it on the front pages of newspapers.

Generally Garcia's impression of South African newspapers is that "the content is good, but they are badly packaged. They need more leisure than their readers can afford."

Quaking after a handshake with mighty Murdoch

w/maail 22/5-28/5/92 (243)
Enosi Publishers was a thriving little business until it got into bed with Rupert Murdoch. **PHILIPPA GARSON** reports

DICING with Australian tycoon Rupert Murdoch's vast media empire can be suicidal for small-fry investments like Enosi Publishers in Johannesburg — certainly not the first to quake after a single handshake with the mighty multi-national entrepreneur.

The foundations of the successful local publishing house began to crumble shortly after Enosi managing director Greg Psillos launched a joint venture with Murdoch's mega Southdown Press in March this year to publish a local version of the enormously successful Australian women's weekly, *New Ideas*.

Lacking the infrastructure to churn out the weekly, Enosi soon found itself in trouble, with the future of its other magazines, *Tribute* and *Living*, in jeopardy.

Now frantic negotiations are underway to prevent the disintegration of Enosi — ironically meaning "unity" in Greek — or at least rescue its magazines from disaster.

Psillos, 95 percent shareholder of Enosi, is currently negotiating with Penta Publishers, another small independent venture launched in June last year when then Enosi general manager Nicholas Leonsins left the company, bought its trendy Afrikaans magazine *De Kat* and set up Penta. Unless a higher bidder comes along Penta is likely to take over both *Living* and *Tribute*, thus ensuring a place for the publications in the "independent media family" and helping to keep this fragile domain afloat.

However, the deal must be clinched in a matter of days if printing deadlines of both magazines' June editions are to be met.

Says a cautiously optimistic Leonsins, Penta's MD: "We are examining the possibility of taking them on there are one or two other parties interested and the person with the highest bid will get it. But we believe we can boost the products."

His publishing outfit, with its strongly independent identity, would be "fiercely protective" of *Tribute's* own editorial independence.

Under his directorship, *Tribute*, with a distribution of 15 000, would continue to serve a special niche market, have "pure, straight black opinion", but be more "refined and redirected" — an ideal sister magazine to *De Kat*.

The future of *New Ideas*, the first women's weekly to hit the streets here, is less certain. But word is out that the big media moguls Nationale Pers and Perskor are casting acquisitive glances in its direction. Given that circulation of the garish scandal-packed product has already topped the 65 000 mark, after its short street life of a mere six weeks, the monopolies would be foolish to allow it to go under — banal a product as it is.

Giving new, albeit garish, colour to the magazine stands with its pop nux of Hollywood gossip, royal scoops, local drama and meaty agony columns, the magazine has undoubtedly taken off.

Despite not living up to its projected sales of 150 000, many believe *New Ideas* has the capacity to close down its competitors — *Personality*, owned by Perskor and with a circulation of 110 000, and *You*, owned by Naspers with a circulation of more than 200 000.

Enosi's trouble allegedly began long before *New Ideas* was launched and the already-shaky publishing house simply lacked the means to enter the mass market in the first place and then bail out the magazine when it failed to meet its sales projections. Others say Enosi began to falter long ago when the humour magazine *Laughing Stock* failed to raise enough laughs, according to one source. Using the *Laughing Stock* team to produce humorous merchandise for an international market after its closure in 1989 was a huge drain on Enosi's resources.

Last year Enosi also lost the contract for Sun International's in-house *Excellence* magazine, briefly to Penta, and then to current publishers Churchill-Murray Publications.

W/Week 22/5-28/5/92

Journalists and photographers perceived to be from unfriendly newspapers continue to be harassed, threatened and sometimes attacked. While the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party pay lip service, at top level, to press freedom, their supporters show little sympathy for dissenting views.

W/Week 22/5-28/5/92 (243) — RICHARD STEYN, *The Star*



There is greater openness on the part of the police when it comes to legitimate police activity (as opposed to covert operations). In other government departments the lack of speedy (and honest) responses to inquiries is still as prevalent as it was

W/Week 22/5-28/5/92 — JIM JONES, *Business Day*



Deep concern, says ANC

By PAT SIDLEY ^{w/m} 22/5-28/5/92 (243) ~~243~~
THE Johannesburg-based Foreign Correspondents Association has written to a wide range of political groups in the country to express concern about the "safety of its members in increasingly volatile township violence".

FCA chair Patti Waldmeir, the *Financial Times* correspondent, said that the concern "arises from a number of attacks on journalists in recent months by groups across the political spectrum and by members of the security forces" and urged the organisations "to take immediate action to restrain those under your authority."

The letter went to the African National Congress, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Azanian People's Organisation, Conservative Party, Inkatha Freedom Party, National Party and Pan Africanist Congress.

In response, Nelson Mandela has sent a letter to all regions of the ANC, urging them to convey to members at meetings and workshops "our deep concern about behaviour that in any way hinders a journalist from fulfilling their important task".

The only other party to have replied so far is the PAC, which said its members were not involved in the kind of violence described by the FCA and complained foreign correspondents were not covering its events adequately.

THE ARGUS... ing it to their commercial and partisan force petty-tyrants are sti

The Argus bundle stays tied up

By REG RUMNEY

THE publishing conglomerate Argus Holdings is not going to "unbundle" its interests soon, despite industry rumours, according to chief executive Doug Band

Unbundling means breaking up a conglomerate into smaller, more focused companies. For Argus Holdings it would involve, as a first step, a separate listing of Argus Newspapers, now a 100 percent owned company, on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange

Argus Holdings' interests include daily newspapers in all major urban centres in South Africa, printing and distribution, music, news agencies and stationery

The intention to list Argus Newspapers was first mentioned around two years ago. The rationale of unbundling would be manifold. It could "unlock" underlying value in the companies unbundled. And it could pre-empt anti-monopoly moves by a future government.

"We keep on looking at it, but there has

been no final decision," Band said this week. "When we created Argus Newspapers we said the medium- to long-term decision was to list it."

One question to be considered would be the timing. The other would be what to do with the proceeds of the sale.

"It won't happen for a while, I think," said Band.

He added that parts of Argus Holdings could be floated off first.

Talk in the printing business is that first to go could be Allied Publishing, one part of South Africa's distribution duopoly with its Afrikaans counterpart, NND.

Argus Holdings, according to the annual report, is owed R133-million by Argus Newspapers. Again, no decision has been made about whether to carry over this debt to a newly listed company or use the proceeds of the listing to pay it off.

Apart from its 100 percent holding of Argus Newspapers, Argus Holdings also has an effective interest of 70 percent in

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Natal Newspapers, and 54,5 percent of The Pretoria News.

Rumours have been rife for some time now about a possible sale of Argus' 38 percent stake in Times Media Limited (TML).

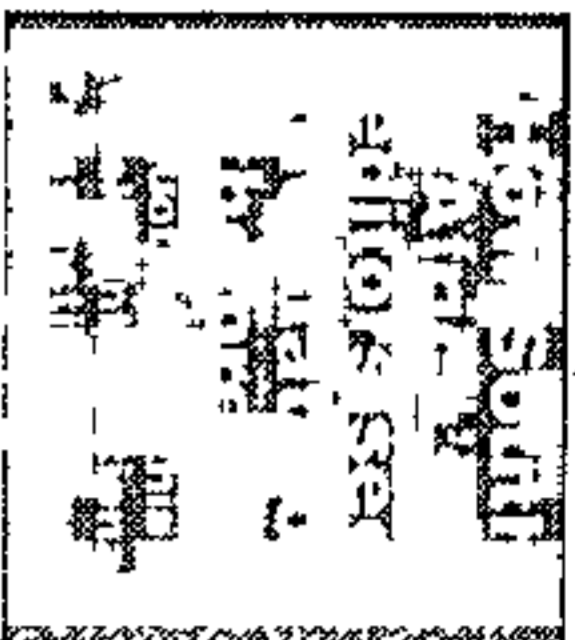
Band said no decision had been made about this, though it was a possibility.

The Times Media share price has moved up since the beginning of the year by 40 percent. On Tuesday 2 100 shares changed hands, as the share price moved up 2,2 percent.

Argus Holdings has itself a stake in M-Net, and a further stake through its holding in TML.

Since the newspaper groups were granted the stake in the subscription service to offset advertising revenue diverted to television, the M-Net share would by rights have to move with Argus Newspapers.

The market capitalisation of Argus Holdings is around R1-billion, and of TML around R500-million.



The space for journalists has widened faster than their capacity to use it. We still report in the dogged, defensive style of the past, reporters lack aggression, we all lack the flair. The virtual destruction of South African journalism — the terrible loss of skills — is now exacting its toll

— KEN OWEN, *Sunday Times*

During the repressive period, the country lost too much journalistic talent and now, as it were, has to reinvent the wheel in strengthening investigative journalism

— KOOS VIVIERS, *Cape Times*

The press is freer now than it has been for more than a half a century, and probably freer than it would be for another half century

— JOHN PATTEN, *Natal Mercury*

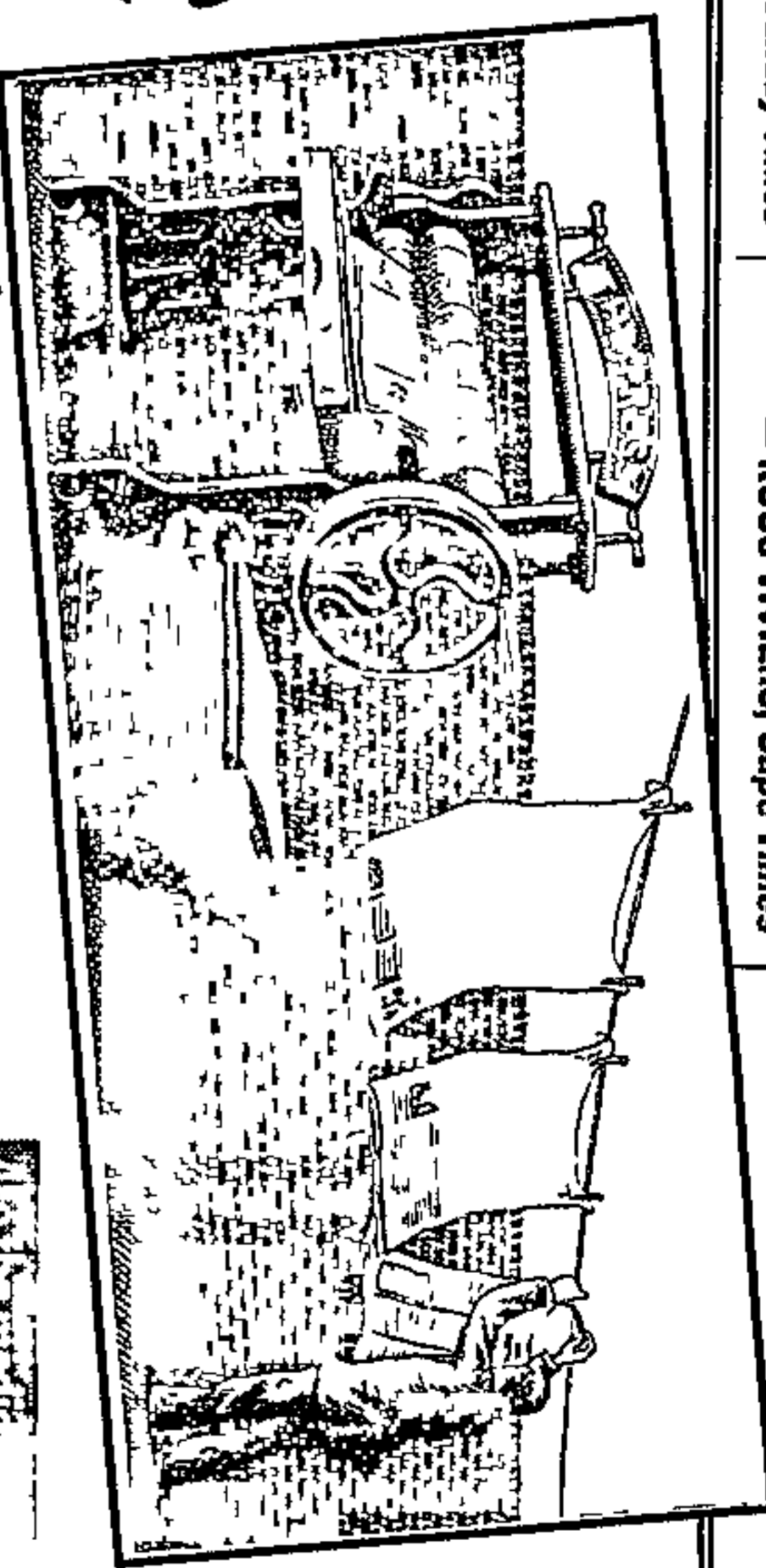
(243)

W/week 22/5-26/5/92

Tinkering at the edge

Of tomorrow's news

W/week 22/5-26/5/92



W/week 22/5-26/5/92

Controversial former Cape Times editor TONY HEARD told an international press conference in Budapest this week that South Africa's press was not reflecting the changing politics. This is an edited version of his speech

SOUTH AFRICA is changing fast, its media more slowly. Considering the radical transformation in political atmosphere dating to the De Klerk reforms of February 1990 and the walk to freedom by unbanned organisations, it is sobering to observe that the media have not changed at the same pace. Their structure and control remain as they have been for years — though enlightened restructuring is reportedly about to take place.

The different atmosphere in the country is only partially reflected in the media. British journalist Anthony Sampson rightly asks: "Why can't the media in South Africa reflect more closely and vigorously the fast-changing political facts which the country is facing?"

There are refreshing flashes of daring by television interviewers and newspaper writers, taking the new freedoms at face value. But, generally, the offerings are the safe and sure recipes of the past — on TV, we see hordes of government ministers paraded before viewers, unflattering shots of government opponents and inordinate coverage of remote sports and trivia such as day and night live screening of a raisin feast in the far northern Cape.

And all this trivia at a time when real events in a convulsed country, such as violence and government corruption cry out for investigative attention.

The established print media, with super- or resources, do not — with one or two exceptions — produce the scoops concerning death squads and government wrongdoing which the smaller alternative newspapers publish.

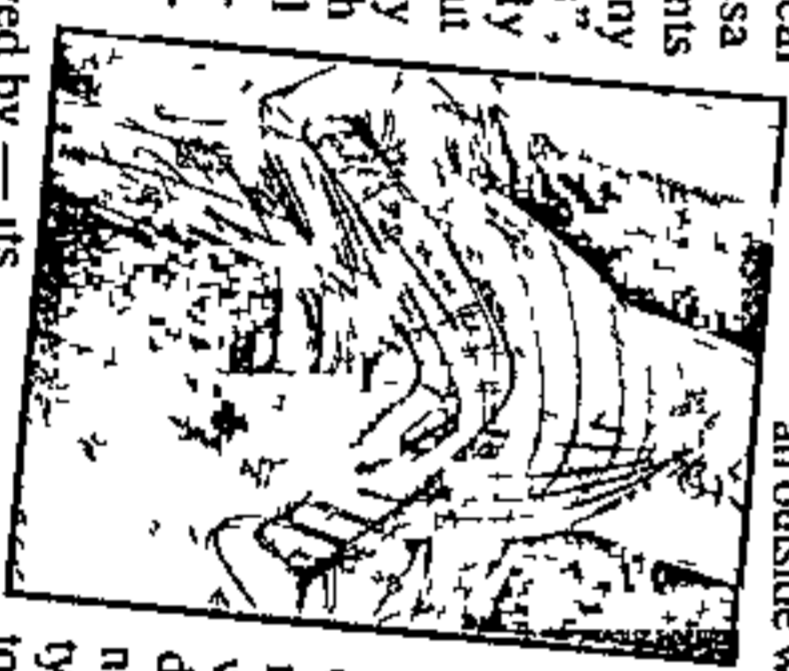
Hardly any sense can be made — by establishment or alternative newspapers — of the Tower of Babel the political parties have built for themselves near Johannesburg airport, Codessa. With many meaningful events closed off from public scrutiny in comfy "working groups", Codessa toils in a financially costly atmosphere that is about as enlightening as mud. Only by providing media (which means the public) access to all proceedings, and a proper verbatim record, can this be remedied.

For now, the country is diverted by — not fully served by — its media. Particularly when the expected restructuring of the press is over, and new independent controls for government-dominated radio and television are in place, the media must be judged rigorously by the following standards:

Are the media really enlightening and serving the public? Are they independent bulwarks against naked political power, now and in a future order? Or are they giving in to their commercial and partisan

urges in ways which obfuscate the truth and rob the public of vital protection and information at a crucial moment in history? This is not to deny that there are individual editors and journalists who are trying hard to change outdated attitudes. There is a new awareness of the potential for free expression in newspaper offices, and indeed a new awareness of the existence of an outside world.

Surveying the past year, there is some good and some bad news. The savage restrictions on reporting police and prison matters are gone, or about to go. The government is committed to a review of all legislation which restricts press freedom but only if this does not "endanger state security". It seems keen to cling to some form of statutory censorship in areas such as books, films and offending objects. The security authorities still push around and rough-up local journalists on occasion, and have allegedly harassed internationally-known correspondents from abroad. As the IPF World Press Freedom Review has noted, formal court procedures are being extensively used to harass newspapers. Unlike some democratising countries, former security force petty-tyrants are still in office.



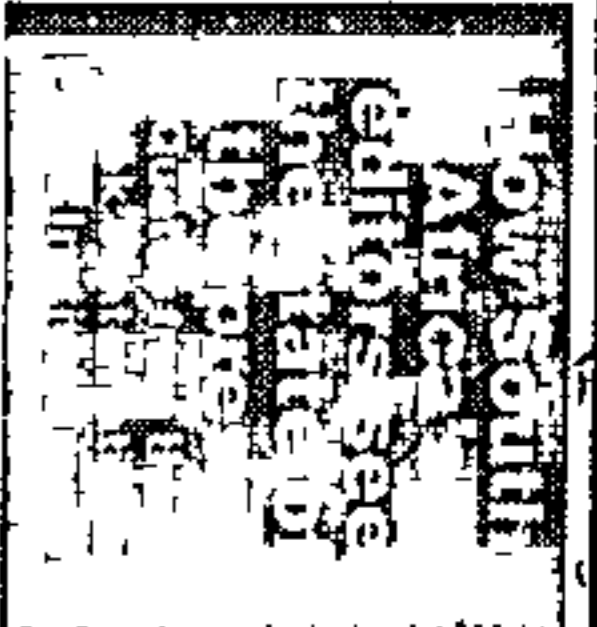
Happily, the alternative newspapers and the established groups have buried their differences and the former have joined the old-established Newspaper Press Union, opening up new areas of creative co-operation and mutual support. They can now be seen for what they always have been: two sides of the same coin.

There is growing awareness of the need for a deconcentration of ownership of the press. The alternative newspapers, which played such a critical role opposing PW Botha during his Draconian states of emergency, are still around — despite past suppression, massively state-funded defamation actions and daily harassment — and are still producing sensation exposés. But they are financially frail.

On the bright side, there are serious moves to establish a trust fund to underpin the alternatives' finances, at least in the crucial transitional stage to a democratic order.

The fundamental problem remains: will the media be able to use the new freedoms, once gained? Will it be a mere Prague Spring of 1967, or a more durable Lisbon Spring of 1974?

Moreover, habits of freedom, once lost, are difficult to establish. And when a new government takes over it will be under pressure from its followers — if only because of the enormous problems of reconstruction after the ravages of apartheid — to curb the scribes, to hang the messenger.



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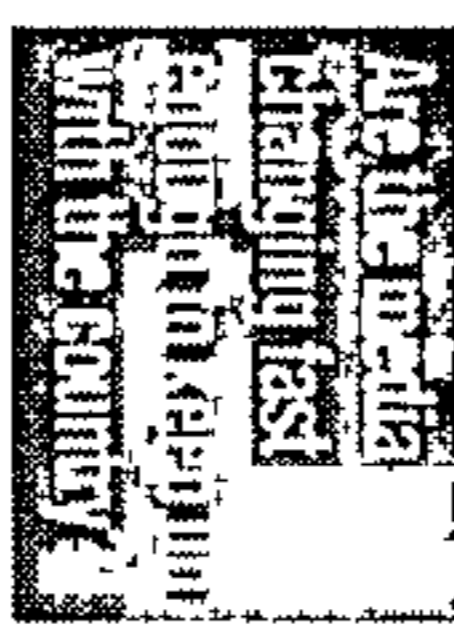
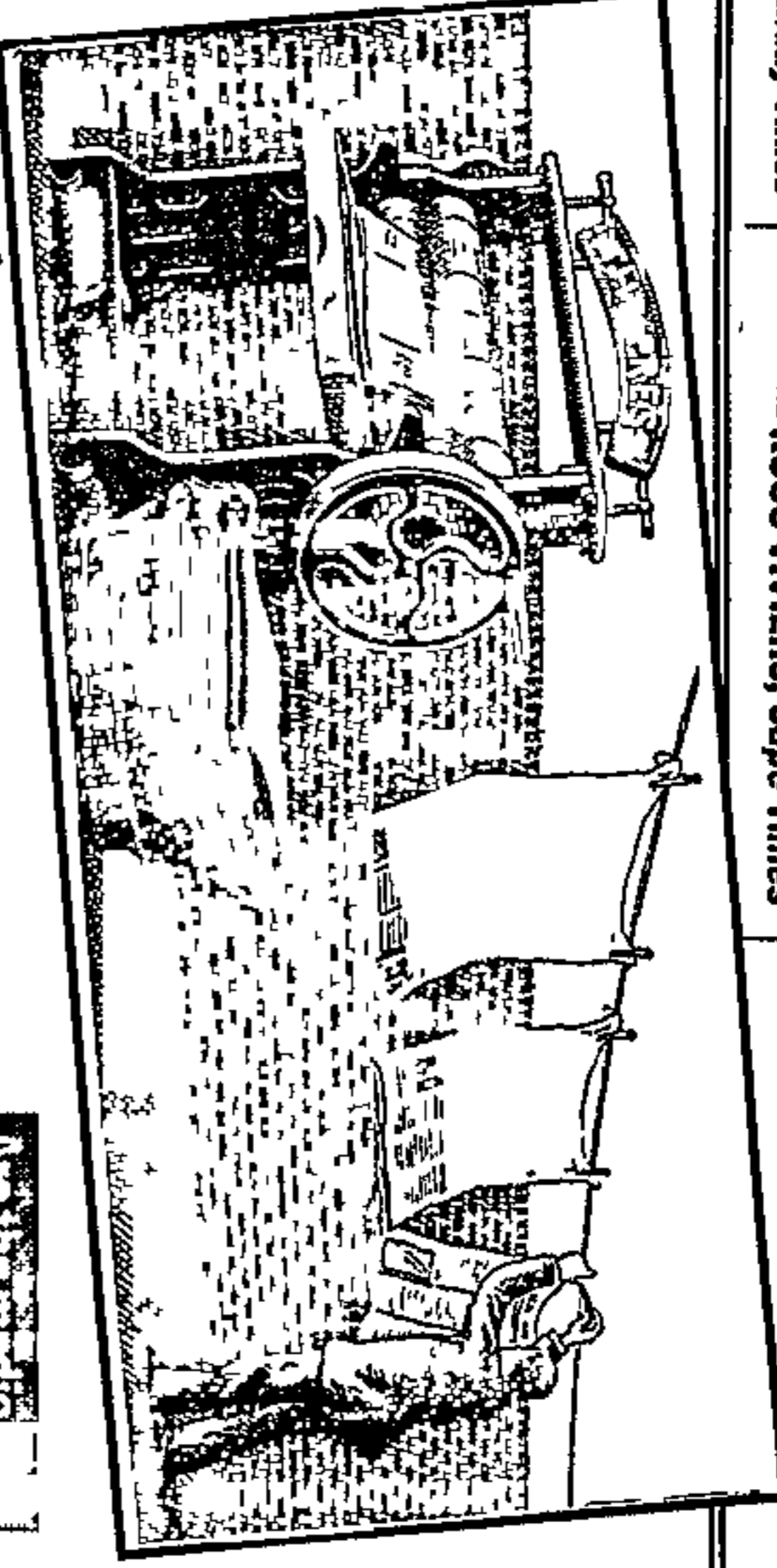
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SOUTH AFRICA is changing fast, its media more slowly. Considering the radical transformation in political atmosphere dating to the De Klerk reforms of February 1990 and the walk to freedom by unbanished organisations, it is sobering to observe that the media have not changed at the same pace. Their structure and control remain as they have been for years — though enlightened restructuring is reportedly about to take place.

The different atmosphere in the country is only partially reflected in the media. British journalist Anthony Sampson rightly asks: "Why can't the media in South Africa reflect more closely and vigorously the fast-changing political facts which the country is facing?"

There are refreshing flashes of daring by television interviewers and newspaper writers, taking the new freedoms at face value. But, generally, the offerings are the safe and sure recipes of the past — on TV, we see hordes of government ministers paraded before viewers, unflattering shots of government opponents and inordinate coverage of remote sports and trivia such as day and night live screening of a raucous feast in the far northern Cape.

And all this trivia at a time when real events in a convulsed country, such as violence and government corruption, cry out for investigative attention.

The established print media, with superior resources, do not — with one or two exceptions — produce the scoops concerning death squads and government wrongdoing which the smaller alternative newspapers publish.

Hardly any sense can be made — by establishment or alternative newspapers — of the Tower of Babel the political parties have built for themselves near Johannesburg airport, Codessa. With many meaningful events closed off from public scrutiny in comfy "working groups", Codessa toils in a financially costly atmosphere that is about as enlightening as mud. Only by providing media (which means the public) access to all proceedings, and a proper verbatim record, can this be remedied.

For now, the country is diverted by — not fully served by — its media. Particularly when the expected restructuring of the press is over, and new independent controls for government-dominated radio and television are in place, the media must be judged rigorously by the following standards:

Are the media really enlightening and serving the public? Are they independent bulwarks against naked political power, now and in a future order? Or are they giving in to their commercial and partisan



urges in ways which obfuscate the truth and rob the public of vital protection and information at a critical moment in history? This is not to deny that there are individual editors and journalists who are trying hard to change outdated attitudes. There is a new awareness of the potential for free expression in newspaper offices, and indeed a new awareness of the existence of an outside world.

Surveying the past year, there is some good and some bad news. The savage restrictions on reporting police and prison matters are gone, or about to go. The government is committed to a review of all legislation which restricts press freedom but only if this does not "endanger state security". It seems keen to cling to some form of statutory censorship in areas such as books, films and offending objects. The security authorities still push around and rough-up local journalists on occasion and have allegedly harassed internationally-known correspondents from abroad. As the IPI World Press Freedom Review has noted, formal court procedures are being extensively used to harass newspapers. Unlike some democratising countries, former security force party-tyrants are still in office.

Happily, the alternative newspapers and the established groups have buried their differences and the former have joined the old-established Newspaper Press Union, opening up new areas of creative co-operation and mutual support. They can now be seen for what they always have been: two sides of the same coin.

There is growing awareness of the need for a deconcentration of ownership of the press. The alternative newspapers, which played such a critical role opposing P.W. Botha during his Dracoman states of emergency, are still around — despite past suppression, massively state-funded defamation actions and daily harassment — and are still producing sensation exposés. But they are financially frail.

On the bright side, there are serious moves to establish a trust fund to underpin the alternatives' finances, at least in the crucial transitional stage to a democratic order.

The fundamental problem remains: will the media be able to use the new freedoms, once gained? Will it be a mere Prague Spring of 1967, or a more durable Lisbon Spring of 1974?

Moreover, habits of freedom, once lost, are difficult to establish. And when a new government takes over it will be under pressure from its followers — if only because of the enormous problems of reconstruction after the ravages of apartheid — to curb the scribes, to hang the messenger.

Journalist's section 205 conviction overturned

STAR 2315792

IN A verdict which has far-reaching implications for the public's right to know and for journalists to protect confidential sources of information, the Rand Supreme Court yesterday overturned the conviction of The Star's Patrick Laurence under section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act

This is the first time a conviction under the section, which compels journalists to reveal their sources of information, has been overturned

Laurence was sentenced in March last year to 10 days' jail by magistrate Hein Verhoef for refusing to identify his source

SUSAN SMUTS

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for a report published on February 12 last year. He was subpoenaed to give information concerning the disappearance of Gabriel Pelo Mekingwe, who was to have given evidence in the Winnie Mandela trial.

In a review of Verhoef's decision, Mr Justice R T van Schalkwyk (with Mr Justice W J van der Merwe concurring) said the subpoena had been sought and issued for the purpose of investigating Mekingwe's alleged kidnapping.

However, the magistrate's refusal to postpone the case at

the request of the defence must have been motivated by the urgency of tracing Mekingwe to give evidence in the Mandela trial, the judge said. This was enough to find his decision unlawful in the circumstances. The judge ordered that Laurence's trial was irregular and invalid, and set aside his conviction and sentence.

The Star's Editor-in-Chief, Richard Steyn, welcomed the court's decision. "It's a victory for the public's right to know and for journalism. I'm delighted for Patrick Laurence."

The judge found that magistrate J F Zeelie, who issued the

subpoena, had also been influenced by the Mandela trial. He set aside Zeelie's decision and declared the subpoena invalid. He ordered the magistrates to pay the costs of the review.

Prosecutor J Davidowitz, who asked for the subpoena, had been acting on instructions from the attorney-general's office, and his actions were not subject to review, the judge ruled.

Laurence also brought an appeal against his conviction and sentence, but this was not argued as it had been covered by the review.

'SAP did not want to discuss Mail charges'

STAR 23/5/92

(243)

RAMOKOENA MATLALA

PRETORIA — Police sought to silence The Weekly Mail through a court order rather than discuss irregular police activities the weekly had uncovered, according to editor Anton Harber

Harber, testifying before a preliminary hearing of the Goldstone Commission in Pretoria yesterday, said on Thursday May 14 he was informed of the police intention to seek an urgent interdict preventing publication of the story

He was surprised as he felt the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police had enough time to deal with the issue and to discuss the matter with him

The Weekly Mail alleged certain policemen were involved in "covert operations" which included the elimination of certain activists in the Vaal Triangle, and that there were safe houses where recruits were interviewed

Harber told the sitting that circumstances in which the investigation unfolded, the nature of the witnesses and the corroborating evidence were such that the team was confident there was sufficient reason to go to Press

"The extent to which we went to scrutinise the information was exceptional. Our reporters spent six weeks, probing layer upon layer of official deceit and dishonesty"

Harber further told the sitting that, even after checks were made, the team kept open the

possibility that it was a legitimate police operation

However, when senior Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet told a TV crew that a proper police operation would never operate in that way, "we decided there was clearly something amiss" and that it was time to publish the story

Seriousness

On May 6, two days before the story was published, Harber said he personally telephoned Captain Craig Kotze, a spokesman for the Law and Order Ministry, informing him about the seriousness and nature of the story the weekly was about to publish

"I thought it would be appropriate for us to discuss the matter before going to Press, with the Minister, his deputy or the Commissioner of Police. I offered to travel to Pretoria or Cape Town at short notice for this purpose"

Kotze telephoned him back to say he had raised the matter with the Commissioner of the Police whose sole response was that he would refer it to the Goldstone Commission and declined the request for a meeting

"He also accused me of offering bribes of R50 000 to policemen to talk to reporters. I took offence at this suggestion and asked Captain

Kotze not to deflect the issue, but to realise its seriousness and raise it with the Minister as soon as possible. He agreed to do so and to phone me first thing the following morning"

He said Kotze only replied on Thursday evening when the paper was about to go to Press, saying neither the Minister nor his deputy would see Harber

Kotze did not reply to questions faxed to him on May 6 prior to the publication of the first report on the matter, said Harber.

Earlier, Drew Forrest, who led the team of reporters in the investigation, told the sitting how the team managed to track down police officers allegedly involved in the "covert operations" through pager numbers supplied by witnesses

Colonel Jan Potgieter, a senior police officer who gave evidence on behalf of the SAP, said the specifications of the Crime Intelligence Service of the police was public knowledge and "is and was" never a subject of secrecy

However, allegations in the weekly's May 8 report were being viewed in a serious light by the police who strongly denied any involvement

Richard Goldstone, in adjourning the sitting, announced that a statement would be released by Monday after a decision from the committee on how the matter would be handled — Sapa

Ex-editor Ray Louw gets Press award

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MAG 23/5/92

DURBAN. — The chairman of the Media Defence Trust and the Campaign for Open Media, Mr Raymond Louw, was awarded the Pringle Award for Press freedom here last night.

Mr Louw, a former editor of the now defunct Rand Daily Mail, was awarded the honour for his "dedicated contribution to the struggle for Press freedom in South Africa over the past five years".

This is the second time he has received the Pringle Award. The first was in 1977 as editor of the Rand Daily Mail.

Announcing the award, SA Union of Journalists president Mr Sven Lunsche said Mr Louw had been instrumental in the founding of at least two Press freedom organisations — the Media Defence Trust and the Campaign for Open Media.

He is also an executive member of the Anti-Censorship Action Group.

"The combined activity of these three organisations means that under Mr Louw's guidance the ideal of a free Press is pursued not only through statements of protest and critical comment, but also through Press activity," said Mr Lunsche.

"The SAUJ takes pleasure in publicly saluting the selfless contribution made by Raymond Louw towards entrenching a free media in this country."

Mr Louw was unable to receive the award as he is out of the country.

Veteran journalist and former colleague on the Rand Daily Mail Mr Laurence Gandar accepted the award on his behalf. — Sapa

High Court quashes journalist's conviction

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ARG 23/5/72

SUSAN SMUTS

Weekend Argus Correspondent

IN a verdict which has far-reaching implications for the public's right to know and for journalists to protect confidential sources of information, the Rand Supreme Court yesterday overturned the conviction of The Star's Patrick Laurence under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act.

This is the first time a conviction under the section, which compels journalists to reveal their sources of information, has been overturned.

Laurence, now The Star's deputy political editor, was sentenced in March last year to 10 days in jail by magistrate Mr Hein Verhoef for refusing to identify his source in a report published on February 12 last year. He was subpoenaed to give information about the disappearance of

Gabriel Peio Mekingwe, a witness in the celebrated Winnie Mandela trial.

In a review of Mr Verhoef's decision, Mr Justice R T van Schalkwyk, with Mr Justice W J van der Merwe concurring, said the subpoena was sought and issued for the purpose of investigating Mr Mekingwe's alleged kidnapping.

However, the magistrate's refusal to postpone the case at the request of the defence must have been motivated by the urgency of tracing Mr Mekingwe to give evidence in the Mandela trial, the judge said. This was enough to find his decision unlawful.

The judge ordered that Laurence's trial was irregular and invalid and set aside his conviction and sentence.

The Star's editor, Richard Steyn, welcomed the court's decision.

Journalist wins case on source

CT 23/5/92 (243)
JOHANNESBURG. — Johannesburg journalist Mr Patrick Laurence yesterday won an appeal against his conviction and sentence for refusing to reveal the source of a story on a Winnie Mandela trial witness.

Lawyers said they believed this was the first successful appeal under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act, which compels a journalist to reveal the source of his information.

In the Rand Supreme Court Mr Justice Rex van Schalkwyk said the proceedings under which Mr Laurence was convicted had been irregular.

He set aside the conviction.

Mr Laurence wrote a report published in The Star in February last year which stated Mr Gabriel Pello Megkwe, who was to testify in the kidnapping and assault trial against Mrs Mandela, had been seen leaving the Methodist Manse in Soweto in the company of ANC officials.

Mr Laurence was then served with a subpoena under Section 205. When he refused to name his source he was convicted and sentenced to 10 days' imprisonment. On notice of intention to appeal he was released on bail of R500.

As a result of the disappearance of Mr Megkwe, two other witnesses in Mrs Mandela's trial had refused to testify, fearing the same fate.

Mr Laurence's lawyer, Mr Dennis Fine, argued that the subpoena had not been issued to enable a prosecution against Mr Megkwe's alleged kidnapers, but to try to get Mr Megkwe and the other witnesses to testify in the Mandela case. — Sapa

Police tried to silence us through courts — editor ⁽²⁴³⁾

ARG 23/5/92

PRETORIA. — Police had sought to silence the Weekly Mail through a court order rather than discuss irregularities uncovered by the newspaper, according to editor Anton Harber.

Testifying before a preliminary hearing of the Goldstone Commission in Pretoria yesterday, Mr Harber said that on Thursday, May 14, he was informed of the police's intention to seek an urgent interdict preventing publication of a story.

The Weekly Mail alleged that certain policemen were involved in "covert operations" that included the elimination of activists in the Vaal Triangle and the existence of safe houses where recruits were trained.

Mr Harber was surprised as he felt the Minister Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police had enough time to deal with the issue and to discuss the matter with him.

Mr Harber said the circumstances in which the investigation unfolded, witnesses' accounts and corroborating evidence was such that the team was confident there was sufficient reason to publish.

"The extent to which we went to scrutinise the information was exceptional. Our reporters spent ... six weeks, probing layer upon layer of official deceit and dishonesty."

He said there were legitimate ways for the police to use number plates or telephone numbers to ensure they were not traced for criminal purposes.

"To use other peoples' number

plates, names or identities is not only illegal, but can cause major problems for people charged with responsibility for cars with those number plates or people with those identities.

"It seemed to us that this factor alone — that police were breaking the law without apparent public accountability — was sufficient cause to publish."

Mr Harber told the sitting that, even after checks were made, the team kept open the possibility that it was a legitimate police operation

However, when senior Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet told a television crew that a proper police operation would never operate in that way, "we decided there was clearly something amiss" and that it was time to publish the story

On May 6, two days before the story was published, Mr Harber said he phoned Captain Craig Kotze, a spokesman for the Law and Order Ministry, telling him about the seriousness and nature of the story they was about to publish.

He offered to discuss the matter before going to press and offered to travel to Pretoria or Cape Town at short notice.

Captain Kotze phoned him back to say he had raised the matter with the Commissioner of the Police who said he would refer it to the Goldstone Commission and declined to meet Mr Harber.

Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber: Our reporters spent six weeks, probing layer upon layer of official deceit and dishonesty.

Plans for Europe — on table, not on field

also consider in-

Journalist wins appeal over refusal to disclose sources

SUSAN RUSSELL

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JOURNALIST Patrick Laurence has won his appeal against conviction and a 10-day prison sentence for refusing to disclose the source of information in a report about the disappearance of a key witness in the Winnie Mandela trial. *Binan 25/5/92*

Judge R van Schalkwyk, with Judge W van der Merwe concurring, ruled in the Rand Supreme Court on Friday that the subpoena to testify on the disappearance of state witness Gabriel Mekgwe, issued under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act, was invalid.

The court accepted a submission by Laurence's counsel D Fine, SC, that the subpoena had not been issued for the purposes envisaged by the Act, which was to obtain information about an alleged offence.

Van Schalkwyk said it was clear from the record of the proceedings in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court, where Laurence was convicted, that the subpoena's primary aim was not to obtain information about Mekgwe's disappearance, but to trace a witness.

He rejected the State's submission that the subpoena was not invalidated if there was a secondary purpose other than obtaining information about the abduction.

More land for squatters

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — The Cape Provincial Administration was negotiating to buy Regional Services Council land in Hout Bay to extend the town's squatter settlement from 8ha to 20ha, Koos Theron, MEC for urbanisation, told a news conference at the weekend.

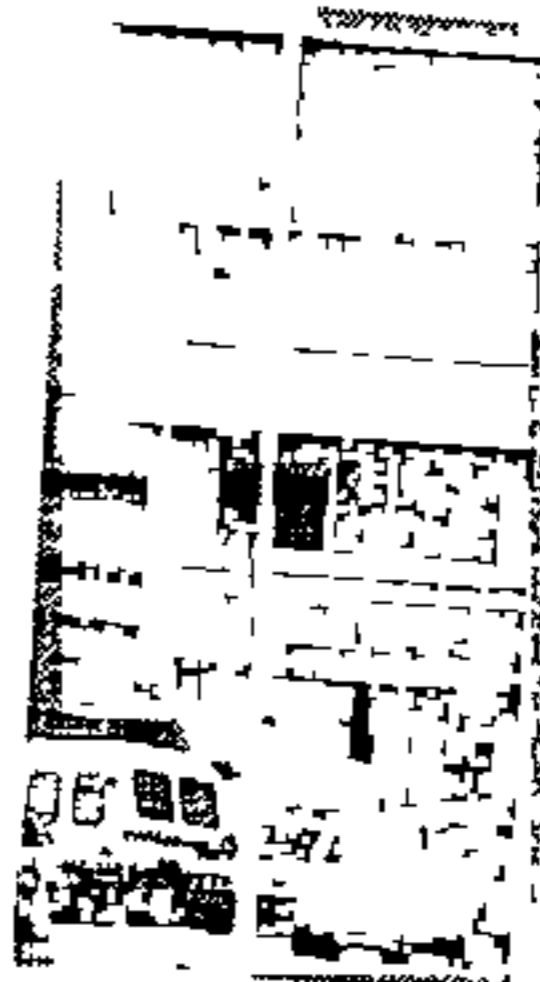
He said the perception among dismayed Hout Bay ratepayers that the extended settlement would cover the full 34ha of RSC land was incorrect. Ratepayers were angered by the proposed acquisition, saying the squatter settlement had driven down property values and led to an increase in crime.

Theron said the acquisition was necessary to provide 440 serviced sites immediately and allow room for the expansion to 650 sites. At present there were 429 structures and 306 single backyard lodgers living in Imizamo Yethu Village.

He said the CPA planned to increase the size of serviced plots to 160m² from 60m² in order to reduce the village's density.

Squatters would have to pay for the land, the price of which would be determined on the basis of their income in terms of the sliding scale adopted by the National Housing Commission, Theron said.

ARC



YOUR INV

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Journalist wins appeal

JOHANNESBURG journalist Mr Patrick Laurence on Friday won an appeal against his conviction and sentence for refusing to reveal the source of a story on a Winnie Mandela trial witness

In the Rand Supreme Court Mr Justice Rex van Schalkwyk said the proceedings under which Laurence was convicted had been irregular and invalid. He set aside the conviction.

Laurence wrote a report published in *The Star* in February last year which stated Mr Gabriel Peilo Mekingwe, who was to testify in the kidnapping and assault trial against Mrs Mandela, had left the country in the company of African National Congress officials.

He was then served with a subpoena under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act and was sentenced to 10 days' imprisonment after he refused to name his source. On notice of intention to appeal he was released on bail of R500.

As a result of the disappearance of Mekingwe, two other witnesses in Mrs Mandela's trial had refused to testify out of fear that the same fate might befall them.

Van Schalkwyk remarked that Section 205 made severe inroads into the liberty of an individual, and that the court should always construe it as narrowly as possible, so as to impinge as little as possible on an individual.

It was plain that the common law rights of an individual had been impinged on - Sapa

8/10/92 26/5/92
8/10/92

NEWS IN BRIEF

Ex-editor gets Pringle

MEDIA Defence Trust and Campaign for Open Media chairman Raymond Louw was awarded the Pringle Award for Press Freedom in Durban on Friday night. (243)

Louw, a former editor of the Rand Daily Mail, was honoured for his "dedicated contribution to the struggle for press freedom in SA during the past five years".

Captain's Court
is based at Jan Smuts
airport, said he had not
told his daughter Hilda
the bad news yet.
She is his eldest child
and a Std 6 pupil
"Doctors say there is
no brain damage"

LEGN MULLER,
ALL IN A DAY'S WORK: Mrs No
Khene sits next to Vanguard Drive
ing for motorists to buy wood

Journalist's win against State ⁽²⁴³⁾ hailed as victory for Press freedom

APC 26/5/92

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The first time a journalist has won a case against the State for refusing to reveal his sources has been hailed as a victory for press freedom by representatives of the legal and journalistic professions.

Mr Patrick Laurence, senior political writer for The Star, on Friday won his appeal against conviction and a 10-day jail sentence for refusing to disclose his sources in a report on the disappearance of a key witness in the Winnie Mandela trial

Mr Brian Curren, executive director of Lawyers for Human Rights, said since it was the first time a journalist had won this kind of case it was indicative of a judiciary becoming increasingly independent of the executive and the legislature

"It has to be seen in the context and spirit of a judiciary which since the early 1960s has looked at legislation in a restrictive fashion, but this bends towards the rights of the individual," he said.

Mr Neal Swancott, deputy secretary general of the International Federation of Journalists said the case "demonstrates the need for journalists to refuse to reveal confidences and to accept the consequences that go along with it Through the legal process his right to refuse to reveal confidences has been upheld."

A Media Workers' Association of South Africa vice-president, Mr Mthatha Tsedu, said the victory strengthens the position of journalists in the eyes of the public.

"It is a great advantage to us as journalists to know that people will trust us in giving information and to know the courts will back us up," he said.

Mr Allister Sparks, the director of the new Institute for the Advancement of Journalism, said the decision was extremely significant.

"It makes case law that removes a serious instrument of intimidation that has been used against journalists for years," Mr Sparks said.

Ms Jeanette Minnie, organiser of the Campaign for Open Media, said it was "absolutely wonderful," that Mr Laurence had won his case, but added it should never have been brought in the first place.

She said in a period of transitional politics it was important for the public to have access to all kinds of information, rather than the press being hampered by all kinds of restrictions

BLACK & WHITE
TV 2
ANSWER
MACHINE
R 22
DEC 54
C.R.E.

SOWETAN
Building the Nation

WOMEN

Speaking on behalf of the voiceless ones

By SIZAKELE KOOMA

SPEAK is a serious indictment of publications that purport to report on women's issues.

The 34-page magazine, which was started as a newsletter for female activists in the early 1980s, shames all women's sections of newspapers and women's magazines with its broad and reflective reporting on women's issues in urban and rural areas.

"*Speak* has been pro-

duced by a group of women of all races with the determination to make women's voices heard and to tell of the exploitation and oppression of women in no uncertain terms," a statement from the magazine reads.

Concern

It does exactly that in stories which show a strong concern by informing and

educating in a way that is not patronising.

The magazine, written in language able to be understood by people who read English as a second language, inspires reader participation and has been well-received by its market, judging by the letters page and *Taxi-talk*, and acts as a forum for discussion on a specific topic selected for the month.

One issue packed a report on problems faced by rural women and what they are doing about them, the Government's position on the legalisation of domestic workers, an interview with a male political leader on his opinion of women's rights, a profile of a renowned woman writer and advice on how to claim for child support.

It really is a magazine with a difference and a true voice of the voiceless.



Here journalists for the new SA will be moulded

WHEN Allister Sparks was fired as editor of the Rand Daily Mail in 1981 he found that honourable journalistic service could be done on the foreign front of the struggle for democracy in SA, as foreign correspondent, author and, occasionally, university lecturer

Come the watershed of February 2 1990 and "everything shifted back internally" Being a foreign correspondent — even for respected papers in the power centres of the West — was simply less vital

Mr Sparks had a sense that there was a job to be done infinitely closer to the heart of democratic transformation. That sense has led to the creation of the Institute for the Advancement of Journalism, which swings into action on Monday

Housed in a mansion on Johannesburg's Parktown Ridge, the institute will be run in association with the University of the Witwatersrand, under the directorship of Mr Sparks and the management of an independent board, chaired by writer and academic Mbulelo Mzama, who is due home from exile in a few months

The purpose of the institute is to help wipe apartheid's stamp from the face of journalism, to take stock of the damage done by years of official press-bashing, to reverse declining standards by intense skills-upgrading programmes, and to assist media institutions to effectively tackle the racial bias in their editorial and management hierarchies

And, Mr Sparks insists, the matter of upgrading journalistic skills is not a parochial media concern

"The media are going to be a major factor in whether we get a successful democracy in this land or not. There is no democracy in the world which does not have with it a free and vig-

A one-person crusade by former newspaper editor Allister Sparks has given rise to Johannesburg's first autonomous training centre for journalists.

STAR
38/5/92

JO-ANNE COLLINGE reports.

243

orous media. And there is no country which has a free and vigorous media which isn't a democracy."

He foresees that "a transitional government is going to feel somewhat insecure" and that, under such circumstances, bad journalism might invite a crackdown

"One of the most crucial things to ensure the survival of a free press is a high standard of professionalism. Reporters have to get it right. It's got to be accurate, it's got to be balanced, it's got to be fair — otherwise it won't survive a transitional regime."

Mr Sparks's focus on skills is coupled with a certitude that the institutions of the media must change during the course of political transformation.

The overwhelming dominance of the broadcast media by the SABC, and the print media by newspapers which are either "beholden to the National Party" or "view the world through the prism of the white English-speaking business establishment", cannot hold

"That structure will inevitably change — whether there's going to be an unbundling of monopoly control or it is done through some other pressure."

There will be pressure for black journalists to forsake their posts as "foot soldiers" of the newsrooms and assume positions as editorial decision-makers, he says.

With intensive talent-scouting and skills-upgrading programmes, Mr Sparks argues, it should be possible to meet this

demand — not only without lowering standards but with an appreciable improvement in journalistic quality.

Despite its Wits linkage, the institute will offer "hands-on courses, dealing with the practicalities of this profession"

Teachers — or "coaches" — will be drawn from outside the institute. In fact, next week's launching course will be an intensive course for senior journalists, to begin transforming them into "coaches". It will be run by Donald Fry of the Poynter Institute in Florida, US

With a glint in his eye, Mr Sparks relates the success of the Poynter Institute and the newspaper associated with it, the St Petersburg Times.

He tells how the late Nelson Poynter, as publisher of the Times, brought in English professors to enhance his journalists' power over words, how this initiative grew to become the Poynter Institute, forging unique ways of teaching writing

"Nelson Poynter proved, among other things, that quality can pay handsomely in journalism," is Mr Sparks's ever-so-slightly barbed conclusion. "His newspaper is now valued at \$500 million (R1,4 billion)."

Short, targeted courses to upgrade the skills of print journalists will come into operation soon. In time, the institute will expand to offer comparable courses in the electronic media.

But Mr Sparks believes this is not enough for those destined to inherit key media jobs. There is a need to overcome a peculiar

South African "introversion and to develop a world view"

In the pipeline — but not yet ready to run — are plans for internships on foreign papers in several countries and for a local equivalent of the famed Nieman Fellowship. The latter would give selected journalists the chance of a year's unrestricted study at Wits

Finally, there's the question of talent scouting. What Mr Sparks has in mind is to stimulate the founding of newspapers in black and nonracial high schools around Johannesburg, to provide pupils with access to technology to produce their papers; and to offer advice and criticism as needed.

School newspapers will yield a great by-product, Mr Sparks believes. "It will be an education in democracy for kids to be criticising their own managements, finding out how far they can go, learning that you get into trouble if you get it wrong."

But for the few with a real nose for news and talent for writing, the school newspaper could be the key to summer schools run by the institute, sponsorship to university and recommendations for admission to media training courses.

The institute is funded by grants from the European Community, various United States foundations, the Argus Group and the Washington Post. It has influential names on its local and foreign boards

It starts out life in a national monument, a gracious relic from a troubled past. If the intentions of its sponsors and planners are realised, the institute's mansion-home will become a symbol of a future democracy, an embodiment of the endless individual strivings which underpin government by the people. □

Mandela STAR 28/5/92 attacks press stranglehold

PRAGUE — Nelson Mandela has denounced the stranglehold imposed on the South African press by unrepresentative white-owned conglomerates

Press groups "controlled by owners who are representing a minority of 15 percent" were crushing the media and should give way to others, Mr Mandela told an international editors' congress in Prague on Tuesday

"The principal players (in the press) have no knowledge of the way of life of the black majority. They don't share their life experiences," he told the 45th World Newspaper Congress of the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers, attended by editors from about 50 countries. (243) ~~243~~

"This situation must be redressed. A reassessment of the control of distribution is necessary," the ANC leader said

He praised the previous communist Czechoslovak government for its "tremendous support to the anti-apartheid struggle with material means" over a period of 30 years.

Mr Mandela said he had held a "frank discussion" on Tuesday on questions of mutual interest with Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa

Mr Mandela had refused to see Mr Calfa when he visited South Africa earlier this month

Mr Mandela also met in Prague with President Vaclav Havel — Sapa-AFP.

Journalists still persecuted worldwide, institute hears

THEO RAWANA

ACCOUNTS of murders, kidnappings, detentions, beatings and bannings dominated the 41st annual general assembly of the International Press Institute (IPI) in Budapest last week as journalists told of attacks on the freedom of the Press.

The IPI, with 2 000 editors and publishers in 70 countries as members, was established to safeguard the freedom of the Press, achieve understanding among journalists (and so among people), promote the free exchange of news and improve standards

Debate at the meetings revealed an almost uniform tendency among governments in new democracies throughout the world to turn on the very newspapers which helped them attain power. This happened to the extent that editors found it as difficult to work under new regimes as they had under earlier dictatorships

Among resolutions passed at the congress was one expressing fears that new dangers threatened Press freedom in former east bloc countries and calling on political leaders to show maturity by not limiting criticism from the media through legislation and restricting printing or newsprint availability.

Another condemned severe repression of journalists by the interim government and the military in Haiti, and yet another expressed serious concern about a proposed Spanish

law creating a new criminal offence involving reports on public and government figures

One report that caught the attention of the assembly was from Enrique Santos Calderon, editor of El Tiempo, Colombia, on the situation facing the media in Latin America.

Dark forces were spreading throughout Latin America where a new authoritarian current had begun to strike against freedom of expression, Calderon said. Murder and kidnapping remained a favoured instrument of censorship and intimidation

"Colombia, in spite of a democratic regime that tolerates all forms of Press criticism, remains the country where direct violence against journalists is practised on a truly horrifying scale"

Crossfire

Although the attacks against journalists by drug traffickers had eased since the surrender of the Medellin cartel chiefs, Colombian journalists continued to be victims of general violence.

"Seven journalists have been gunned down in the last eight months. More than 10 have been kidnapped by guerrilla groups and the climate of insecurity created by a permanent crossfire between drug cartels, Marxist guerrilla movements and rightwing paramilitary groups has

claimed the lives of 25 journalists in the last five years," Calderon said

"Killings of journalists have also been registered in Peru, Mexico, Paraguay, Guatemala and Haiti over the last year. In Panama, the laws of the Noriega dictatorship still hang over the media"

Democratically-elected governments had begun to abuse the media, saying they were defending democracy. In some cases the Press was regarded as an enemy

Venezuela, a democracy for 34 years, foiled a coup attempt by a military faction on February 4, but the anti-media action the government initiated immediately afterwards would have led one to believe the military had won

"The freely elected government of that country imposed censorship, raided newspapers and magazines, and in general assailed the media," Calderon said

In April, Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori imposed martial law, abolished Congress and the Supreme Court and banned political opposition

"While threats to free expression are still a fact of life in our new era of democracy, it can be said that in very few places is such freedom non-existent. Cuba is the glaring example of a country where there is no freedom of expression whatsoever

"In Haiti, one could say there is simply no Press," Calderon said

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BIDAN 29/5/92



The press must change — Mandela

(243)

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w/mal 2915-416192

NELSON MANDELA this week used an international gathering of the world's newspaper publishers to fire a volley of shots across the bows of South Africa's major media groups

In a keynote speech at the FIEJ conference in Prague, he urged the major newspaper conglomerates to break themselves up to make way for greater diversity in the media.

He decried "the reality that three large conglomerates, drawn exclusively from the white racial group, dominate the print media in our country

"What is disturbing and, in our view, harmful, is the threat of one-dimensionality this poses for the media of our country as a whole. It is clearly unacceptable that a country whose population is overwhelmingly black is serviced by a media whose principal players have no knowledge of the life experience of that majority," he said

He said the conglomerates should realise that it is in their interests to ensure the diversity of the South African press, "even in the teeth of the economic pressures that militate towards monopolies

"It is important that meaningful steps are taken to reduce the imbalances in control and access to the media," he said

Mandela strongly praised the "alternative, independent" media, saying that it was on this "outstanding" tradition of "free, independent and outspoken" press that the African National Congress hoped to build. He cited the fact that important recent exposés had been uncovered by "small, independent publications which pioneered a new tradition of investigative journalism that South Africa sorely lacked for the last 30 years

"That the criminals in high places responsible for these deeds might one day, soon, be brought to justice is a tribute to the alternative and independent weekly newspapers," he said

The ANC, he said, believed this tradition must be safeguarded. "A critical, independent and investigative press is the lifeblood of any democracy. It must be free from state interference. It must have the economic strength to stand up to bullying by government officials. It must be protected

so as to protect our rights as citizens. "The huge imbalances that persist in our press sector between a handful of struggling, independent, alternative newspapers and the giant monopolies — the Argus, Times Media, Nasionale Pers and Perskor — must be redressed. This should include re-assessment of the control exercised over distribution," he said

Mandela said his organisation "understands and welcomes" the concern expressed by the South African and international media about the ANC's track record and commitment

The three conglomerates that own South Africa's media should break up to ensure an independent and outspoken press, urges the African National Congress leader

By Weekly Mail Reporter

to justice

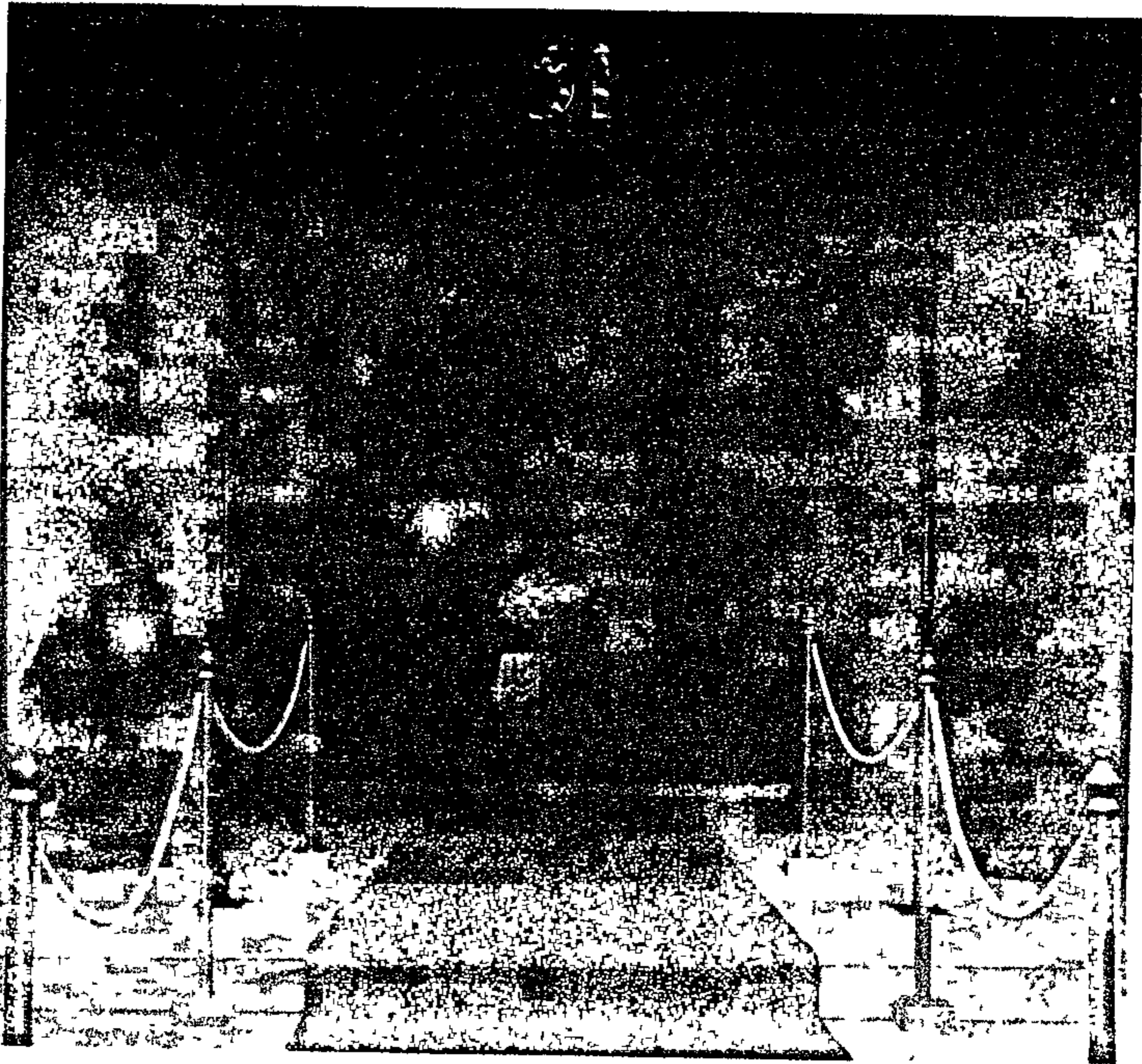
"The ANC has nothing to fear from criticism. I can promise you, we shall not wilt under criticism or close exam-

ination. It is our considered view that criticism can only help us to grow, by calling attention to those of our actions and omissions which do not measure up to our people's expectations and the democratic values to which the ANC subscribes."

He said the ANC wanted to get to the bottom of allegations that it had "abused, maltreated and even tortured" alleged government agents in its custody in exile. He urged the media to help with the ANC's inquiry into this issue, giving the assurance that the organisation had no interest in a cover-up

"I cannot over-emphasise the value we place on a free, independent and outspoken press in the democratic South Africa we hope to build. Such a free press will temper the appetite of any government to amass power at the expense of the citizen. A free press will be the vigilant watchdog of the South African public against the temptation to abuse power

"This is all the more reason why the press in South Africa, including in its ownership, should reflect the composition and varied viewpoints of all our people," he said



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Independents merge for greater impact

By Sabata Ngcai

(243)

South 30/5 - 3/6/92

WORK IN PROGRESS and New Era, two leading independent magazines, have merged

Former editor of Work in Progress (WIP) Mr Devan Pillay is the managing editor of the new publication and the former editor of New Era, Mr Hem Marais, is assistant editor

Pillay said the management of the two magazines felt that in the new political climate there was a need to rationalise resources in the media to avoid duplication.

"We are both political magazines with similar aims and serving the

same readership," he said

Pillay said the new in-depth magazine, which retains the title Work In Progress, could make a greater impact on the media scene

"We are going to challenge anyone who is involved in abuse of power, whether it be in parliamentary or extra-parliamentary circles," he said

The three-member staff of New Era would join the staff of WIP

New Era was owned by Grassroots Publications and WIP by Southern African Research Services

The new magazine is owned by Southern African Research Services

PRESS — 1992

JUNE — DEC,

Slovo wants media to sit in on talks

By Esther Waugh ⁽²⁴⁵⁾
Political Reporter

Codesa proceedings could be opened to public scrutiny when a decision is taken on June 15 on allowing the press access to management committee meetings.

All Codesa meetings, except for plenary sessions, have been behind closed doors

STAR 2/6/92
SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo yesterday proposed that a rotating pool of journalists be allowed to sit in on meetings of the management committee.

It is understood the Inkatha Freedom Party was opposed to the proposal, while Government representatives wanted to discuss it with their principals

Mr Slovo first mooted the idea last month at Codesa 2 when he proposed that the press be allowed in to Codesa proceedings. They would then be able "to see the Government delegates' faces when it was proposed that the words 'democratically elected' be added before the word Senate"

He said last night that "monumental ignorance and confusion" existed among the public about Codesa

AAC role in Press defended

(243)
STAR
By Derek Tommey 2/6/92

Anglo American chairman Julian Ogilvie Thompson was scathing about allegations that his group interfered in the English-language press and it needed to be "unbundled"

He told a news conference yesterday he doubted whether there was any media group in the world where the editors and journalists had a freer time, and had less interference from their shareholders than Argus and Times Media

Anglo American's involvement in the press had been a great success story.

"We find it rather strange that we should be continually lambasted for having helped bring about their independence and viability"

Anglo had received its shares in the Argus group from Charter Consolidated which had acquired them in a mining takeover and wanted to stick to its core-business

Anglo had acquired shares in Times Media from the Advowson Trust to stop it being taken over by people who it was thought at the time would not support the independence of the journalistic profession

"We think there are journalists who do not agree. But we think we managed to maintain the freedom of the English-speaking press and its viability. And those are the two criteria which should govern"

"Any reconstruction of the press would have to meet these criteria," he said

As SA negotiates a new constitution it is vital to get guarantees on the media in writing, says Donald Trell

Press freedom is the key to all our other liberties

SM 2/6/92

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THE fact that South Africa appears to be on the brink of an historic and in many ways astonishing breakthrough into a non-racial democracy is due in no small measure to the courage of the country's own journalists in exposing the evils and corruption of apartheid. And when they were prevented by censorship from publishing the truth in their own country, they showed equal courage and enterprise in ensuring that the facts reached the world outside.

My last visit here was for the centennial conference of The Star in Johannesburg in 1987, which took place during the state of emergency.

The political context of your press freedom debate has changed utterly, but it is important to remember that only the context has changed. The broader issues and principles raised then by all those distinguished speakers from around the world are just as relevant today. As your leaders negotiate the new constitution, it is absolutely vital that the principles

of free expression are enshrined in your law.

The sacrifices made by generations of courageous journalists and editors, and the contribution they have made to the process of democratisation in South Africa, can be rewarded by nothing less. If the country's new constitution fails to give full and adequate recognition to these principles, their courage will have been in vain.

So my first piece of advice about press freedom in South Africa is this: GET IT IN WRITING.

My instinct, based on some experience of such debates with governments — not only in Britain but in other countries around the world — is that everything is happening here at a pace which carries its own dangers. My advice would be to stick to a few basic principles, such as the right to freedom of expression and to freedom of access to public information, and get them accepted as an integral part of your constitutional settlement.

You can then set an agenda of subjects for more detailed discus-

sion later, when a representative government has been elected.

Issues such as media ownership, codes of practice, complaints procedures, the right of reply, and so on, are clearly important in any society and some agreement is needed about them. But they are not the reason why people are being killed every day in South Africa, or denied natural justice, which provides the case for urgency in your constitutional talks.

If you allow yourselves to be rushed into finding instant answers to such complex matters, which have defied easy solutions over many years in Africa, Europe and the US, you may live to repent them at leisure.

Of course it seems wrong in the new South Africa for the power over information to be effectively controlled by a handful of mainly white commercial interests. But that imbalance reflected the old power structure and may correct itself naturally, without government intervention, as the whole society changes. You risk finding yourselves saddled with legisla-

tion designed for a situation that no longer exists, but which haunts you indefinitely.

The government will doubtless argue — all governments do — that freedom of expression cannot be absolute, and that more urgent considerations, such as state security, must sometimes be paramount. In a society like this, going through a period of violent change, that can hardly be denied.

But you must insist that any such exceptions are subject to formal criteria, not just the arbitrary whim of a Minister trying to avoid political embarrassment.

These criteria should be subject to legal appeal and in reaching its decision the court should allow the press to introduce counter-arguments of public interest — a prime one being the public interest, enshrined in a constitution or Bill of Rights, in the free flow of information as part of the very definition of a democratic society.

The press has a vital, dignified and responsible function to perform in any society that really claims to be free. No matter what

is wrong with a society, if the press is free the facts cannot be concealed for ever. While that is true, everything else is somehow correctable. That is why press freedom, a branch of freedom of speech, is the key to all our other freedoms.

This brings me to standards of conduct, and to training — surely one of your most urgent priorities in South Africa and an area where a number of new initiatives are being taken.

This process is sometimes perceived as whites teaching blacks how to make the same mistakes as they do. It seems to me that you are already past that stage in South Africa. The so-called alternative press has been giving a strong lead in investigative stories which the established press have sometimes been slow to follow.

In any event, in the new South Africa, with a potential explosion in popular readership, you both have new things to learn — including broader criteria in deciding what makes news.

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terprising place here and the use of papers — in I as well as in with the ch. newspapers in relevant, to t generation, br media or, no r Given the s have to work, ashamed, to at takes. There i tion among us serve a false l and cling toge nands of our never forget t true master, our rulers, but or her trust end. □

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In any event, in the new South Africa, with a potential explosion in popular readership, you both have new things to learn — including broader criteria in deciding what makes news. I have been glad to see some en-

tempting experiment taking place here with forma design and the use of colour, for it newspapers — in Europe and America as well as in Africa — are faced with the challenge of taking newspapers indispensable, even relevant, to the needs of a new generation brought up on their media or no media at all.

Given the speed at which we have to work, we should not be ashamed to admit to honest mistakes. There is a natural inclination among us media folk to preserve a false pose of omniscience and cling together against the demands of our readers. We should never forget that the reader is our true master, not our owners or our rulers, but the reader. It is his or her trust that counts in the end. □

This is an edited version of the Fairburn Memorial Lecture on Press Freedom, delivered by Donald Treford, editor of The Observer, at last month's congress of the South African Union of Journalists

SPM 2/6/92

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Penta snaps up Enosi magazines

(243) MARCIA KLEIN (1987)

TROUBLED Enosi Publishing's Living and Tribute magazines had been bought by Penta Publications for an undisclosed sum, Penta MD Nicholas Leonsins said yesterday. Penta, which owned Afrikaans glossy magazine De Kat, was established after a management buyout from Enosi 10 months ago. *blow*

Leonsins said the magazines were bought after Enosi laid off staff at the end of May. The June issues of Tribute and Living did not appear last week. The June and July issues would be combined and published within the next week. Both magazines would resume normal monthly trading from August.

Leonsins said Penta was negotiating with potential black investors for joint ownership of upmarket glossy Tribute, which would "retain editorial independence".

Living would return to its "former successful recipe" of free distribution in selected upmarket areas.

The future of recently launched New Idea remained uncertain. Negotiations were taking place with Australian Southdown Press to find a new publisher — believed to be Republican Press — for the women's magazine. *ST6/92*

Make room for independents — Mandela



(243)



SOUTH 6/6-10/6/92

Diversity in ownership of the media is a vital component of a free press, ANC president

Mr Nelson Mandela said in an address to international newspaper publishers in Prague:

I AWS AND mores which repress freedom of expression are a disservice to society, ANC president Mr Nelson

Mandela said in Prague last week. He said the ANC was "firmly devoted" to securing the right of citizens to express an opinion, as long as the exercise of that right did not harm others.

He was delivering an address to a conference of the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers.

Mandela said three large conglomerates dominated the print media in South Africa.

"This has produced an alarming degree of conformism in the South African print media.

"With the exception of one daily, the senior editorial staff of all South Africa's daily newspapers are cast from the same racial mould. They are all white, they are all male, they are all from a middle class background and tend to share a very

similar life experience."

Mandela said the ANC had no objection in principle with these profiles of editors, but believed this posed a threat of one-dimensionality for the media of the country.

"It is unacceptable that a country whose population is overwhelmingly black, 85 percent of the total, is served by a media whose principal players have no knowledge of the life experience of that majority."

The scandal that rocked South Africa last month, the revelations that members of the government shared responsibility in ordering the deaths of four activists, reaffirmed the crucial role of a diverse and independent press in South Africa.

The investigations which uncovered the "sordid facts" were conducted by small, independent publications which pioneered a tradition of investigative journalism South Africa had sorely lacked for 30 years.

"That the criminals in high places responsible for these deeds might

one day soon be brought to justice is a tribute to the alternative and independent weekly newspapers.

"The courage shown by these endeavours needs also to be recognised."

Mandela said the independent weeklies had kept the flag of press freedom flying in the face of draconian censorship.

They offered a platform to people and issues excluded from the mainstream print media. This media has begun to follow the lead given by alternatives in order to compete.

"The removal from South Africa's statute books of the scores of laws, ordinances, regulations and administrative measures that abridge the rights of South African citizens to know the truth and which repress the freedom of the media to publish, is essential for the creation of a climate of free political activity.

"We have insisted that this be effected as speedily as possible, because these laws provide a convenient shield to conceal government misdeeds.

"They also inhibit the growth of a democratic culture that is beginning to find roots, and which needs careful nurturing."

Mandela said the tradition that emerged in the media must be safeguarded if democracy was to be achieved in the country.

A critical, independent and inves-

tigative press free from state interference was the lifeblood of any democracy.

"It must have the economic strength to stand up to bullying by government officials; it must be protected so our rights as citizens are protected."

The ANC wants to include in a constitution measures to ensure the free flow of ideas and information.

The extension of the diversity the alternative newspapers had injected was of vital importance.

"The huge imbalances that persist in the press sector between the handful of struggling independent, alternative newspapers and the giant monopolies — Argus, Times Media Limited, Nasionale Pers and Perskor — must be redressed."

Mandela said a new political climate had been created through a struggle in which the alternative media played an outstanding role.

He hoped this climate would afford the two sides of the media industry an opportunity to accept each other as partners, with a shared interest in defending freedom of the press now and in the new dispensation.

He stressed that the mainstream media had an equal interest in ensuring the diversity of the South African press, even in the face of economic pressures that induce monopolies.

"As the South African newspaper industry rejoins the world media community, it is important that meaningful steps are taken to reduce the imbalances in control and access to the media.

"In this regard, it is necessary that the conglomerates who today beset the South African media like colossi, find ways to disengage themselves so as to make room for other players."

Mandela said freedom of the press was among the most valued of the freedoms for which South Africans had given their lives.

Among them were two ANC militants and journalists, Joe Gqabi and Ruth First, who were both assassinated by South African intelligence agents 10 years ago.

"It would be a slight to their memory and to their pioneering work if, by our actions, we proved unworthy of their sacrifice."

Mandela said a free press in a democratic South Africa would restrict the appetite of any government to amass power at the expense of citizens. It would also be the vigilant watchdog of the South African public against the temptation of the government to abuse power.

"This is all the more reason why the press in South Africa, including its ownership, should reflect the composition and varied viewpoints of all our people," Mandela said.

Ruth First Trust is established

of South Africa 6/6-10/6/92

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THE LIFE of journalist and activist Ruth First, assassinated in Mozambique 10 years ago by South African intelligence agents, will be commemorated in August by the Ruth First Memorial Trust

The Trust will launch the Ruth First Memorial Prize, valued at R10 000, to be awarded to a South African for reportage characterised by "exceptional initiative and courage in the spirit of Ruth First's 'work' and in the assertion of free-

dom of information

The award is open to print journalists, television and documentary film journalists and editors

"The qualifying period will be from 1985 to 1992, which covers the most difficult years in which restrictions on the press hamstringing journalists and editors and placed them at risk," a spokesperson for

the Trust said

The judges, chosen by the Trust, are human rights activist Mrs Audrey Coleman, author Ms Nadine Gordimer and New Nation editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu

"The prime criterion of the judges will be the quality of the reportage, but they will take into consideration a preference for youth

and the usefulness of the prize in promoting skills and recognition of the recipient"

Nominations must be accompanied by three examples of written articles or, in the case of TV and documentary film journalists, by one video and a written précis describing two others. Curriculum vitae must be included. They should be sent to The Ruth First Prize, PO Box 261096, Excom 2023, Johannesburg before June 30 1992

Alternatives have 'infinite value' for society — Ken Owen

By Guy Berger

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EYES opened wide as radical magazines New Era and Work In Progress introduced their guest speaker at a party to celebrate their merger in Johannesburg this week

He was Sunday Times editor Mr Ken Owen — a man not known for associating with left-wing causes

"I'm probably more surprised than you to be here," declared the ideological scourge of socialists

But Owen continued, saying alternative publications had "infinite value" for a society — quipping dryly they "give a voice to those that otherwise would be crushed by the Sunday Times"

Owen said he protested the ban-

SOUTH 616-10/6/92

ning of communist newspaper New Age in the sixties, sending a telegram to then prime minister Mr BJ Vorster. He said he feared this golden age of press liberty would not last, and hoped Work In Progress and New Era would send telegrams to an ANC government on his behalf

His hosts assured him they would

ANC publicity chief Dr Pallo Jordan told Owen an ANC government would not "still voices like Ken Owen or even Ton Vosloo"

Jordan told Work In Progress-New Era "I hope you will have the guts to stand up to bullying from Mr Nelson Mandela, myself and others in the ANC"

Justice Minister applauds media

THE role of the media in exposing large-scale corruption in both public and private sectors deserved high praise, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said on Friday. (243)

"The watchdog role of the media should be encouraged to play a positive, objective and analytical role," he said while replying to the Second Reading debate on the Corruption Bill.

The two-and-a-half hour debate on the Bill resulted in support from all parties except the Conservative Party.

CP/PR/17 7/16/92

An act of compassion

S/ Times
Last month Sowetan editor AGGREY KLAASTE published a picture of a woman who was being necklaced. He explains why

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S/ Times 7/6/92
A COUPLE of weeks ago I was appalled, horrified and consumed with disgust at the death of a woman near Mzimhlophe hostel. Acting under such passionate subjectivity, I decided the Sowetan should carry a picture of the "necklaced" woman.

It was a decision straight from the heart or rather, more anatomically correct, from the stomach. I was hoping to spark similar feelings of disgust among readers. It turned out that some viewed my response with a disgust directed more at the newspaper than the dastardly deed.

Before I rationalise the use of such a picture, let me share with you other feelings of dismay that fill me with a passion of total disaffection against blacks or Africans in general. I ask myself: Why do we hate so much? Why do blacks have this particular hate for blacks?

I thought back to the days of Idi Amin, a black leader who trampled on black life the same way that you would squash the life out of insects.

I thought of the massacres in Angola and how that country has been ruined by

black-on-black violence.

I thought of Renamo and mentioned this to my wife. She said the blame lay with South African whites. I said this was true, but only in part. The whites behind Renamo used black men to mutilate and destroy black women and children.

The other day I met a friend who had just returned from Maputo. There was no hope, no life in Mozambique, he said, and most of the blood was on the hands of black men.

Renamo whites are doing what certain white elements are doing in South African townships. I get furious to think that black people can be used to such desperate lengths against their kin.

This was as much the reason for my decision to use that picture because my stomach was turning and the vomit was about to churn out in all its green bile. Later I rationalised. I said this ability to turn against your own was not unique to blacks. It is a human failing affecting all.

I consoled myself with the extremely horrid thought of Auschwitz and how whites despatched other whites in

the World Wars, visiting pain and damnation on their kin.

Out of disgust I asked that this picture be used. I hoped to shock readers, I hoped to make them feel ashamed.

I did not know if this was right. But I do not make excuses for it because I did it out of compassion.

The reader who called me said he was convinced we were being sensational. He was pretty disgusted with me and called me all sorts of unhappy things until I lost my temper, alas!

I thought about this deeply. Perhaps there is a distinctly dirty, soiled, voyeuristic part inside me which forces me to use such shock tactics, to do these terrible things for personal gain and aggrandisement. If this is so, then God forgive me.

God help us all!

At the risk of boring some of you, this is how my friend, Father Nouwen, puts it in his *With Open Hands*.

"Compassion includes various moments. In the first place, it shows you that your neighbour is a man who shares his humanity with you.

"This partnership cuts through all walls which

might have kept you separate. Across all barriers of land and language, wealth and poverty, knowledge and ignorance, we are still one, created from the same dust, subject to the same laws and destined for the same end.

"With this compassion you can say 'In the expression of the oppressed I recognise my own face, and in the hands of the oppressed I recognise my own hands, which speak of powerlessness and helplessness. His flesh is my flesh, his blood is my blood, his pain is my pain and his smile is my smile. There is nothing in me that he would find strange and there is nothing in him that I would not recognise.

"In my heart, I know his yearning for love, and down to my entrails I can feel his cruelty. In his eyes, I see my plea for forgiveness and in his hardened frown I see my refusal. When he murders I know that I, too, could have done that, and when he gives birth I know that I am capable of that as well. In the depths of my being I have met my fellow-man, for whom nothing is strange, neither love nor hate, nor life, nor death."

Vosloo takes the reins (243)

NASIONALE Pers Managing Director Ton Vosloo has been appointed by the Board of Directors of Nasionale Pers as chairman of the company as from September 11 this year. He shall retain his executive functions. *Cipres 7/6/92*

He succeeds Prof Piet Cillié who has been non-executive chairman of the company for nearly 15 years and who had announced his intention to retire some time ago. It is the first time in the history of the company that an executive chairman has been appointed.

Vosloo, 54, is also chairman of M-Net and present chairman of the Newspaper Press Union of SA.



WM's Portia Maurice wins education award

PORTIA MAURICE of *The Weekly Mail* was this week named Education Reporter of the Year.

The Education Foundation, an independent national development organisation and the British Council presented the award for Maurice's "clear and incisive" writing and "keen understanding of education issues" *with work 12/6-18/6/72*

She was commended for her "thorough work in exploring a range of approaches and solutions to education problems". In particular, a report on fly-by-night inner city schools was mentioned as "a model of concise yet in-depth reporting".

Maurice edits *The Weekly Mail's* weekly education page and regular special education supplements.

This is the second year in a row in which *The Weekly Mail* has featured in this award. Last year's winner was Phillip Molefe, whose entry was based on his work as *The Weekly Mail's* education reporter.

Press liberty has new foes

APR 13/6/92

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■ The media is facing a new censorship onslaught, but this time the perpetrators are the State's opponents, says a report by the South African Union of Journalists on the state of Press freedom in South Africa.

DALE KNEEN

Weekend Argus Reporter

CHANGES in legislation have eased censorship of the media, but political groups and the State still try to force journalists to toe the line.

That's the finding of South African Union of Journalists (SAUJ) secretary-general Karen Stander, who has recorded incidents of media intimidation in a report, *Press Freedom in South Africa 1991/2*

The SAUJ is a trade union affiliated to the International Federation of Journalists and it organises editorial workers in the

print and electronic media

Miss Stander said that since President De Klerk's February 1990 speech a "discouraging" trend had emerged — attacks on the Press were coming not only from the State, but also from its opponents.

"While the stoning of Press vehicles in the heat of political unrest was nothing new, the mood in the townships had changed

"Where a journalist's status had previously afforded some protection, violence or the threat of violence was now being used against the Press in attempts to censor."

The reports notes that journalists have become the targets of political activists and some reporters have worn bullet-proof vests while at work

An SABC cameraman and an assistant editor at the Sowetan have been killed and several journalists and photographers have been shot and injured. Several incidents of assault and harassment of journalists have been recorded

Accusations of assault and harassment have been made against groups, including the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, the Af-

rican National Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Pan Africanist Congress

The report said acts which censored the media have been amended, but "draconian" measures such as detention without trial and powers to ban organisations still exist

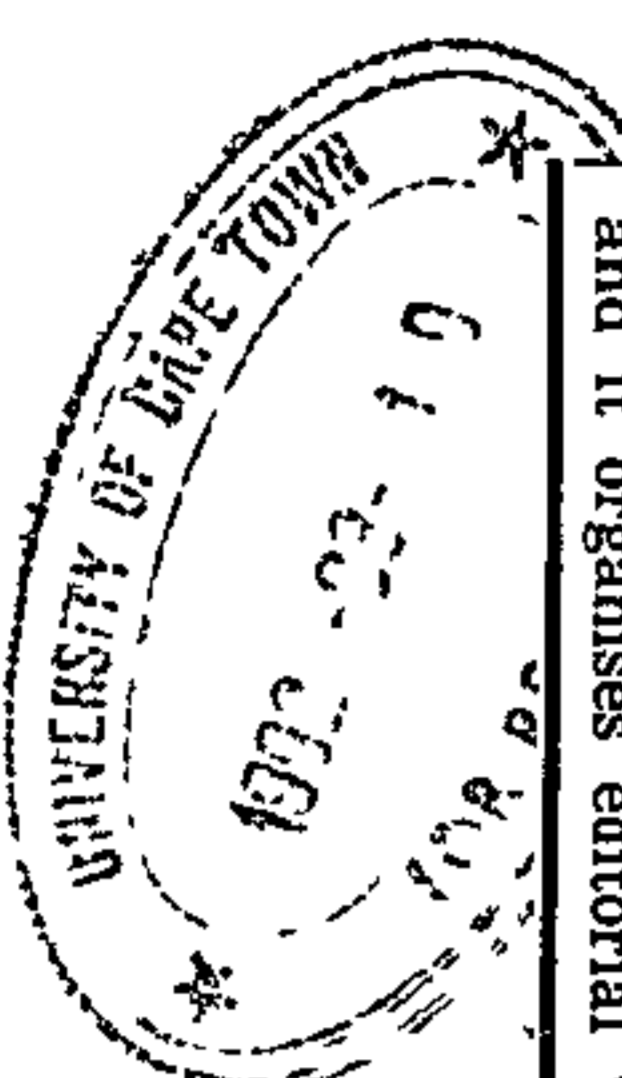
Changes have been made to the Internal Security Act, bringing some relief to the media by removing the powers of the authorities to ban or suspend publications

Parliament has also passed an amendment to the Police Act, scrapping the "notorious" Section 27(b), which restricted the publication of information about the police

A similar section relating to prisons, Section 44(i) of the Correctional Services Act, was also scrapped and a minor amendment was made to the Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act

There are still more than 100 laws on the country's statute books which could be used to restrict the media

Other threats were an overconcentration of ownership and moves to prohibit journalists from joining political parties



World backs press freedom

SOUTH 13/6-17/6/92

By Guy Berger

(243)



SOUTH AFRICA has joined the world newspaper community — and in turn has won weighty international support for press freedom and diversity in this country.

South Africa's Newspaper Press Union — which now represents the alternative and establishment press — was accepted as a member of the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (FIEJ) in Prague last month.

FIEJ was founded in 1948 — coinciding with the start of South Africa's isolation. It now represents

more than 15 000 publications on five continents.

A FIEJ resolution noted the commitment to press freedom made at the conference by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and his call to address imbalances in the South African media.

The resolution called on the world's press and other interested parties to support the process of press diversification in South Africa.

FIEJ welcomed the fact that "key members of the establishment press in South Africa have in principle supported the formation of a trust fund for the development of the independent press and the diversification of print media".

The federation stressed the need to be ever-vigilant in defence of press freedom.

Times Media Ltd

Profit surges 32%

243

2/16/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Times Media Limited (TML), reaping the benefits of new business ventures and a recovery in advertising revenues, has increased attributable profit by 32% to R41,7m (R31,6m) in the year to end-March.

The group, whose interests include the Cape Times, Business Day, the Sunday Times, Financial Mail, M-Net and premium rate telephone service CallNet, increased its turnover by 20% to R320m from R266,1m in "difficult trading conditions".

Financial director Lawrence Clark said the end of declining advertising volumes was reversed in the second half. New business ventures, mainly CallNet, boosted turnover. Operating profit, down at the interim stage, rose 35% to R53,5m after a

Soaring tax bill limits M-Net profit

By **AUDREY D'ANGELO**
Business Editor

A SOARING tax bill — which more than doubled to R30m from R13,6m — limited a rise in attributable profits by M-Net to 18% in spite of a 56% rise in operating profit.

Attributable profit rose to R27,8m (R23,4m). But, because the number of shares in issue rose to 196,7m from 152m following a rights issue in January, earnings at share level dropped to 17,4c (19,1c).

The total dividend payment rose by 29% to R13,7m (R10,6m). The dividend at share level, which was paid in March, was unchanged at 7c.

A growing subscriber base pushed turnover up by an impressive 50% to R640,7m. Operating profit rose to R70m (R44,7m). Finance costs were R7,1m (R5m).

Profit before tax was R62,8m (R46m), but after tax it was R32,6m (R32,4m). The rate of tax increased to 48% (30%) because previous trading losses have been fully absorbed.

M-Net's share of losses by associates was R4,9m. This was mainly due to losses by the European operation FilmNet since acquisition.

And a favourable abnormal item of R63m last year was not repeated.

Chairman Ton Vosloo says the subscriber base continued to grow, reaching 695 000 by year-end. "M-Net has achieved a 27% penetration of the southern African colour TV market."

"We see most additional growth abroad where the subscription TV market is expanding rapidly."

ing full taxation.

Equity accounted earnings of TML's 18% effective interest in M-Net amounted to 115m, representing 13% of profit before extraordinary items. Results of the previous year had been revalued to reflect a change in accounting policy to equity account all long-term investments in which TML held 20% to 50%, and in which it had board representation. These included M-Net, Natal Newspapers, Pretoria News and Dispatch Media.

TVL had acquired a 17,5% interest in international premium rate telephone companies Legion and Fabiano for R21,9m. This and the R40m cost of following its rights in the M-Net rights issue had moved the group into a net borrowing position.

A final dividend of 47c a share brought the year's total to 69c. Cover was increased from 24 to 2,7 times

Hansard

Hansard

Sunday to midnight between the following Saturday and Sunday)

- 4 3 A maximum number of hours equal to 20% of the official hours may be spent on limited private practice. In respect of full-time personnel it is 8 hours per working week of 40 hours and 11½ hours per working week of 56 hours.

- 4 4 Additional control measures aimed at achieving the goals and in order to comply with the conditions in this document, may be laid down by departments/administrations (The South African Defence Force is naturally also a department) after consultation with the supervisory board where applicable.

- 4 5 The type of limited private practice or combination of practices (faculty group practice, departmental group practice/unitary group practice and individual private practice) is the option of the relevant department/administration in consultation with the supervisory board and the faculty where applicable. A faculty group practice is recommended where possible. Limited individual private practices at academic hospitals should only be permitted if the Policy Council for Academic Hospitals approves the principle thereof.

- 4 6 The supervisory board of each academic complex must itself manage and finance the implementation and operation of limited private practice. At non-academic hospitals/institutions the relevant department/administration must ensure that the principle of non-involvement by the government is maintained.

- 4 7 Private practice may in special circumstances and in the discretion of the department/administration, be performed outside the own institution at private institutions or other state institutions. In respect of academic hospitals the supervisory board must be consulted beforehand.

- 4 8 Participation in limited private practice will be with retention of salary, compensatory payments (including the non-pensionable professional allowance) and other conditions of service including future adjustments/improvements of the dispensation.

- 4 9 Because of the possible implications of limited private practice on the private sector, this should be discussed with local

interest groups in the health sphere prior to the implementation of limited private practice.

- 5 10 Private patients who are prepared to serve as training cases will not receive any discount.

Preconditions

- 5 1 Personnel must submit applications to operate a private practice for consideration in accordance with the provisions of section 24 of the Public Service Act, 1984 (Act 111 of 1984).

- 5 2 Limited private practice is a privilege and not a right. The continuation thereof will be considered from time to time to determine whether its objectives are still being met. The first such evaluation for the period ending on 31 March 1993 must be done by the submission of a report to the Department of National Health and Population Development.

- 5 3 Neither the care of state dependant patients, nor the training of personnel or research may in any way be curtailed and may under no circumstances be jeopardized by private practice.

- 5 4 Expansion related to the administration of limited private practice—financial or otherwise—may not be defrayed from state funds. State revenue may not be sacrificed and no resources/facilities may be utilized without the necessary levy. If levies other than those already approved occur, motivated requests must be referred to the Department of National Health and Population Development for co-ordination and submission to the Department of State Expenditure.

- 5 5 Private patients must still be able to exercise a free choice regarding their medical practitioner, dentist or specialist and in respect of treatment by the limited private practice.

- 5 6 It is not the intention that the financial needs of health authorities regarding treatment of state dependant patients be offset against funds generated by limited private practice.

- 5 7 Limited private practice must be administered within the current scale of benefits which is determined by the Representative Association of Medical Schemes.
- 5 8 At hospitals where limited private practice is in operation, the 30% levy on profes-

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sional fees applicable to patients who are treated by participants of the scheme, is discontinued.

Legal requirements

- 6 1 The legitimate rules and regulations of the hospital/institution/clinic where limited private practice is in operation must still be observed by the relevant personnel.

- 6 2 Personnel who participate in limited private practice are accountable in respect of that practice and all resulting claims will consequently be the responsibility of the persons concerned.

- 6 3 Registration of the group practice with the SA Medical and Dental Council and the Association of Medical Schemes is the responsibility of the faculty/personnel.

- 6 4 Existing agreements between health authorities and universities must, where necessary, be adjusted.

- 6 5 The measures contained in this document may at any time be adjusted, amended or revoked.

Kaolin mine at Noordhoek

*12 Mr C W EGLIN asked The Minister of Environment Affairs

- (1) Whether the Government has inspected the site of the proposed kaolin mine at Noordhoek to determine whether protected trees and other flora are growing on the site, if not, why not, if so, (a) when and (b) what are the findings,
- (2) whether he has taken any steps to safeguard any such protected trees and other flora, if so, what steps?

B739E

THE MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS

- (1) The Department of Environment Affairs itself did not undertake a vegetation survey on the site. Such a comprehensive vegetation survey was however done by the consultants, Steffen, Robertson & Kirsten with the assistance of personnel of the National Botanical Institute at Kirstenbosch, as part of the environmental impact study which accompanied the application. This report clearly states that no rare or endangered plant species in terms of the Red Data book occur on the site itself. But even if that were the case,

the conditions pertaining to the authorization to mine require that appropriate measures shall be applied to protect and conserve non-alien flora on the site.

Moreover, the said conditions oblige the mining company to rehabilitate the land and, if required to do so by the monitoring committee, to introduce fynbos on the rehabilitated land.

- (2) Falls away.

Publications Appeal Board: new appointments

*13 Miss M SMUTS asked the Minister of Home Affairs

- (1) Whether new appointments are to be made to the Publications Appeal Board, if so, when,
- (2) whether he is taking or intends taking any steps to ensure that the said board will in future be more representative of the South African population than it is at present, if not, why not?

B740E

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

- (1) Yes. New appointments will be made in the forthcoming month or two.
- (2) Section 35(3)(b) of the Publications Act, 1974 (Act 42 of 1974), requires that persons designated must be persons who by reason of their educational qualifications and experience are fit to perform the functions entrusted to the appeal board. The Act does not specifically require appointments to be representative of the South African community, but every reasonable effort will be made to designate properly qualified persons to reflect as far as possible the norms of the entire South African community in all its variations.

Mr P G SOAL, Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, he says that every effort will be made to achieve the desirability of having a representative board, for which we are grateful, but will he consult those parties and organizations involved with Codesa to ensure representativeness?

The MINISTER, Mr Chairman, I do not have any intention of doing so, because I am ade-

quately advised by the Department and by other bodies [Interjections] (243)
Miss M SMUTS Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, will he consider following up a suggestion I made in the debate, that is to consult the universities at least? They comply with the educational requirement and are representative of society I suggest that is one way of achieving greater representativeness

The MINISTER Mr Chairman, there are representatives attached to universities In fact, the present chairman of the board comes from a university [Interjections]

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament

Water restrictions: Vaal River supply area
*14 Mr T GUNNING asked the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry +

- (1) Whether, in view of the serious drought, he is considering steps to have water restrictions imposed in the supply area of the Vaal River, including the PWV area and the Vaalharts irrigation scheme, if not, why not, if so, (a) what steps and (b) when,
- (2) whether he is considering taking any steps in respect of other supply areas, if not, why not, if so, (a) what steps and (b) when,
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B746E

THE MINISTER OF WATER AFFAIRS AND FORESTRY

- (1) No No restrictions are foreseen for the coming year and are also unlikely for the year thereafter should the drought persist Even though the levels of the storage dams in the Vaal River proper are relatively low, there is sufficient water in storage in the Sterkfontein, Zaahock and Heyshope Dams to ensure an adequate supply of water to all consumers including irrigation farmers who rely on the Vaal River as their water source
- (2) (a) Yes Water restrictions and stricter abstraction control have already been applied in some areas whilst

similar steps are envisaged in others and will be applied as the need arises The only metropolitan area where water restrictions had to be imposed up to now, is the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage complex where severe water restrictions have been in force since June 1991 Water restrictions are also being applied in the Gamtoos Irrigation Scheme downstream of Paul Sauer Dam

Severe drought conditions are being experienced in the Western and Northern Transvaal, the Eastern Cape and large parts of Natal Water restrictions in terms of section 9A of the Water Act, 1956 (Act 54 of 1956) in areas supplied by Government Water Schemes are the following

- Grootfontein/Pofofontein/Molopo Dolomitic Area
- Great Marico River
- Crocodile River (Western Transvaal)
- Letaba River
- Luvuvhu River (Albasim Dam)
- Nzelele River (Nzelele Dam)
- Blyde River
- Crocodile River (Eastern Transvaal)
- Phongolo River

Restrictions have also been imposed on the Sabie River to ensure a minimum flow for the Kruger National Park, as well as on the Mkhuzi River

- (b) The restrictions mentioned in (2)(a) above are already in effect In the light of the continuing drought it is expected that further areas of supply will have to be subjected to restrictions as soon as water supplies become depleted below the levels needed to sustain assured supply until the next rainy season
- (3) Yes Droughts (and floods) are a common occurrence in South Africa but the impact

thereof depends on the utilization of the water resources of a river system It must also be realized that the law of diminishing returns applies to water resources development The more dams are built in a river system the bigger and costlier they will have to be to achieve a comparable increase in yield until a stage is reached where the potential of the system makes further development impossible Another question that has to be answered is whether the incremental yield is warranted in terms of the cost thereof and whether more economical results could not be achieved through proper demand management such as more efficient use and restrictions

I can announce today that as from 22 June 1992 water will be released from the Sterkfontein Dam near Harrisburg at a rate of 40 cubic metres per second to supplement the water supply in the Vaal Dam, which is currently only 35% full This decision has been taken as a result of the low level of the Vaal and Bloemhof Dams and bears testimony to the good planning by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry and the far sightedness of this Government to allocate funds at an early stage for the creation of Government Water Schemes to meet future demands

The Sterkfontein Dam, which is slightly larger than the Vaal Dam, with a storage capacity of 2 529 million cubic metres is at present full for the first time Since November 1974 water has been pumped from the Tugela River to the Sterkfontein Dam Water is held back in the Sterkfontein Dam for as long as possible as losses through evaporation are considerably lower there than from the Vaal Dam In this manner flood absorption is also created in the Vaal Dam The water that is released flows along the Nuwejaar Spruit and the Widge River to the Vaal Dam The distance from the Sterkfontein Dam to the Vaal Dam is approximately 320 km It takes seven days for water which is released from the Sterkfontein Dam to reach the Vaal Dam

INTERPELLATION

The sign * indicates a translation The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language
Own Affairs

Fish Hoek Municipality development of "Dunes Area"

1 Mr R V CARLISLE asked the Minister of Local Government

- (1) Whether he will oppose the development of Section 7, Part C, of the so-called Dunes Area of the Fish Hoek Municipality as a residential area, if not, why not, if so, by what means,
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B795E INT

THE MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT Mr Chairman, during April 1992 a portion of land known as Extension 7, Zone C, was rezoned by the Fish Hoek Municipality from undetermined purposes to subdivisional purposes for residential use A large number of objections were lodged against the proposed rezoning, and a number of objectors have now appealed to the Ministerial Representative in terms of section 42 of Ordinance 15 of 1985 against the rezoning

The appeals are at present receiving attention in accordance with procedure set out in appeal regulations The matter is therefore at present sub judge, and I am consequently unable to comment on the merits of the rezoning The Ministerial Representative, who acts in terms of powers assigned to him by the Minister of Local Government, House of Assembly, under section 28(2) of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, Act 110 of 1983, will finally decide whether to uphold the appeal or grant permission for the rezoning

Mr R V CARLISLE Mr Chairman, I find the response of the hon the Minister disappointing The hon the Minister has to apply his mind, whether he delegates to an agent or not What we would like to do is to assist him in that process and to assist him in recognising that this is an area where he must not only apply his mind, but

Repeal of newspaper law (243)

The controversial law allowing the Government to cancel summarily the registration of newspapers is to be repealed, as agreed by Codesa's Working Group One. This was decided yesterday by the parliamentary joint standing committee on justice.

STAT 17/6/92

Statement adds fuel to WM exposé of covert operations

By RAY NXUMALO (243)
WARRANT OFFICER Thys Nolte, exposed by *The Weekly Mail* as an operative at a secret SAP house in the Vaal linked to the masterminding of violence, has been further implicated in the planning of anti-African National Congress attacks.

In a sworn statement, a Sebokeng youth, 20-year-old Mosotho Tsotetsi, said a white policeman called "Thys" had been present at a "planning session" at the kwaMadala Hostel in Vanderbijlpark in May at which Inkatha supporters plotted to attack the houses of ANC leaders in the area.

Tsotetsi, a member of the ANC Youth League who says he was abducted to the hostel, also claims "Thys" assaulted him when he refused to sign an Inkatha Freedom Party membership form.

When shown photographs of Nolte by *The Weekly Mail* weeks after making the statement, Tsotetsi immediately identified him as the Thys referred to in his affidavit.

The new information adds fuel to *The Weekly Mail's* exposé of the covert police operation and its links with violence at a time when the matter is being examined by the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry.

The houses Tsotetsi says he was asked to attack were those of Bavumile Vilakazi, assistant secretary of the ANC's Vaal region, and Vaal Council of Churches fieldworker Saul Tsotetsi, killed in a grenade explosion earlier this year. Nolte is the officer investigating Saul Tsotetsi's death.

Tsotetsi's statement strongly suggests that "Thys" exercises a leadership role in the hostel.

In his statement, Tsotetsi says that on May 11 this year he was abducted to kwaMadala Hostel and shepherded into a room, where the names of Vilakazi, Saul Tsotetsi, Sokwazi Secondary School and Mashabane Secondary School had been written on a blackboard. He says he was ordered to complete an IFP membership form, and refused to do so.

A man then "told me that I will have to use hand grenades to bomb the schools that appeared on the board, and attack the homes of the comrades that I have mentioned."

"I told them that I cannot use a hand grenade. One white man asked me as to whether I can use a gun. I told him that I cannot use a gun," he said in his affidavit.

The white man, whom Tsotetsi believes is a policeman working under Nolte, then took him outside and showed him how to use an AK47 and hand grenades.

Tsotetsi also claims he was offered money — in the form of two cheques — to carry out attacks. "The same white man who demonstrated the use of an AK47 brought two cheques to me. The first was a cheque of R2 350, for which I would attack Saul and Bavumile's homes. The second one amounted to R8 350, which I would receive if I were to bomb schools."

He says he refused the money. Later, he says, he was taken to the schools but refused to carry out the instructions.

He says his abductors then bound him, struck him on the head and tossed him over the school fence. He later found himself in hospital.

Asked for comment, Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said: "Until such time that the SAP have the opportunity to fully investigate the allegations made by *The Weekly Mail* informant, the police cannot properly supply a reasonable and objective comment on the matter."

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Shop stewards' bulletin

BY FERRAL HAFPAJEE

(243)

A GLOSSY and sophisticated publication, *The Shopsteward*, resembling a little sister of the *South African Labour Bulletin*, was launched last week.

The ambitious bi-monthly bulletin — which will replace *Cosatu News* — is an attempt to unplug communication between national union leadership and rank-and-file membership. It is being targeted at shop stewards, the first line of union leadership.

"There was a need for a publication to enable workers to get full information on campaigns and to be able to mandate the leadership," says editor Fiona Dove.

Central to the new bulletin will be political and economic report-backs and simplified information on campaigns like the National Economic Negotiating Forum and the restructuring of the National Manpower Commission. It will take up "bread and butter issues like food prices, VAT and poverty and drought relief", says Dove.

The bulletin is based on a study of about 800 shop stewards done by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry. Their average education is between Standard 6 and 8, but they are all highly politicised and well-read. Most of the respondents read a variety of magazines, a number of daily papers and at least two weekly papers.

The study revealed that over 80 percent of the shop stewards are black men in their early thirties, practising Christians and politically active and they watch a lot of television and listen to the radio extensively. *w/men* 1916-25/6/92.

SA rag trade in tatters

BY FERRAL HAFPAJEE

(243)

w/men 1916-25/6/92

THE hard-pressed clothing industry is battling to find a wage settlement this year and prospects dimmed when the South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union declared disputes in three industrial councils last week.

The union, which represents 105 000 members in the three councils, threatened to ballot members for strike action by the end of July if sufficient progress is not made.

Last week, garment workers in the western Cape marched to the headquarters of the Cape Clothing and Knitting Manufacturers Association to present wage demands to employers.

The union is demanding increase of between R28 and R30 a week, a provident fund by January (with three percent contributions by the company) and bonus payments. The union tabled additional demands in Cape Town, the heart of the clothing industry.

These are: sick pay in accordance with the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, an industry minimum severance pay and a short-term fund.

Employers to date have offered average increases of five percent which would bring the minimum wage to R875 in Johannesburg, R907 in Cape Town and R930 in Durban.

The union accused employers "of shifting the burden of the recession on to workers".

But all is not gloomy in the negotiations. Key non-wage demands were met when employers agreed to discuss national industrial and productivity councils with the union in October. The dependents of garment workers will now be treated at clothing industry clinics while workers at small businesses will be covered by council agreements.

A statement from the clothing industry this week said: "The industry is financially stretched to the limit. It is suffering the accumulated impact of recession, rising imports and wage pressures."

One of the first corners the cash-strapped consumer cuts is the clothing budget. And the clothing industry is reeling from the impact of cut-backs: 20 000 jobs were shed in the past year, 40 companies went to the wall, and many others are just surviving.

Argus lifts ⁽²⁴³⁾ ET 24/6/92 income 23%

JOHANNESBURG. — Argus Holdings increased its attributable income by 22,8% to R89,7m in the year to end-March on good results from most of its subsidiaries and associates.

Earnings, including retained earnings of associates, rose 20,3% to 213c (177c) a share. Excluding associates, earnings rose 10,9% to 153c a share.

A final dividend of 40c a share increased the full-year dividend by 10% to 55c.

Comparative results for financial 1991 have been restated to reflect that M-Net is now equity accounted and that associate Times Media Limited (TML) is equity accounting some of its investments. Comparative results include retained earnings from these sources, CE Doug Band said.

While turnover increased 11,4% to Band said a strong focus on containing costs and maintaining margins resulted in a 16,3% rise in trading income to R194,5.

The increase in the interest bill was restricted to 12,9% (to R9,7m) through tight management of working capital, in spite of high capital expenditure and investment in new activities during the year. A reduction in the tax rate saw net income after tax rise 18,5% to R102m.

After taking into account income and dividends earned from associates and income attributable to outside shareholders, attributable income had grown 22,8%.

Argus Newspapers reported a 35% increase in profit after tax. Band said the circulation market of its publications — with the exception of Sowetan — had been difficult. However, advertising revenues had shown “a decided improvement” in the second half.

Little cause to tremble over defamation judgment

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The Appeal Court recently confirmed that political parties, no less than individuals, have a right to sue for defamation. Should this judgment have journalists and other political commentators trembling in their boots?

No, say media lawyers of the outcome in the case *Argus Printing and Publishing Company Limited v Inkatha Freedom Party*. The bold print of the judgment certainly holds that freedom of expression cannot override the right of political parties to protect their reputations by legal action.

But the fine print indicates that the circumstances in which legal action can be brought are limited, and the defences open to the media recognise the value of freedom of political expression.

"What's really happening is that the courts have been extending the class of people

who can sue for defamation — and this judgment is just part of that trend. But, at the same time, the courts have been increasing the number of defences available to defendants," says attorney Norman Manoim.

"I think defamation of political parties is something that the media need to be on the lookout for now. But I'm not sure we are going to see an avalanche of suits and it will be only in rare cases that the party is going to succeed," says attorney Wend Wendland, who represented the Argus Company in the recent appeal.

In his judgment, Mr Justice Grosskopf said: "Mere debate on political questions or expressions of disagreement with an opponent's political views would clearly not be actionable." He quoted approvingly the observation of Mr Justice Ludorf that the audiences of politicians would dwindle "if the speaker were to use tones, terms and expressions that one could expect from a lecturer at a

meeting of the ladies' agricultural union on the subject of pruning roses"

If debate is allowed considerable latitude, factual reporting of the actions of political parties is not so immune to defamation action. This gives some cause for concern — in view of the courts' extremely broad definition of political parties to include extra-parliamentary political organisations, trade unions, civic and residents' organisations — and that some of these organisations are regularly accused in the media of anti-social or violent acts.

Mr Justice Grosskopf noted that if a newspaper were sued for reporting such matters, the major defences of truth, fair comment and public benefit remained open.

"The publication of true statements about public officials and figures is generally for the public benefit."

And, the judge added, it seemed that the defendant would not bear the onus of proving the truth of the supposedly defamatory state-

ment, the overall burden of proving unlawful publication remained with the plaintiff.

Journalists argue that the foundation for an adequate defence on these criteria should be laid in the normal course of sound reporting.

Raymond Louw, of the Campaign for Open Media, observed that a report "would have to be very very wrong and injurious" for a political party to sue with hope of success.

The recent judgment reaffirmed the position that the Government does not have the right to sue for defamation and allowed that the ruling party might have to be considered differently from other parties.

Mr Manoim said apartheid had created an abnormal situation where organisations denied access to the institutions of political power used the courts as a substitute. He foresaw that as inclusive political institutions were created, parties would stick to political terrain in fighting their battles.

STAR 25/6/92

STAR 25/6/92

243

3

Press barred
(243) CI 26/6/92
from CP talks

Political Staff

THE embattled Conservative Party is to hold most of its special congress in Pretoria tomorrow behind closed doors.

The unusual step comes after a period of soul-searching in the party that has seen two of its MPs expelled and others on the brink of departure.

The congress has been called at the Pretoria showgrounds to thrash out future strategy and policy.

The party hierarchy has decreed that the congress be closed to journalists after leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's opening address.

DRUM

echoes of an era

SOUTH 27/6-1/7/92

243

Michelle Saffer

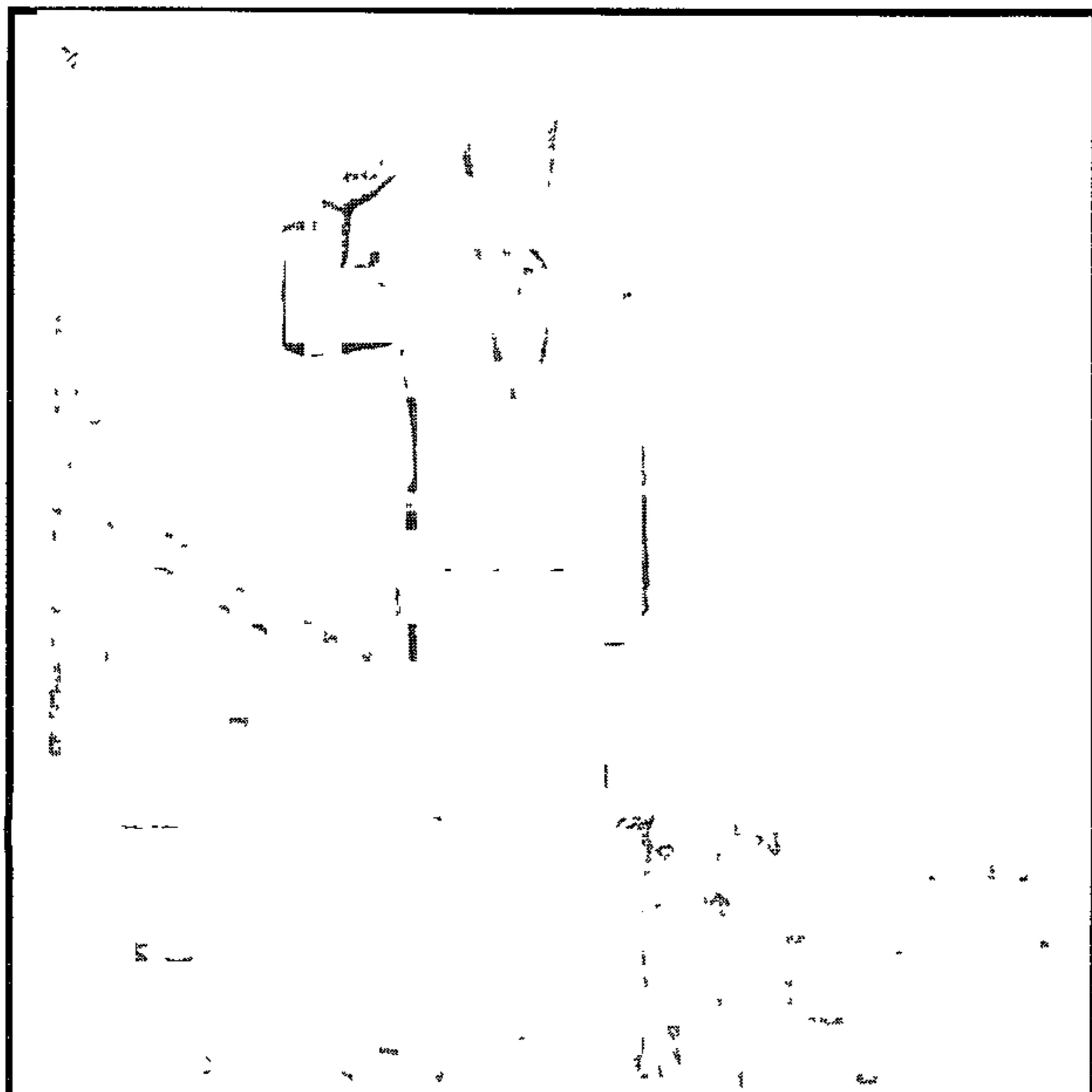
sketches a profile of the magazine that told of the good the bad and the ugly

THE FIFTIES The "good ole days" of Sophiatown and Newclare Chief Albert Luthuli was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize Lillian Ngoyi and Helen Joseph led thousands of women to the Union Building in protest against passes for women

Jazz giants Kippie Moeketsi and Hugh Masekela and singer Miriam Makeba began their careers A new language, "fly-taal" took to the streets And "Drum" magazine was there to record this vibrant time

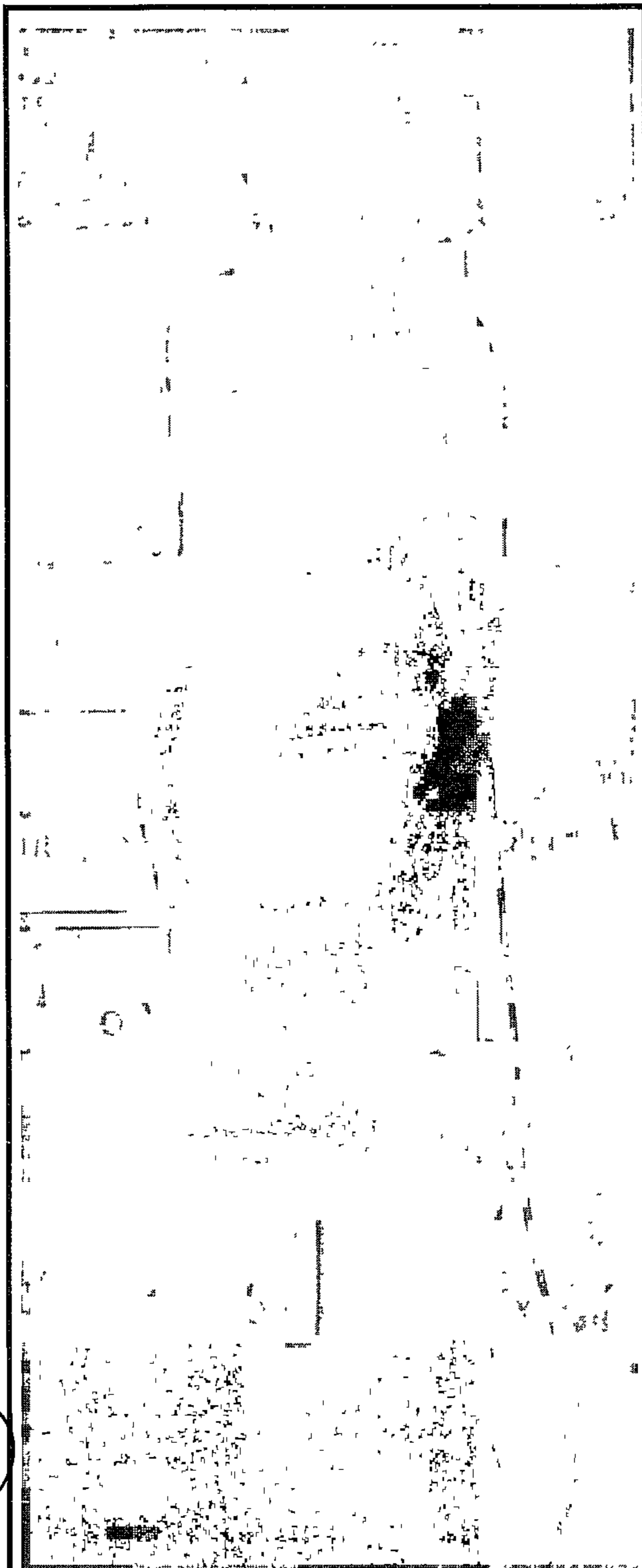
Started by Jim Bailey in 1951, it soon became a showcase for informally trained but talented photographers and writers such as Nat Nakasa, Bob Gosani and Peter Magubane They recorded the good, the bad and the ugly gang violence, poorly paid farm workers, local sporting champs, Trevor Huddleston in his clerical robes, entertainers, politicians

"Drum" reflected the kaleidoscope of city life with its energy, its hopes and its disappointments



HAUNTED (pic: Bob Gosani)
Josias Madzunya, 'Africanist, bus boycott leader and free spirit'. Born in Sibasa, Northern Transvaal, he came to Johannesburg in 1931. He completed a correspondence course in public speaking and held court at his regular position, corner Pritchard and Troye streets. 'Whites haunt me and I am constantly running away from them,' he said

57c



A VOICE THAT SMILES (pic: Jurgen Schadeberg)
Miriam Makeba, 'the girl with the smile in her voice'. In 1952, the 19-year-old came with her baby and her dreams to Johannesburg



HERE THEY COME (pic: Jurgen Schadeberg)
A time of racial classification, reclassification and pass laws. William Wentzel was taken by the police to the pass office 'to see what you really are'. There he was reclassified as an African. There were cases of members of a family being classified as belonging to different races. Africans had to carry passes at all times and produce them on demand, to see whether they had permission to be in a certain area



CLOSE TO YOU (pic: Bob Gosani)
Lewis Nkosi, "Drum"'s "Angry Young Man", and partner

We are changing our looks

Your *Sowetan* changes its looks from Monday July 6 to match the dynamic world around us

THE nineties are distinguished from the earlier decades by the breathtaking rate of change in society now

The clothing, the music, the computers, the politics, the cars, the art, the writing, the schools, the language - everything - changes at phenomenal speed and it is the duty of the newspaper, as a mirror of society, to reflect this

Your newspaper is changing to reflect this fast-changing world

Readers have less time for their newspapers because of competition for their time TV, radio, computers, sports, and busy home and work lives make it important for us to make the few minutes you have to read very effective

Abreast

We have thus designed a friendlier newspaper that will help you breeze through and keep abreast of what is happening in the world

The first change you will observe will be in the masthead, the name plate if you will, that announces that this is the *Sowetan*

We have always tried to keep up with the times, and that is why the masthead is changing for the third time since the birth of *Sowetan*

We believe the new one is more modern and is in line with design trends around the world - clean-cut type with no fancy frills

Research has shown that type on a colour background is more difficult to read We want you to instantly recognise your *Sowetan*

Throughout this week we will be writing on this page about the changes you should expect from next Monday We would love to hear your comments

Friendlier ²⁴³ newspaper that will ^{Sowetan} help you ^{29/6/92} breeze through



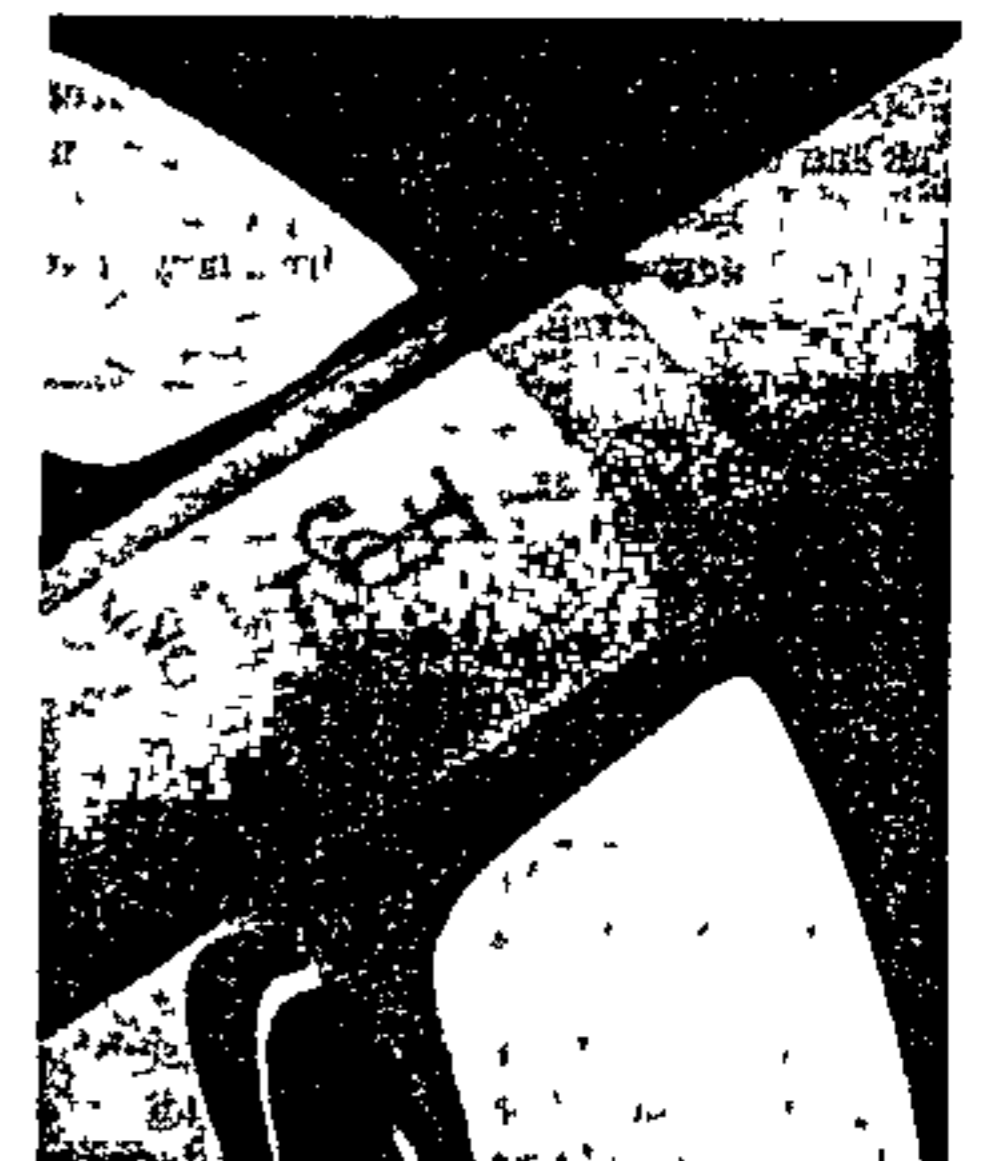
Above The first *Sowetan* masthead reflected the role the newspaper played in the community, that of mirror

Below The new masthead goes back to the old traditions of design - clean, readable and reflects the elegance of a society with greater aspirations.



Above. The present masthead was cleaner and more readable than the first and incorporated the new philosophy of the newspaper - Nation Building

A special melody. A special mood. A special kind of pleasure.



John Player Special.

Created from the finest golden virginia tobaccos, hand selected and blended for the sole purpose of giving you pleasure

And here it is!



Tomorrow: Typography used to make reading easier and more pleasant

Photographers assaulted

Staff Reporters

Press photographers and reporters came under attack at the Boipatong funeral yesterday when at least six newsmen were held at gunpoint and severely assaulted

Among those injured were Juhan Kuus of Sipa-press and Joao Silva of The Star

Kuus said last night he owed his life to black photographers and a man, known only as George, who was wearing a PAC T-shirt. This man was later attacked "for helping a white man"

Kuus said he was ad-

vanced upon at the burial site by youths wearing PAC T-shirts. One knocked him to the ground with a stick. The group started stoning him.

"They circled me. It was an absolutely terrifying experience. Thank God for George and the black photographers who rescued me."

Silva was kicked in the face earlier in the day when he and Weekly Mail photographer Guy Adams were taking pictures of marching people, also wearing PAC T-shirts.

"While I was kneeling, one moved out and kicked me a

hefty blow in the face. Another in the same group reached out and grabbed Guy Adams by the hair."

Later, Adams had a shotgun shoved in his face and was threatened with shooting after taking a picture of an armed PAC man.

Kuus said last night he had only partial sight in his right eye after being hit with a stone, and would see an ophthalmologist and have X-rays taken of his skull today.

Kuus said he had once before in his career been beat-

● To Page 3

Pressmen attacked at funeral

STAR 30/6/92

● From Page 1

en up by the AWB and considered himself now "beaten up equally"

He would call on political leaders to tell their supporters to "leave the media alone"

A Citizen reporter was reportedly dragged from his car by a group of youths who tried to prevent him from getting into Boipatong to cover the funeral.

Later, two other journalists, including Tom Carver from the BBC, were reportedly assaulted by youths.

● Anti-apartheid organisations today strongly condemned attacks on journalists and press photographers during yesterday's funeral.

They said they distanced themselves from any harassment of the press.

The PAC said the attacks were carried out by people wearing PAC T-shirts who wanted to "put our name into disrepute".

STAR 217192

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ANC call not to harass newsmen

For the first time since its unbanning more than two years ago, the ANC yesterday called on its members to desist from harassing journalists, saying they should be given "every assistance to do their difficult and important job"

The ANC said that in the light of attacks on journalists at the Bopatong funeral on Monday, it found it necessary to re-state that journalists had "the right to move freely throughout South Africa"

Although the ANC has always spoken in favour of freedom of the press, this is believed to be the first time the organisa-

tion has actually called on its members and supporters not to harass journalists:

PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai yesterday distanced his organisation from Monday's attacks, saying they were carried out by people wearing PAC T-shirts who wanted "to put our name into disrepute".

Azanian People's Organisation president Pandelani Nefolobedwe said that as a matter of principle Azapo did not believe it served any purpose "to attack or kill people" — Political Reporter

Widow found strangled on East Rand

A 76-year-old Nigel widow, who lived alone, was found strangled in her Eeufees Street home early yesterday

Police said Ruby May Hallenstredt was found by her daughter Ellen

Top Aussie sportsman on hunger strike

MELBOURNE Australia's top-ranked male badminton player, Wei Yan, began a hunger strike yesterday outside the Olympic Committee offices in Sydney to protest at his omission from

Govt calls for open media (243)

JOHANNESBURG — A free and open media is one of the best guarantees of democratic government. Local Government Minister Mr Leon Wessels said yesterday on behalf of Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer **ET 3/7/92**. He took a firm stand against the intimidation of journalists by political organisations

'Past gags were harmful'

By Michael Sparks

243 (32)

STAR 317192

The liberation of the media in SA since February 1990 had shown that earlier Government actions to restrict the media were counter-productive, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

Mr Meyer's speech was read on his behalf by Manpower and Local Government Minister Leon Wessels at a conference on Africa and the Media arranged by Harvard University's Nieman Foundation and the African-American Institute.

One advantage of a vigorous press was that "the glare of

publicity has a moderating effect on policy", Mr Meyer said.

He said it was right for newspapers to espouse the ideals of certain organisations, but emphasised it was important that the marketplace be open to purveyors of all such ideals, with a self-imposed code of ethics for the media.

It was important for the entrenchment of press freedom to be a reality, not just part of a constitution.

He said such notions might sound ironic coming from a Government which did not have a great track record on press freedom. "But our past mistakes give us greater insight."

PAC challenges SA media 'monopoly'

STAR 4/2/92

243

AN independent trust should be created to facilitate diversity in South African media ownership, Pan Africanist Congress deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said yesterday.

Addressing the Neiman African-American Institute of Southern Africa Media Conference, Moseneke said South African media were controlled by four corporations which produced 90 percent of newspapers sold. This control was the antithesis of democracy and in-

hibited debate.

"A future constitution should make provision for the right of minority newspapers to exist and the State must afford these publications subsidies to guarantee their survival."

He expressed the PAC's disgust and disapproval of the assault on two journalists by people wearing PAC T-shirts during the Boipatong massacre funeral on Monday. The PAC had taken steps to identify the culprits, he said.

The media presenta-

tion of the political strife as "black-on-black violence" was a cynical distortion of the truth, aimed at showing that the liberation movement was incapable of controlling its supporters, Moseneke said. However, he conceded that some of the violence could be blamed on the battle for political support in the townships.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said at the same event that Nelson Mandela had personally undertaken to issue a directive to all

ANC structures to ensure township youths learnt to respect journalists covering unrest situations.

"The ANC's national working committee is looking at the events of the Boipatong funeral, how journalists were harassed and shot at," Mr Ramaphosa said. "The ANC must take immediate steps so that it does not become a culture that starts growing in South Africa."

At least six journalists were assaulted or threatened at the funeral of 37

people killed in Boipatong.

Turning to media independence, the most critical issue remained the SABC, Ramaphosa said. "The ANC believes the most urgent issue is to reach agreement on a completely reconstituted, impartial and non-partisan management and board of directors for the SABC."

The ANC advocated an Independent Media Commission to consider urgently the question of a reconstituted SABC Board — Sapa

BLINDED AT BOIPATONG FOR DOING HIS JOB

STimes 5/7/92

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By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

THIS is the bloodied face of Sunday Times freelance photographer Juhan Kuus after he was beaten up by youths wearing PAC and SACP T-shirts at Boipatong on Monday.

Kuus, who also represents international photo agency Sipa, was there to cover the memorial service for the June 17 massacre victims.

He has temporarily lost the sight of his right eye.

BBC reporter Tom Carver's hand was fractured in another incident when other PAC supporters clubbed his head and hand.

In both cases the attacker's chanted "One settler, one bullet", the PAC's anti-white cry.

"The mood has changed

completely from the goodwill we experienced a couple of months ago. Now it is black against white," said Kuus.

"The absolutely terrifying thing was that as I was being led to the Red Cross ambulance after the stoning, covered in blood, black people laughed at me."

Kuus and Carver were among six newsmen attacked at Boipatong on Monday.

Mr Nelson Mandela has since said he will issue a directive to all ANC township organisations ordering them to ensure the safety of journalists.

LEFT Juhan Kuus, photographed by colleague Selwyn Tait, after being beaten in Boipatong on Monday.

RIGHT One of Kuus's award winning pictures, a policeman guarding a child during the battle of Ventersdorp last year.



Keeping the flame of press freedom alive

STAR 6/17/92

243

During the recent joint conference of the Nieman Foundation and African-American Institute, JO-ANNE COLLINGE spoke to two African editors about the independent media.

GITOBU Imanyara and Gwen Lister — Africans and editors both — have endured jail and confronted death to protect, as it were, a candle in a hurricane to keep their publications alive in the face of the harshest oppression

No, they do not have press empires to defend. They stand guard over small papers, the Nairobi Law Monthly and The Namibian, which embody the right of the public to receive information

— This right seems to exert a force as irresistible as gravity on both Imanyara and Lister, creating a powerful professional bond between the introspective Kenyan lawyer-turned-editor and the forthright Namibian journalist

A strange bond, for they learnt this commitment on opposite sides of the crest of liberation struggles

Lister was one of the many lesser midwives of an independent Namibia. She and her staff on The Namibian, she says, "unashamedly opposed South African occupation and said it was up to the people to choose". The struggle for liberation sharpened her understanding of the link between democracy and a free press

dom of association and speech "were reduced into meaningless chants Africa's founding fathers disgraced us"

His Nairobi Law Monthly, founded in 1987, was an early contribution to the now-powerful multiparty democracy movement in Africa

During his first two-year stint in jail in the mid-1980s, when he realised how many Kenyans had been tortured, Imanyara decided to start a civil rights campaign

The Law Monthly was the vehicle of this campaign. It is a magazine aimed at the literate population, not narrowly targeted at lawyers

"In the struggle for the restoration of the worth of a human being, for the restoration of democratic practices and the rule of law, there can be no question of neutrality. We in the media must side with those who strive for the restoration of these basic values," Imanyara told the conference of the Nieman Foundation and the African-American Institute, held in Johannesburg last week

He associates himself strongly with the assertion of US media icon Walter Cronkite that "a free press is democracy" and foresees that an independent press in Kenya would be more important than many opposition parties

Reflecting on why the struggle against colonialism deteriorated into autocratic rule, under which freedom of



Gwen Lister . . . struggle for liberation sharpened her understanding



Gitobu Imanyara . . . the independent press won't ever have an easy ride.

expression was stifled, Imanyara says "We idolised these leaders. We made them larger than life — we personalised the struggle. It was not a struggle for ideals and rights"

He also says "What we in the African continent saw was not real independence. We did not dismantle oppressive institutions." The new leadership simply took over a State machinery ill-fitted to democracy

Imanyara points out that the sedition laws under which he was detained were precisely those which the British

The fact that people in Kenya came to know of democratic struggles elsewhere, particularly in Eastern Europe, was a powerful impetus to change "The world has become so small, that even when I am arrested it becomes international news within hours"

Imanyara reckons that the media have become "the most dreaded institution of autocratic rulers the world over" and therefore "the first victim of their anger" He does not expect that an independent press will ever have an easy ride, no matter what party is in power

Lister, of course, has lived through a radical change of power in Namibia. And, although the Swapo government — as a democratically chosen government — is precisely what The Namibian fought for, still the paper guards its independence jealously

"Namibians, who only two years ago emerged from the dark days of colonialism and are only now learning to bury their fears and become conscious of their newfound rights, would be the losers if the independent press was to die. Our democracy will not flourish without a truthfully informed electorate," Lister told the conference

The Namibian is both the largest daily paper in Namibia and the only independent one. The others are either linked to the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) op-

position or the government "From the outset, the Namibian government has made it clear that constructive and informed criticism of their actions is a healthy pursuit which is an integral part of nation-building," she said

And it had honoured this position, tolerating criticism even when it didn't quite like it. Lister observes that a recent "rapping over the knuckles" for criticising the government about its stance on the reintegration of Walvis Bay was "a damn sight better than the days when we were firebombed merely for mentioning Koevoet atrocities"

The real battle of The Namibian in the post-liberation era has been one for financial survival. "In Namibia, threats to press freedom have come not from government but from vested-interest monopoly, which can be as destructive of free debate as State censorship and oppression"

The DTA has a virtual stranglehold on the print media, owning at least five newspapers and the only two commercial printing presses. This means that The Namibian relies on its opposition for printing and distribution

Lister believes, in contrast to Imanyara, that democracy and the independent media are not quite synonymous. Given the financial situation, she says "I fear for an independent press in Namibia, but I don't fear for democracy itself" □

In our overheated climate, we must have sceptical journalism, reports R W

Facts remain the bottom

STAR 1/1/72, 243

Johnson
line

'SECRET Koevoet base linked to Boipatong" screamed the Weekly Mail headline, in a story which started several days of frenzied media speculation in South Africa and abroad

The bottom line of the story was the notion that the South African security forces had actually perpetrated the Boipatong massacre. But when one read the story, one had to worry about the journalism

Essentially, a police unit containing a number of ex-Namibians had been discovered on an Eastern Transvaal gold mine. An anonymous source had given a tip-off that the men had been shipped in to take part in the Boipatong massacre

In addition, the ANC "says it has witnesses" who would testify as to Koevoet's role

And that was it no actual evidence of any kind to justify the headline or the furor — just an anonymous allegation and some assurances from a political movement that it has, so to speak, wit-

nesses in its possession (anonymous, of course), who will testify in just the way that would best suit that movement

The witnesses and statements will not, of course, be made available to the investigating police

Other WM stories in the same issue had the same theme "Was Boipatong an act of vengeance?" was all about the murder of a white policeman not long before the massacre, the suggestion again being that the police had been direct participants in the killings

Most of the inside page was taken up by an article by Philip van Niekerk, "One Massacre too many, FW"

To Van Niekerk the massacre somehow proved — the reasoning is obscure — that "The leopards of the National Party have not changed their spots. No matter how reprehensible he views the suggestion, there is a widespread perception that De Klerk has the blood of Boipatong on his hands"

that "the regime continues to murder our people"

Quite staggeringly, given the lofty tone of moral condemnation, the absence within the article of any evidence for such an assertion is complete — all we have is the non-evidence of "a widespread perception"

Astonishingly, it was more than a week after the massacre before any journalists talked to the Kwamadala Hostel residents, the presumed attackers at Boipatong

Rian Malan and Denis Beckett (for The Sunday Star) emerged with a picture of a desperately threatened community of refugees who had fled to Kwamadala in the face of murderous township violence directed against "really Zulus", which included even those who dared to maintain such Zulu customs as the wearing of leather wristbands out of esteem for one's ancestors

The hostel residents seemed outraged and astonished that anyone could see them as other than the principal victims, particularly since their sufferings received scant attention or sympathy "No-

body cries for us, nobody prays for us"

The Malan-Beckett piece was notably better journalism the names of those murdered were given, together with ages, date and time of death, the addresses at which Zulu houses had been burnt down, and they were even able to refer to a 13-page list of Zulu refugees who had sought sanctuary in Kwamadala

Even so, the article contained a number of unchecked allegations — that hostel children can't set foot in school, that hospitals refuse to treat them and that taxis won't come near

It would have been of real value to print the response of headmasters, hospital workers and taxi drivers to such claims

Nevertheless, there was enough substance in the article to suggest that what we are witnessing is a medium intensity ethnic war, a conflict peculiarly unsuited to liberal posturing, ideological side-taking and, above all, one in which the trumpeting of unsupported allegations is dangerous to human life

The Weekly Mail is hardly the worst sinner where the journalism of allegation is concerned. Week after week the New Nation and the New African carry sensational stories in which they allude to "information in our possession" without ever disclosing any substantiated fact at all

The real culprit here is a culture in which a barrage of allegation is seen as prima facie evidence in itself, in which politicians damn an opponent by referring to him as someone "against whom it has been alleged" etc, in which sworn affidavits are collected by the hundred, not in order to be used in a court of law but so as to be divulged to the press as pseudo-evidence

It is a culture in which people's courts judge people not guilty as accused, but guilty if accused — for has anyone ever heard of a people's court finding somebody innocent?

In the over-heated climate of today's South Africa we need truthful reporting and professional, sceptical journalism as never

before

It is simply not good enough to assume that the existence of "a public perception" that such-and-such is true means that it is true. If that was required we would have "proved" the existence of Father Christmas long ago

If one asks what is the hard evidence for a "third force" one is frequently told that "there have been too many allegations about it for it not to be true", as if this was good enough, as if we should not have had facts rather than factsoids by now

One is reminded of the French communist journalist, shown the pile of crutches thrown away by cripples at Lourdes, proof positive of miraculous cures. "Surely you will believe now, my son," said the priest

"It's all very impressive," replied the journalist "That's a big pile of crutches. But where, after all this time, are the wooden legs?"

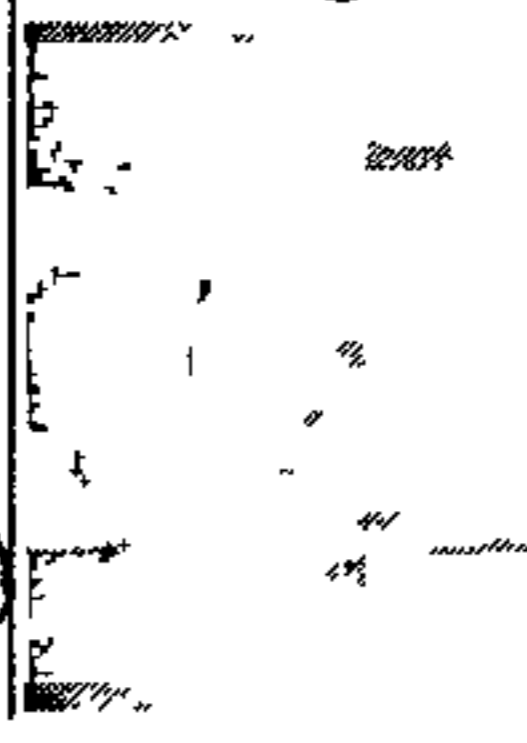
● R W Johnson is a British political scientist currently working in South Africa

Sowetan — bringing you the soul truth ● Grahamstown's festival update

We aim to be the best, not just the biggest

Sowetan 7/17/92

■ We are committed to excellence:



By Rory Wilson, Sowetan's General Manager. (243)

THE people of *Sowetan* have a dream our dream is that *Sowetan* will one day be the biggest and best newspaper in the whole of Southern Africa. The redesign of - its new masthead and the many, many improvements that have been made by the Editor and his staff - is just one more step towards the realisation of this dream.

The redesign was a dramatic sign of change but there have, of course, been many other, less public, behind-the-scenes steps taken by our management team.

And we have a really impressive track record to show for it.

Sowetan is now firmly established as the biggest-selling daily newspaper in South Africa and every month we pull further ahead of our nearest rival, *The Star*. Our unaided average daily sale for June was 236 172 copies.

Our massive average daily readership of more than 1,6 million proves just how good a job our editorial team is doing in bringing the news to the people. Every copy of our newspaper is read by up to seven people.

Our advertising sales staff post new record sales almost every month, providing an excellent service to our many, many new and satisfied advertisers. A number of small companies do

their entire business through the advertisements they place in *Sowetan*.

Our Nation Building programmes - ranging from parenting seminars to choir competitions - continue to provide a valuable, on-the-ground service to our readers. We are much more than just a newspaper. We see ourselves as friend, ally and supporter to our many, many readers.

Our Help Centre provides a daily refuge for people in emotional distress. We run a number of other programmes aimed at assisting people to cope with the heavy stresses of daily life. And our editorial columns provide similar support on an almost daily basis.

Our newspaper is produced on a sophisticated electronic editing system and printed by the fastest and most efficient presses in Johannesburg.

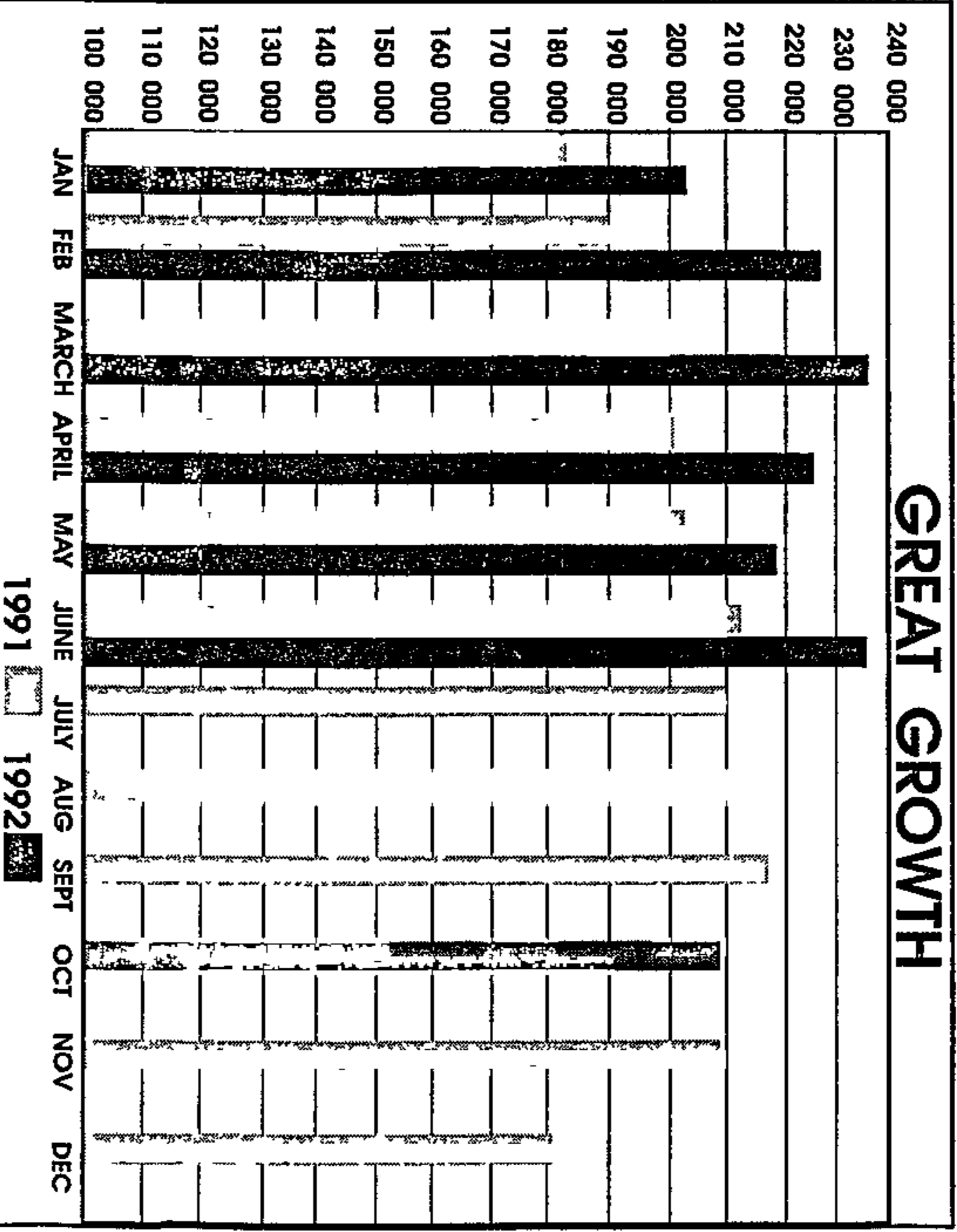
Our distribution system spans the entire Transvaal and parts of the OFS and Natal, covering more than 5 000 individual selling points.

And the people who bring you this excellent newspaper are continually training and upgrading their skills because every one of them shares this commitment to bringing you, the reader, the best quality, most up-to-date and entertaining newspaper possible.

Next week, we are launching an advertising campaign aimed at the 3 000 or so people in the advertising and marketing fraternity who are responsible for making decisions to place advertising in our newspaper. We are taking an unusual approach - a direct, personal appeal to these decision-makers, using the name of our well-known Editor, Aggrey Klaaste, to get across a simple but powerful message.

Sowetan is the biggest daily newspaper in South Africa with a massive readership but it also has a

GREAT GROWTH



close, personal bond with its readership. This unique bond makes *Sowetan* a powerful and effective advertising medium. This message will be encapsulated in a slogan which will soon be visible throughout the Transvaal.

Sowetan The soul truth, daily
Yes, *Sowetan* has come of age. It now ranks with the very best in every possible way.

The changes you have seen in your *Sowetan* this week are just the start. We promise never to stop till we have fulfilled our dream to be the best - as well as the biggest. And we shall be doing this by bringing to you, our reader, the soul truth, daily.



The land where the rumour is king

SECRET Koevoet base linked to Boipatong” screamed the Weekly Mail headline in a story which started several days of frenzied media speculation in South Africa and abroad, the bottom line being the notion that the South African security forces had actually perpetrated the Boipatong massacre

When one read the story, one had to worry about the journalism. Essentially, a police unit containing a number of ex-Namibians had been discovered on an Eastern Transvaal gold mine. An anonymous source had given a tip-off that the men had been shipped in to take part in the Boipatong massacre. In addition, the ANC “says it has witnesses” who would testify as to Koevoet’s role

And that was it just an anonymous allegation and some assurance from a political movement that it has, so to speak, witnesses in its possession (anonymous of course) who will testify in just the way that would best suit that movement. The witnesses and statements will not, of course, be made available to the investigating police

Other WM stories in the same issue had the same theme. “Was Boipatong an act of vengeance?” was all about the murder of a white policeman not long before the massacre, the suggestion again being that the police had been direct participants in the killings

Most of the inside page was taken up by an article by Philip van Niekerk, “One Massacre too many, FW.” To Van Niekerk the massacre somehow proved — the reasoning is obscure — that “the leopards of the National Party have not changed their spots. No matter how reprehensible he views the suggestion, there is a widespread perception that De Klerk has the blood of Boipatong on his hands.”

Van Niekerk goes on approvingly to quote Mandela’s assertion that “the regime continues to murder our people.” Quite staggeringly, given the lofty tone of moral condemnation, the absence within the article of any evidence for such an assertion is complete — all we have is the non-evidence of “a widespread perception”

Astonishingly, it was over a week after the massacre before any journalists talked to the KwamaMadala hostel residents, the presumed attackers at Boipatong. Rian Malan and Denis Beckett (for the Sunday Star) emerged with a picture of a desperately threatened community of refugees who had fled to KwamaMadala in the face of murderous township violence directed against “really Zulus”, which included even those who dared to maintain such Zulu customs as the wearing of leather wristbands out of esteem for one’s ancestors



R W JOHNSON is a former Rhodes scholar, a journalist and international commentator. In this, the second article in a series on some issues facing the New South Africa, he looks at the need for a responsible, objective Press.

The hostel residents seemed outraged and astonished that anyone could see them as other than the principal victims, particularly since their suffering received scant attention or sympathy. “Nobody cries for us, nobody prays for us.”

The Malan-Beckett piece was notably better journalism. The names of those murdered were given, together with ages, date and time of death, the address at which Zulu houses had been burnt down, and they were even able to refer to a 13-page list of Zulu refugees who had sought sanctuary in KwamaMadala

Even so, the article contained a number of unchecked allegations — that hostel children can’t set foot in school, that hospitals refuse to treat them and that taxis won’t come near. It would have been of real value to print the response of headmasters, hospital workers and taxi drivers to such claims

Nevertheless, there was enough substance in the article to suggest that what we are witnessing is a medium intensity ethnic war, a conflict peculiarly unsuited to liberal positioning, ideological side-taking and, above all, one in which the trumpeting of unsupported allegations is dangerous to human life

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2113
RRG 9/7/92

Take the New Nation’s recent front page sensations, the “relevation” of Operation Thunderstorm and Operation Springbok, ie an alleged government plan to destabilise the ANC and force it into an interim government

The whole story was based on anonymous “New Nation sources” and the nearest thing to a fact in two pages of reportage was that the editor of an obscure German magazine also claimed to have heard some anonymous rumours of a forthcoming purge

Thunderstorm and Springbok may, of course, exist, as also may police collusion with the attackers of Boipatong, and all the rest of it. But these are hard and serious times, before one makes allegations that envenom the climate or undermine negotiation one should produce at least some real facts

The real culprit here is a culture in which a barrage of allegation is seen as *prima facie* evidence in itself, in which politicians damn an opponent by referring to him as someone “against whom it has been alleged” etc, in which sworn affidavits are collected by the hundred not in order to be used in a court of law but so as to be divulged to the Press as pseudo-evidence, and in which people’s courts judge people not guilty as accused, but guilty if accused — for has anyone ever heard of a people’s court finding somebody innocent?

In the land where the rumour is king, there can be no question of being innocent until proved guilty. Once accused, people are guilty unless they escape

In the over-heated climate of today’s South Africa we need truthful reporting and professional, sceptical journalism as never before. It is simply not good enough to assume the existence of “a public perception” that such-and-such is true, if that was all that was required we would have “proved” the existence of Father Christmas long ago

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focus on the Media

Sowetan 10/7/92

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RENEWED tension in South Africa's townships, particularly after the Boipatong massacre, has been accompanied by renewed harassment of journalists from two sources as they attempt to report on the bloodshed

Journalists face severe intimidation from township youths

Recently, newspapers have run numerous articles about youths assaulting journalists in the townships, or accusing them of being "State killers", "Gatsha's soldiers", or just simply "policemen" - a frightening allegation which could create a life-threatening situation if acted on by an angry crowd.

Not surprisingly, journalists are becoming increasingly reluctant to go into the townships

The unfortunate but obvious result is that an accurate picture of just what is happening is not adequately reflected in the newspapers - and it's not the journalists who are solely to blame

Journalists are also up against their old adversary - the security forces, who have powers in terms of unrest regulations to effectively prevent journalists from witnessing township strife.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hennis Kriel has declared seven "unrest areas", including the country's most volatile townships Boipatong, Sharpeville, Sebokeng, Vosloorus, Katlehong, Tokoza, Soweto and Alexandra

In these "unrest areas", the security force members of the police, defence force and prisons service - can order journalists to stop what they are doing and to get out of the area under certain circumstances

Any member of the force, no matter how low his rank, can issue the order if he's of the opinion that the presence or behaviour of the journalists could cause various forms of unrest such as public violence, disorder or riots

He can also order journalists out of the area if he feels it's necessary to prevent a situation becoming violent.

Journalists have to obey the command immediately, otherwise they can be arrested. The security forces can use as much force as they feel is necessary to get the journalists out

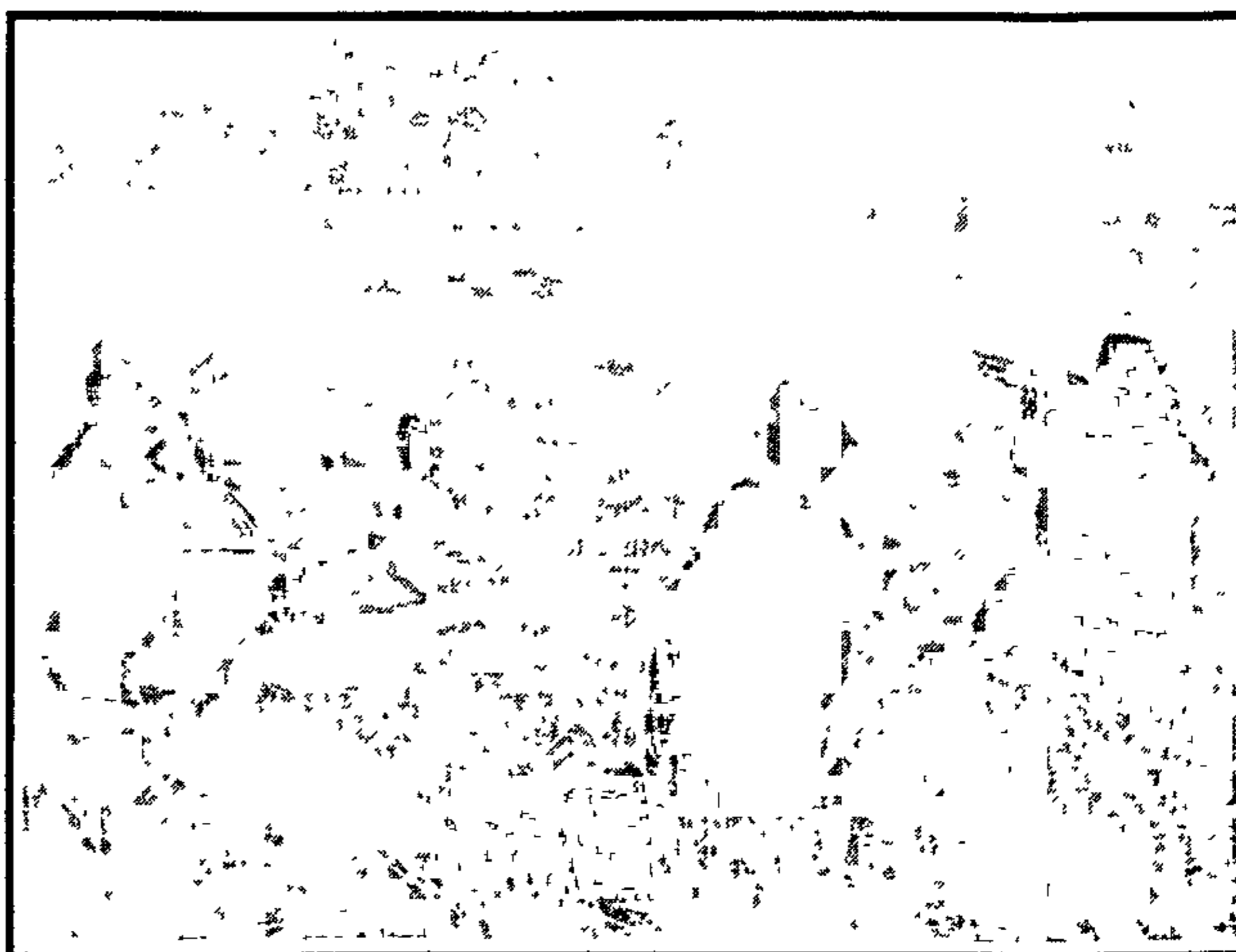
The security force member's word is final, the correctness of his decision cannot be questioned. Even if journalists feel he has overreacted or has sized up the potential dangers incorrectly, they have to obey the order

Any journalist worth his salt will try anything to get back into an unrest area if a big story is brewing. The question is how long does such an order remain in force?

Obviously it doesn't operate indefinitely, so when can journalists go back into an unrest area?

This question was debated at length during an appeal by World-wide Television News sound man, Brian Green, against a conviction for

The harassment of journalists is taking on new forms every day. In this article Webber Wentzel lawyer, **David O'Sullivan**, looks at some forms of censorship and intimidation of the media from police and the public in general.



FLASHBACK... Police firing on fleeing protesters after President FW De Klerk's visit was aborted when angry mobs forced him out of Boipatong township.

refusing to obey an order to leave Vosloorus - an unrest area

Mr Justice Petrus Schabert (a Codesa co-chairman) agreed with Mr Justice Peter Schutz that the unrest must be over before the journalists can flock back in

They were strict in deciding precisely when the situation is back to normal. People milling around in what Green called the "regular kind of post, kind of feeling" was still unrest according to the judges and therefore a no-go area

The judges decided that journalists would have to make appropriate inquiries to decide if unrest was over. Since the security forces are given the power to decide when unrest occurs, they presumably will be the ones to decide when it's over

Appropriate inquiries, no doubt, will have to be directed their way

Yet that's what journalists must do when deciding if they can re-enter a trouble zone

Journalists are up against many obstacles in unrest areas: they face arrest without a warrant, detention for up to 30 days, their cars being searched without a warrant. Their refusal to obey the security forces could result in a fine of up to R20 000 or 10 years in jail, or a jail term without the option of a fine

Critics of the media are quick to point a finger and accuse them of not accurately reflecting what is going on in the townships. But given the constraints under which journalists operate, it's surprising that anything is published at all

Intimidation from township youths and unrest regulations imposed by the security forces stymie a journalist's work and result in vital information about the state of the nation being kept under wraps

Sowetan
11/7/92
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Media to hold seminar

By TOBY SHAPSHAK

MEDIA freedom and ownership in the democratisation process will be discussed at the Nieman Foundation African-American Institute Media Conference starting in Johannesburg today.

Twenty eight media representatives from the US, Canada, Britain, Africa and 25 present and former South African editors will take part.

The impact of electronic media and the role of an independent media will also come under the spotlight.

Focus will also be on legal, political, economic and financial challenges.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke will address the conference.

Politicos profess 'love for the press'

SOUTH 11/7-15/1/92
By Guy Berger (243) (A)

WE LOVE the press and we love press freedom, was the message from the leaders of South Africa's major political parties to journalists in Johannesburg last week.

Sceptical correspondents from across Southern Africa heard these sweet sentiments emanating from across the political spectrum, at a conference organised by the African-American Institute and the Nieman Foundation.

From the man who was badly dented by the Inkathagate press expose, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, came praise for the media as a watchdog "to expose ills of administration in public office."

Similar sounds came from Mr Leon Wessels, a member of a government not especially well-known for its respect of the press.

The deputy minister ducked the argument when journalists pointed out that for the press to play its watchdog role, the government had to live up to its calling and let cabinet heads roll.

Neither Buthelezi nor Meyer favoured subjecting political negotiations to press scrutiny, unlike speakers like PAC leader Mr Dikgang Moseneke and the ANC's Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

All four politicians, however, came out strongly against physical attacks on journalists by militant youths.

But Moseneke refused to back down following conference criticism that the "one settler, one bullet" slogan had encouraged attacks on white journalists at the Boipatong funeral last week.

Ramaphosa admitted it may have been dangerous for him and other speakers to engage in unqualified press-bashing in speeches at the funeral.

Other speakers highlighted intimidation of black journalists by activists and of Afrikaans-speaking journalists by rightwingers.

Veteran journalist Mr Allistair Sparks warned that the lack of an ANC-supporting daily paper could prompt a new and insecure ANC government to violate press freedom.

Accuracy is important in reporting, argues Phillip van Niekerk, but also in accusations

What is 'proof' in South Africa?

STAR 13/7/92

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THERE is a school of journalism which might be described as being in the "emperor has no clothes" tradition

It is an honourable tradition in the newspaper industry — after all, it is what distinguishes "great journalism" — but it grows tiresome when reporters (ersatz and otherwise) begin running around screaming the emperor is naked when he is self-evidently clothed

A recent practitioner of this type of journalism is the academic R W Johnson who, in an article published in these columns of the Star last week, took it upon himself to deliver a lesson to the journalistic profession in South Africa, criticising it for lacking scepticism.

He targets my newspaper the Weekly Mail for the "journalism of allegation" and in particular denounces me for, among other things, "approvingly" quoting ANC president Nelson Mandela as saying "the regime continues to murder our people".

He indulges in derogatory references to the way the Boipatong story was covered by the Weekly Mail/Guardian Weekly

As an example of how journalists should work he holds up a recent article by Rian Malan and Denis Beckett in the Sunday Star which leaves the impression that the Boipatong massacre was essentially the ANC's fault, because some unidentified persons who may or may not have been supportive of the ANC necklaced the girlfriend of an Inkatha supporter before the massacre took place

If Mr Johnson had read the Weekly Mail/Guardian Weekly as comprehensively as he suggests he does, he would have noted that a version of the Malan/Beckett article was in fact carried in our last edition

We are always anxious to give as many perspectives as possible on major news events.

Such an oversight is not unusual where Mr Johnson is concerned, despite his willingness to lecture about truthful reporting

He has an unfortunate record in journalistic circles for the kind of inaccuracy that would not be tolerated of a cub reporter on a suburban weekly.

Some time ago he wrote an art

icle in the Sunday Star in which he claimed that the Winnie Mandela/Stompie Moeketsi scandal was broken by the London Sunday Times Investigations show that in fact the London Sunday Times did not make a single mention of Mrs Mandela for six months before the scandal was broken (by the Weekly Mail/Guardian) and even failed to mention her name until two weeks afterwards

But back to the central thrust of the Johnson polemic. In his bitter complaint that I quoted Mandela "approvingly" he is staggered that I provide no evidence to show security forces involvement in the killings in Boipatong.

Mr Johnson has seemingly overlooked the point that the rest of the world could hardly have failed to notice

The day before Mr Mandela made the comment, the South African Police opened fire on an unarmed crowd in front of the world's television and still cameras at Boipatong, killing three people

To refresh Mr Johnson's memory about the incident I refer him

to Allister Sparks' column in The Star on Wednesday June 24 in which he describes how police returned to the scene after Mr de Klerk was furiously ejected from the township, shot a man dead, then opened fire continuously for half a minute, the people, "falling as they were shot in the back until there were two dead and 29 groaning on the ground".

What more evidence does Mr Johnson require? Sworn affidavits from the dead?

Perhaps he relied exclusively on the Beckett/Malan piece which fails to mention, let alone grasp the significance of, the De Klerk ejection from Boipatong and the police shootings that followed it in propelling Boipatong into an international story

Mr Johnson falls into a trap which most South African journalists are usually alert to. It is a tactic that the Government uses and has used for decades, of answering suspicions and allegations with demands that their accusers produce the proof.

As the Government they have the ability to cover up the atroci-

ties and the corruption in which they are involved.

By dint of hard news reporting in the best tradition, the South African press has managed from time to time to expose the truth. Hence we have had the hit squad scandal (precipitated by the Weekly Mail/Guardian) showing the Government's deliberate use of murder as an instrument of policy

We have also had the Gorongosa documents, showing that the Government had consistently lied to the world and its own electorate about its support of Renamo and their destabilisation campaign involving horrific atrocities in Mozambique

We have had Inkatagate (broken by the Weekly Mail/Guardian), showing that the security police continued to fund Inkatha as a bulwark against the ANC after February 2, 1990.

We have had more recently the "Gonwe signal" showing one of the most senior military commanders in the country was responsible for the murders of four outstanding anti-apartheid activ-

ists in the Eastern Cape

This story was broken by the New Nation, one of the independent newspapers about which Mr Johnson is so derogatory, claiming they never produce proof of the allegations they publish

To those who have not spent their years in the ivory towers of academia, the underlying truth about South African Government's responsibility for violence in this country is self-evident

From mass poisonings in the Rhodesian bush war to the atrocities of Mozambique, and the murder of Gonwe, Webster, Lubowski (the list is seemingly endless) there is an accumulation of evidence which places an inescapable onus on the Government, and its apologists, to prove its innocence rather than merely to deny guilt.

In the light of all this, it is truly staggering that Mr Johnson's lecture to South African journalists to be sceptical refers almost entirely to disbelieving the Government's involvement in violence

● Phillip van Niekerk is Political Editor of the Weekly Mail

At a conference last weekend of the Nieman African-American Institute, representatives of the main factions involved in negotiations about a new constitution were asked to present their views on the freedom of the media in a changing South Africa. This is how the government and the ANC responded.

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MLG 14/7/92

The media must be free!

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

PART 2

THE PAC

**Mangasuthu Buthelezi,
President of
Inkatha Freedom Party
and Chief minister of
Kwazulu.**

THE media has a critically important role to play in the immediate and long term future of this country. However, the media in its present form, shackled with restrictions, needs to undergo a major transformation before this task could be optimally fulfilled.

At a time when it needs to be trusted with the responsibility to fairly and accurately inform the public about the diversity of views within the political arena, we are faced with a situation where countless statutes and censorship laws interfere with the right to freedom and expression and opinion and to obtain and disseminate information and ideas.

The history of the press in South Africa has been one battle against tremendous odds. The media operates in spite of — not because of — the restrictions we have been forced to operate under. But censorship has always been synonymous with oppression. The previous South African government had a lot to hide from the eyes of the world. Yet strangely in the past, in

constitution that protects society from interference of guarantees of equal protection before the law, due process, and a Bill of rights.

We in the IFP believe democracy is government by all the people of the country, and unless society is exposed to all the information it requires, that is a free flow of information, that society will never be in a position to identify, and positively and constructively respond to the issues facing it. Media must communicate across all divides in these challenging times.

The media functions as the watchdog, not only of the government, but of society at large, to expose ills as they threaten the very moral fibre of society.

The future of Codesa is in balance. But I sincerely hope that the progress made in the areas of broadcasting and media will not be lost. The broadcasting and media functions in a future South Africa must serve the public in such a way that the ideals of a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous society are pursued and advanced to its fullest.

If freedom of speech and expression are to be guaranteed, not only must there be an entrenchment clause in a future Bill of Rights concerning this issue, but many of the present statutes will need to



**ED Mosenke, the
deputy-president
of the PAC.**

THAT the PAC is committed to independence and freedom of the media is beyond doubt. If not, may I reassure you now that Pan Africanist Congress is too committed to freedom of expression and so too of the media.

In South Africa we are only now emerging from a harsh regime which enforced severe restrictions on the flow and availability of information. Only some of the restrictions were statutory. The rest of the restrictions were attributable to the monopoly of ownership of media resources, limited skills and significant socio-economic deprivation.

Curtalement of the freedom and independence of the media and of free-flow of information emanating from legislation, socio-economic deprivation and political powerlessness are matters which may be readily cured by the advent of a democracy in our country. The more difficult question relates to monopolistic ownership of media resources.

The "Big Four" control almost 90 percent of all dailies and weeklies sold in the country. The "gang of four" also own a third of the registered

and half of the registered magazines. They, together with the SABC, control the country's only international wire service SAPA. Anglo and Sanlam also control the Mondli-Sappi paper production cartel. Anglo also has a 33 percent share in CNA/Gallo (a major retail outlet for the printed media) and controlling interest in Allied, a major newspaper distributor through its holdings in CNA/Gallo. Anglo control 72 percent interest in Video Lab Holdings, the major sound and editing facilities in the country.

Anglo via Argus owns 40.4 percent of Times Media which has 23 percent share in M-Net. A similar picture emerges for the Afrikaans print media.

Between them, the "Big Four", they own 90 percent of M-Net.

With the white minority regime controlling the electronic media — SABC, TV and Radio, the picture is one of complete control over the right of free speech, freedom of the press, and guaranteed free debate.

Democratic debate can only flourish when the gross imbalance that presently exists in the media is dramatically altered in favour of the ordinary Azanian — the worker, the unemployed, youth and students, the rural peasant and the landless labourer. Democratic debate,

political action is the essence of democracy. Ignorance and false propaganda serving class interests, does not bode well for creating a caring and sharing society.

So what must be done? PAC must guarantee the freedom of the press and the electronic media and such freedom of expression must be enshrined in a Bill of Rights.

Minority control of the mass media is the very antithesis of freedom of expression and the control of the media must be wrested from the absolute control of the "Big four". In its place independent trusts must be created to ensure the influence of the people in the co-ownership of these enterprises. PAC believes that there should be a limit to the number of newspapers owned by a single company to minimise the monopoly of news management.

In addition the new Azanian Constitution must make provision for the right of minority alternative papers to exist and to ensure this right, the state must afford these publications subsidies to ensure their survival. These subsidies should be awarded, as of right, on an agreed audited circulation figures. The political party in power ought not to be permitted to interfere with such subsidies — this would ensure the right of dissent.

proper standards in news dissemination and safeguard the privacy of the individual against unwarranted interference. In the like manner the council should have the right to take action against any person responsible for inciting the harassment of journalists in performing their duties.

The PAC advocates the establishment of a broadcasting corporation, independent of the State, which is financed directly by license fees of the users of such services. The corporation shall decide whether it wishes to engage in commercial advertising to augment its income.

A national independent broadcasting authority should be created to oversee the electronic media. The IBA will also act as the authority to licence new national and regional broadcasting stations.

To encourage the use of the electronic media extensively to educate and mobilize our people to play an active role in the creation of a just society free of racism and oppression. A priority for PAC would be to provide state funding for our cultural workers and writers to service such broadcasting activity. We will, in order to make the electronic media accessible to our people, embark on urgent financing of the problem of the electrification of

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Argus 14/7/92

ment curbs, the South African press was, in another sense almost the freest in Africa

South Africa is a society of division and dissent. The South African people have locked themselves in behind the banners and sloganeering of the various political parties and pressure groups

People must begin to question their leadership, question their dogmatic adherence to undemocratic norms and principles, question their inbred racialism and prejudices. This all centres on the issue of the availability of information, how it is used and the uses to which it is put

The role of the media is to expose the propaganda warfare of opposing political factions. The essence of our present reality is largely a result of the skilful and sustained propaganda campaign of the National Party, and its success is seen in the ease with which this party was able to forge ahead in its racist policies of apartheid

The freedom of expression is one of the most basic human rights, and every time our media is faced with either harsh reprisals from the South African government or threats from various pressure groups, it was the people of South Africa who were the poorer for it

The freedom and independence of the media is the cornerstone of democracy. If we are to build a democracy in South Africa we must seek a

amended or have sections removed

As part of this reconstruction process the IFP believes the goals for the media and broadcasting in a new South Africa must be kept in mind. Briefly these goals should be

- To allow for a much greater access to media in South Africa. All groups, no matter how remote their homes, or poor their resources, should have access to information. Information is the right of all people.
- To allow for greater participation of all South Africans and to stimulate competition in the media industry
- To establish a media function in South Africa which is free of political control
- Finally, there is general consensus within Codesa and supported by Inkatha, that an independent Media Commission made up of a suitable body of experts must be established to oversee democratisation of media in South Africa

Freedom must, however, go hand in hand with responsibility. The IFP will always champion the freedom of the Press

In the final analysis however, the media will only be as free as the society and in the transitional stage through which we are going, it will have to be the media itself which earns the place it should have in an open democratic society

DEPARTEMENT VAN LANDBOU

No. R. 1973 17 Julie 1992

WET OP LANDBOUPRODUKSTANDAARDE, 1990
(WET No. 119 VAN 1990)**AANWYSING AS GEMAGTIGDE**

Dit word hiermee vir algemene inligting bekendgemaak dat die Minister van Landbou kragtens artikel 2 (3) van die Wet op Landbouprodukstandaarde, 1990 (Wet No. 119 van 1990), met ingang van 8 Junie 1992 die Droeboneraad, as Gemagtigde ten opsigte van droebone wat in kleinhandelshoeveelhede verpak is, vir die doeleindes van die toepassing van artikel 3 (1) (a) en (b) van genoemde Wet, aangewys het

D. P. KEETCH,

Uitvoerende Beampste Landbouprodukstandaarde

DEPARTEMENT VAN MANNEKRAG

No. R. 1970 17 Julie 1992

VERBETERINGSKENNISGEWING

WET OP ARBEIDSVERHOUDINGE, 1956

**DRUK- EN NUUSBLADNYWERHEID.
ORDER**

Die volgende verbeterings aan Goewermentskennisgewing R 254 gepubliseer in *Staatskoerant* 13727 van 17 Januarie 1992 word hierby vir algemene inligting gepubliseer.

In die Afrikaanse teks van die Bylae, klousule 3:

1. Vervang die term "3 (1)" in subklousule (3) (b) met die term "subklousule (3) (a)";
2. vervang die term "(3) (1)" in subklousule (3) (c) met die term "subklousule (3) (a)", en
3. vervang die terms "klousule (3) (2)" en "klousule (3) (1)" in subklousule (4) met die terms "subklousule (3) (b)" en "subklousule (3) (a)", onderskeidelik.

No. R. 2039 17 Julie 1992

WET OP ARBEIDSVERHOUDINGE, 1956

**TEKSTIELNYWERHEID, REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-
AFRIKA. HERNUWING VAN OOREENKOMS**

Ek, Izak Jacobus van Zyl, Hoofdirekteur: Arbeidsverhoudinge, behoorlik daartoe gemagtig deur die Minister van Mannekrag, verklaar hierby, kragtens artikel 48 (4) (a) (ii) van die Wet op Arbeidsverhoudinge, 1956, dat die bepalinge van Goewermentskennisgewings R 2069 van 21 September 1979, R. 207 van 5 Februarie 1982, R. 44 van 4 Januarie 1985, R. 501 van 21 Maart 1986, R. 1159 van 29 Mei 1987, R. 2840 van 24 Desember 1987, R. 998 van 27 Mei 1988, R. 390 van 23 Februarie 1990, R. 414 van 1 Maart 1991 en

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

No. R. 1973 17 July 1992

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCT STANDARDS ACT,
1990 (ACT No. 119 OF 1990)**APPOINTMENT OF ASSIGNEE**

It is hereby made known for general information that the Minister of Agriculture has under section 2 (3) of the Agricultural Product Standards Act, 1990 (Act No. 119 of 1990), with effect from 8 June 1992 appointed the Dry Bean Board as Assignee for the purpose of the application of section 3 (1) (a) and (b) of the said Act with regard to dry beans packed in retail quantities

D. P. KEETCH,

Executive Officer: Agricultural Product Standards

DEPARTMENT OF MANPOWER

No. R. 1970 17 July 1992

CORRECTION NOTICE

LABOUR RELATIONS ACT, 1956

PRINTING AND NEWSPAPER INDUSTRY:
ORDER

The following corrections to Government Notice R. 254 published in *Gazette* 13727 of 17 January 1992 are published for general information.

In the English version of the Schedule, clause 3:

1. Substitute the following for subclause (2) (c):

"(c) The rate referred to in rules 4.1.1 and 4.2.1 of the Printing Industry Pension Fund for S.A.T.U. members may be increased as recommended by the Trustees of that Fund from time to time, as approved by the Minister.";

2. in subclause (3) (b) substitute the term "subclause (3) (a)" for the term "3 (1)";

3. substitute the following for subclause (3) (c):

"(c) The rate referred to in subclause (3) (a) above may be increased as recommended by the Trustees of the Fund from time to time, as approved by the Minister."; and

4. in subclause (4), substitute the terms "subclause (3) (b)" and "subclause (3) (a)" for the terms "clause 3 (2)" and "clause 3 (1)" respectively.

No. R. 2039 17 July 1992

LABOUR RELATIONS ACT, 1956

**TEXTILE INDUSTRY, REPUBLIC OF SOUTH
AFRICA RENEWAL OF AGREEMENT**

I, Izak Jacobus van Zyl, Chief Director: Labour Relations, duly authorised thereto by the Minister of Manpower, hereby, in terms of section 48 (4) (a) (ii) of the Labour Relations Act, 1956, declare the provisions of Government Notices R. 2069 of 21 September 1979, R. 207 of 5 February 1982, R. 44 of 4 January 1985, R. 501 of 21 March 1986, R. 1159 of 29 May 1987, R. 2840 of 24 December 1987, R. 998 of 27 May 1988, R. 390 of 23 February 1990, R. 414 of 1 March 1991

Slabbert call for pact on violence

CT 17/7/92

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TRANSITION in South Africa would remain a dream if the differing parties did not reach a pact on stability and violence, Idasa's policy director, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.

Such a pact was more important than an agreement at Codesa, he said at an Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) seminar in Cape Town on the role of the media during transition

Dr Slabbert said five defence forces

and nine police forces had to be rationalised and the problems surrounding the various unofficial militia had to be resolved.

Pacts also had to be reached on economic growth, state intervention, the rights of workers and managers, and development and redistribution

Democracy was "some sort of functional equilibrium" and this would be demonstrated if pacts on these subjects were reached.

The deputy editor of the Sunday Star, Mr Jon Qwelane, said black people viewed the mainstream press as serving white economic and political interests.

He also said the SABC and the alternative press were in the same camp as they were politically partisan, with the SABC still biased in favour of the National Party, and the alternative press serving extra-parliamentary organisations

Focus: The 'bribes' that journalists try to sell

Reading between the lines

"You cannot hope to bribe or twist, thank God, the British journalist. But, seeing what the man will do unbribed, there's no occasion to." — Humbert Wolfe, 1886-1940

WITH all the words about corruption that journalists write — and consumers read — it is possible consumers do not know that we journalists are not above being corrupted, and consumers once again are the victims.

Most consumers are aware that they are being diddled by the government squandering taxpayers' money, or that they are being made poorer and poorer while the stores they buy from grow richer and richer. And they also are aware that journalists from time to time will try to convince them to buy a political line

But are consumers aware that some of what they read is in print before them because the journalist was effectively bribed into writing it?

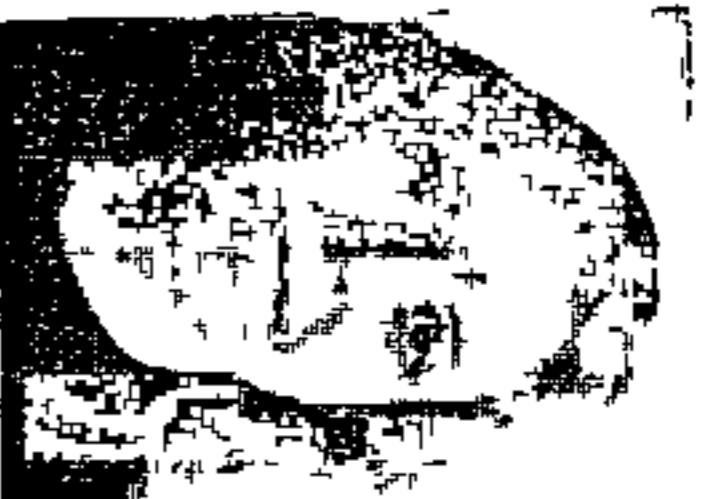
Several areas of journalism lend themselves to this. In other areas it is more oblique and often exists simply because newspapers in this country cannot pay (so they say) for certain things they want to cover

Editorial space is far more valuable to a merchant than advertising space. Consumers will more easily believe information carried as fact in editorial columns than they will believe information carried in a space they know was paid for in order to sell a line

So, to create a demand for the product — drugs, furniture, motor cars, exotic destinations — it's a great idea for the seller to get his product into the editorial space. To do this, he has to convince a usually badly paid journalist living a relatively humdrum life in a job with

**CRITICAL
CONSUMER**

*Pat Sidley's weekly
advice on what to buy
... and what to avoid!*



*WJW 1/17-231719
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long hours. You, the consumer, will believe what that person writes more readily if it appears under the byline of a respected "independent" journalist than in a space with a logo on it

When a consumer sees a feature on the Comores put together by a journalist, it may not be obvious that a company with a hotel and a deal with the airlines has paid all the expenses of the journalist and transported him into a luxury his salary would not normally provide for. The net result is a glowing account which tempts the consumer to leap on to the nearest flight for a bit of the same

Motoring journalism is one of the areas most open to corruption and one or two newspapers have been forced to fire their motoring journalists over the years as the corruption became so entrenched that car companies, which provided the "bribes" in the first place, finally objected (One journalist had effectively stolen a car)

In England or the United States, consumers have the benefit of large consumer organisations which test cars in laboratories and on the road, and then write about them. They can

afford to buy the cars in the first place and they then often poll thousands of their members about their own experiences with various models of cars. The results, often critical, are serious, genuinely independent and reflect the realities of a particular model, its benefits and drawbacks.

Not so here. A journalist with little more mechanical experience than the average consumer is often entrusted by a multi-national motor manufacturer to "test drive" a particular model — which, once again, he can usually not afford to buy — for several days or weeks. That one person's account then appears as a definitive "test" and consumers frequently trust his version as a buyers' guide

Arts critics are normally seen as quite above this type of corruption. Yet all South African newspapers — this one included — have their tickets supplied free of charge by the theatre and cinema companies. Newspapers all support this convention, stating that they could not afford the tickets otherwise. However, despite the apparent freedom critics have to savage a performance, the companies have from time to time removed the free pass of a critic when he has written in such a way as to cross whatever line it is that the company has drawn as "acceptable"

Few areas of journalism are exempt from this behaviour. Readers of home-improvement supplements, for instance, may be surprised to discover that the kitchen units written about now grace the journalist's own kitchen.

And few journalists are exempt. We may all have our price, as they say. For some it's a glass of wine at a function, for others a trip or a car. For this critical consumer... well, I'd like to test the "bribe" first and see if it works.

SA 'must have free press'

CITY Press editor Khulu Sibiyá said in Washington recently that SA's political groups must accept the basic tenet of a free press.

"If you make mistakes, you must be ready to be criticised . . . No one is a holy cow," said Sibiyá, who was in the US on a 30-day programme sponsored by the US Information Agency to examine journalism.

At newspapers across the country, Sibiyá and his American counterparts discussed the criteria used for covering stories and improving cir-

ulation. C/P/med 19/7/92

He was confident the visit would give him first-hand knowledge transferable to the SA context.

"Physically meeting people makes a lot of difference . . . To come here and actually meet other editors or fellow news people - you're able to share ideas, you're able to pick up a lot," he said.

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The variety and sensitivity of topics tackled by the US press evoked praise from Sibiyá.

ENTERTAINMENT *In the past 'they' even had to separate launches for blacks and whites*

Record firms play a false tune to us

Sowetan 20/7/92.

■ **Some record companies discriminate racially in their treatment of South Africa's different media:**

Comment By Elliot Makhaya

BELIEVE it or not, record companies still treat black newspapers and record reviewers as a "species" out of the Third World. Some time ago, these companies used to have separate record launches for whites and blacks. That has been phased out.

Now, with the advent of CDs which will soon totally replace LPs, there's another twist to the tale. Only ONE record company in Johannesburg supplies the *Sowetan* with CDs. The closest colleague and record reviewer Mike Tisong comes to other companies' CDs is by reading about them in "white" newspaper reviews.

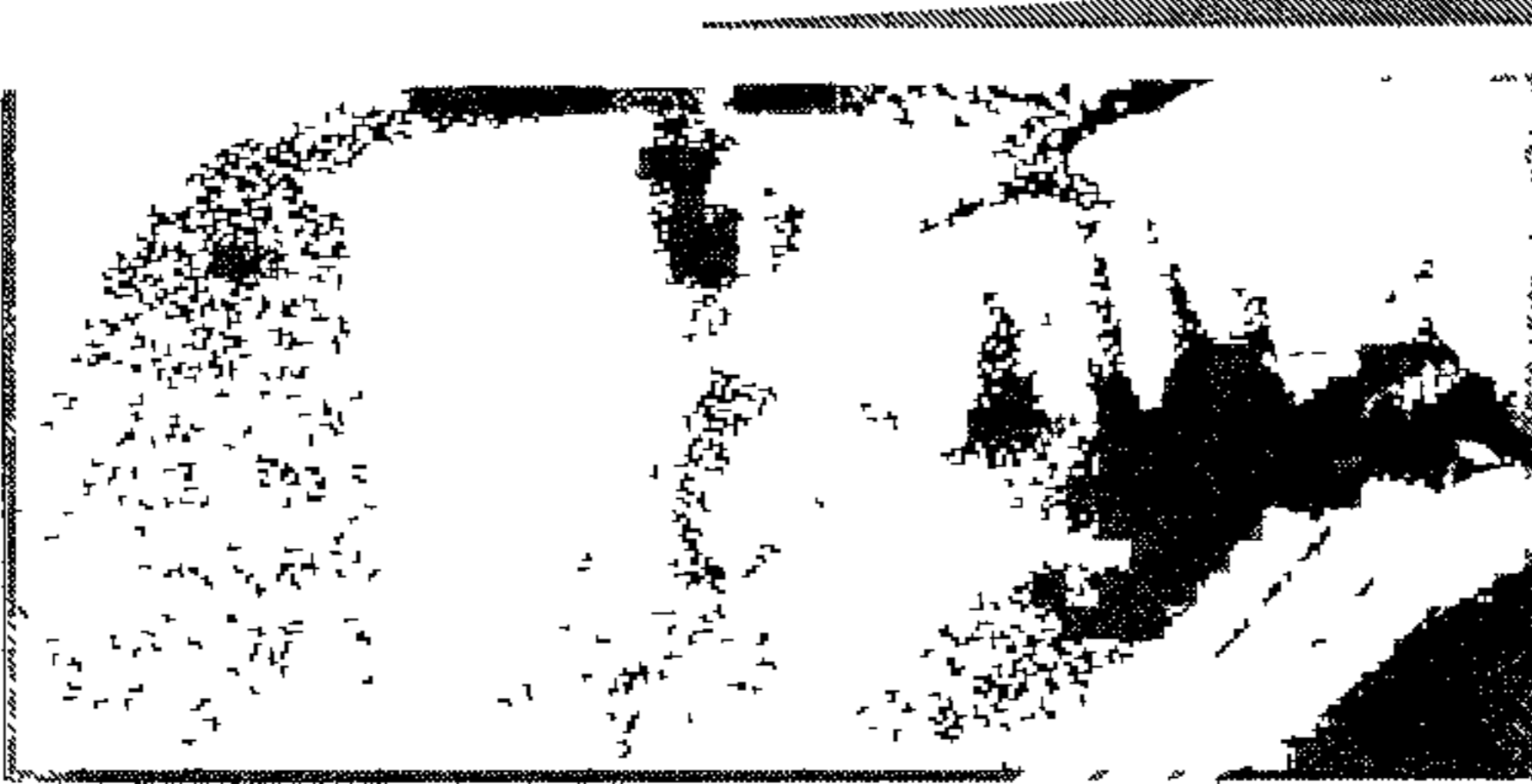
This certainly highlights the racist attitudes of certain record company chiefs in the "new" South Africa. They speak of things changing as we go into the "new" South Africa, but they hold on to the old habits of apartheid and treat *Sowetan* as an insignificant Bantustan publication.

Maybe these companies need to be reminded that we are NOT third world journalists.

We compare with the best in the country.

Also, *Sowetan* is the biggest circulating daily newspaper in South Africa. I wonder what goes on in these record companies' marketing and promotions' divisions that they decide to treat us the way they do?

● Back home from the National Arts Festival in Grahamstown I can only commend the organisers for putting together such a mammoth programme of events. It is intense and exciting. My only gripe is about transport - or lack of it.



BEN Vereen stars as Captain "Hutch" Hutchinson in Silk Stalkings, a sexy detective series which can be seen on BOP-TV on Wednesdays at 10.05pm. Ben Vereen is also a noted cabaret artist.

BIDAY 21/7/92

Conciliation appeal (243)

THE SA Union of Journalists yesterday asked the Industrial Court to prevent Times Media Ltd from unilaterally pulling out of the employer-union conciliation board at the end of this month. The court asked the parties to try to reach a compromise and report back next week.

Sowetan campaign takes personal tack

HERDBUOYS, recently appointed the Sowetan's advertising agency, has launched a massive print campaign to attract advertisers to SA's largest daily.

Herdbuoys MD Peter Vundla said the campaign, published only in Business Day, was a business-to-business communication targeting advertisers and media planners. The full-page ads, which actually listed the 2 800 people targeted, were also used to alert these people to the Sowetan's readership of 1,6-million, he said.

The campaign broke earlier this month, telling the people listed that Aggrey Editor Aggrey Klaaste - would expose himself to them in the next week.

Follow-up ads saying "Aggrey's got the biggest number around" in terms of readers were accompanied by a competition for advertising and marketing personnel to predict circulation figures for January to June, with a Krugerrand as the prize.

MARCIA KLEIN

Appearing for the first time in today's Business Day is an advertisement headed "Spend some time in the dark with Aggrey" Previous advertisements for the Sowetan read "Don't make any plans without including the majority" and "Until our 1,6-million people have seen it, it's stuffed"

Vundla said the campaign was aimed at media planners and product and brand managers, many of whom were unaware that the Sowetan was SA's largest daily.

It was intended to show that part of the Sowetan's success was its affinity with its readers. Advertisers could benefit from the fact that it was a trusted paper.

The publication, with a new masthead and cleaner, crisper layout, was no longer "the people's choice" but "the sole truth daily", Vundla said.

21/1/79
21/1/79
21/1/79

Caxton weekly goes 'upmarket'

BIDAM 2/7/92
NORTHSIDER, an upmarket weekly newspaper aimed at Johannesburg's northern suburbs, goes on sale this week.

Unlike other Caxton regional publications, which were free sheets, this paper will sell at major news agencies and bookshops for R1,50.

Northsider editor-in-chief Cliff Buchler said last week that he expected the paper to be successful despite the fact that it veered away from Caxton's tried and proven free-sheet formula.

The cover sales target was at least 30 000, but Buchler believed this could be achieved.

After extensive research, and some "gut feeling", Caxton decided there was a market for a sophisticated local paper, he said.

Although the northern suburbs already supported seven free sheets, Northsider would be an umbrella publication giving coverage to all these areas.

Because Northsider was charging

(243)
MARCIA KLEIN

a cover price, it was able to include pullouts, like the TV Quick Guide and Northern Leisure.

Buchler did not expect Northsider to poach adspend from the free sheets, as their philosophy was to target a small area with localised advertising. However, some overlap could be expected.

Buchler said the launch of the paper had been unorthodox, and had included very little advertising.

The first phase comprised the publication of dummy issues, and the second was the distribution of copies in various CNA shops and cafés in the northern region to test consumer reaction. According to Buchler the reaction was extremely encouraging, given the fact that the arrival of newspaper had not been publicised.

In the third phase, free issues were placed at key points. This week Northsider hoped to sell at least 30 000 copies.

243 (18) (19)

Argus can challenge judge's claim

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Appeal Court has granted the Argus Company, publishers of The Star, the newspaper's former editor-in-chief Harvey Tyson, and Lawyers for Human Rights director Brian Currin leave to appeal against the dismissal of an exception by them to a claim for damages by the late Mr Justice L.L. Esselen. **STAR**

The judge claimed he had been defamed in an article written by Mr Currin and published in The Star on March 27 1990. He claimed damages of R120 000. The exception was that the claim disclosed no cause of action. 22/7/92.

Mr Justice Esselen died in February.

The exception issue is relevant to costs, as the judge's widow is not pursuing the claim.

The article suggested that racial prejudice was a factor in the administration of justice. It dealt with two cases.

In the "Witbank tree murder", heard by Mr Justice Esselen, two black men were sentenced to death for the murder of a white woman. In the "Louis Trichardt tree murder", two white men, charged with the murder of a black man, pleaded guilty to culpable homicide and were fined. — Sapa.

Assist journalists - ANC

By Phil Molefe ^{STAR} 22/7/92

The African National Congress has issued instructions to all its regions to establish press marshals to assist journalists — following recent attacks and threats to media workers, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday.

Addressing a one-day seminar in Johannesburg on the safety of journalists, Ms Marcus said the ANC believed journalists had a right to perform

their duties without fear or favour, and to this end, the organisation hoped the establishment of press marshals in every region would minimise dangers faced by members of the media.

"In affected areas or conflict situations, press marshals can arrange or ensure access for the media to these places. We cannot guarantee everything, but the marshals can reduce problems faced by working journalists," Ms Marcus said.

(243) 
In the face of growing concern for journalists' safety, the South African Union of Journalists invited the ANC, PAC, Azapo, Inkatha, National Party, Democratic Party and SA Communist Party to the seminar to speak on freedom of the press and journalists' safety.

The organisations were also asked to sign a declaration on "respect for the rights of working journalists" The PAC and Azapo did not sign the declaration.

Parties support Press freedom

(243) AMCT 22/7/92

LINDA GALLOWAY
Staff Reporter

MAJOR political parties have committed themselves to principles of press freedom and have signed a declaration respecting the rights of working journalists.

The pledge was signed at a seminar on the safety of journalists in Johannesburg yesterday, following an increase in harassment, intimidation and assault of reporters, particularly on the Reef.

Representatives of the African National Congress, SA Communist Party, National Party, Democratic Party and Inkatha Freedom Party signed the declaration, drawn up by the South African Union of Journalists, agreeing to "respect and promote the safe conduct and the physical safety of journalists, including news camera-persons, and radio and television crews".

ANC spokesperson Ms Gill Marcus said at the seminar that the organisation had already instituted several ideas to deal with the worrying increase in harassment of journalists.

ANC president Nelson Mandela had written a letter to every branch and there was an education programme to teach members about the role of the press and press freedom in a democratic society.

Ms Marcus said black people saw the media as being white-

controlled and "about them, but not for them".

IFP spokesman Mr Errol Goetsch said criticism antagonised people "and then the gap between peace talk at the top (of an organisation) and war talk at the bottom widens".

The Pan Africanist Congress refused to sign the pledge. Spokesman Mr Barney Desai said the PAC "did not need to make pledges" because it had passed resolutions at its con-

gress committing itself to Press freedom.

He "categorically" denied PAC members had been responsible for intimidation or assaults on journalists but "wherever we have the power to deal with anyone going against our codes, we will do so".

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) also did not sign the document.

ANC team gets a hostile reception

WILSON ZWANE
AN ANC-SACP-Cosatu delegation received a hostile reception yesterday when it visited Iscor's KwaMadala hostel to check on the evacuation of inmates
BY 22/7/92

Numsa official Alfred Woodington said yesterday the alliance had alerted Iscor's management and KwaMadala's leaders of their intended visit to the Vaal triangle hostel

"But when we got there, about 200 people toyi-toyed towards us, calling us killers," Woodington said, adding that such a reception did not bode well for the spirit of reconciliation

The delegation was able, however, to talk to the hostel dwellers' leaders. According to Woodington, it was agreed that a meeting of Inkatha, Iscor and the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance should be convened today

The meeting would discuss, among other things, what was going to be done about Boipatong residents who had been displaced by violence in the township and the reintegration of hostel dwellers in the local community, Woodington said

Asked about the process to evacuate KwaMadala hostel dwellers, he said the delegation was satisfied with steps taken to date. One-third of the hostel had been emptied and a wall would be built between that portion and the rest of the complex, he said

Iscor spokesman Neels Howatt has said his company intended moving all KwaMadala hostel inmates to KwaMasiza hostel by September 21

Call for help in tracing killers

BY 22/7/92

DURBAN - Natal's regional police commissioner has appealed to political organisations and communities to help the SAP trace and apprehend people who attacked and killed policemen, following the deaths of four around Durban recently, Sapa reports.

In a statement yesterday, Maj-Gen Colin Steyn referred specifically to three policemen killed at the weekend - Const F J J Venter, Const Tyrell Tyrone Samuels and Detective Const Titus Maphanga

Just hours before his statement, Durban police reported the killing of Const Jabuile Gumede, who was shot dead at point-blank range in Umlazi while waiting for a bus to take her to work yesterday.

Steyn described the killings as "clearly politically motivated"

He said a meeting had taken place between the ANC and Natal police last week to address rumours that the SAP intended withdrawing from certain areas. The ANC had demanded that police remain.

"The latest attacks on members of the SAP can be seen as a contradiction of the sentiments and concerns voiced by the ANC," Steyn said

A police spokesman in Pretoria said yesterday that 112 policemen had been killed so far this year.

In his response to Steyn's remarks, the ANC's southern Natal secretary Sibusiso Ndebele rejected "the general's insinuation that the ANC is responsible for the

killings in Lamontville" Ndebele said it was not ANC policy to kill policemen, adding that the organisation had suspended its armed activities.

President F W de Klerk has requested the Goldstone commission to investigate attacks on the SAP. Judge Richard Goldstone said yesterday the commission fully shared De Klerk's concern about the large number of policemen killed and injured in recent months

Goldstone also said the commission had received "disturbing reports" from the Vosloorus Local Dispute Resolution Committee concerning violence in that area. The commission was also concerned at the renewed outbreak of violence at Bruntville and Mooi River

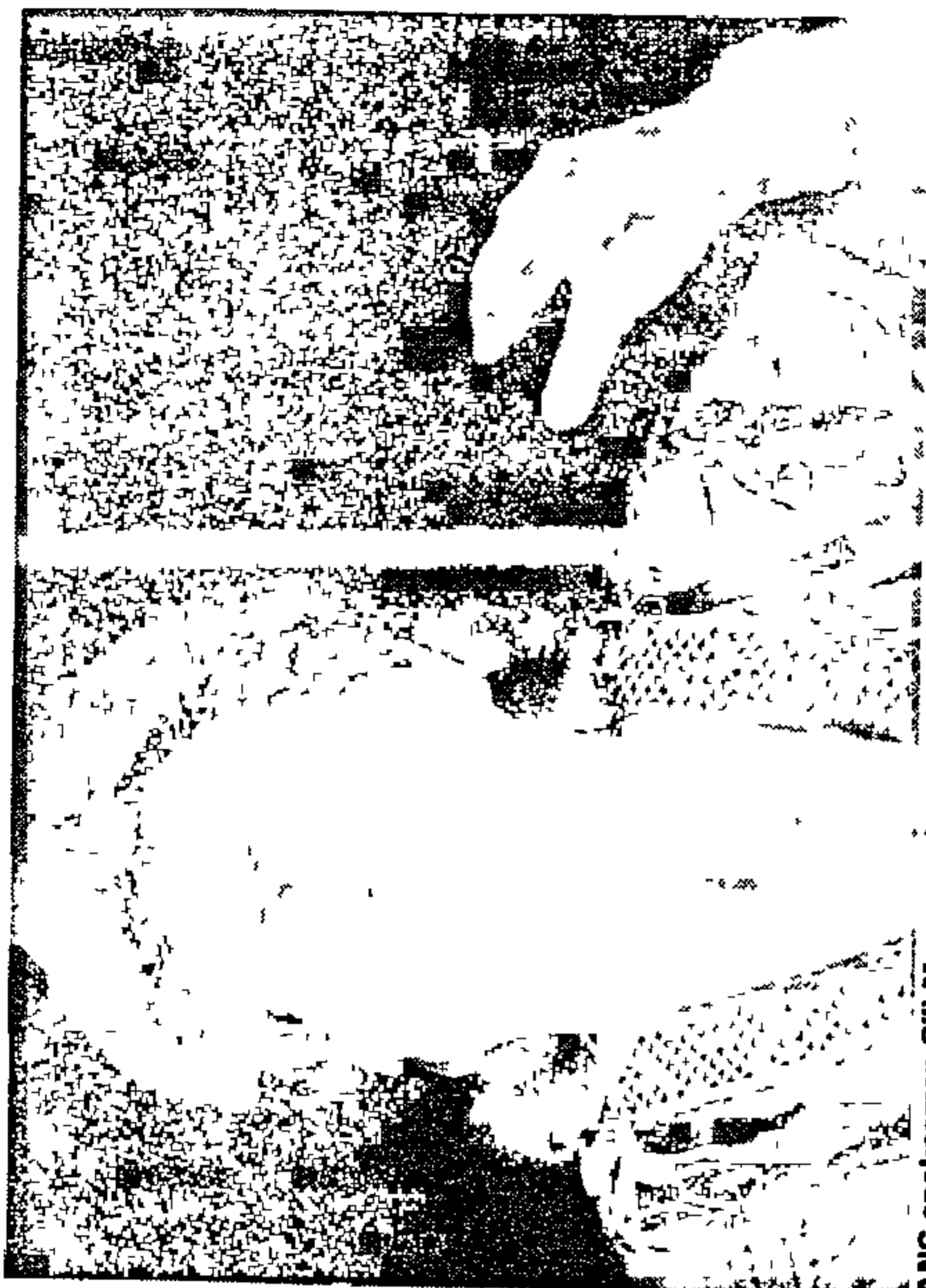
Meanwhile, Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel gazetted a notice in Pretoria declaring the West Rand's Kagiso, Munsieville, Swanenville squatter settlement and Bekkersdal unrest areas

RAY HARTLEY reports gunmen killed two men outside Selby Hostel in Johannesburg yesterday

ANC spokesman Wally Mbhele said the attack followed the stabbing of a hostel dweller yesterday and the shooting of a worker on Friday

In another incident, at least two people were killed in a shooting at an Umlazi home yesterday, police said

And a burned body and a stabbing victim were found in Soweto



ANC spokesman Gill Marcus, who attended yesterday's SAUJ-sponsored conference on journalists' safety
Picture CATHERINE ROSS

Politicians promote journalists' safety

POLITICAL organisations, including the ANC, Inkatha, SACP, NP and DP, yesterday signed a declaration promoting the safety of journalists
BY 22/7/92

They were attending a conference organised by the SA Union of Journalists SAUJ president Peter Malherbe said that since January, one journalist had been killed, 21 assaulted and 12 threatened

The ANC said it had begun setting up a network of media marshals to act as guides for journalists in townships

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the

CHARLIE PRETZLIK

marshals would relay complaints from journalists to the ANC

Inkatha information officer Errol Goetsch agreed that guides were needed NP information director Piet Coetzer said it was necessary "to change society's attitude towards freedom of expression"

The PAC and Azapo did not sign the declaration, which PAC spokesman Barney Desai said the national working committee had to discuss Azapo's Steven Peter said it "needed to be broadened"

REPORTED BY 22/7/92

focus on THE PRESS

A FEW YEARS ago a noted white South African journalist, call him Mr A, had his audience eating out of his hands

Or so he thought with satisfaction as he resumed his seat, after yet another address on South African politics, at yet another American university

Then a bright spark, like a pointed poniard, pricked his bubble

"Mr A, you claim that the Black Consciousness Movement is dead in South Africa, yet, day in, day out, we read about the feud between UDF and AZAPO members in Soweto, Natal, the Eastern Cape, Bekkersdal and so on

"Who is it that the UDF is fighting, a ghost?" asked the spark, a black American hack

Our usually loquacious journalist was dumbstruck The truth, like a mole, had reared its head at a most unlikely place

The time was mid-80s, but it could have been now Then, as now, some press-persons perceived their role as extending beyond telling news as they are, but as they wish news to be

This incident came back to one's mind after the funeral of victims of the Boipatong massacre, when the Press bemoaned "infringement of Press freedom" after attacks on some journalists at the funeral

The "somewhat dry, somewhat bitter, never sweet" (apologies SAB) truth is that the Press began infringing the said freedom long ago

The media ethic of "publish without fear or favour, and, if need be, be damned for that" has long been disposed of Playing King-maker has become more important than reporting fairly, accurately and objectively

Though we as Azapo advocate Press freedom, those who choose to abuse the said freedom for political expediency have our coldest sympathy when they catch hell for so doing

Let us explain ourselves

Mr Rian Malan, author of "My Traitor's Heart" fame, has written excellently on how foreign correspondents see our world through ideologically-tinted glasses For instance, during the said "UDF-Azapo feud", they would play down or ignore excesses of an organisation which was the apple of their eye, even when it infringed on Press freedom by "banning" a newspaper (*Sowetan*) for its supposed Black Consciousness leanings

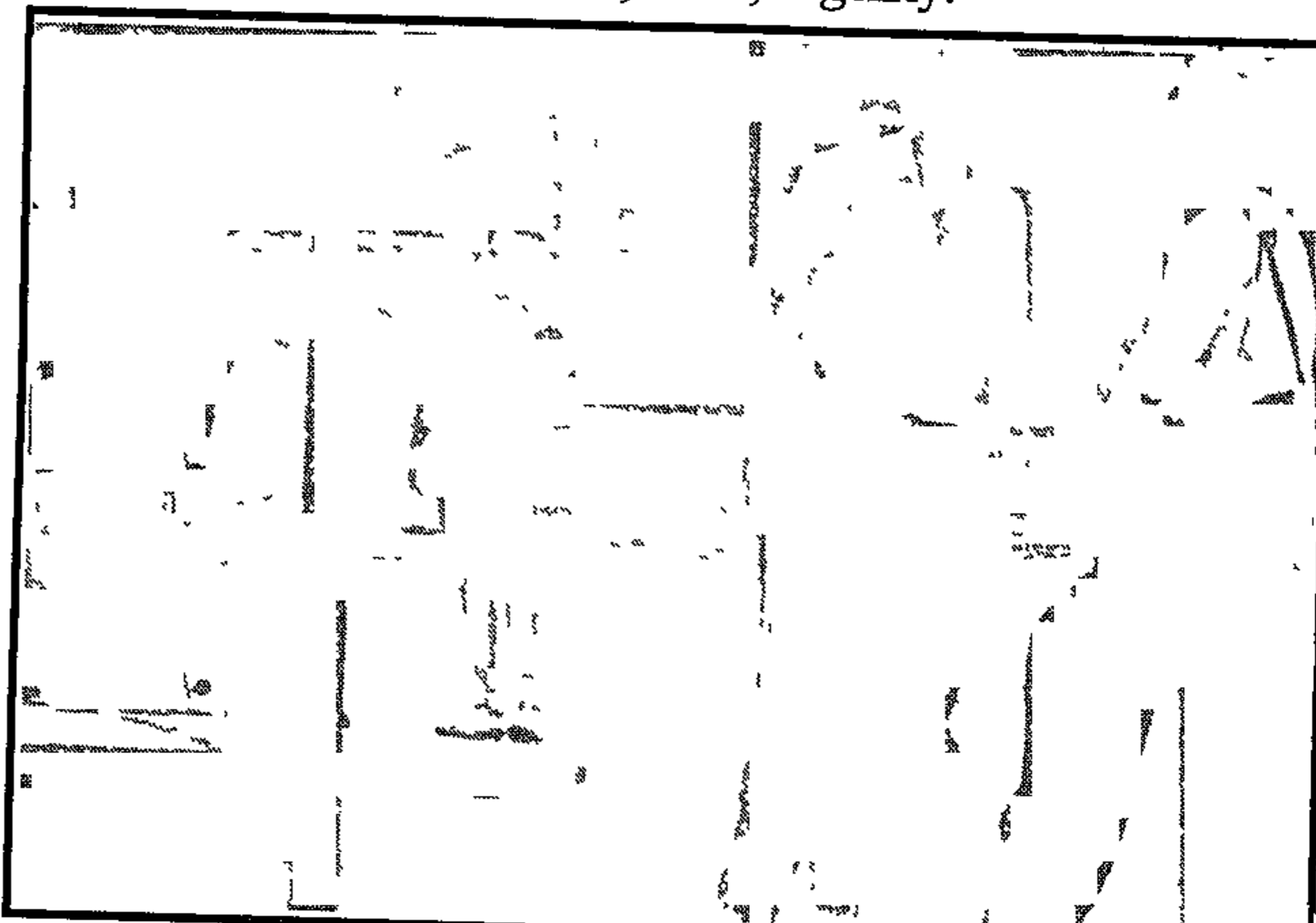
The under-reporting of the mass burning of more than 30 old people in Ga-Sekhukhune, for alleged "witchcraft" practises, by a local political youth organisation, is a case in point

The local Press, white "liberal", and so-called alternative, has not, and still does not, perform any better Indeed, this Press is guilty of covert, and sometimes overt, racism

This Press' reportage on white politics endeavours, as much as possible, to reflect, fairly,

Two weeks ago Media bosses were outraged when Boipatong youths attacked *Sowetan* 23/7/92 243 ~~243~~ journalists. Azapo education secretary, **Dr** ~~Dr~~

Gomolemo Mokae, supports the independence of the media but says it should not cry foul when it, itself, is guilty.



Under pressure ... journalists facing pressure from rightwingers.

the entire political spectrum That is, the seemingly disparate views of the two Bothas, Pik and Koos, carry virtually the same weight.

To rub salt to injury, a local commercial radio countenances the obviously rightist views of one of its DJs! But, would the station have the same "open-mindedness" to, say, a black DJ who makes no bones about his leftist, militant views?

We suspect not When it comes to black politics, this Press patronisingly chooses "the right voice" for the oppressed, and pulls out all stops to project it as the alpha and omega of our struggle At cross-ideological rallies, for instance, leaders of this "voice" would, by and large, be the only ones whose pronouncements are reported on

Insightful, inveterate letter-writer, Kgositsile Mokgosi, ably alludes to another dimension of this white hypocrisy

In a letter in a local magazine, Mokgosi points out that when Helen Suzman was the sole MP for the "English liberal ideology", she was snowed under by bouquets from the self-same Press

"Though the white voting public showed not once, but in numerous elections their complete rejection of everything that Suzman stood for, no one ever dismissed her on the basis of the miniscule support she could muster from her own people

"Is it not strange, then, that this very same Press becomes so excited when apparent lack of support for the so-called left becomes evident?"

"Is it not strange that they attach so much importance to the probably minute size of the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation, and yet, write glowingly about Dr Zach de Beer, whose party failed to be a government, and continues to lose in whites-only elections?"

"This man, who is suddenly chairman of what the Press describes as the real parliament (Codesa), has been rejected by his white compatriots "

Now that the bearer" of bad tidings, the Press, is getting a hiding, perhaps its act will get a tidying (up)!

Sometan 23 / 7 192 243

NEWS ANALYSIS *Are white journalists subjected to racism when working in the townships?*

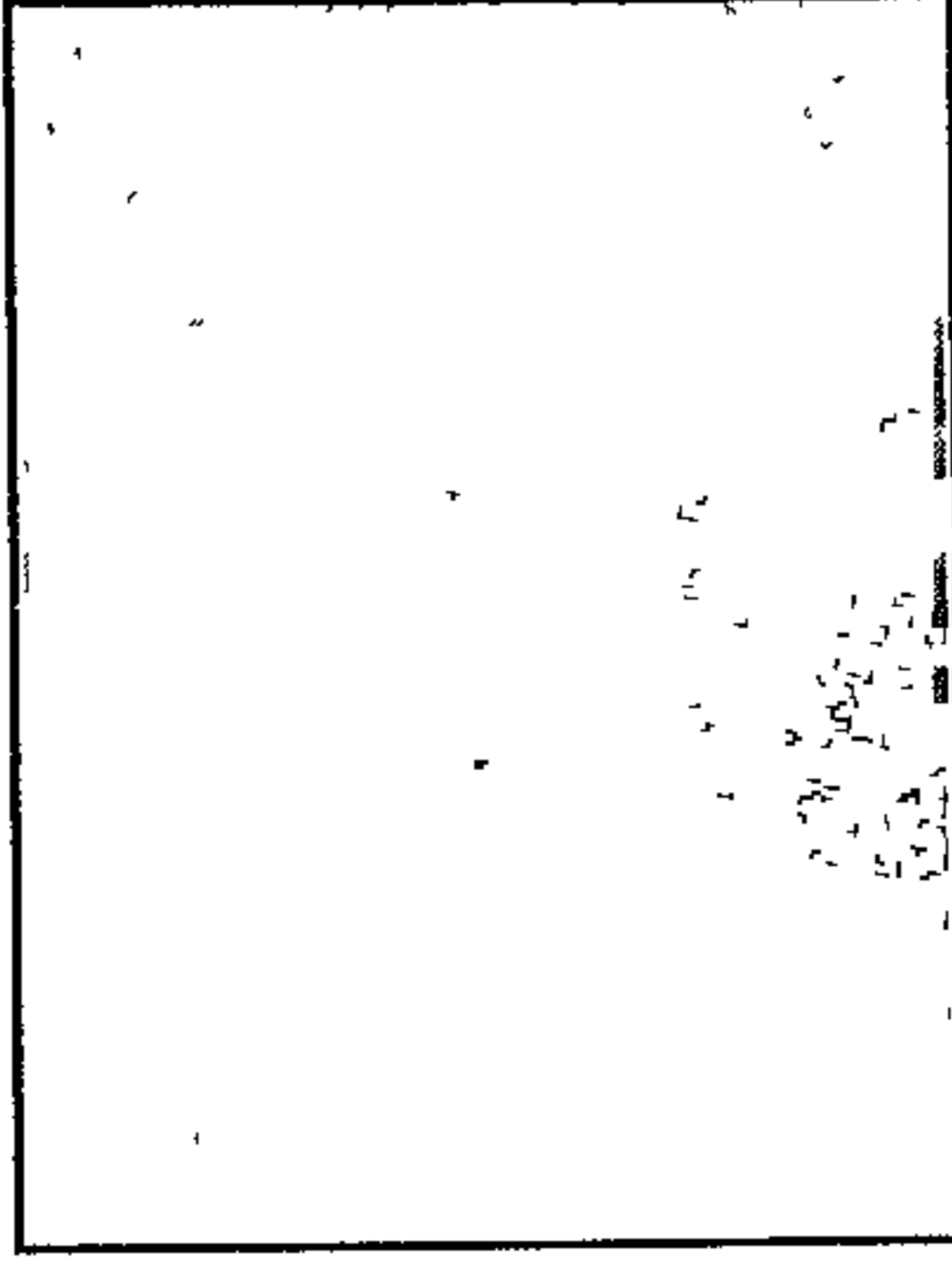
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“If journalists expect society to protect them and see them as their source of information, they should serve society and not sections of it”

“She said blacks were objects of the media which spoke ‘at them’ and not ‘with them’”



Steven Peters



Barney Desai

SAUJ seeks pledge on safety of reporters

By Mathatha Tsedu

ARE BLACK people in riot-torn townships getting racist in their attacks on white journalists?

Or is it simply a question of illiterate or ignorant people who do not understand the media and its importance?

Or further still, are the attacks a manifestation of deep seated hatred of white journalists who are seen as either unsympathetic to the struggles of black people, or biased in favour of particular organisations?

The attacks have seemingly amplified in the recent past, with the latest incidents involving white journalists covering the Boipatong massacre. A catalogue of over 70 incidents is contained in a special report on Press censorship and attacks on journalists

Signals of alarm

The mainly white South African Union of Journalists, responding to signals of alarm emanating from the affected journalists, this week held a conference where political organisations were asked to sign a pledge to respect the rights of working journalists

Dubbed as a safety seminar with the theme "Safety of Journalists - whose responsibility?", those attending were the ANC, Azapo, DP, IFP, NP, PAC, SACP. The SAP declined to attend, a point that was seen as "extremely" unfortunate as they were also a major culprit in the alleged attacks

In setting the tone of the seminar, SAUJ president, Mr Peter Malherbe, said the seminar followed a growing list of incidents of attacks on journalists

He said while the recent attacks were directed at white journalists, the SAUJ was concerned at attacks in general, not only those directed at white journalists

Biased and partisan

It was a distinction that was to prove pivotal as some of the organisations, such as Azapo and PAC, said in their presentations that white journalists were seen as biased and partisan

Their spokesmen, Mr Steven Peters, and Mr Barney Desai, said while they deplored the attacks, journalists themselves had to report in a manner that does not give rise to accusations of ideological bias

There was also a strong feeling among some of the delegates that the SAUJ's concern, which translated itself into the "inquisition" of the mainly black organisations, was primarily because those attacked were white

The PAC statement during the re-

down 24/7/92
■ PRESS FREEDOM *Insight into a*

seminar organised by the South

(243)

African Union of Journalists:

(243)

cently-ended Mwasa versus SABC strike, in which the organisation said it could not guarantee the safety of working (white) journalists, came in for hard hammering and Desai was called upon to justify what was seen as a licence to the toyi-toyi brigade to attack them

ANC spokeswoman, Miss Gill Marcus, said the attacks stemmed from the perception in black communities that the media was not theirs and did not articulate their aspirations

She said blacks were objects of the media, which spoke "at them" and not "with them". She said the media was actively working against blacks and their deaths were mere statistics of "ten or twenty blacks dead with no names while the death of only one white elicits as much information as to include the person's grandparents"

IFP representative, Mr Errol Goetch, said his organisation's members were not the "virtues of tolerance,

nalists

"We undertake within the limits of our influence and abilities to respect and promote the safe conduct and physical safety of journalists, including news camerapersons, and radio and television crews"

Azapo and PAC declined to sign, the former stating that it was not necessary while the latter said the pledge would still be discussed by its National Working Committee

The ANC, DP, IFP, NP and SACP all signed the pledge, which was described by Malherbe as a mere piece of paper "which we hope will be filtered down to the grassroot and explained"

Stem the tide

Efforts suggested to stem the tide included extensive education campaigns where activists would be taught about media operations and how news is gathered and eventually printed or broadcast

There were also calls for Mwasa and the SAUJ to co-ordinate the education programme and to be involved in similar programmes of political organisations

But everyone at the sparsely attended seminar agreed that these steps would not lead to an immediate cessation of the attacks

It was also agreed that the whole concept of media, including its concentration in the hands of a few white capitalists on the one hand, and the white state for the broadcasting media, augured badly for an improvement in relations between blacks and white journalists in particular

The need to break the monopoly of white capital and to make the media representative of society, was seen as a major prerequisite for relations of black people and media practitioners

Equal importance

But also of equal importance was that if journalists should expect society to protect them and see them as their source of information, they should serve society and not sections of society. And therein lies the most problematic part of journalists' conditions, to be objective and being seen to be so by all. Is it possible? Is it a fair expectation by society?

This question will continue to be debated for a long time. But the point of the seminar was that even where journalists are wrong, this does not entitle people to abuse them

A catalogue of over 70 incidents is contained in a special report on Press censorship and attacks on journalists

but so too are their counterparts" in other organisations

He said the attacks on journalists, as on anybody else, was deplorable as life should be respected

SACP representative, Mr Jeremy Cronin, said the party supported a free Press and deplored attacks on journalists

The SAUJ had drawn a pledge which the participating organisations were asked to sign

The pledge reads "(Organisation's name) shares the concern of the SAUJ at recent attacks and threats of attack against journalists, and agrees that the rights of working journalists should be respected at all times while they are engaged in news gathering in South Africa

"We acknowledge that the SAUJ expects its members to work in accordance with the union's code of conduct and the International Federation of Journalists's declaration of principles on the conduct of jour-

Removals victim goes to court

BY CARMEL RICKARD

OLD age pensioner Andries Radebe, victim of the government's "black spot" removals 15 years ago, wants the supreme court to declare the expropriation of his land unlawful, and give it back to him.

Radebe, who had tilled his farm in Cremin, Natal, has begun action in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court testing the legality of his 1977 forced removal. However, 99 other people removed from their land at Cremin during the same period are waiting in the wings to see whether Radebe is successful.

His is the first case this decade giving the courts an opportunity to test the legality of removals carried out under apartheid legislation. Radebe was moved under laws which allowed the state to expropriate land, force black title-holders off their properties (called "black spots") and clear them from areas the government designated "white".

By 1985, an estimated 3,5-million people had been removed under these laws, and another 1,9-million were under threat of removal. Many, like Radebe, have never given up hope that they will return to their land. Even before the court starts to hear his application, it could encourage "black spot" victims in other parts of the country to look for possible grounds for similar court action.

Lawyers from Durban's Legal Resources Centre who are acting for Radebe argue that (non-political) expropriation cases, the courts protect the rights of the landowner by insisting that every procedural technicality is observed to the letter.

However, in Radebe's case a number of formalities required by the law were not carried out. For example, the Land Act and the

Expropriation Act say the owner of a property must be properly notified of a planned expropriation. Radebe claims he never received any notification, nor was any notice put up on his house or the boundary fence.

The Expropriation Act also says if the owner cannot be traced the notice must be published in the *Government Gazette* and other media. This too was not done.

The law further states that expropriation must be carried out "for public purposes". However the land lay fallow for 11 years after Radebe and his family were removed to Ezakheni township in northern Natal. Only then was it sold to cattle farmer Derek Dreyer who used it for pasture.

Radebe says that if his land had been needed for public purposes, it would have been put to that use immediately after it was expropriated, or very soon afterwards.

Therefore, he argues, "the minister did not come to his decision to expropriate fairly and honestly because the property was not in reality required for public purposes".

A major hurdle for this and any other case brought to test "black spot" removals is that it happened so long ago. To explain the delay, Radebe outlines steps he took over the years to contest and query the expropriation as well as the R4 017 cash he was paid in compensation, which he offers to return.

Former Catholic priest and author of several books about the effects of the removal policy, Cosmas Desmond, supports Radebe's application in an affidavit. Desmond explains how removals affected the communities — usually illiterate, frightened, rural people. He says the results were so devastating that "immediate and effective litigation to rectify wrongs" was almost impossible.

ANC-Cosatu plan daily paper

BY REG RUMNEY

THE African National Congress-Congress of South African Trade Unions alliance is planning to launch its own daily newspaper.

The publication will not, it is reliably learnt, rely solely on donor money but will mobilise private sector funds. Details are still sketchy but it is understood a company will be set up to run the paper. The company will be controlled by a trust, comprised of two ANC representatives, two Cosatu representatives, one South African Communist Party representative, one other and private investors. The trust and the private investors will appoint the board of directors of the new company.

The ANC and Cosatu have started to raise funds. Nigerian investors are said to be interested, and the ANC has commitments from Italian unions and the Italian government to set up a democratic media centre. Potential local investors such as the Federation of African Business and Consumer Organisations and National African Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry have also been approached.

Whether to buy an existing operation or start a new paper from scratch has not yet been decided. But it is unlikely the Anglo American-controlled English media groups will sell any of their papers. Anglo is believed to be strongly opposed to selling any of its newspaper interests to political organisations.

Argus chief executive Doug Band says his company's position is clear: it has no publications for sale to political organisations. However, it will be willing to help any "political" newspaper with distribution and printing and the like. "Should the ANC and Cosatu wish to buy or start a newspaper we would help them in any possible way."

Are you interested in...

Focus on media

WHEN PRESIDENT FW de Klerk unbanned political organisations and released leaders such as Nelson Mandela in 1990, the foreign Press told the world about "the ANC and others".

In fact, a banner headline in a Cape Town newspaper read: "ANC and other organisations unbanned"

Today the foreign Press in particular - and to a very large extent the white local media - still dictates who should be the major political players

They also decide who should get prominent coverage, and are campaigning for a future government about which they have already decided

United States and European readers largely believe that in South Africa Mandela is the only black political leader and the ANC the only liberation movement

It is not uncommon in the US to read about the PAC and Azapo being referred to as "small radical groupings to the left of the ANC"

Working in the US a while ago, I saw such a description featuring like a permanent addendum to the PAC and Azapo names - if they got any publicity at all

Some major newspapers even called Nkosi Sikelel 'iAfrika the ANC national anthem

A recent glaring example of this blatant bias was the coverage of the United Nations Security Council debate on South Africa - before and after July 17

Only Mandela's lobbying at the Organisation of African Unity summit in Senegal graced the media PAC president Clarence Makwetu's address to the OAU was ignored, his letter of appeal and subsequent meeting with UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali were not reported

Add insult to injury

In his opening speech, the chairman of the OAU took time to commend Makwetu "for his initiative to approach the African heads of states who made the Security Council debate possible"

Worse still, Makwetu's address to the Security Council was ignored in the local media the next morning and days after

As if to add insult to injury, foreign correspondents were absent at the PAC and Inkatha pre-departure Press conferences at Jan Smuts Airport on the eve of the UN debate

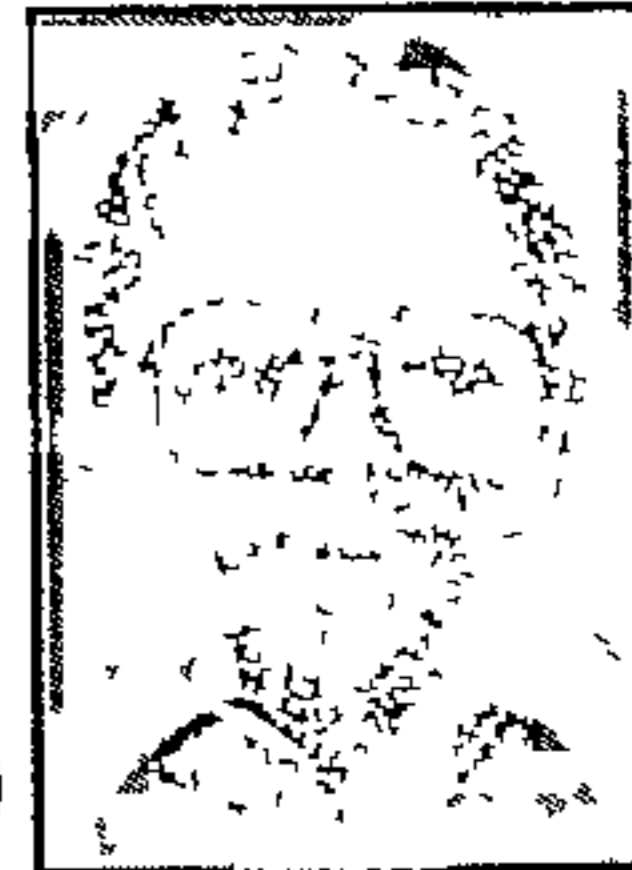
They were milling in the terminal, waiting for Mandela's briefing or were still arriving and asking, "what did they say?"

Only seven local journalists bothered to attend Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Makwetu's obviously pre-announced briefings

And no fewer than 10 television crews were present in the VIP lounge when the ANC leader

Sowetan 27/7/92

The foreign press - and to a lesser extent the local press - would like us to believe that the African National Congress is representative of black South Africans. Political reporter **Themba Molefe** looks at the fallacy of this perception:



CRY FREEDOM: Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie punch the air after his release.

Sowetan 27/7/92

arrived; the room was as packed as is now accustomed

Actually, a foreign journalist once told me that his brief was Mandela and that's it. And it appears to be the brief for local journalists who are supposed to know this country's political ramifications and polarised nature better Ask Azapo, the PAC and IFP

Local journalists covering the political story seem to rely on their foreign counterparts to tip them off about where "the story" is

Many will argue that objectivity is a myth, but it is the quest for this illusive journalistic ethic which has created some of the world's greatest newspeople and media

It was Mandela himself, on June 16 1991, who angrily told local journalists at a rally that they lacked inquisitive and investigative minds

Was it perhaps an indictment on our ability or was it a confession on the ANC's part as to why - until recently - foreign reporters often got

priority attention at ANC offices?

Now the townships are burning with even more ferocity and white colleagues are apparently on the receiving end This is wrong and stands condemned

Only a few years back in the mid-1980s black reporters faced the dreaded "necklace" because they were seen to be partisan Indeed, after Mandela's release foreign media was given preference and had in-depth face-to-face interviews with the legend at his Orlando West, Soweto, house

Local black and white journalists were told to pool questions When I returned later I was afforded 15 minutes for an in-depth interview

But do average South Africans ask why they seem more knowledgeable about British and American politics than they do about Pandelani Nkomo and his influence on the country's political future

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ANC plans boycott of PE papers

CT 28/7/92 (243)

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Port Elizabeth branch of the ANC has announced its plans to launch a campaign against the city's two daily English newspapers because it objects to editorials critical of its alliance with Cosatu and the SA Communist Party

A spokesman for Times Media Limited, Eastern Cape Division, described it as

"intimidation and harassment of the local press"

It is believed that the organisations had called on their supporters to boycott the Eastern Province Herald and the Evening Post and to picket and possibly occupy Newspaper House, where the newspapers are produced

The ANC's department of information in Johannesburg said consumers had the right not to buy a product — including newspapers.

However, in a memorandum sent to all its regions recently Mr Nelson Mandela expressed "deep concerns" about behaviour by its

Mass protest mix-up

Staff Reporter

A PROTEST march scheduled to take place yesterday as part of the ANC-organised pro-democracy campaign was postponed by the union concerned, although the ANC confirmed that the event would occur.

The Transport and General Workers' Union (Tagwu) was to march in the city at noon, according to the official mass action timetable.

However, Tagwu branch secretary Mr Harold Harvey said yesterday that the decision to postpone the march had been made "some time back". He said they had neglected to inform the ANC

members that "hindered journalists from fulfilling their important tasks".

"A free flow of information, including that which we personally may not like or approve of, is vital to democratisation of our society and the creation of a climate of political tolerance," he said

A spokesman for the SA Union of Journalists said the ANC's Port Elizabeth branch had made it clear that the campaign was directed solely at the stance taken in the editorials of the newspapers and had nothing to do with the rest of the content

TML bonus scheme pays out R10,1m

CT 28/7/92
Business Editor

243

TIMES Media Limited paid out R10,1m in an incentive bonus scheme for all staff, based on the rise in the company's share price, in the year to March 31, the annual report discloses

Discussing the 35% rise in operating profit — and the 30% rise in the share price — achieved in difficult economic conditions, chairman Pat Retief says these results "reflect the inherent strength of the company's core publishing business and at the same time the growing impact of a programme of vigorous expansion that has taken place over the past five years."

The report shows the extent of the company's expansion into electronic information services, specialist publications and — through subsidiary CallNet — the premium rate telephone service (PRS)

Retief comments that CallNet has "performed very satisfactorily since it started up operations in October 1991

"This business was established with the help of Legion (Telecommunications) of the UK and, subsequent to the year-end, TML acquired a R47,5% stake in Legion and in Fabiano Corporation NV at a cost of R21,9m

"The group's investment in these two companies which operate PRS services in the UK and are rapidly developing such services in Europe should, together with its 74% holding in CallNet services in SA, have a favourable impact on earnings in the coming year"

The directors say, in their review of operations, that M-Net, in which Times Media has an 18% stake, had a subscriber base of 695 000 households at the end of March and had achieved 27% penetration of households with colour TV

"M-Net is seeking to expand internationally A substantial investment was made in FilmNet (SA), a subscription television company operating in Scandinavia and the Benelux countries."

ANC set to boycott 'biased' PE papers

STAR 29/7/92

243

~~143~~

By Esther Waugh and Sapa

The ANC yesterday refused to condemn outright the unprecedented boycott by its Port Elizabeth branch of two local newspapers accused of bias against the ANC.

The local ANC branch will from tomorrow boycott the Eastern Province Herald and the Evening Post — owned by Times Media Limited (TML) — and picket and occupy its buildings.

The Johannesburg-based ANC's department of information and publicity, asked to comment yesterday, quoted a recent letter by ANC president Nelson Mandela to the organisation's regions which stated. "A free flow of information, including that which we personally may not like or approve of, is

vital to democratisation of our society and the creation of a climate of political tolerance"

Mr Mandela said his organisation had consistently said newspaper editors had the right to print what they liked. "But it is necessary to point out that consumers have the right not to buy the product," he added

Access

ANC eastern Cape media officer Phila Nkayi said the planned boycott "doesn't have anything to do with an intimidation campaign or criticism (by the newspapers) of the ANC".

Mr Nkayi alleged instead that the editor-in-chief of TML's eastern Cape division, Derek Smith, was "reserving" the papers for whites

Whenever black community organisations attempted to gain access to the press, "either they get their story distorted, or in-

formation is suppressed, which is against the ethics of a free media", Mr Nkayi said.

Mr Smith said allegations of reports being distorted or suppressed was "news to him".

"We record everything fairly and honestly as we are trained to do. To my knowledge — I'm not aware of everything that goes on — we report all the news we can get," Mr Smith said

However, the ANC often sent "long, six-page statements and expect us to publish this", he added

Democratic Party MP Peter Soal slammed the planned boycott. "Individuals have the right not to support newspapers if they do not agree with the contents of the editorials, but to stage an organised boycott amounts to tyranny and smacks of the intimidation to which one is accustomed in authoritarian states," he said

COPIES OF VILL.

DP slates ANC plans to boycott two EP newspapers

243
Aug 21/7/92

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE Democratic Party has slated a planned ANC boycott of two Port Elizabeth newspapers as an extension of the physical attacking and harassing of journalists

DP media spokesman Mr Peter Soal said this was an extremely disturbing development to be viewed in a serious light

He said of the ANC in Port Elizabeth's plans to boycott the Eastern Province Herald and Evening Post that individuals had the right not to support newspapers if they disagreed with their editorials.

"But to stage an organised boycott amounts to tyranny and smacks of intimidation."

He said Port Elizabeth activists ap-

peared to be ignoring ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's insistence in a recent memorandum that there should be a free flow of information, whether or not it was critical

He said the DP insisted that the press be free to report as it saw fit and reflect developments in society as it perceived them.

Eena reports that the editor of the Eastern Province Herald, Mr Derek Smith, has warned that his newspaper would "not become an ANC newspaper" and has rejected any "thought of being dictated to" by the organisation.

Responding to accusations that the Herald, in particular, was reserved mainly for whites and distorted black news, Mr Smith said his newspaper had always been a vociferous opponent of apartheid, but still upheld the principle of freedom of expression.

focus on Africa

WHILE much of Africa is eagerly awaiting South Africa's return to the continent, most people here prefer to remain largely ignorant about the rest of the land mass to which the country is inextricably attached

They prefer to associate with countries like Germany, Great Britain or the United States, rather than acquaint themselves with the shambles in Africa, ignoring the fact - sad to some, but real nevertheless - that we are Africans in Africa

Our future lies more than ever before with the African continent. And the sooner we accept that the better for all of us

More and more businesses are sending teams into African countries to investigate business opportunities

A future government is sure to have much closer ties with Tanzania than with Great Britain and the political or economic developments in Zimbabwe and Angola are much more likely to affect South Africa than internal political developments in France or Israel

Ask the average South African where Burundi is and he is likely to tell you it is in the Himalayas or in South America

Strike conversation

South African newspapers are fixated by the latest romps of the British Royal family

On the other hand it is quite possible to strike up a conversation with a taxi driver in Lusaka (that is in Zambia, just north of where Rhodesia used to be) about the crisis facing Kenya's President Daniel arap Moi

He will know who Babangida is and that Sierra Leone has just experienced yet another coup. He will happily chat about the Renamo-Frelimo war and Dos Santos' moment of truth at the end of September

Good luck

And above all he will have a pretty good idea about what Mandela and FW have been up to

Back in South Africa, it is rare to find even a well-educated person able to display the same range of knowledge - besides, of course, the tiresome fascination with which we examine our own navels

While most Africans north of the Limpopo remain abreast of developments on our continent, South Africans are allowing themselves to be left shamefully behind

Possibly the changes have been too sudden, and most of them are still too busy wiping the sleep out of their eyes to notice that the once impregnable laager on the Limpopo River has all but disappeared

Maybe the newspapers must share some of the blame. Newspapers in Nairobi and Dar es

Hans-Peter Bakker of the *Sowetan Africa News* Service takes a cynical and personal look at South Africans - especially those of the white variety with apparently indissoluble links with more distant parts of the world:



South African newspapers are fixated by the latest romps of the British Royal family.

Salaam are every day filled with news and features on the African continent

No exceptions

In contrast South African newspapers, virtually without exception, are so fixated by our own crisis and by the latest romps of the British Royal

family that articles on African issues are sadly few and far between. But the fault also lies with a society - especially the white society - which prefers to think of Africa as an unfortunate failure. And the less they know about it the less chance there is of it coming down here to sully their little bit of pseudo-Europe

ANC targets 2 newspapers

Sowetan 29/7/92 (243)

■ BOYCOTT CALL The regional spokesman of the ANC in Port Elizabeth announces a call to boycott local dailies:

THE boycott of two Eastern Province newspapers called by the ANC starts tomorrow, the organisation's regional spokesman, Mr Phula Nkayi, said yesterday.

The newspapers involved are the *EP Herald* and the *Evening Post*

Nkayi said the boycott would be marked by a picket protest at Newspaper House in Port Elizabeth where the

two newspapers are published

The editor of the *Eastern Province Herald*, Mr Derek Smith, warned that his newspaper would not become an ANC newspaper and rejected any thought of being dictated to by the organisation.

The indefinite boycott of the *Herald* and the *Evening Post*, both Times Media Limited publications, follows

claims by the ANC that the papers were "malicious" towards the organisation and that Smith had a personal vendetta against members of the ANC alliance

The boycott call was first made at a mass rally on Saturday where it was also announced that a picket demonstration would be held at the offices of the SABC

The ANC said the *Herald* in particular was reserved mainly for whites and when news from black areas was covered it was "usually distorted"

The ANC has also announced a weekend-long consumer boycott as a build up to next week's stayaway action



BROADSHEET BONFIRE ... Demonstrators dance and chant as they burn newspapers outside the offices of Eastern Cape newspapers in Port Elizabeth in protest against their alleged bias towards the government in reporting. Picture AP

Boycott of PE papers starts

ET 30/7/92 (243)

JOHANNESBURG — An ANC-led boycott of two Eastern Cape newspapers, due to begin today, contradicts the ANC's stated commitment to freedom of speech, the Campaign for Open Media (Com) said yesterday.

Chairman Mr Raymond Louw said Com was alarmed by the ANC call for an indefinite boycott of the Eastern Province Herald

and Evening Post newspapers.

The boycott call forms part of the ANC-led mass action campaign — and is aimed at the “democratisation” of the media.

About 250 protesters carrying copies of the Eastern Province Herald and Evening Post burnt them outside the newspaper offices here yesterday.

They presented two memoran-

da to TML Eastern Cape editor-in-chief Mr Derek Smith.

The ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance has announced a “black weekend” will start in Port Elizabeth tomorrow with a consumer boycott of city businesses and a focus on the deaths of local activists.

A mass march and a renaming of the HF Verwoerd airport has been planned for Saturday.

Conviction overturned (243)

JOHANNESBURG — Vrye Weekblad editor Mr Max du Preez had a conviction under the Protection of Information Act overturned yesterday in the Rand Supreme Court. CT 30/7/92

Editor let

off hook

over memo

STAR 30/7/92
By Susan Smuts

Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez yesterday had a conviction under the Protection of Information Act overturned in the Rand Supreme Court.

Mr du Preez and the Vrye Weekblad's publishers, Wending Publications, were appealing against a conviction for the possession of — and published reference to — a memorandum written by the former director of the Institute of Soviet Studies at Stellenbosch University, Professor P Nel, to the National Intelligence Service.

Overturning the conviction for possession of the document, Mr Justice JP Rous, with Mr Justice MacArthur concurring, said the memorandum was "innocent stuff" which "would not have inspired author John le Carre to write a thriller".

The judge however agreed with the conviction for publishing the information, but set aside a fine of R5 000 for Wending Publications and R2 000 for Mr du Preez.

Under the Act, anyone who knowingly receives a document protected by the Act is guilty of an offence. The State had not shown who had given the document to Mr du Preez.

ANC acts against PE press

STAK 3017192

An unprecedented ANC-led campaign against two eastern Cape newspapers got under way yesterday when protesters burnt copies of the newspapers in Port Elizabeth.

A boycott of the Eastern Province Herald and the Evening Post is due to begin tomorrow.

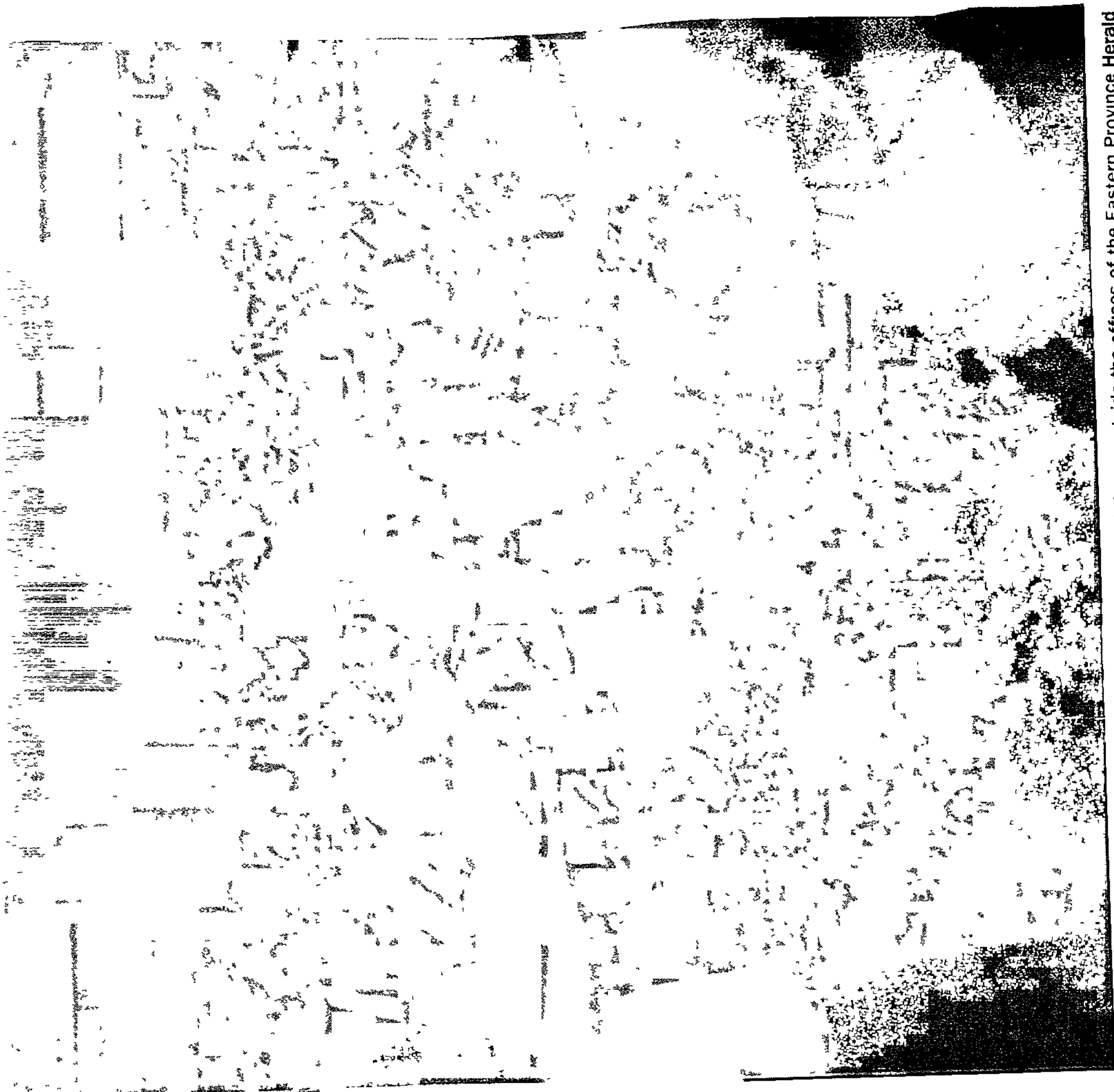
The Campaign for Open Media (COM) said yesterday the campaign contradicted the ANC's stated commitment to freedom of speech.

Chairman Raymond Louw said COM was alarmed by the call by the ANC in the eastern Cape for an indefinite boycott of the newspapers.

About 250 protesters yesterday burnt copies of the two newspapers outside Newspaper House in Port Elizabeth, and presented two memoranda to Times Media Limited's eastern Cape editor-in-chief Derek Smith.

ANC members gathered in front of PE's Newspaper House to hand over a petition calling for an end to the "malicious" attacks on the ANC by the newspapers.

But a defiant Mr Smith claimed before receiving the petition, that the Herald recorded news fairly and honestly and "will not become an ANC paper".



Newspaper protest demonstrators burn newspapers and dance outside the offices of the Eastern Province Herald and Evening Post in Port Elizabeth yesterday They were protesting against alleged biased reporting Picture: AP

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Vrye Weekblad wins case

SUSAN RUSSELL

(243)

FINES totalling R7 000 imposed on Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez and the newspaper's publishers Wending Publications by a Johannesburg magistrate for contravening the Protection of Information Act were set aside on appeal in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday

Du Preez and Wending Publications were found guilty in October 1990 on two counts of contravening the Act.

The charges arose from an article published in Vrye Weekblad in February 1990 which contained extracts from a memo sent to the National Intelligence Service (NIS) by Stellenbosch University's Institute of Soviet Studies director Prof P Nel. *BIDM 30/7/92*

Both yesterday appealed against the first conviction for receiving a document in contravention of the Act. They did not appeal against conviction on the second count, which was for publishing the offending material

Judge J P Roux, with Judge N MacArthur concurring, upheld their appeal against the first conviction

The judges also set aside the fines imposed in respect of both convictions. Du Preez and Wending Publications were cautioned and discharged.

The judge said it was his impression that the document dated July 31 1987 was "innocent stuff".

According to Prof Nel the object of the memo was to counter the naive views the intelligence services had of the Soviet Union at the time

He described the state's response to the Vrye Weekblad article as "almost hysterical"

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INCE

Sowe fan 30/7/92

Editor wins appeal

VRYE Weekblad editor Mr Max du Preez yesterday had a conviction under the protection of Information Act overturned in the Rand Supreme Court (243) Du Preez and the newspaper's, *Wending Publications*, were appealing against a conviction for the possession of - and published reference to - a memorandum written by former director of the Institute of Soviet Studies at Stellenbosch University, Professor P Nel, to National Intelligence Services Mr Justice JP Rous said the memorandum was "innocent stuff" which would not have inspired John le Carre

news

3/1/92

Boycott slated ⁽²⁴³⁾

AN ANC-led boycott of two Eastern Cape newspapers, due to begin today, contradicts the ANC's stated commitment to freedom of speech, the Campaign for Open Media said yesterday.

Chairman Raymond Louw said COM was alarmed by the call of the ANC in the Eastern Cape for an indefinite boycott of the *Eastern Province Herald* and the *Evening Post* newspapers.

"COM condemns any activity which interferes with the free flow of information. This is a dangerous precedent for the future," he said - *Sapa*

Sowetan 30/7/92

NEWS

ANC hits at E Cape papers

243
South am 30/7/92

■ Print what you like and we'll decide on buying

By Mzimasi Ngudle

NEWSPAPER editors have the right to print what they like and consumers the right not to buy the product.

This is the crucial issue about Press freedom, couched in the ANC's response this week to the boycott of two Eastern Cape daily newspapers planned to kick off today.

ANC regional media officer Mr Phala Nkayi confirmed yesterday that the campaign will start with pickets at the Newspaper House where the papers are produced.

Nkayi said that protesters will be carrying copies of the two newspapers, pile them next to the newspaper building and set them alight.

The boycott is part of a campaign against the *Eastern Province Herald* and the *Evening Post* because of their "critical editorials against the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance", according to ANC local branch.

"We feel their criticism is not constructive but solely based on hatred. In fact Mr Derek Smith who wields a lot of influence in these newspapers is on record as having said that he hates the ANC," Nkayi said.

Editor-in-chief of the Eastern Cape Division of Times Media Limited, Mr Derek Smith, had earlier sent a list of questions to the ANC head office regarding the campaign, asking about the ANC's commitment to Press freedom.

Responding to a question as to whether the newspaper boycott was accepted ANC policy, the ANC Department of Information and Publicity quoted Mr Nelson Mandela's letter at length to the regions.

In the letter, Mandela urged ANC regional and national information structures to include "in any workshop or meeting the importance of respect for the invaluable role journalists play in society, especially in one ridden with conflict such as ours".

"We urge you," Mandela said, "to convey our deep concerns to our members and supporters about behaviour that in any way hinders journalists from fulfilling their important tasks."

"A free flow of information, including that which we personally may not like or approve of, is vital to democratisation of our society and the creation of a climate of political tolerance," he said.

243

Press boycott runs into trouble

STAR 3117192

The ANC-led boycott of two eastern Cape newspapers ran into trouble from the movement's head office in Johannesburg on its first day yesterday.

The boycott forms part of the African National Congress's mass action campaign in the eastern Cape and is aimed at the "democratisation" of the media.

The Herald and Evening Post have been accused of "driving the communities apart through false reporting" and of biased editorials.

Hundreds of protesters burnt copies of the two newspapers outside Newspaper House in central Port Elizabeth on

Wednesday, the day before the boycott started.

The boycott has been widely criticised as a contradiction of the ANC's stated commitment to freedom of speech.

"The ANC is against intimidation, against the burning of newspapers, against anything like that," ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said on Thursday.

"We reiterate we are committed to press freedom and freedom of expression."

Mr Niehaus referred to a statement from the ANC head office earlier this week on the issue.

"The ANC has consistently stated that news-

paper editors have the right to print what they like. But it is necessary to point out that consumers have the right not to buy the product."

In Port Elizabeth, regional ANC media officer Phila Nkayi was at pains to play down the boycott controversy.

The ANC and its alliance partners, the SA Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions, had no further plans to burn newspapers or march on Newspaper House, Mr Nkayi said in an interview.

"We wish to emphasise we are not saying this was the best action we could have taken. We are

open to criticism. "This campaign was not meant to intimidate anybody. Journalists should carry on with their work as normal."

He said the ANC head office in Johannesburg had been "surprised" by the boycott call. "They are not necessarily supporting the boycott. They said that in the first place we should hold talks."

Mr Nkayi confirmed the regional ANC would meet the newspapers' management today "with open minds".

"The meeting will determine the future of the boycott. If we are satisfied we will call off the boycott" — Sapa

r o e n d t a y d s y - a - r - t



ANC condemns burning of newspapers

81077 3117692

THE ANC national office yesterday condemned the burning of newspapers by its eastern Cape region and distanced itself from the region's commitment to boycott newspapers in the province

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said "The ANC unequivocally condemns any intimidation of journalists, newspaper vendors or other media workers, as well as the burning of newspapers. The ANC will always work to ensure the safety of journalists within our communities, and their right to publish news and events as they occur"

BILLY PADDOCK (243)

He had urged the region to meet the newspapers' staff to resolve the problem. Eastern Province Herald and the Evening Post editor-in-chief Derek Smith said last night he would meet members of the ANC region today

On Wednesday copies of the EP Herald and Evening Post were burnt outside Newspaper House in Port Elizabeth as a precursor to today's boycott of the two newspapers, apparently for "driving communities apart through false reporting"

On Tuesday the ANC head office issued a statement distancing itself from the action, which the Youth League disregarded.

Smith said he welcomed the ANC national office's commitment to Press freedom and freedom of expression

The newspapers and their staff were committed to reporting events fairly and they assured a "full right of reply"

Sapa reports the PAC and Cosatu yesterday pledged to uphold the safety of journalists. They joined the ANC, Inkatha, NP, SACP, and DP in signing a declaration drawn up by the SA Union of Journalists

Goweman 31/7/92 (243)
Democratic Party in signing the
"Declaration of Respect for the
Rights of Working Journalists"
drawn up by the SA Union of
Journalists "The Pan Africanist
Congress of Azania is strongly
committed to uphold the princi-
ple of freedom of expression and
a free and unfettered media,"
spokesman Mr Barney Desai said
in a letter to the union "We dep-
recate any interference or harass-
ment of journalists in the line of
their duties," he added

New Press

award ⁽²⁴³⁾

■ Improving wellbeing of consumers:

Sowetan 3/7/92.

By Joe Mdhlela

SOUTH Africa's prestigious media award, the Checkers/Shoprite Award for Consumer Journalism, will introduce a new category to reward specialist consumer journalists

The award, which carries a total R25 000 in prize money, will reward journalists who have excelled in helping to improve the wellbeing of consumers

This brings to three the number of categories in which reporters can enter for the award. The categories are print, electronic and specialist media

There will be a first prize of R5 000 in each category, with R10 000 going to the overall winner. A floating trophy will be awarded to the editor of the newspaper responsible for publishing or broadcasting the winning entries. A spokesman for the sponsors said prize money may be used in any manner

Pledge on Press ²⁴³

THE PAC and Cosatu have pledged themselves to uphold the safety of working journalists. They have joined the ANC, Inkatha, National Party, SA Communist Party and the *Sowetan* 31/7/72

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ANC starts boycott of EP papers

By SHADLEY NASH Port Elizabeth
AN African National Congress boycott of two English-language daily newspapers here has evoked angry protest from the Campaign for Open Media (Com) and the Democratic Party, both of whom say the boycott runs contrary to freedom of the press.

The ANC, however, has defended the action, saying it has a right to withdraw its buying power from an unpopular product.

The boycott — of Times Media's *Eastern Province Herald* and *Evening Post* — is the fourth phase of the ANC's eastern Cape mass action programme. It began on Wednesday with the symbolic burning of old copies of the newspapers outside Newspaper House.

Com chairman Raymond Louw said the boycott contradicted the ANC's stated commitment to freedom of speech, and he condemned any activity that interfered with the free flow of information.

The DP's Dennis Worrall was more emphatic. He called the burning of newspapers "appalling". He said the boycott action threatened what is vital to democracy: "It is crucial that the freedom of the press should remain untouched."

Herald editor Derek Smith said the reaction to the boycott "was expected".

ANC spokesman Phila Nkayi said while the ANC was willing to accept criticism, it was firm in its belief that the newspapers had been waging "malicious" attacks on the organisation.

"The hostile and subtle attack on the people's organisations which has continued since the days of covert and overt repression and banning has been persistent even within this process of transition and openness," said an ANC memorandum issued at the start of the boycott.

"The media is at liberty to criticise the ANC-led alliance but we could not take the vilification and bossy stance that appears to have been adopted by the *Herald* and the *Evening Post*," it said.

The organisation demanded an end to the "continuous ANC bashing", the restructuring of the *Herald* and the *Post*, and an effort to redress imbalances on race and gender in the employment and promotion of staff.

Speaking earlier this week, Smith was adamant the *Herald* would "not become an ANC paper" nor be dictated to. He said the *Herald* had a tradition of having opposed apartheid and would strongly defend the right to uphold the principle of freedom of expression.

With the boycott into its first full day yesterday, however, management of the two newspapers had approached the ANC to meet and discuss grievances. Smith said they had yet to get a response. Nkayi said it was likely the parties would meet today.

In a reply to a letter sent by Smith to the ANC's head office in which he sought a "statement of intent" on "victimisation" of the paper, the ANC reaffirmed its support for principles of freedom of expression and the free flow of information.

However, it said, a community had the right to withdraw support for a product if that product did not satisfy its needs.

South African Union of Journalists branch co-ordinator Bob Kernohan — representing staffers on the newspapers — said the union had decided on Tuesday to discuss the boycott "with all concerned parties", and would request details of the grievances against the newspapers. No date was given. Pen.

ANC threatens

press boycott

Southern 1/8 - 5/8/92
By Muleki Gantsho

(243) (88)

THE ANC may call for a boycott of some newspapers if they do not stop their "unjust attack" against the organisation and its allies, ANC Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said.

Addressing a rally after the human chain demonstration at the weekend, Yengeni told about 4 000 people the media was taking "the side of the oppressors instead of the oppressed".

"I am not saying that the media should do us special favours, but it must be fair and should report facts as they are, otherwise we will have no option but to call for a boycott of some newspapers.

"Just recently we have experienced unprecedented attacks on us by some newspapers and we are not going to tolerate it," Yengeni said.

CHAIN REACTION FLASHBACK: Cape Town joined hands on Saturday when supporters of the ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance formed a human chain in the city streets

Boycott of PE papers to be ⁽²¹³⁾ half-lifted

Weekend Argus Correspondent
MKG 11/8/92

PORT ELIZABETH — The ANC in the Eastern Cape has said that it is prepared to lift its boycott of the Evening Post but action against the EP Herald will continue

The move comes after the ANC region began a boycott of the newspapers on Thursday when copies were burnt

It was proposed at a meeting between the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance and Mr Derek Smith, the editor-in-chief of Times Media in Port Elizabeth, that the township edition of the Evening Post be scrapped

Mr Smith told the meeting that TML was aware that the "Extra" edition of the paper was a source of aggravation in spite of market research showing that it was well received by readers

In an attempt to avoid friction and to show the newspapers' bona fides, the Extra edition is to be phased out

ANC regional chairman Mr Richmond Mti said a meeting would probably be held on Monday with the Evening Post to end the action against it

Mr Mti conceded that the burning of the newspapers outside Newspaper House was "not necessarily the best decision".

"We feel a little bit ashamed," he said

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa had earlier condemned the action and reiterated the organisation's support for Press freedom

Mr Smith said the two newspapers did not support any particular political party but supported certain fundamental principles, such as democracy "in the American or British sense of the word," and an open free-market economy

Several points of contention were raised at the meeting between Mr Smith and the leadership of the alliance.

Mr Smith answered allegations of "biased reporting and continuous bashing of the ANC-led alliance" by saying that the EP Herald and the Evening Post were not part of the alternative Press and the two papers presented news in a manner which allowed readers to draw their own conclusions

He refused a demand for a public apology for saying the boycott of the papers constituted intimidation and harassment. He noted that the national and international response to the boycott supported his statement

Other points of conflict raised by the alliance were that there should be more consumer participation in determining the paper's policy and that the newspapers should launch a social responsibility programme

Mr Smith said "I see this as a test case. Whatever happens here will set the pattern in the future"

Numsa protests against Sowetan

~~NUMSA~~ (243)
Sowetan 31/8/92

By Ruth Bhengu

MORE than 200 members of the National Union of Metalworkers Union of SA protested outside the offices of *Sowetan* on Friday

Numsa said *Sowetan* had failed to cover its strike adequately and accused the newspaper of being biased against Cosatu and its allies.

A six-man delegation from the union, led by Mr Justice Khumalo, met senior staffers, including managing editor Joe Thloloe, day editor Thami Mazwai and assistant to the general manager, Ephraim Lukoto

Khumalo later addressed the marchers and said the newspaper had undertaken to respond to their demands through the union's national office.

Thloloe said most of the union's grievances had already been met because union officials had been given a chance to explain the strike as they saw it in the newspaper on that very day. We are still committed to giving all sides of a story."

"When we fall short, we will make amends, as we did in this case."

● See picture on page 3.

focus on politics

THE president of the African National Congress has appealed to black journalists to explain to black people what his organisation is striving to achieve with its programmes

Mr Nelson Mandela said the liberation movement has made significant progress and gains in the struggle, but the liberal white media has distorted this to the advantage of the regime

He spoke to senior black journalists and editors on Friday at a special briefing, the first of its kind with local black journalists. It was held in view of accusations that the ANC was more accessible to white and foreign journalists.

Mandela conceded the accusation and said the ANC and black journalists were to blame, the latter for being "less assertive"

The briefing also came after a gulf in understanding between the national leadership and black grassroots members

Some of the journalists viewed the briefing as an attempt to reach these followers, who depend mainly on black newspapers for information

It was seen as no coincidence that the briefing came after ANC youths in Evaton screamed at Mandela for guns to kill the enemy after the Boipatong massacre, although he is on record as saying the chapter on armed struggle is closed

Mandela said that while the ANC and PAC had brought about the recent United Nations Security Council debate, liberal white journalists and the State broadcasting machinery gave the impression that the regime got its way

"De Klerk actually wrote letters to at least five heads of state in Africa asking them to block the debate, but it went on and we got what we wanted, which was a special representative who will go back and report

"Thereafter we expect another meeting of the security council and the appointment of a monitoring mission which will be sent here," Mandela said

In a wide-ranging discussion, he said that despite the moratorium on meetings with the regime, ANC officials met with Government representatives to discuss the release of political prisoners

Mandela emphasised that the mass action campaign was not merely to get the stalled Codesa talks back on track but to dislodge the Government and effect a transfer of power to the majority

"We pulled out of Codesa for specific reasons, which include the fact that the regime wanted to get a minority veto that would ensure that the National Party, and not even the white minority, would continue to cling to power even if they lost an election

"And unless the 14 demands that we submitted to the regime are met in full, there is no way that the ANC will return to the table," Mandela said

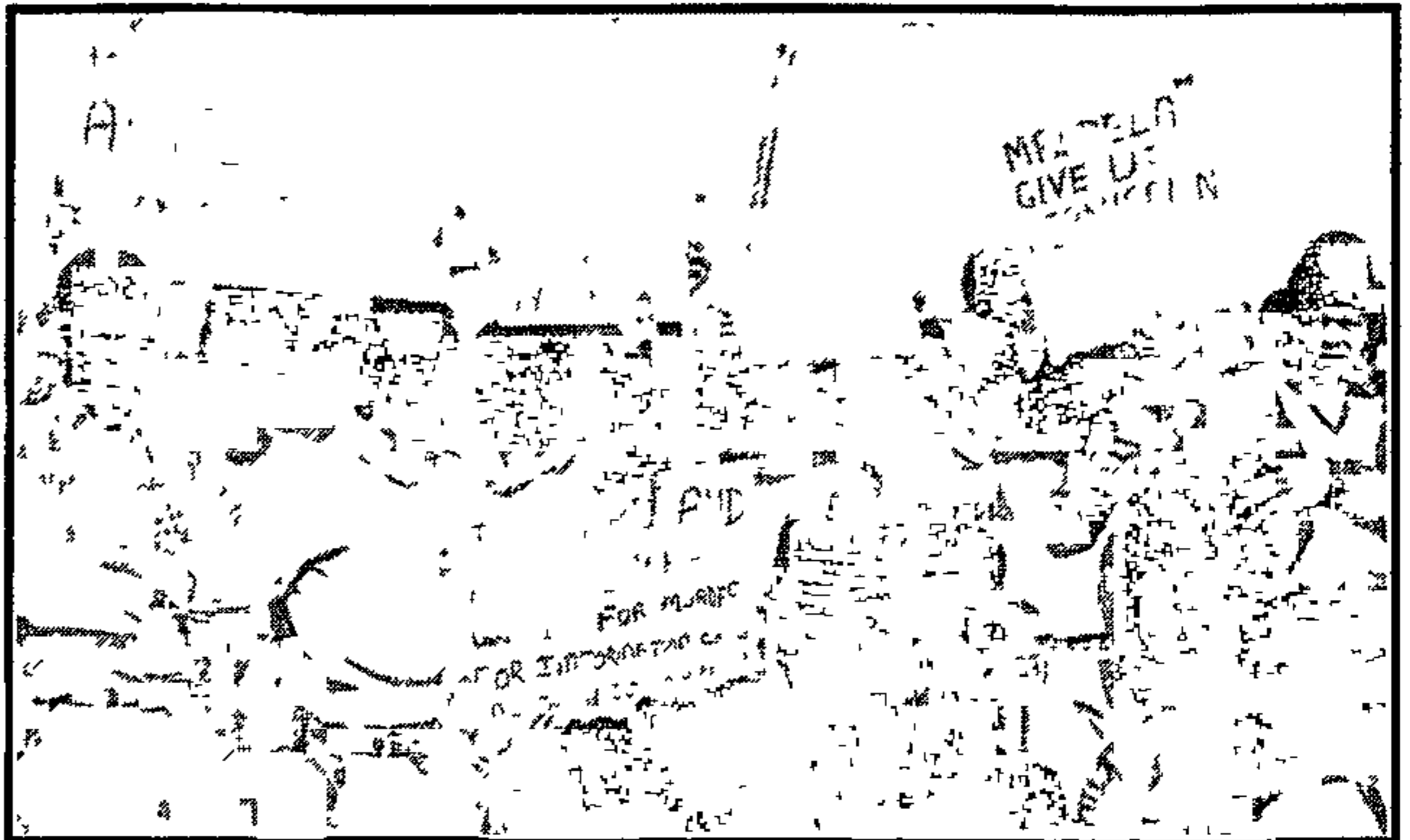
Mandela said he regretted that other "sections

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela met senior black journalists and editors last week. Investigations Editor **Mathatha**

Tsedu, who attended the briefing, and Political Reporter **Themba Molefe**

assess Mandela's views:

Sowetan 3/8/92



The township mood that needs to be addressed is mirrored in the posters held aloft at a memorial service for the Boipatong massacre victims which ANC leader Nelson Mandela attended in Evaton a day after the same youths drove off State President FW de Klerk.

of the liberation movement" had been unable to join the action

Azapo and PAC have said the ANC should not take decisions in isolation and expect them to fall in line, but the organisation has resisted this

Mandela instead has blamed the two movements for refusing to join the ANC campaign but conceded that the division played into the hands of the common enemy who exploit the disparity to foment violence in black areas and blame it on inter-organisational rivalry

On calls for the restructuring of the stalled Codesa and a possibility of the United Nations chairing the sessions, which could pave the way for the entry of Azapo and PAC, Mandela said he did not support the idea

He even differed with Cosatu secretary general, Mr Jay Naidoo, who said Codesa was doomed from the start because it was elitist

Mandela said Codesa was an appropriate platform "We do not need new chairmen and new venues as the two judges are doing a fine job," he said

But Mandela said he was against the occupa-

tion of factories, as proposed by Cosatu, and would prefer Government buildings to be occupied on Wednesday because of possible damage to factory property by curious people

Mandela said the violence was continuing because the regime did not want to stop it "I went to De Klerk at Codesa 2 and asked him why his police force did not stop Inkatha people from carrying weapons and beating people right there at Codesa and he said to me

"Mr Mandela, when you join me you will understand that I do not have the power that you think I have" It was for this reason that Cyril Ramaphosa said De Klerk has conceded that he has no authority over the police

"But I do not know what makes him think I am going to join him and in what," Mandela said

Mandela defended the ANC's collusion with bantustan leaders and said the organisation had derived benefits from the association "There are obvious problems on the ground, but these do not detract from the fact that the move itself is tactically correct," he said

focus on The Press

Sowetan 4/8/92

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Journalists are no longer taking attacks lying down. After years of abuse they are using the pen to fight back . . .

DAKAR - After decades of letting international organisations defend the few among them who dared criticise their governments, West African journalists are standing up for themselves

Two years ago, the West African Journalists' Association established a bureau to monitor Press freedom in the region and protest against attacks on journalists or their employers

Mr Abdoulaye Ndiago Sylla, former secretary-general of the association, directs the bureau. Each morning, he pores over newspapers and magazines and listens to international radio broadcasts for reports of attacks on the Press

"I try to verify the report, and if it is true, I may contact Amnesty International or another organisation," said Sylla, (43) "We also will contact the government involved and tell other journalists about it. Sometimes, bad publicity results in the journalists being released"

He gets plenty of chances to intervene and issues periodic reports on Press freedom in West Africa

Incidents of abuse

Despite liberalisation that has accompanied the trend toward democracy in Africa south of the Sahara, there were 267 incidents of abuses of Press freedom last year, said Kim Brice of the Committee to Protect Journalists, based in New York City. The committee estimates at least 26 African journalists are in jail

In countries where criticism of the government has been permitted, such as Zaire and Togo, newspaper offices have been bombed or set on fire. The attacks usually are blamed on the governments

Sylla's defensive weapons are a telephone, photocopier, fax telex machine and a regional bureau in Lagos, Nigeria. A grant from the Ford Foundation got the project going

Not intimidated

He is not intimidated by such limited resources and wants to expand the effort to others of the 16 West African nations his bureau covers. It has intervened in Chad, Cameroon, Zaire and Rwanda

"I think it is very important for local groups to be doing this kind of work," Brice said. "It's important for African leaders to know that it's not only the international community that is concerned about upholding freedom of the Press, but that neighbouring countries and fellow Africans are willing to fight for freedom of the Press on their continent"

Journalists in several countries have been freed after Sylla's bureau protested against their arrests, but Sylla said he cannot prove the intervention was the reason

He also helped reinstate a Gambian editor



Nigerian billionaire and Press magnate Chief Abiola answers questions from newsmen at a Press conference in Dakar.

who was fired for writing an editorial critical of the government

This week, as a protest of censorship in Cameroon, all independent newspapers in the Central African country are refusing to publish

Sylla said he wants to help improve the newly freed West African Press as well as protect it

Dozens of new newspapers can say almost anything about their governments, and some do. Many specialise in demeaning cartoons

"There is confusion between commentary and reporting, and often there is no information, so they just make things up," Sylla said. "We need to be trained to be professional and put truth

above all else"

Some journalists say such precise standards are a luxury in countries with dictators

"We as journalists have the duty to instruct people about what is democracy," said Mr Karamba Mike Masyia of the outspoken, anti-government paper Umoja in Zaire

Former President Mathieu Kerekou of Benin, the first president in Africa to be ousted in a democratic election, blames the Press for the pro-democracy tide in Africa

In his opinion, "It's because of the journalists that everything has turned out so badly" - *Sapa-AP*

3

2 journalists wounded

By Brian Sokutu
and Peter Fabricius

Four unknown attackers yesterday shot and wounded two journalists covering the stayaway in the Vaal Triangle's Sebokeng township before stealing their car.

Weekly Mail political editor Philip van Niekerk was shot in the face. Newly appointed Washington Post correspondent Paul Taylor was shot in the left arm.

The three were held up at about 12.30 pm when driv-

ing up Evaton Road, said fellow Weekly Mail reporter Hubert Matlou, who escaped.

The shooting, which the journalists believe was not politically motivated, has been condemned by the ANC which has ordered an investigation, said ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The Foreign Correspondents' Association (FCA) said the attack on the journalists "underlines the break in law and order" in the country.

● To Page 3

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Journalists wounded

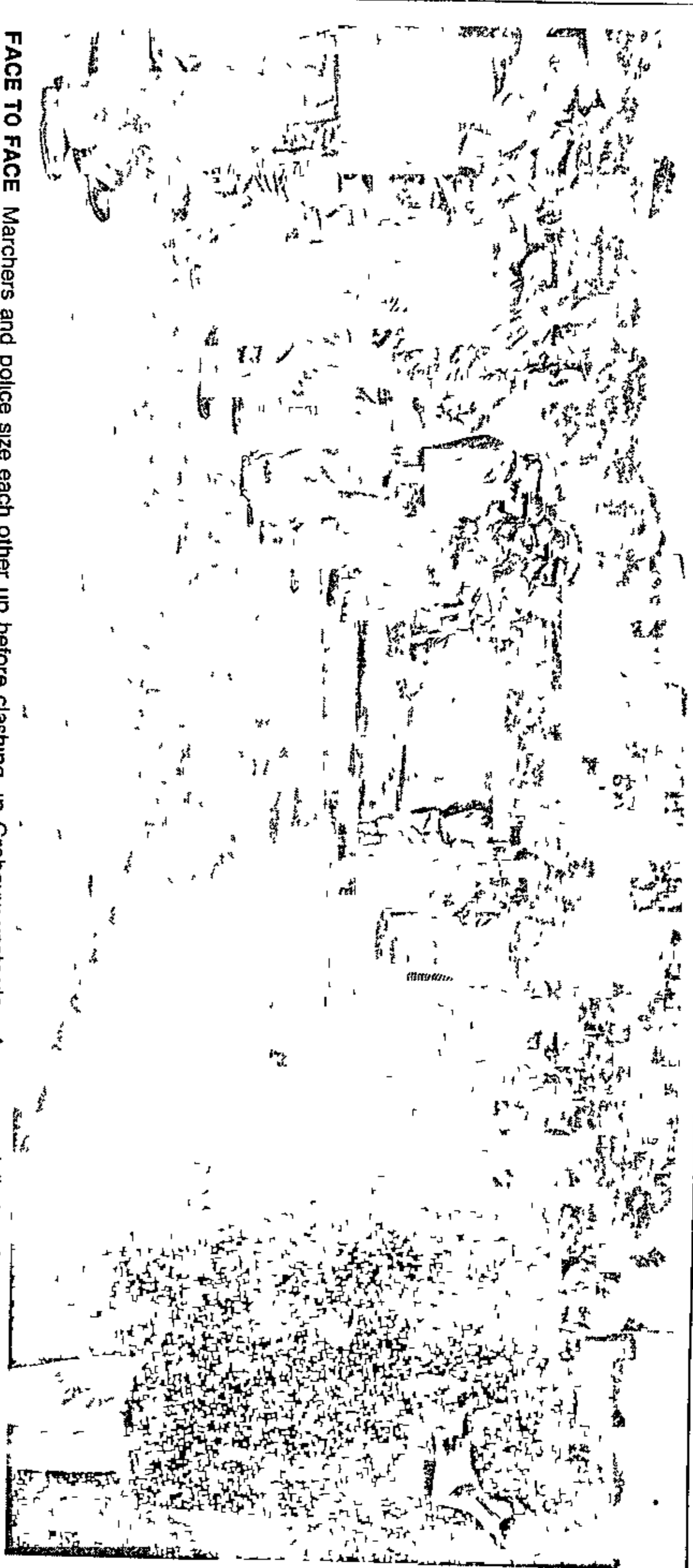
● From Page 1

Still recovering from shock, Matlou told The Star how he "dashed for cover" after watching Van Niekerk being shot after the attackers ordered them out of their car.

"We moved out, leaving keys inside, thinking all they wanted was the car. When one started firing at Philip, from about 3 metres away, I ran towards nearby houses to get help."

When he returned he found Van Niekerk and Taylor inside a car about to be driven to Sebokeng Hospital.

Van Niekerk was later airlifted to the Johannesburg Hospital and then driven to the Milpark Hospital. Taylor was taken to Brenthurst Clinic. Both journalists were said to be stable.



FACE TO FACE Marchers and police size each other up before clashing in Grabouw yesterday. A man was killed and several others injured when police used bird-shot to stop the illegal march.

Police kill Grabouw man

APR 4/8/92

A MAN was killed and six people including a 2½-month-old baby, were injured when police opened fire on marchers in Grabouw.

A mother and her baby were treated for teargas inhalation. The protest erupted into violence when police prevented marchers from entering the town centre.

Protesters confronted police and demanded access. A scuffle ensued in which police used tear-gas, rubber bullets and birdshot. The fleeing crowd was pursued by police and according to a witness the fatal shooting happened in the squatter camp next to the main road.

Women light candles of peace

FLAMES symbolising hope, not destruction burned in Cape Town at one mass action event. For the Western Cape branch of the ANC Women's League was not declaring war by burning but by lighting candles.

More than 50 women gathered in the Methodist Mission Church for a 72-hour fast. Six candles, lit when the fast

The man part of the crowd, ran into one of the houses and as he emerged, he was confronted by a policeman who fired his shot gun from close range. The man hit in the face with birdshot was taken to a doctor, then by ambulance to the Hottentots Holland Hospital but was certified dead on arrival.

Hospital medical superintendent Dr Cato van Wyk confirmed that the man brought to the hospital and that three other victims including the 2½ month-old baby, were being treated. Dr Van Wyk gave no other details. A mother and her baby were treated for teargas inhalation and

began on Sunday night, rested in plastic mugs as singing was led by Ms Hilda Ndude, a member of the league's national executive committee. Ms Ndude said "The candle is a symbol of hope and we always light candles when we are praying." "Women give birth to life and we must see to it that it is protected at all costs."

Reports by DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, SHARON SOROUR, CLIVE SAWYER and JOSEPH ARANES. Picture by BRENTON GEACH

A physically handicapped 16-year-old boy, Rancheil van Rooyen, was taken to a doctor's surgery after being hit by bird-shot in his neck and back.

Stayaway disrupts refuse removal

ABSENTEEISM among city council staff totalled 25 percent disrupting refuse removal and causing the closure of — among other things — nine public toilets.

Refuse removal in the city bowl Atlantic coast and False Bay suburbs was disrupted by the stayaway. A city council spokesman urged residents to keep their refuse inside their properties to prevent

A schoolteacher and advice office workers got crowds off the road and into a community hall where they held a short meeting. The people decided to confront the police about the killing and marched on a roadblock. Police allowed a small group to approach and listened to their concerns. While the groups were talking the police shot teargas canisters into the rest of the crowd waiting about 100 m away.

Ms Seymour tried to get information from the officer in charge, Colonel Jurie Lourens, but he referred her to his commanding officer in Stellenbosch. His superior Colonel J H Basson arrived and tried to answer her questions. He said "Although I have not received a detailed report, I believe that a policeman shot a man. "I am not prepared to give any information at this stage. There is going to be an inquiry." By this time the crowd had gathered near the roadblock and in the presence of Ms Seymour's group the police asked the crowd to disperse.

scavenging by dogs and to put it out on their next normal collection day. Rent offices were closed and no electricity or water meters were read. Six libraries in Mitchell's Plain and Wynberg were closed. Clinics at Netreg and Valhalla Park were closed. Areas affected by non-collection of refuse were Tambours-

klouf Mauseberg, Scotsdale Kibof, Surrey Estate, Primrose Estate, Green Point, Fresnaye, Clifton, Woodstock, Kensington, Tatesig, Athlone and Heideveld. Anyone with inquiries should phone area cleansing managers, listed on page 838 of the telephone directory. An 88 percent stayaway by Western Cape Regional Services Council cleansing employees disrupted refuse removal.

Attacks on journalists condemned

APR 4/8/92

JOHANNESBURG — The Southern African Union of Journalists has condemned attacks against members of the Press in Sebokeng and Alexandra on the Reef, and at Mdantsane in Ciskei.

"The attacks are seen as a direct attack on Press freedom which cannot be tolerated under any circumstances," SAUJ president Peter Malherbe said in a statement.

Weekly Mail reporter Philip van Niekerk and Washington Post correspondent Paul Taylor were shot and wounded in Sebokeng. A Sky-TV news crew in Alexandra and a Daily Dispatch photographer in Mdantsane also came under fire, but they were uninjured.

"We call on all organisations which recently signed a SAUJ-authored pledge to respect and promote the safe conduct of journalists, to uphold this commitment," Mr Malherbe said.

"All organisations, including the security forces, have a duty to protect journalists as freedom of expression and Press freedom are cornerstones of democracy."

The SAUJ called on all South Africans to take a strong stand against threats or attacks on journalists — Sapa

UN official barred from entering Ciskei

APR 4/8/92

EAST LONDON — A United Nations official was barred from entering Ciskei by homeland police acting on "orders from above."

UN observer Mr Jose Campino was turned away at noon yesterday from one of the many roadblocks erected at the homeland's borders, while trying to enter Mdantsane township.

"The police said they were under orders not to allow us to proceed," said Mr Campino. He said they contacted a higher official and he confirmed the orders.

Mr Campino, who said the matter was now being handled by his superiors in Johannesburg, arrived in East London yesterday at the invitation of the Border Peace Secretariat. Today a three-person delegation from the National Peace Secretariat will be visiting the region — Eena

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Police image 'harmd by false Weekly Mail claim'

PRETORIA — Weekly Mail newspaper reports about allegations of police underground operations to kill political campaigners had harmed the public image of the police, police lawyers said in Pretoria yesterday

Flip Hattingh told a one-man Goldstone committee inquiry into the matter police had proved beyond doubt reports they were involved in planning attacks on ANC campaigners were false **3 (DAY 4) 18/9/92**

He said police had evidence that a letter from the Weekly Mail was faxed to the Minister of Law and Order on the eve of publication of the allegations, and did not give the minister a chance to investigate

Hattingh said that in the May 7 1992 edition of the Weekly Mail a picture appeared on the front page with a caption reading "In this house police planned violence", but the police had proved beyond reasonable doubt the statement was false

"We have evidence Anton Harber (co-editor of the publication) told a spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, that they were going to publish what they had to publish irrespective of what he (Capt Kotze) was going to say," Hattingh said

He criticised a report in the newspaper which said the operations of the police should be published because it was of public interest, and that the police's attempt to stop the newspaper from publishing the allegations was proof enough that the allegations were true

Hattingh said the Weekly Mail should be requested to give equal prominence to the findings of the commission as they did to the "so called exposé"

Legal representatives for the ANC and the Weekly Mail are to table their argument before the committee today — Sapa

SOUTH AFRICAN

NON LISTED

plants in the



Business Day makes headlines

BUSINESS DAY's sales were a record in the first half of 1992. Audited ABC figures show average daily

sales of 33 792 in the six months January to June — an increase of 921 copies on the same period last year.

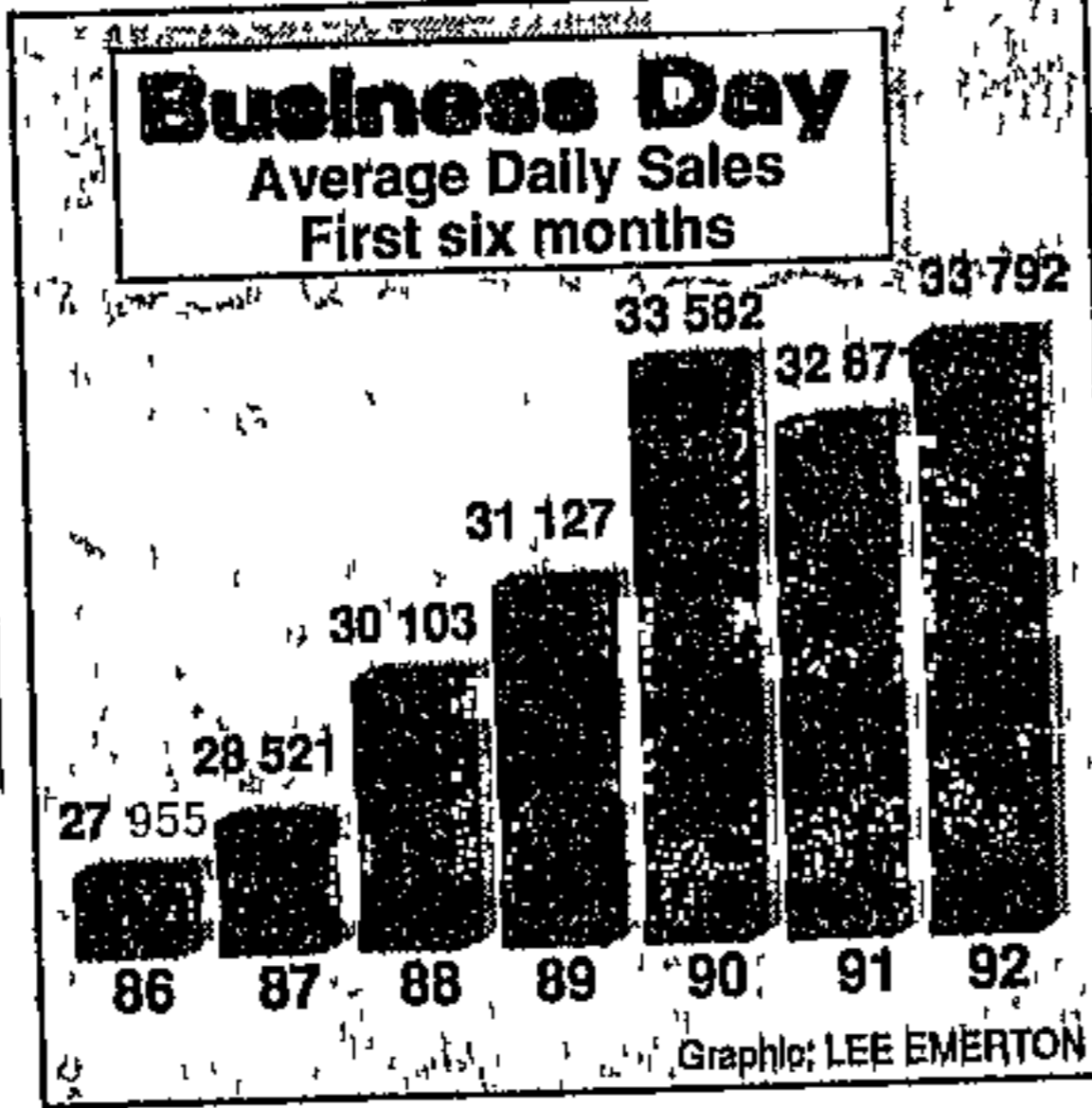
Sales were also higher than in the first half of 1990 when momentous changes in SA boosted all newspapers' sales across the country.

First half average daily sales were also up by 1 292 on the figure for the previous six months, and were the best six-month performance for any period since the newspaper was launched in May 1985.

The precise focus of Business Day's readership is underscored by the fact that two thirds of sales are to subscribers — at their homes and offices.

No other daily can provide that precision on home turf or countrywide.

And no other daily can match Business Day's influential, A-income readership pattern.



BIDAY 578192

243

African press 'freer but attacks ⁽²⁴³⁾ continue'

Political Staff

DESPITE the recent flowering of an independent press in Africa, journals and journalists were still being attacked, censorship was enforced and newspapers faced economic restrictions, according to the London-based Article 19.

The international censorship-monitoring body said that in 1990 it had monitored the detention of 48 journalists and the killing of three in sub-Saharan Africa, in addition to physical attacks, threats and harassment.

Article 19 said in countries like Senegal, Gambia, Mauritius and Botswana an independent press had flourished for many years, despite the economic restraints imposed by widespread poverty and low rates of liter-

acy. CTS/8/92

In Nigeria a vigorous press had survived both military and multi-party governments and in Uganda, where there had been increasingly serious violations of human rights, the government had tolerated a pluralist press.

In other countries, such as Zaire, Tanzania and Mozambique, the future of the press remained in the balance, but elsewhere the situation was even less promising.

African journalism had been weakened by the low status accorded to the job and correspondingly low material rewards.

Many talented journalists had been attracted into well-paid jobs with private companies.

Media body (243)

'concerned' CT 17/8/92

WINDHOEK. — A body to promote free, independent and pluralistic media in Southern Africa was established here yesterday

Called the Media Institute for Southern Africa, it expressed "great concern" at the continued serious inroads into press freedom in the region — Sapa

Newspaper boycott may be lifted today

THERE was a "great chance" the ANC eastern Cape region's boycott of local papers would be lifted when the ANC and its allies met today, region chairman Richman Mti said yesterday. (243)

The region has been boycotting the Times Media Limited-owned Eastern Province Herald and Evening Post in spite of statements by the ANC head office that it is not in favour of organised newspaper boycotts.

Mti said the ANC was prepared to lift its boycott of the Post, but was concerned about the EP Herald's attitude.

B/DAY 7/8/92
PATRICK BULGER

He said the ANC met EP Herald representatives last Friday, but their response had been negative. The response concentrated on specific demands and did not address the preamble to the region's objections to the newspapers' stance.

EP Newspapers editor-in-chief Derek Smith said yesterday it was true the two newspapers had been critical of certain aspects of ANC policy.

"If such criticism is seen as hostile and subtle, I would like to give the assurance that this is not the intention," he said.

ANC allies seek new strategy

ANC-aligned patriotic front groupings which attended Codesa would meet soon to formulate a joint strategy before the resumption of negotiations, front sources said yesterday.

The "Codesa PF" — in contrast to the patriotic front which includes the PAC which has so far chosen to stay out of negotiations — consists of the ANC and the eight parties and homeland governments which generally support its stance at Codesa. Cosatu will also be represented.

It is understood that the patriotic front convening committee will meet on Monday and the full front a week later to discuss, among other things, a negotiating strategy to attempt to secure the ANC's demand for a democratically elected constituent assembly.

One front source said "The way might be clear to start talking again. The ANC can say it has made its point with mass action and it can now go back and talk."

B/DAY 7/8/92
PATRICK BULGER

The source said a resumption of negotiations depended largely on when mechanisms to monitor and prevent violence had been put in place. The release of UN envoy Cyrus Vance's report in the next few days would indicate the extent to which the UN would become involved.

The source said UN monitors accompanying police and army, UN access to SAP communications networks, public access to the UN and its close co-operation with the national peace accord would constitute sufficient movement by government on the violence issue for negotiations to resume.

□ Sapa reports from Windhoek that PAC president Clarence Makwetu said yesterday the organisation believed that with the UN as convenor, the possibility of forming a new, more representative forum than Codesa now existed.

Life in 'false paradise'

By MOSES MAMAILA

THE media has fooled whites by down-playing the massive success of the ANC-initiated mass-action campaign, says political analyst Prof Willem Kleynhans.

He told City Press there was a deliberate effort by all newspapers and the SABC to mislead the people - especially whites, who depend on the media for information about black politics.

"The Monday and

Tuesday stayaway was a big success, and this shows that the ANC has a lot of support. But the media do not give accurate figures about the events.

"The media gave whites the impression that the ANC was divided

"They did this by reporting that as few as 20 000 marched on the Union Buildings in Pretoria, while others put the figure at 70 000.

"My observation - and I am an expert on crowd estimation - was more than 150 000."

Kleynhans accused some papers of reporting that the march was a flop as the ANC had expected a million marchers.

"Whites live in a false paradise, and because they are being misinformed they tell themselves that there is nothing to worry about," he said.

243

CIPres 9/8/92

Handwritten notes and markings along the right edge of the page.

Sweeping changes by Media Council

CLIVE SAWYER
Staff Reporter

243 ARG 11/8/92

A STREAMLINED Media Council is to cut its membership from 30 to 11, move its headquarters from Cape Town to Johannesburg and bar the use of lawyers at hearings

The council's executive committee is to investigate changing the name of the council as its role changes to being mainly a commission to adjudicate complaints.

Registrar Mr Bob Steyn and deputy registrar Mr Jack Friedman are to be offered retrenchment packages.

Mr Steyn is to be asked to stay on temporarily to brief his successor.

Founded as the Press Board of Reference and later the Press Council, since 1983 the Media Council has investigated broader issues of the media in society, and commented publicly on events such as the State of Emergency.

Yesterday's meeting was a continuation of an April meeting, adjourned when members deadlocked over proposed changes to the constitution.

During the debate on amending the constitution, Mr Ken Owen, a representative of the Conference of Editors, said the

Media Council and its predecessors had been devices accepted by the Press to escape repressive legislation.

His newspapers would withdraw from the council if it continued in a form which would "continue (former president) P W Botha's work".

Mr John Featherstone of the Newspaper Press Union said the changes were aimed at cutting costs to all parties

Mr Gert Hugo said public representatives had been "taken on board by the council and should not just be dumped".

The council had achieved a status greater than just being a mere disciplinary body, Mr Hugo said.

Mrs K Athony asked that future representation for the provincial Press be guaranteed

The move to Johannesburg at first drew fewer than the 20 votes needed to amend the constitution, but an undertaking by Mr Featherstone that its offices would be separate from those of the NPU swayed a subsequent vote

Council chairman Professor Kobus van Rooyen said a process of attrition, as members' terms of office expired, would bring membership down from its present 30 to 11 by 1994

SADF man 'lied' over massacre

The Argus Correspondent

ARG 11/8/92

VEREENIGING. — A South African Defence Force member said there was "nothing going on" in Boipatong, even though gunshots and glass breaking could be heard in the distance, the Goldstone Commission of inquiry into the township massacre was told.

Ismael Mahasella, a factory clerk, told the commission that a Mr Pienaar, a citizen force member and work colleague,

also told him that the SADF could not arrest any attacker.

During the attack on June 17, Mr Mahasella had gone into the township with a group of co-workers, he said yesterday. They were shot at twice by a group of about 200 men and ran back to the factory.

Later he and some colleagues accompanied ambulance crews to the township. Several policemen tried to stop them entering a house where two children had died and their mother lay injured, he said.

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Media Council changes

CAPE TOWN — The SA Media Council would continue to resolve complaints albeit with reduced powers, council conciliator-registrar Boh Steyn said yesterday.

Speaking after the council's 19th meeting, Steyn said this decision had been preceded by "a lot of unhappy debate".

"Emphasis is on the resolution of complaints — the ability to do this is there, but powers in the constitution have come out."

Ways of simplifying procedures for handling complaints — including informal investigations — were accepted. Recognised journalists' unions would also be allowed representation on the council.

Proposed restructuring of the council included reducing its membership from 30 to 11 by not replacing members who retired. The council would also be moved to Johannesburg.

A proposal allowing for outside funding for specific purposes was held over. — Sapa.

Press freedom champion Robinson dies

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN — Champion of Press freedom and former editor-in-chief of the Natal Mercury, Mr John Robinson, 82, has died

Mr Robinson had close ties with newspapers in Natal from the time he entered the newspaper world as a junior reporter in 1928. He became editor-in-chief of the Natal Mercury in 1970.

Born on January 20, 1910, in Durban, he was the grandson of Sir John Robinson, who was Natal's first Prime Minister.

After completing his education at Highbury and Michaelhouse, he joined the Natal Mercury, where he worked his way through the reporters' ranks and became political correspondent in 1937.

(243) AFG 11/8/92
He put his career in journalism on hold while serving with Allied forces during World War 2 in the Natal Field Artillery, where he attained the rank of captain.

(243)

Media Council reaches end of an era

Own Correspondent STAR 12/18/92

CAPE TOWN — A streamlined Media Council is to cut its membership from 30 to 11, move its headquarters to Johannesburg and bar the use of lawyers at hearings

The council's executive is to investigate changing the council's name as its role changes to being mainly a commission to adjudicate complaints
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John Featherstone, of the Newspaper Press Union, said the changes were aimed at cutting costs for all parties



NATION BUILDING

Events

in brief

Guarding freedom of the Press ²⁴³

SOUTH African journalists have always had to fight for their freedom and ongoing regulations add to the pressure of the deadlines.

However, if you rob the Press of its freedom you are denying society of a basic right, the right to know *Sowetan 13/8/92*

The *Sowetan* Press Seminar held on October 19 each year sets out to address constraints on the media. October 19 is symbolic as it marks the day that *The World, Weekend World* and 19 other black organisations were banned in 1977

This year the Press seminar will hold even more relevance as the theme is 'Press freedom from your political party's viewpoint and the vision for a future South Africa'

Argus Newspapers Limited, *Sowetan's* parent company, is sponsoring this year's event and this has enabled organisers to invite a broad spectrum of political leaders, trade unionists and newspaper editors.

Limited space is available to students and interested members of the public. Phone Sydney Mailhaku at 474-0128.

Four held over shooting of journalists in township

BIDAY 13/8/92
POLICE have arrested four men in connection with the shooting of Washington Post correspondent Paul Taylor and Weekly Mail political editor Phillip van Niekerk in Sebokeng on August 3

Their car was hijacked by their attackers. A police spokesman said yesterday the four were arrested after the journalists' car had been seen at a filling station in Evaton.

The men were expected to appear in the Sebokeng Magistrate's Court yesterday.

CHARLIE PRETZLIK reports that ANC PWV area spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said Inkatha supporters went on the rampage in Ratanda township near Heidelberg after a march led by regional Inkatha official Themba Khoza to the local police station yesterday to protest against the death of a hostel inmate last week.

He said about 200 armed men were bussed into the township and then "assaulted people at random". No details about injuries were available.

The police, he said, later escorted the attackers back into the hostel without making any arrests.

Col F J le Grange of the Heidelberg police said police had monitored the marches and there were no reports of any injuries.

243
WILSON ZWANE

Police also denied ANC claims that police had been in cahoots with Inkatha supporters.

Also yesterday, outside the Escort bacon factory near Ratanda, Inkatha supporters met Food and Allied Workers' Union members returning from a protest in town.

Clashes followed in which one person was seriously injured, Ratanda Civic Association assistant general secretary Dan Nkosi said last night.

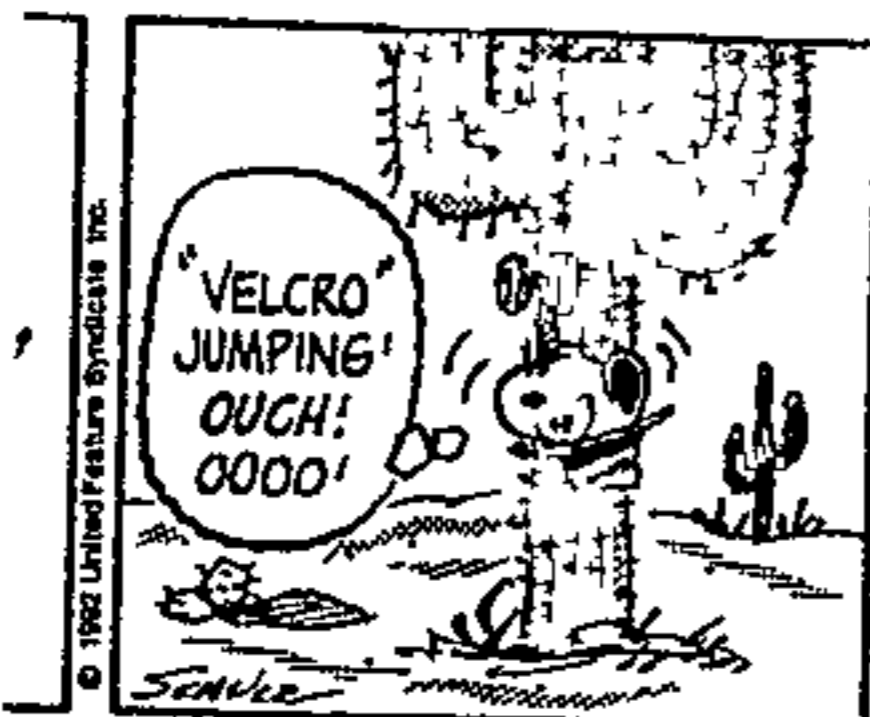
A police squad saw the clashes but could not get to the scene immediately as they were on the other side of a "fenced railway line", police said.

Three people were shot dead at Esikhawini near Empangeni on the Natal north coast on Tuesday night and three were injured, police said.

Our Durban correspondent reports that a church-based peace initiative in Murchison near Port Shepstone yesterday began trying to get warring Inkatha and ANC factions to meet following violence which had left at least 12 dead since the weekend.

A Port Shepstone police spokesman confirmed that 23 people had died in violence in the area since August 1.

by Charles Schulz



Move to protect bus drivers

DIRK HARTFORD

THE ANC alliance intends laying a formal complaint with the national peace secretariat about continuing intimidation and attacks on Cosatu-affiliated bus drivers at the KwaZulu Transport depot in Maritzburg.

Transport and General Workers' Union assistant general secretary Randall Howard said two KwaZulu Transport buses had been burned this week, five stoned and two drivers injured.

Last week Inkatha supporters, led by the Inkatha representative in the Natal dispute resolution committee David Ntombela, sealed off the depot to prevent buses leaving, allegedly because the 500 union members at the depot supported Cosatu's call for a general strike.

By PAUL TAYLOR Evaton
ON my sixth day as a foreign correspondent, somebody tried to kill me. My rude initiation into this line of work came last week as I was driving with some South African journalists through the townships south of Johannesburg to cover the biggest general strike in this nation's history. I was on a side mission as well to cadge as many tips as I could about how a white reporter who had just landed in this beautiful, damned and violent country should do business in risky terrain.

It turns out I got the lesson — and the gift — of my life.

As our car came to a stop at an intersection near Evaton, south of Johannesburg, it was cut off by another car full of *tsotsis* — hooligans who prey on township residents.

Four young black men leaped out of the car, hauled us out of ours, and demanded our keys and money. I could see that at least one had a gun. We explained we were journalists and made it abundantly clear

It's so nice to be alive after a week in SA



American Journalist Paul Taylor had just arrived in SA when he hitched a ride with the Weekly Mail's Phillip van Niekerk... a ride that ended when both were shot by car hi-jackers. Here's how Taylor described the incident to his US readers...

that under the circumstances we were eager to oblige. The *tsotsi* who yanked me from the passenger side seemed reasonable enough, so before I handed him my money, I began the formality of showing him my press card. I wanted him to know I wasn't a cop or some other agent of the state.

But I never finished the trans-

action. On the other side of the car, a much rougher set of *tsotsis* had hauled out the driver, Phillip van Niekerk, who is political editor of *The Weekly Mail*, South Africa's leading investigative paper.

One clubbed him over the head, another ripped off his jacket. One shouted: "Get out of the townships, you white

(expletive)!" Then he shot Phillip in the head.

The gunfire distracted my *tsotsis*, which gave me a chance to walk around the car and try to help Phillip, whose face was covered with blood. I got to within five metres of Phillip and the gunman. He looked up at me, I at him. Nothing was said. The only thing I remember

of his face was the anger I also remember thinking "Stay cool Don't provoke. Either he's going to shoot or he isn't. You'll find out soon enough." Then I felt an enormous punch inside my chest.

Was it Winston Churchill who said, "Nothing in life is so exhilarating as to be shot at without result"? He sure got that right.

The 9mm bullet bore a hole through the humerus bone in my left shoulder — without breaking it, smashed a rib in my back, then ricocheted harmlessly toward my breastbone — without breaking it — rather than my heart or lungs. Everything the bullet did to my body, nature is going to undo.

Phillip's luck was even more miraculous. He had been shot at point-blank range. The bullet entered his head just behind the right ear and exited just in front of his left ear. Astoundingly, it managed to miss both his spine and the artery to his brain.

In the seconds after the shooting, there was one more dangerous moment to come — far more dangerous, I've since learned, than I realised at the time. Here we were, a couple of white guys, lying bleeding in the middle of a suddenly deserted intersection in the middle of a black township in the middle of a region seething with suspicion and hatred.

This is a corner of the globe where life sometimes seems scandalously cheap, where blacks get axed, speared, machine-gunned and "necklaced" to death — almost always by other blacks — for the sin of commuting to work, or attending a funeral or having some money, or not taking part in a rent strike.

And it is an area in which white skin usually connotes cop, which in turn connotes repression, torture, terror, mas-

sacre — to say nothing of three centuries of unpleasant history. Was anybody in this inner ring of hell going to help?

Once it was clear the shooting had stopped, a crowd began to gather — not, it seemed, a friendly crowd. Phillip was screaming, "My God, I'm going to bleed to death. Somebody help!"

The first wave of onlookers took a puzzled look at us and walked away. I still had my wallet in my hand — in the confusion, the *tsotsis* had failed to take it — and once again began explaining I was a journalist from the United States, here to cover the strike.

I wound up showing my press card to someone who I learned afterward was Felix Gabanakgosi, a computer technician. He phoned me at the hospital later and inquired about my condition. Then he explained he had been drinking at a local tavern when he heard the shots.

"When I got outside, there were some in the crowd who were saying, 'Let's just finish them off,'" Gabanakgosi said. "But I told the people, look, they're human beings. At first I was afraid they might burn my house for saying this, but the crowd turned very quickly."

Once everyone was on our side, the crowd commandeered

Police arrest four suspects

FOUR men have been charged with attempted murder and armed robbery in connection with the shooting of two journalists in Evaton last week.

The South African Police arrested the four on Monday after spotting them in the journalists' hired car.

The suspects are Simon Sethebo, 23, Alfred Matapane, 19, and Simon Domo, 18 — all of Evaton — and Enoch Mholiwa, 23, of Sebokeng.

the next car that came by and helped us into the back seat.

The episode has naturally been chilling for journalists here. In years past, when journalists worried about their personal safety in South Africa, the focus of their concern was the police and the security forces. The townships tended to regard our kind as allies, because we were exposing the horrors of apartheid.

But the townships have gotten more dicey, more ambiguous in the transition to democracy. Some of the young black men who became militant during the anti-apartheid struggle — those who boycotted school when the slogan was "liberation before education" — have grown up to become *tsotsis*, preying mostly on township residents.

Others blend activism with hooliganism, using their automatic weapons to enforce boycotts by day and to relieve people of their wallets by night.

While Phillip and I were in the hospital, we each got a visit from Nelson Mandela, who warmly offered his sympathies and emphatically made the point that the African National Congress does not condone attacks on journalists.

But the scary thing about the attack on us wasn't that it was political, it was that it wasn't

political. In all the years of the anti-apartheid struggle, only one journalist in South Africa lost his life covering the story. Now, when some 80 people are being killed every week in the townships, everyone who lives there, or has a job that takes him or her there, is frightened. Journalists included.

I also had a visit in the hospital from a police captain named Van Wyk. As he settled into the chair next to my bed, he asked "Tell me, Mr Taylor, I have just one question for you. What do you think of the townships now?"

I chose to play dumb. "Are you asking me for a statement?"

"No, Mr Taylor. I am asking you what you think of the townships now."

"I think they're pretty dangerous places."

"Yes, Mr Taylor," Van Wyk said, with four centuries of Afrikaner defiance surging through his ample frame. "Pretty dangerous places." That they are. But they are also places where the Felix Gabanakgosi of this world live. That's the lesson I learned the first week on the job, the one for which I am eternally grateful, the one that provides hope that this haunted nation might yet find its way to a better tomorrow — The Washington Post

UNISA'S MDP HELPS MIDDLE-MANAGERS WITH GO TO GET AHEAD

BEFORE 6 OCTOBER

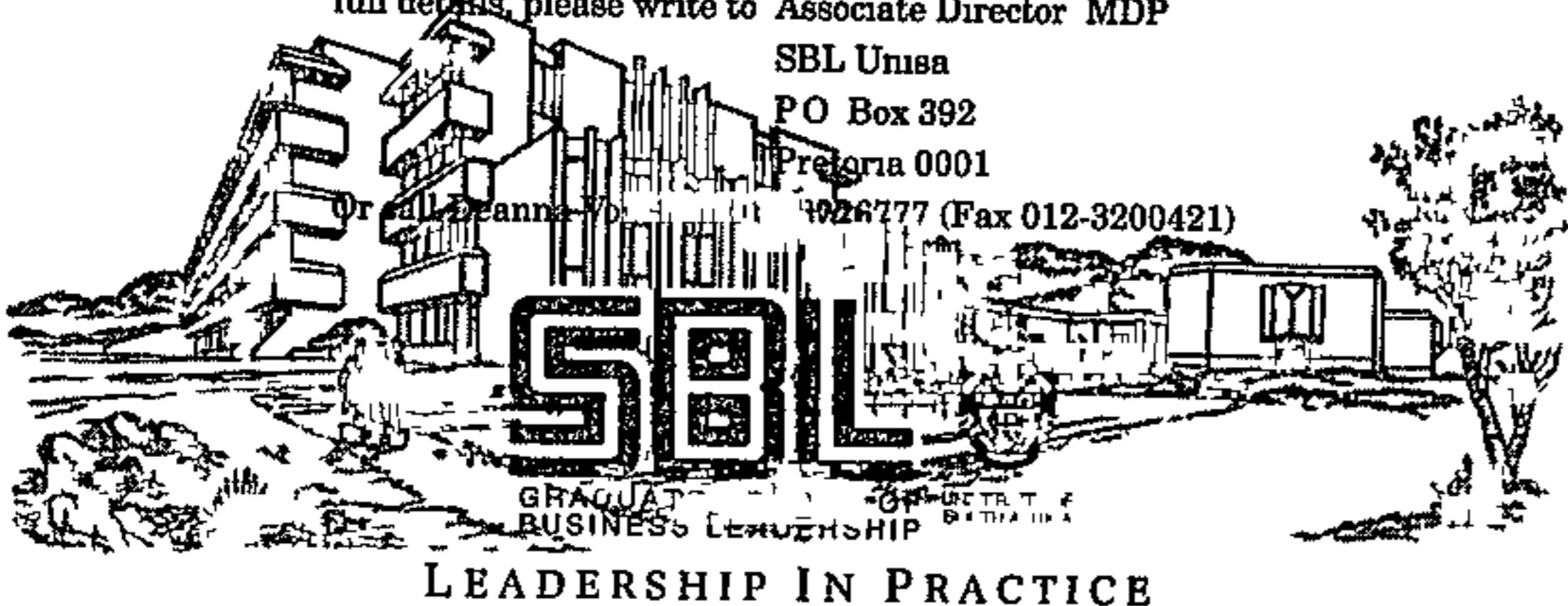
In order to meet the ever-growing demand for expert middle management, Unisa's Graduate School of Business Leadership (SBL) will begin running the 19th Management Development Programme (MDP) in December 1992. Since its inception in 1972, the programme has equipped middle-managers who are specialists in their own field, with an overall knowledge of the functions of organisations. The General Management option of the MDP is the single most successful programme offering managers with potential, the opportunity for further career development. It is a stepping stone to self-improvement and career advancement, giving those who have it, the competitive edge. And clearly an advantage in today's competitively charged business environment.

The MDP traditionally follows a mid-year calendar and will continue to do so. However the new, additional commencement date, 1 December, acknowledges a need among prospective participants for a programme that spans a calendar year. The programme ends in October.

Individuals successfully completing the programme will receive a recognised MDP Certificate awarded by UNISA.

For your MDP programme brochure containing full details, please write to Associate Director MDP

SBL Unisa
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 Pretoria 0001
 012 320421 (Fax 012-3200421)



CONCERN for the environment is not just fashionable, it is permanent. It involves the very survival of the human race and life on the planet.

So says John Tinker, head of the Panos Institute, who received a "Global 500" award at the Rio Earth Summit in Brazil in June for his contribution to sustainable development.

He was speaking at a workshop for journalists entitled "Media and the Environment" in Harare last week.

In 1972 Tinker attended the first-ever world conference on environment in Stockholm, Sweden. And 20 years later, the Rio summit was looking at essentially the same problems.

"There has been relatively little real action taken to address these issues," he said.

The plus point for the Rio Summit, however, was that it was widely publicised and there was greater awareness now of the problems but governments did not show the will to "work together to solve these problems", Tinker said.

The governments of the rich countries showed little willingness to provide funds and on the other hand those of the poor countries were only too happy to criticise the rich ones.

Three things were achieved though, Tinker said. These were that:

A permanent United Nations monitoring group on the environment was set up. This body has powers to look at individual countries and demand that governments mend their ways.

A public awareness to green problems was increased, and

Environmental issues received priority from governments because heads of state took part in the conference.

What is the role of the media after Rio? Tinker asked.

"The media should focus on solutions at local and national level. Information must be locally produced," Tinker said.

The role of the media was to

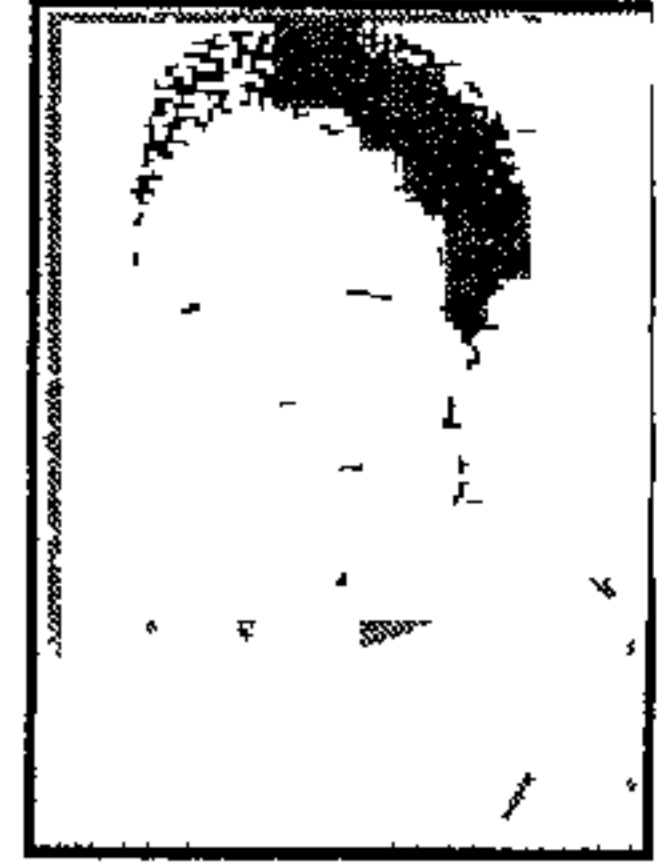
Environmental reporting is mostly full of jargon that ordinary people do not understand and does not explain why certain things have to be done.

Head of the Panos Institute,
John Tinker

The Press had an important role to play in saving the environment, a world authority on the subject told a workshop for journalists in Harare. **Musa Zondi** who attended reports:

*Sowetan
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(~~243~~)



Musa Zondi takes time out to discuss environmental reporting with John Tinker, president of Panos Institute.

Deepen public awareness and understanding. The media has to answer questions why it was important to save our planet but this should be done in the language that all people would understand.

"Environmental reporting is mostly full of jargon that ordinary people do not understand and does not explain why certain things have to be done," Tinker said.

Journalists had to

Learn all different issues surrounding the environment,

Establish links with non-governmental organisations. While these organisations may know what is wrong, they need the media for publicity.

Half of what we write should be explaining,

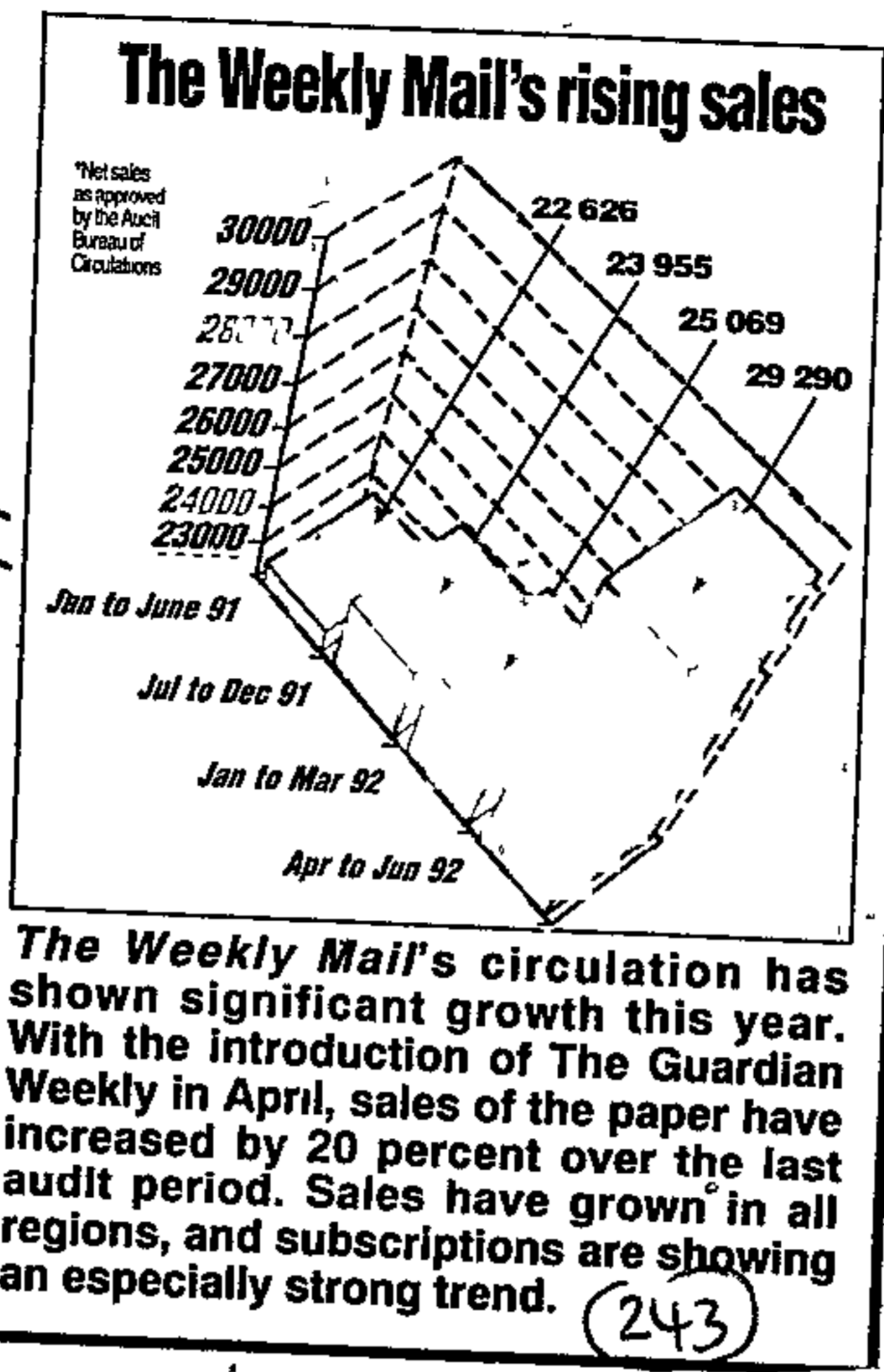
and

Investigate vigorously if certain projects were underway. Journalists should find out what they are for, who is meant to benefit and whether people who are supposed to benefit believe this will happen.

"The work of the Press in Southern Africa is important to the future. Problems affecting the environment won't be solved globally but locally," Tinker said.

The Panos Institute is an independent body working to promote sustainable development. It combines research with disseminating and providing information to those who need it. Panos also serves to stimulate constructive debate and acts as a bridge between non-governmental organisations and official agencies.

wjmail 14/8 - 20/8/92



The Weekly Mail's circulation has shown significant growth this year. With the introduction of The Guardian Weekly in April, sales of the paper have increased by 20 percent over the last audit period. Sales have grown in all regions, and subscriptions are showing an especially strong trend.

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THE WIZARD OFF TO OZ

FM

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14/8/92

After weeks of speculation in newspapers here and abroad, it was announced in Sydney on Tuesday that Times Media Ltd (publisher of the *Financial Mail*) MD Stephen Mulholland had been appointed CE of John Fairfax Holdings. The price of TML shares promptly fell by R1 to R20.



Mulholland

Canadian tycoon Conrad Black recently acquired a strategic holding in the troubled Australian publishing empire. Soon after the announcement, TML chairman Pat Retief said David Kovarsky, the brightest young man on the board of controlling shareholder Johannesburg Consolidated Investment, would succeed Mulholland at TML. Both men expect to take up their new positions in mid-September.

Speculation on Mulholland's move to Australia began soon after a larger-than-usual number of TML shares changed hands some weeks ago. A Cape institu-

tion indicated at the time a desire to secure a strategic holding in TML and approached mainly individual shareholders. Some shareholders accepted its offer.

Whether Mulholland's decision to sell was influenced by his anticipating acceptance of the Fairfax offer is academic. His contribution to the group over the past six years was critical to its survival, in 1986, and to its subsequent rising prosperity. He made ailing publications profitable and diversified the group into a broader-based media enterprise.

Before becoming group CE, he was Editor of the *Financial Mail* for seven years. During that period circulation increased by a third and profits by an even greater extent. Before working on the *FM*, he conceived, launched and edited *Business Times*, a *Sunday Times* supplement which, since inception, has provided much of the newspaper's profits.

Mulholland faces a task similar to his rescue and reinvigoration of SA Associated Newspapers, which later became TML. Like Conrad Black, he subscribes to the view that a successful newspaper is a profitable one.

During his stewardship and inspired

leadership, TML publications have not only prospered, they have maintained a high standard of journalistic integrity and rigorously maintained their support of free enterprise and liberal political values.

That has dismayed his less-successful detractors and confounded those whose political prejudices would have been enhanced if TML publications had compromised their principles.

Instead, Mulholland has played a greater role than any other newspaperman in maintaining vigorous and uncompromising press criticism of the enemies of democracy and freedom from all sides of the political spectrum.

His successor is a man of proven financial acumen and business experience at a high level in the mining industry. His six years on the board of TML have given him an understanding of the publishing industry vouchsafed to few executives in the penumbra of 44 Main Street.

The *FM* is proud to have had as its Editor a man whose abilities have been so manifestly acknowledged by Conrad Black and the Fairfax group and we look forward to the arrival of his successor.

Press to blame - IFP

■ Unfair reporting on violence alleged:

Sowetan
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By Janet Connor

THE media was to be blamed for much of the township violence, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) members told the Germiston Dispute Resolution Committee meeting on Wednesday.

Fielding questions from the group of local political, business and religious leaders were representatives from the media and a National Peace Committee staffer.

Although many committee members expressed displeasure with Press coverage because of perceived political bias, they agreed the Press was necessary.

Specifically under fire was *Sowetan*, who

Inkatha Freedom Party members criticised for being "an ANC mouthpiece" and contributing to township violence by reporting unfairly.

Other concerns raised by the members of the dispute resolution committee were:

Did the Press manipulate peace process by deciding the newsworthiness of it?

Did the Press contribute to violence by publicising it?

Should the public warn the Press on the ramifications of printing certain stories?

And finally, when reporting on peace and positive steps, people should be considered as one body and not political factions because this ignored the grassroots spirit.

Editors slam attacks, ⁽²⁴³⁾ intimidation of Press ^{ARG 15/8/92}

JOHANNESBURG — The Conference of Editors yesterday voiced its concern at the increasing use of intimidation, boycotts and assaults against newspapers and journalists in South Africa

"We deplore any attempt to influence the editorial policy or to undermine the independence of any newspaper," the editors' group said in a statement after a scheduled meeting here.

"The conference noted with particular concern the threats directed against the Eastern Province Herald and the physical assaults on journalists at Boipatong and Sebokeng"

At its meeting the conference appointed the editor-in-chief of The Star, Mr Richard Steyn, to succeed Mr Salie de Swardt as its chairman and Sowetan editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste as vice-chairman. — Sapa.

Concern for press freedom

JOHANNESBURG —
The Conference of Editors yesterday voiced its concern at the increasing use of intimidation, boycotts and assaults against newspapers and journalists in South Africa (243) 1/18/19

"It deplures any attempt to influence the editorial policy or to undermine the independence of any newspaper," the editors' group said in a statement following a meeting here

"The conference noted with particular concern the threats directed against the Eastern Province Herald and the physical assaults on journalists at Borpatong and Sebokeng" — Sapa

Paper closes down

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THE Durban-based weekly *The New African* newspaper published its last weekly edition last Friday.

CP news 16/8/92

The newspaper was conceived by a group of Durban journalists in 1986 as a result of "the failure of existing newspapers to adequately reflect news and information in the province".

In its four years it had used more than R4-million from EC donors that had been channeled through the Kagiso Trust for victims of apartheid in SA.

MR. JUSTICE GOLDSTONE has criticised what he calls "factual misstatements" in the Sunday Times reports and comments last weekend on the UN proposal for an inquiry into the SADF, the SAP, Umkhonto we Sizwe and Apia, the armed wing of the PAC, and on the aftermath of that proposal. To comply with his request for publication of the "correct facts", the Sunday Times publishes his full statement elsewhere on this page.

However, it is necessary to say that this newspaper differs from Mr Justice Goldstone in his assessment of the matter. What he calls "factual misstatements" are, in our respectful opinion, matters of editorial interpretation and presentation of the news.

PRACTICE

Mr Goldstone's strictures rest on three issues. The simplest of these is the front page headline, which read "Goldstone backs UN proposals on security forces, private armies", and in bolder type "Judge urges SADF inquiry". Mr Goldstone criticises the bold headline, apparently on the grounds that the SADF is singled out from among the various agencies which the UN secretary-general recommended for investigation. He acknowledges that the body of the report correctly stated that the SADF was but one of the agencies to be investigated. However, it is accepted newspaper practice (and we believe it to be established law) that the headlines and the report should be read as one.

There may be a question whether, by supporting the UN recommendation for an inquiry, Mr Justice Goldstone can fairly be said to have "urged" the inquiry. On reflection, it would have been better to say he "backed" the inquiry, but it did not occur to us at the time, and in any event the semantic point, we submit, is trivial.

The more important point is why the headline singled out the SADF, and the answer is simple in our editorial judgment, there exists greater interest in the role of the SADF in past and current violence than in other matters which are to be included in the inquiry. The reasons are various. They include a widespread perception (which we share, and which was reflected in the immediate prediction by a Cabinet source that the SADF would resist inquiry) that the SADF fiercely defends its secrecy. Readers are invited to examine, on the opposite page, some of the reasons which point to the evidence on this point. The reasons include also an expectation, fostered by growing confidence in the Goldstone commission itself, that this commission may succeed where others have failed, espe-

The Sunday Times, the

SADF and Judge Goldstone

SI Times

16/8/92

initially as it operates with the support of the international community.

This raises the second issue on which Mr Justice Goldstone's rebuke rested: the question whether the SADF was hostile to probing by the Goldstone commission, or not. In our view, this too is not a matter of factual accuracy or inaccuracy, but of interpretation of facts.

ATTITUDE

Mr Justice Goldstone states "There was no hostility" by the SADF to 'probing' by the committee." He goes on to say that counsel for the SADF offered to hand certain documents to the chairman (Mr Justice Goldstone himself) but not to other members of the committee. Later the documents were in fact handed to the committee, which found them to be irrelevant and handed them back.

The Sunday Times report adduced different facts, and came to a different conclusion that counsel for the SADF refused to hand to the commission a file, or a folder, but eventually surrendered it after Mr Justice Goldstone had raised the possibility of contempt, and that these events — recorded in the exact sequence in which they occurred — brought to the surface an attitude of hostility on the part of the SADF to the commission's probing.

To enable readers to assess for themselves whether our interpretation of the facts was reasonable, we publish below an extract from the official record of the Goldstone proceedings in which counsel for the SADF, Mr Anton Mostert, puts the issue succinctly whether the powers of the commission are more powerful than the right of the SADF not to reveal military secrets?

The subsequent exchange on the possibility of contempt proceedings was not, according to Mr Justice Goldstone, relevant to the question of handing over the documents. That is true, but the exchange flowed from the sharp discussion of the full commission's right to see documents. Besides, the purpose of public

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inquires is to allow the public — including newspapers — to make their own observations and come to their own conclusions. In our view, the sharpness of the exchanges in the commission, the reference to contempt, and even Mr Mostert's choice of vivid language all indicate a certain attitude on the part of the SADF. We interpret the facts, against the wider background of public affairs, as indicating that the hostility of the SADF to civilian inquiries persists, and has come to the surface again in this inquiry. It is a matter of interpreting facts, not of misstating them. Readers are invited to judge for themselves.

RECORD

This raises the third issue. Mr Justice Goldstone says that nothing in the proceedings justified our editorial comment that the SADF had brazenly tried to withhold information from the commission, and that this demonstrated that the officers of the SADF still thought

ISSUE

On none of the three points of criticism can we agree that we have been guilty of "factual errors". On questions of interpretation and opinion, it is plain that the commission and the SADF take a different view, and we therefore accede to Mr Justice Goldstone's request to publish an interpretation of the facts that differs from our own. The real issue, however, is whether the Goldstone commission will uncover the truth about violence in our country, or whether, like the Harris commission, it will also turn into a saga of vanished evidence, mute witnesses, missing documents and incredible professions of ignorance. The outcome will be the ultimate test of the judgment exercised a week ago by this newspaper.

THE EDITOR

'Factual misstatements' and the 'correct facts'

Statement by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, Chairman of the Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation

1. Counsel for the South African Defence Force has drawn to the attention of this committee certain factual misstatements concerning the present inquiry which are contained in the Sunday Times of August 9 1992

2.1 On page 1 it is stated that "The SADF's hostility to probing by the Goldstone Commission came to the surface this week during the Boipatong massacre (sic) when counsel for the SADF refused to hand over a file demanded by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone. The file was eventually handed over after

SI Times 16/8/92
Judge Goldstone raised the possibility of holding the advocate in contempt"

2.2 There was no hostility by the SADF to "probing" by the committee

2.3 On Wednesday, August 6 1992, counsel for the SADF informed the committee two documents requested by the ANC legal team would be made available only to the chairman. The chairman refused to receive documents which were not open for perusal by all the members of the committee. On the afternoon of August 7 1992, counsel for the SADF informed the committee that the documents were available for all the members of the committee. They were handed to the committee.

2.4 After careful perusal of the documents, the committee ruled that they were irrelevant to the present inquiry and they were returned to the SADF

counsel

2.5 There was a reference by the chairman to contempt proceedings during an exchange with counsel for the SADF. However, it did not relate at all to the issue concerning the production of documents by the SADF

3.1 The reference in the editorial on page 16 of the same edition of the Sunday Times to the SADF trying "brazenly to withhold information from the commission" is similarly incorrect.

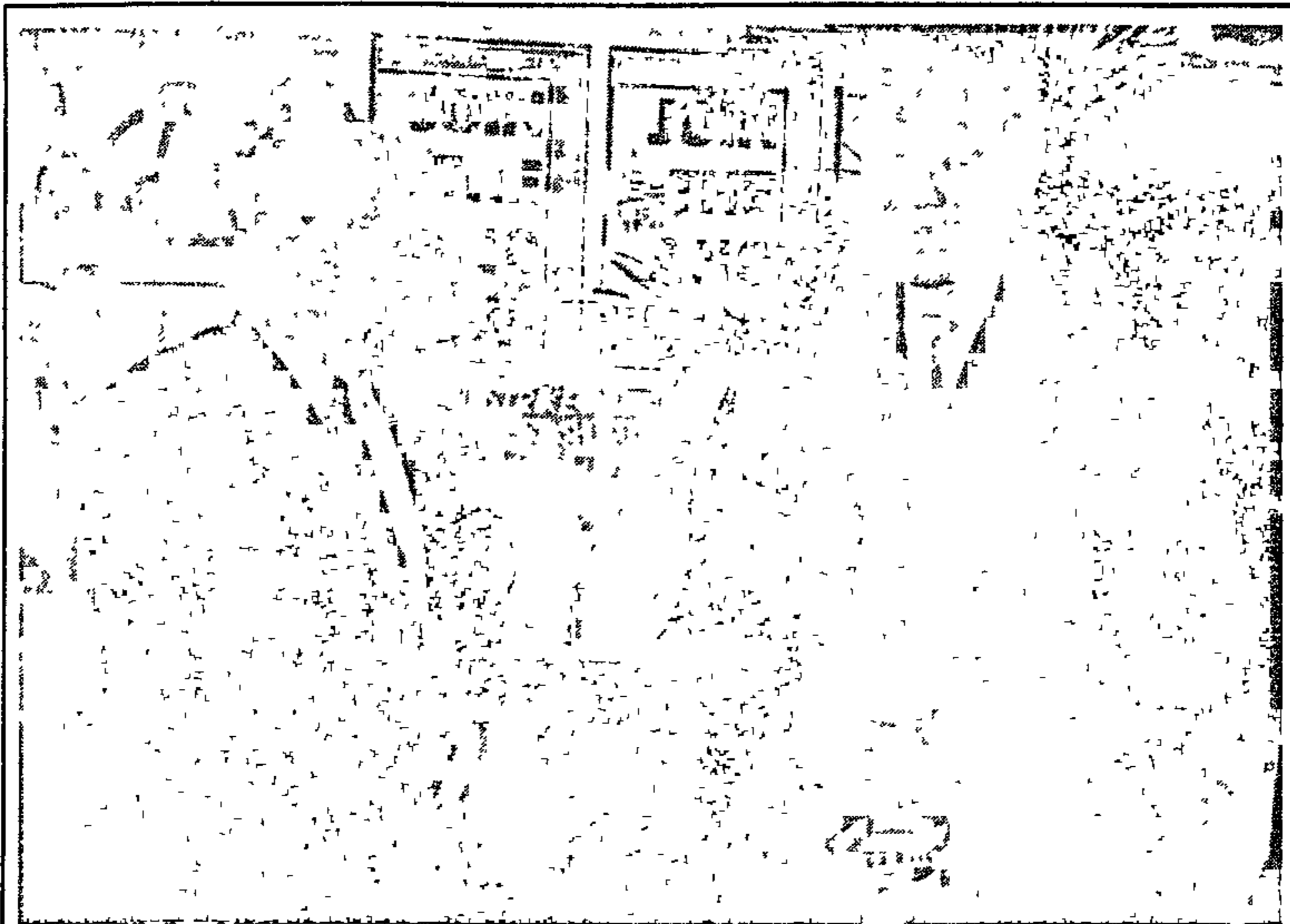
3.2 Nothing that has occurred during the present enquiry justifies the further comment in the editorial that "In the past week the SADF trying brazenly to withhold information from the commission has demonstrated that its (the SADF) officers still think they stand above the state and outside the law"

4. I would also draw attention

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to the misleading headline in bold lettering on page 1 of the newspaper. It reads "Judge urges SADF inquiry". As the article below the headline correctly states I reacted positively to the recommendation of the United Nations Secretary General that the commission should carry out a full-scale inquiry into a number of agencies. One of them is the SADF.

5. Counsel for the SADF has requested that the editor of the Sunday Times appear to explain the foregoing misstatements. The committee considers that to be unnecessary. However the committee does request the editor of Sunday Times to publish the correct facts as set out in this statement with appropriate prominence in the next edition of the Sunday Times

— Judge R J Goldstone,
Vereeniging, August 10 1992



BROTHERS IN ARMS: All Blacks official Eddie Tong and ANC leader Nelson Mandela shake hands after talks in Johannesburg yesterday.

Pic PAT SEBOKO

Sowetan man appointed to Argus Board

General manager gives credit to staff:

THE general manager of *Sowetan*, Mr Rory Wilson, has been appointed to the board of Argus Newspapers

Mr John Featherstone, chief executive of Argus Newspapers which owns *Sowetan*, *The Star*, *The Argus*, *The Daily News* and a number of other major South African newspapers, said "This appointment not only recognises Wilson's major contribution, but also the importance of *Sowetan* in the Argus stable of newspapers"

Wilson said yesterday he was delighted to have been made a director

"This is just reward for the magnificent people of *Sowetan* who have built the newspaper into the largest daily in South Africa"

Eight wounded in Alexandra shooting

Shots aimed at police

Sowetan Correspondent

EIGHT people were wounded, four seriously, in a hail of bullets directed at a police vehicle in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, on Saturday night.

Since Friday at least 21 people, including seven policemen, have died in political violence countrywide. Dozens of others have been injured.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Wikus Weber said the Alexandra shooting took place about 9pm.

A police vehicle stopped on the corner of Vasco da Gama Street and Pretoria Main Road and was fired at by unknown gunmen armed with AK-47 assault rifles, R-1 rifles and shotguns.

Weber said the police did not return fire and withdrew because their vehicle was not bullet-proof. None of the

policemen were injured.

Police reinforcements later found seven men and a woman had been wounded in the shooting. They were taken to the Alexandra Clinic.

A clinic spokesman said four of the injured people were later admitted to the Tembisa Hospital, while the other four were treated and discharged from the clinic.

Earlier on Saturday, police found the bodies of two men in Alexandra. One had been hacked and stabbed and the other shot. In another attack, an unidentified man was stoned and injured.

In Soweto, an unidentified man was shot dead and another seriously injured on Saturday night when gunmen opened fire on a train between Phomolong and Dube stations.

Late on Friday, assistant Constable JZ Munkulu, was shot and wounded by three men at Merafe Station.

New GM for Cape newspapers

(243) CT 18/8/92
A FORMER managing editor (news) at the Cape Times, Rory Wilson, is to succeed the general manager of The Argus, Fred Collings, who will retire at the end of March

Wilson is now general manager of The Sowetan, SA's leading black newspaper with a circulation of 230 000

He said yesterday that he could not give a date for his arrival in Cape Town because "there are some projects I have put in train at The Sowetan and until these are in place and all our strategic objectives attained I will not be able to move"

Aggrey Klaaste, editor of The Sowetan, said "It will be a disaster to lose him. We have built this paper up together. But I don't think he will be able to go for about a year"

In the interim period A Howard, financial director of Argus Newspapers, will act as general manager at Cape Town

Wilson, who is the son of a local doctor, graduated in psychology at Rhodes University and started his career working at Valkenburg Hospital

But he switched to journalism, starting as a reporter at the Cape Times and rising to become chief sub-editor and then night editor and managing editor (news)

Wilson left the Cape Times to become personal assistant to Clive Kinsley, managing director of SA Associated Newspapers (SAAN)

He moved to Argus Newspapers and was assistant manager of The Star before becoming general manager of The Sowetan

"The Argus is a superb newspaper," he said yesterday, "and for obvious reasons I have very close emotional ties with the Cape Times. They are both superb newspapers"

Collings' retirement was announced yesterday by



Rory Wilson

Fred Collings

John Featherstone, CE of Argus Newspapers. He praised Collings for making "a substantial contribution to The Argus and to Argus newspapers over many years"

Collings was born and educated in Cape Town. He joined The Argus Company in 1954 as an accounts clerk after graduating from the University of Cape Town

He worked on Argus newspapers in Bulawayo and Ndola before returning to Cape Town. He was appointed assistant manager of The Argus in 1974

He moved to Pretoria as manager of the Pretoria News in 1979 and returned to Cape Town in 1983 as manager of The Argus and The Cape Herald

He became GM of The Argus in 1985

TML Publications Under Spotlight

By MAGGIE ROWLEY
Deputy Business Editor

NO major shakeup of Times Media Limited was planned but all the group's publications would be assessed for viability, says new MD David Kovarsky

The 44-year qualified chartered accountant, who has been on the board of TML since 1986, said that newspapers had generally remained profitable and attractive investments with TML's return on equity of 40% being a noteworthy achievement

While changes in the group would no doubt be implemented at some levels there were no definite plans at present

"To me there are three things of importance, namely focusing on customer satisfaction and the products we are delivering, looking after employees, ensuring they participate fully in the business, and making sure shareholders are happy"

The offer to head up TML, he said, came as a "bolt

out of the blue, but it only took me a night to make my decision"

"It is going to take me at least a year to get to know the newspaper business I am not a short-term man, I plan on the long term," says Kovarsky who rose rapidly through the ranks of JCI after joining as senior manager, corporate finance in 1983

In 1990 he was appointed director, corporate strategy and planning, where his responsibilities included reviewing the organisation's structure

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Press freedom

He is also a director of other JCI listed companies including Gresham Industries, Premier Group and South African Breweries — and was appointed executive chairman of Consolidated Metallurgical Industries on December 1 1990

All these directorships will be relinquished as of September 1 when his new appointment comes into effect, he said

Kovarsky said he was perturbed about the lack of press freedom and one of his priorities in the year ahead would be to work towards ensuring that a new constitution and Bill of Rights would entrench freedom of the press

Turning to the ANC's call for the breakup of media conglomerates, he said that whoever owned newspaper groups had to be financially strong and able to guide them through the bad periods as there are "going to be times when newspapers are not profitable. If SAAV had not had a strong parent it would have gone to the wall"

The ANC, he said, was unlikely to be satisfied with just TML, or Argus selling off their mutual shareholdings but would probably like to see either of these groups in other hands.

"If this is required to retain press freedom it will have to be addressed but there is nothing concrete in this regard at this stage," he said

Describing himself as "definitely not a workaholic" but one who "hates complacency", Kovarsky works on average an 11-hour day

"I like the flurry, I like to be active, but I don't like

to work at night or weekends if I can help it — and I don't get withdrawal symptoms when I am away from the office"

Kovarsky says he believes in a hands-on — but loose — style of management which fosters communication

"Some people feel uneasy about this but I demand an openness from my subordinates, not only with me but with everyone"

"I also believe in reward for performance and as long as shareholders are benefiting from this it is justifiable"

His claim that his door is always open to colleagues of all ranks was backed up by one and all at his present offices in JCI House in Johannesburg

"We are terribly sad to see him go, he has sorted out so many of our problems," said the three security men on the ground floor.

TML's share price dropped R5 from a high of R24 in the past 10 days ahead of rumours that the current MD Steve Mulholland was leaving to take up a position with Australia's Fairfax Group

Kovarsky said he believed this drop was to be expected in a nervous market "but I think it will be temporary"

Married with two children, Kovarsky enjoys reading, keeping fit and playing golf although he says his handicap is "unpublishable"

AFRIKAANS PRESS

Deathly silence

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Last year's winner of the *Rapport* literature prize, Hans Pienaar, has accused the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper of racism. Pienaar, who is also employed by *Rapport* as a sub-editor, criticises the biggest Afrikaans newspaper for its "deathly silence when it comes to proven crimes by the police."

In an article on the Afrikaans press which appeared in this month's edition of *Democracy in Action*, mouthpiece of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa), Pienaar says that there is a "Boereglasnost" taking place in the mainstream Afrikaans press. Some newspapers, like *Beeld*, are beginning to acquire a taste for independence, he says. To illustrate this, Pienaar cites two recent editorials by *Beeld* in which the paper expressed its reservations about the silencing in parliament of ex-DP and now ANC member, MP Jan van Eck and its criticism of President F W de Klerk's visit to Boipatong.

"But if one looks at *Rapport* one could be forgiven — to put it mildly — for believing the opposite," writes Pienaar. "*Rapport* nowadays frequently carries racist articles, like the recent interview with the same Van Eck, or approving references to (mass murderer) Barend Strydom, or the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging. And there is a deathly

silence when it comes to proven crimes by the police."

Rapport editor Izak de Villiers, who was in Cape Town to attend a *Rapport* board meeting (of which Naspers MD Ton Vosloo, a supporter of F W de Klerk's initiatives, is a member), told the *FM* that he had seen Pienaar's article.

"I did not think it was necessary to discuss the matter with the board. Should I deem it necessary to answer the allegations, I'll do so in my newspaper. I therefore would not like to comment at this stage," said De Villiers. But it is known that Pienaar did not have permission from *Rapport* to write for another publication, a normal procedure in the newspaper industry.

Previous *Rapport* editors, like Willem Wepener (now editor of the Naspers publication *Insig*) and Willem de Klerk (brother of the President), were crusaders for reform. De Klerk was forced to resign after too often incurring the wrath of former President P W Botha (and at the same time embarrassing his younger brother in Cabinet). De Villiers, an ex-dominee and former editor of Naspers's *Sarie* magazine, is regarded as coming from the same mould as his predecessors.

Pienaar is away on leave and was not available for comment.

□ Some years ago, the *Rapport* literature prize was also awarded to another sub-editor at the paper, Koos Prinsloo, but subsequently

withdrawn on the instructions of the board chairman, the late Willem van Heerden, because Prinsloo's book contained a snide remark about P W Botha. A civil matter between Prinsloo and *Rapport* was settled and he recovered his R15 000 prize. *Eddie Botha*

Life behind the lens

Life behind the lens

SPECIAL ARTS SUPPLEMENT ON PHOTOJOURNALISM, August 21 to 27 1992

Studies by the students **PAGES 26 & 27**



Death at dawn A body lies in a Sowetan street, a mute reminder of the violence the night before

Photo KEVIN CARTER

THE debate surrounding cameras and their relationship to violence was recently given new impetus by an article written by photo-journalist Juhan Kuus. He looks at the issue of the safety of journalists working in townships, a subject of increasing concern following the cold blooded shooting of *Weekly Mail* political editor Phillip van Niekerk and *Washington Post* correspondent Paul Taylor in Sebokeng three weeks ago, and the assaults on and intimidation of journalists at the Boipatong funeral service.

Kuus was one of those assaulted, and probably owes his life to the two black photographers who risked their own lives to save his when they intervened on his behalf. Kuus sets out to explain why he continues to risk his life for his work, but the article quickly degenerates into an attempted justification for the occasions on which he used his firearm to lethal effect. Although Kuus says he no longer carries a gun — and admittedly his honesty is touching, particularly when describing his own ostracisation by his peers — he only tells a part of the story. The fact that he carried a gun was only a part of the problem. Some photographers were more disturbed by what seemed to be his contemptuous attitude to black people.

Paul Weinberg, a photographer and vice-president of the South African

Putting your life on the line for the perfect shot

W/M Mail 21/8-27/8/92
Union of Journalists, replied to Kuus' article in the Sunday press last week. Carrying a gun on assignment is a violation of the basic ethics of journalism," he said "Our weapons are civil values and common sense."

He attacks Kuus for supplying a film to the police, which resulted in several workers being convicted for assault. On the same occasion, Weinberg points out, another photographer hid in a cupboard for hours to avoid detection by police. And journalists have gone to jail for refusing to disclose sources.

When Weinberg comments on Kuus' statement that he wanted to be "the world's most sought after photographer" and concludes that "when photographers convert human casualties into rands and prizes, it heightens the contradictions of the medium", he starts to sound self-righteous.

News photography is a line of work, and aspiration to success cannot be seen as contradictory to the ethics of the job. Weinberg seeks to

A picture is worth a thousand words, but is it worth a life?
WM photo-editor
KEVIN CARTER explores the dilemma

contrast Kuus with a "good guy", and quotes Greg Marinovitch, winner of a Pulitzer prize for spot news for a photograph of a burning man being hacked to death, as saying "If it was a choice between the man's life and the prize, I would rather the whole thing never happened."

I know Marinovitch to be a sensitive and caring human being, and do not doubt his sentiment. Yet he and I and others have a longstanding tradition of going on "dawn patrols" — early morning rides through township trouble spots — for the simple reason that if there have been killings in the night the bodies have not yet been moved by police. Marinovitch and his editor understand, as I do, the sales

potential of violent imagery. Early one morning Marinovitch and I beat the press to a killing field by a good hour. A policeman then tipped us off about fighting in another area. Without a word to any of our competitors, we raced there. I do not apologise for seeking a degree of exclusivity, and by extension, success. We came within an inch of our lives that morning: a hostel dweller emptied his revolver at us from a range of no more than 10 metres. Fortunately we found cover and neither of us was hit.

It was on a "dawn patrol" like this one that Marinovitch shot his Pulitzer winner. I commend Marinovitch on the courage, tenacity, and dedication that make him a fully deserving recipient of the award.

Every time I have held discussion groups with trained journalists about news photography and its relationship to their work, the discussion invariably turns into a debate about the ethics of shooting pictures of violence. Their interest is extreme, they want to know about our feelings —

whether we have them, whether we are biased, whether we would interfere in or provoke a situation, what effect our cameras have on crowds, how we cope. Aren't we scared? Are we mad? Trained journalists, like the public, seem fascinated by images and stories of violence and suffering. Editors will tell you the effect this has on circulation.

As have Kuus and Weinberg, I can only speak for myself. Violence, killings and the dead are the dirty side of the job. If I attend a funeral, a rally, a vigil or a meeting, I am there to fulfil my assignment — to illustrate an article, document the event and pursue my art, which is to make photographic recordings of my subjects using the fall of light. I am a strange combination of technician, artist, and journalist. The artist has his eyes open for that which appeals to his soul, the journalist is aware of what is significant in proceedings, statements, and developments, and the technician endeavours to record this with camera and film.

Believe me, I would be happy to photograph the nuances of these events and the people involved with out violence and killings. Let's say, however, that the police open fire on marchers, or gunmen open fire on a vigil, or a man is accused of some public crime and lynched. Is it not sig-

● To PAGE 25

PHOTOGRAPHY: Life behind the lens

Shoot for
the moment
243
21/8-27/8/92
From PAGE 24

nificant?

Am I glad? Happy that the violence has occurred? Happy to have sensational pictures? No, no, and no. Before you begin to think me too pious, let me confess that when covering these things, I do get excited. There is something about the sound of gunfire, the tension of an imminent confrontation, the sight of a bloodthirsty mob, the fear of the unpredictable. It makes the adrenalin pump. If I see a dead person, or see a person shot, I feel very little personally for him/her at the time. The adrenalin is pumping, the horror and revulsion along with a real dose of fear, particularly where conflict is involved, are suppressed while the journalist/technician is working.

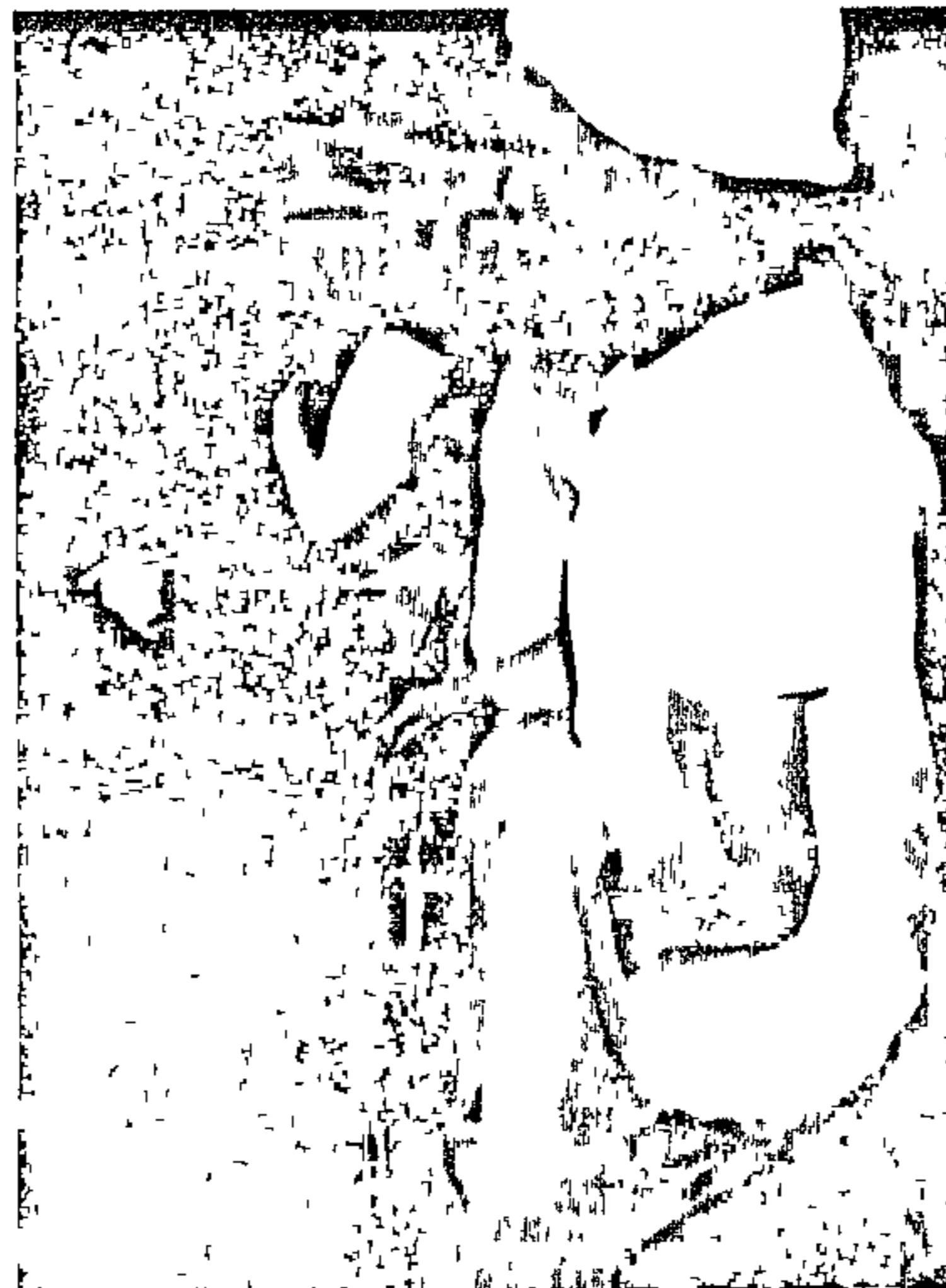
That the job is dangerous is without question - particularly now a days with the incredible proliferation of guns. Ten years ago only the police had guns. The township residents generally had an understanding of, and showed support for, our role in publicising the abuses of apartheid and their struggle to end it. Now the lines separating friend and foe are no longer clear and with the proliferation of firearms has come an unprecedented outbreak of anarchic thuggery in many townships - the shooting of Taylor and Van Nickerk being an example. These places and these people are scary.

Unlike Kuus, or Weinberg, I am salaried, and stand to make no significant extra earnings as a result of violent images. I suffer depression from what I see, and experience nightmares. I feel alienated from "normal" people, including my family. I find myself unable to relate to or engage in frivolous conversation. The shutters come down and I recede into a dark place with dark images of blood and death in Godforsaken dusty places. The excitement and adrenalin soon fade, and I fall asleep with memories made sharper by the routine of processing, printing and examining the frozen horror.

So what is it that makes me do it?

I am following my obsession. Perhaps it has something to do with growing up in a country with a perverted system of oppression and slowly realising the degree and the horror of that perversion. My disgust with the system and with the apathy of the community around me for not more vigorously defying it result in my desire to show the desperate images of the suffering it has caused.

The work is brutalising and press photographers, myself included, have been known to display incredible callousness and cynicism. This is a defence mechanism, but I am not too cynical to believe that the collective work of photographers does ultimately affect the consciousness of the community, and hopefully achieves some good. If I had grown up in this country classified as a non-anything, and treated in the brutally inhumane way the majority of our people have been, my obsession would have been very different. It wouldn't be a camera I'd be shooting with, but then it wouldn't be journalists I'd want to shoot.



Shooting life on the frontline

A photographer dodges gunfire among the shacks during the recent "war" in Johannesburg's Alexandra township (top)

Drama as a man hit in the leg by a bullet is hastily carried from the scene by his comrades (bottom)

Photographs by
KEVIN CARTER

PROCOLOR PHOTOlab

The Johannesburg City Council and the Johannesburg Publicity Association, in conjunction with Procolour Photolab, will be running a photographic competition encompassing the Arts Alive programme

A full programme of the Arts Alive programme will appear in the respective media as follows

Weekly Mail - Friday, August 28
Business Day - Friday, August 28

Below follows a sample programme of select events that could be photographed. The month of September offers a full range of activities for all interested entrants

SUBJECT	DATE	CONTACT	
Fountain Fans Jazz Band	3/9	Godfrey Moloi	495 1142
Busking	5/9	Sue Jameson	788 1130
Prayers for the Nation	6/9	Deborah Pead	486 2322
Contemporary Landscape Art	8/9	Orania Ogilvy	788 4805
Poetry In the Park	10/9	Julia Meintjies	29 496
Window on Community Theatre	12/9	Suzette Le Seur	673 8059
Nation Building Choirs	13/9	Julia Meintjies	29 4961
Johannesburg Popps	18/9	Alison Simpson	714 5656
Egoli Bonanaza Street Parade	19/9	Petru du Preez	880 4945
Indlamu Multicultural Festival	23/9	Kevin Maclelland	337 4505
Melville Mardi Gras	26/9	Derick Dennis	728 4735
International Ki'e Festival	26/9	PR Dynamics	884 4770

For further information, please contact Julia Meintjies,
Johannesburg Publicity Association, (011) 29-4961

RULES

- 1 Entry forms are available at your nearest Procolour Photolab outlet
- 2 To qualify for entry all photographs must be processed and printed at Procolour Photolab in Braamfontein
- 3 One 40 x 30 cm photograph, with the accompanying entry form, is to be submitted to the Braamfontein Branch of Procolour Photolab, by Monday October 5, 1992
- 4 Each photograph submitted must be accompanied by a separate entry form
- 5 The winner will be notified telephonically on Monday, October 19, 1992
- 6 The judges decision is final and no correspondence will be entered into

news inbrief

Street scheme for Soweto

THE Soweto Council
Street Scheme Project
got off to a good start
yesterday with a meeting
held at the house of the
mayor of Soweto, Mr. A.
N. M. (343)

The project will be
completed in 1982 and
will cost the council
of P2 million.

The project is di-
vided into three phases.

Sowetan 21/8/92

Three Thomsons publications fold

(243)

STAR 22/8/92

THOMSONS Publications last week closed down three of its publications because of the impact the poor economic climate was having on advertising.

The move was also part of implementing the company's new philosophy of eliminating its smaller publications and concentrating its resources on its larger and very successful titles, Thomsons Publications chief executive Joe Brady says.

Gone are Retailing News, eStokim and Promat. Each of these had only been going a few years, he says.

"We did not ever see these small publications

MANDY JEAN WOODS

ever becoming major publications," he notes.

"And we had decided to focus our resources and efforts on making our bigger publications better and more successful."

The group's flagship publication is Computing SA which currently has a circulation of just under 20 000.

"Our advertising is well up on last year and we are delighted with its performance," he says.

Last week Thomsons Publications signed an agreement with IDG, the world's largest publish-

ers of computing magazines and newspapers, giving Computing SA exclusive lifting rights and daily and direct access to a substantial data base of new research and trends information, Brady says.

"We are very excited about this and there is no doubt that Computing SA will now carry the very latest in international and local trends and happenings," he says.

Other titles in the Thomsons stable include SA Mining (which last year celebrated its 100th anniversary), Site and Road (advertising is up 25 percent on last year); New Equipment News ("holding its own in

these trying times"); Transport Management and Commercial Transport ("both are looking very good at this point") and Taxi Talk (a three-year old magazine aimed at the taxi industry with a circulation of around 40 000).

"We have just closed our biggest ever issue of Taxi Talk (ad revenue topped R250 000) and we are delighted that it is going from strength to strength," he says.

In March this year, it purchased Successful Salesmanship (which is sold on subscriptions only). The company now intends to sit tight and consolidate its business, he says.

Seven years of achievement

STAR 22/8/92

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MANDY JEAN WOODS

THE Weekly Mail is to become the first African newspaper to be profiled on the BBC World Service in its series on great newspapers in the world.

The programme will be broadcast in mid-September, according to co-editor Anton Harber

"We are only seven years old and this is something that we are very proud of. In that time we have grown from a small, alternative newspaper to an important national newspaper," he says

And its stature in the market place is evidenced by the latest Audit Bureau of Circulation figures for the period April to June 1992, which show its circulation is currently hovering at 29 290 (Business Day in comparison sells 32 500 newspapers daily).

Investigations

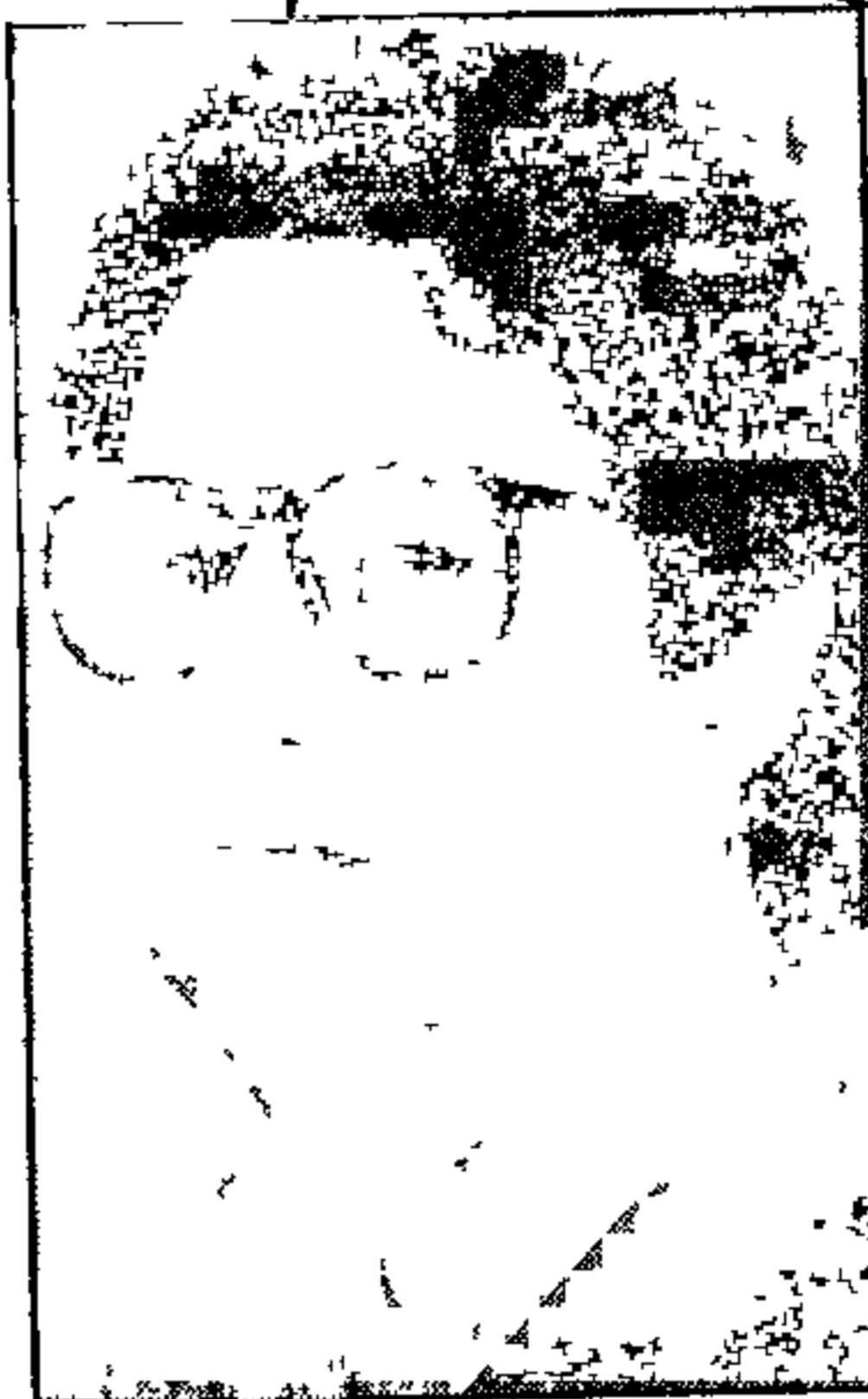
This is up from its 25 069 circulation in the period January to March 1992

When the paper was launched seven years ago it had a circulation of 8 000, Harber notes. Circulation dipped after the disastrous launch of the Daily Mail last year and only began increasing slowly early this year.

Reasons for the newspaper's success cannot be attributed to any one particular thing, Harber says

"I would think our successful investigations have created a great deal of awareness and, all in all, our deal with Guardian Weekly has been excellent"

The Weekly Mail is an unusual



HEALTHY PROFIT: Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harber.

International accolade for Weekly Mail

product for South Africa in that it combines a great deal of international and local news in one package, so readers don't have to get it from two sources as they usually do, he notes

"Also for the cost, R2,50, it offers a great deal of value to readers"

But equally important to the

newspaper's editorial stature is the way the advertising community perceives it. If advertising support is anything to go by, agencies and clients now see the Weekly Mail as an important mainstream newspaper rather than a politically oriented, alternative paper

"I think we have done a lot of work — and successfully so, in getting the message across to advertising agencies that we are a really important, quality newspaper with a very valuable readership. We have broken down some of the misperceptions they had in the past," Harber says

In terms of actual advertising, the Weekly Mail must be one of the very few publications that is running more advertising than it did last year, Harber says

"We are running significantly more advertising than we did compared to last year and that is clearly a very healthy sign of our acceptance," he says

Supplements

"For example, in July this year we made R260 000 on gross ad revenue, in July last year we made only R118 000. In June this year, we made R237 000 compared to R157 000 last year," he says. An ad rate increase was implemented during this period

In addition, its supplements are doing very well, he notes. The month PC Review, introduced just three months ago, is turning a "very healthy profit" while its other surveys (education, books, environment, etc) are doing modestly well

"Overall," Harber says, "we are feeling that despite a difficult economic climate, we are in a very healthy position"

(243) APR 22/8/92

New man in media hot seat

JOHANNESBURG. — The former editor of the SA Press Association, Ed Linington, has been appointed registrar of the SA Media Council from September 1.

The SAMC announced yesterday Mr Linington would replace Bob Steyn, who was registrar of the council since its founding in 1983. Mr Steyn resigned when the council's offices were moved to Johannesburg from Cape Town recently.

It said the Cape Town office was due to close on August 27 and reopen four days later in its new location in Johannesburg.

The move followed resolutions adopted by the council earlier in August providing among others for its

restructuring to ultimately reduce its membership of 30 to 11 and to streamline its methods of dealing with complaints.

The SAMC said since its inception it had dealt with 1 060 complaints from the public and private sector, the majority of which were resolved through conciliation processes. Only 31 formal investigations into complaints were conducted by the council's inquiry panels during the same period.

● The council will be temporarily at 4th Floor, West Wing Libridge, 25 Ameshof Street, Braamfontein.

All communications after August 27 should be addressed to the Registrar, SA Media Council, PO Box 3159, Braamfontein 2017. Tel (011) 403-2878, Fax (011) 403-2879. — Sapa.

Sage interdict: appeal judgment reserved

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Appeal Court has reserved judgment in the appeal against a court order which prevented the Financial Mail (FM) from publishing, disclosing or disseminating information illegally and/or unlawfully obtained by means of tapping telephones, owned or used by Sage Holdings Ltd, and from a specific confidential document

The case was brought by Sage and its chairman, Louis Shill, after recordings of telephone conversations and confidential documents came into the FM's possession while speculation was rife regarding the situation in the Allied Group

The case was heard in camera in the Witwatersrand Local Supreme Court in 1990

The FM was also interdicted from publishing, printing or disseminating an article in the FM or any other newspaper

The article formed part of the founding affidavit. The judge found the proposed article was defamatory of Sage Holdings and Shill

In the Appeal Court counsel for the FM submitted that the lower court had erred in granting the interdict

He said about half the article was not based on the tape-recordings or the confidential document, yet nothing was allowed to be published in terms of the court order

He submitted that a court should be extremely slow to grant an interdict to restrain the publication of an article that clearly had a dimension

of public interest

Counsel for Sage and Shill said the appellants' analysis of the article did not grapple with its sting. It did not justify the article or its contents, did not answer the complaints about breach of confidentiality and privacy and the unlawful interference with Sage business, nor did it detract from the presence of injurious falsehoods

It was submitted that the lower court had correctly applied the principles of unlawful competition to the appellants' unlawful interference in the lawful business of Sage, and that there had been no attempt by the appellants to establish the veracity of the information in the document and that the document was inaccurate

Sapa

BIDAY 27/8/92

Press boycott is lifted

THE month-long boycott of the Evening Post and Weekend Post newspapers in Port Elizabeth was lifted yesterday by the ANC-led tripartite alliance. The boycott against the EP Herald continues.

The protest action started on July 30 when about 200 demonstrators handed a memorandum to editor-in-chief of the TML newspapers Derek Smith.

(243)

Boycott of Cape newspapers lifted

■ News coverage of different editions will be similar but vary in depth: Sowetan 27/8/92 (243)

THE month-long boycott of the *Evening Post* and *Weekend Post* newspapers in Port Elizabeth was lifted yesterday by the African National Congress-led tripartite alliance.

The boycott against the *Eastern Province Herald* continues.

The protest action started on July 30 when about 200 demonstrators handed a memorandum to the editor-in-chief of the Times Media Limited newspapers, Mr Derek Smith

Copies of the newspapers were also burnt outside the TML building in Port Elizabeth, an act which was condemned by ANC headquarters in Johannesburg.

South African Communist Party regional secretary-general Mthwabo Ndube issued a statement yesterday on behalf of the alliance

He said the decision to lift the boycott on the *Evening Post* and *Weekend Post* was taken in a broad forum of all organisations in the Eastern Cape, representing business, youth, education, women and civic organisations.

After a meeting with *Evening Post*

editor Neville Woudberg on August 17, Ndube said, it was clear the alliance's demands had been addressed

The demands were that there should be a single *Evening Post* in the region, the newspaper should cover all activities from different societies, there should be an end to biased reporting, and the *Evening Post* should cover activities in the rural areas

Ndube said in a written commitment by the editor of the *Evening Post* to the alliance the following was agreed:

- The news coverage in the Extra, Stop Press and City Late editions would be of similar content, but would vary in depth according to the needs of each edition.

- The Stop Press and Extra editions would be fused into one paper for a start.

- The *Evening Post* would investigate the issue of expanding the circulation to rural areas after looking at the viability of the venture.

- The *Evening Post* would print issues that related to rural areas if those of interest to the community

Paper boycott lifted — partly

PORT ELIZABETH —
The month-long boycott
of the Evening Post and
Weekend Post news-
papers in Port Elizabeth
was lifted yesterday by
the African National
Congress-led alliance.
The boycott against
the Eastern Province
Herald continues. (113)
SACP regional secre-
tary-general Mr
Mthwabo Ndube yester-
day said it was clear the
alliance's demands had
been addressed in re-
spect of the Evening and
Weekend Post — Sapa

Publishings for Survival

STAR 29/8/92

(243)

MANDY JEAN WOODS

PUBLISHING is moving into the survival-of-the-fittest mode, with only those newspapers and magazines which are delivering exactly what their readers want showing any growth at all

It is alarming to see that 70 percent of magazine titles experienced a negative growth, 13 percent stayed basically constant and only 17 percent showed substantial growth, says Young & Rubicam Cape media director Kevan Aspoas

Contrast

"The only area of the market that is 'stimulated' is that where Penthouse and Scope are aimed, has grown from 105 911 copies in the January to June period in 1991 to 145 425 copies in the current six-month period," he says

Black magazines are showing a continual downward trend in circulation — in complete contrast with black newspapers, which are on a continual increase, Aspoas says

Bona, for example, has dropped from 254 181 copies in the first half of last year to 235 134 in the same period this year. Drum has gone from 106 975 copies to 97 930 copies True Love and Family experienced an alarming drop from 37 479 to 35 568 copies.

ABC CIRCULATION FIGURES

	Jan-Jun 92	Jan-Jun 91		Jan-Jun 92	Jan-Jun 91
BLACK MAGAZINES					
Bona	235 134	254 181	City Press	160 079	128 073
Drum	97 930	106 975	New Nation	64 449	67 094
Pace Magazine	130 776	122 776	Sowetan	224 932	200 019
Thandi	15 568	37 479			
True Love and Family	52 632	58 925	BLACK NEWSPAPERS		
WHITE MAGAZINES					
CAR	136 889	136 158	The Argus	102 145	102 555
Cosmopolitan	105 394	106 220	Beeld	100 210	99 392
De Kat	18 490	17 247	Die Burger	74 178	75 803
Fair Lady	162 222	161 379	Business Day	33 792	32 871
Farmer's Weekly	20 318	21 169	Cape Times	61 181	61 442
Femina	106 087	108 001	The Citizen	139 420	138 512
Finance Week	15 192	16 596	Daily Dispatch	34 185	34 974
Financial Mail	32 570	32 272	Daily News	93 951	96 387
Finances & Technik	18 689	18 399	EP Herald	29 444	29 444
Getaaway	58 898	55 316	Evening Post	19 415	21 412
Hungenoet	514 818	513 397	Natal Mercury	60 617	62 476
Keur	109 589	113 394	Natal Witness	28 269	28 163
Living & Loving	113 252	117 985	Pretoria News	25 124	26 542
M-Net TV Guide	637 255	574 498	The Star	209 351	217 850
Penthouse	66 960	68 670			
People	68 219	74 602	DAILY NEWSPAPERS		
Personality	106 505	110 086	The Argus	102 145	102 555
Readers Digest	370 607	—	Beeld	100 210	99 392
Rooi Rose	154 482	143 613	Die Burger	74 178	75 803
SA Garden & Home	128 458	141 302	Business Day	33 792	32 871
Sarte	227 335	231 392	Cape Times	61 181	61 442
Scope	145 425	124 731	The Citizen	139 420	138 512
Style	46 272	49 727	Daily Dispatch	34 185	34 974
You	232 128	209 386	Daily News	93 951	96 387
Your Family	209 583	226 900	EP Herald	29 444	29 444
			Evening Post	19 415	21 412
			Natal Mercury	60 617	62 476
			Natal Witness	28 269	28 163
			Pretoria News	25 124	26 542
			The Star	209 351	217 850
			WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS		
			Rapport	353 316	360 321
			Saturday Star	155 808	159 883
			Sunday Star	88 704	87 462
			Sunday Times	533 419	530 649
			Sunday Tribune	123 819	124 354
			Weekly Mail	27 267	22 626

In contrast, newspapers like City Press have enjoyed substantial increases in circulation (from 128 073 to 160 079 in the period January to June 1991 and 1992) and the Sowetan has grown to become South Africa's largest daily newspaper with its circulation growing from 200 019 to 224 932 New Nation dipped slightly, from its high last year of 67 094 to its present 64 449

and educational features and articles City Press is delivering that, so is New Nation, and Sowetan is becoming more politically active," he says

But black magazines have not taken the political high ground and have tended to avoid getting into educational supplements The increases shown by black newspapers is clear evidence that there is huge

potential for black magazines which deliver what the market wants "Magazines are not delivering what the market wants and they are not keeping pace with changes in the marketplace," he says Of the five major black titles, only Pace showed an increase (122 480 to 130 776) in circulation

Black magazines have the support and confidence of their readers and now the erosion is setting in for advertisers, Aspoas says

But to put everything into perspective, he says, one of South Africa's best newspapers — The World — had a circulation of around 287 000 when it was at its peak in the 1970s and at the same time it was South Africa's biggest newspaper

ANC cautions 'biased' media

STAR 29/8/92

243

**MANDY JEAN
WOODS**

THE ANC has threatened the white-owned media with action to ensure fair and objective reporting, which, it says, it not happening

In the September issue of Mayibuye — its mouthpiece — the ANC analyses (with help from the Anti-Censorship Action Group (Acag) the SABC and The Star's coverage of the recent week of mass action and concludes that "the ANC and its allies can boast of the success of the campaign"

Objective reporting

"But they would do well to note that when the crunch comes, they will find themselves at the receiving end of the editorial stick of the white media establishment

"Something practical needs to be done — and done soon," says Mayibuye

Many individual journalists strive within this environment to be as objective as possible "But once decisions are taken on high, their protestations are often ineffectual," Mayibuye notes

Elections for a constitution-making body will be held in a matter of months. And, if the ANC does not work out appropriate strategies, the thrust of its campaign will be undermined, as birds of a feather flock together to salvage what they can of the old order

To support its claims, the ANC cites Acag saying "the SABC is a mouthpiece of the National Party engaging in a well-planned campaign against the party's oppo-

nents"

According to Acag, news coverage during the week of mass action favoured parties opposed to it, with the Government, violence, business and the SA Police garnering a healthy 63,4 percent of available time on SABC TV news on the first day of the strike

A similar picture prevailed on Wednesday August 5 when ANC president Nelson Mandela addressed a crowd of between 25 000 (official sources) and 100 000 (ANC) in Pretoria at the Union Buildings, Acag says

That evening, the Government and the Conservative Party together were given 46,1 percent of the time available on SABC TV news, with a general description of the marches taking up 27,4 percent of time

The ANC got only 11,3 percent of time available while Mandela enjoyed a mere 6,7 percent of time available to speak his piece, Acag notes

"Clever campaigns of party propaganda" prevailed in the week ahead of mass action, Mayibuye notes, citing a series of articles published in The Star

"The Star ran a series supposedly on how to break the negotiations deadlock, in its Opinion columns. But this was actually a falsification by white academics of the character and objectives of the campaign

"Space was promised for an ANC response but was only given

opportunity to do so on the first day of the strike "

The Star editor Richard Steyn responded saying, "the article in Mayibuye is propaganda, not argument. The ANC's mass action campaign received full and fair coverage in The Star as any independent analysis would confirm "

TV News Production editor-in-chief Johan Pretorius calls the ANC's evaluation of the evening news "laughable, one-sided and done with only one thing in mind — to nail the SABC at all costs"

Pressure of deadlines

Mayibuye bases its report on research done by Acag and this has valid criticisms about aspects of SABC newscasts and current affairs programmes which have been identified and are receiving attention, Pretorius says

"We admit to bona-fide mistakes, errors of judgement under pressure of deadlines and otherwise, it is just not humanly possible to commit these acts, of manipulation we are being accused of. Any person who has even a little basic knowledge of television journalism and how a television newsroom functions will know this

"My advice to organisations such as the ANC and others who use us is that they evaluate the validity of the reports done by Acag in their own interest," he says

The SABC has verifiable facts and figures to prove the Acag research is not valid, he says

Union protests over coverage of strike

AN estimated 300 striking members of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) yesterday demonstrated outside the Sowetan newspaper offices in Industria, south of Johannesburg.

The chanting crowd complained about "one-sided and incorrect reporting" by the newspaper. They also bemoaned "insufficient coverage" in the paper of the 24-day-old Numsa strike.

After a meeting with senior newspaper staffers Joe Thloloe and

Thami Mazwai, union spokesman Justice Khumalo told the crowd the newspaper would reply to the complaints by next week.

Mazwai later said the newspaper had held meetings with several community organisations in the past, and that yesterday's meeting was "an ongoing thing".

He said views had been exchanged and misunderstandings cleared up during the meeting.

The police kept a low profile during the demonstration — Sapa

Unionists vow to begin chalk-down next week

THE Soweto branch of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) has confirmed that it will begin an indefinite strike on Wednesday, despite this week's move by the Department of Education and Training to recognise the union.

While many parents concerned about this year's matriculation examinations were viewing the "chalk-down" strike with alarm, Sadtu hardened its position, saying it would not be dictated to.

Photos: Star man in court

SATURDAY Star journalist Joe Louw yesterday appeared in the Soweto Magistrate's Court after being arrested at a South African Democratic Teachers' Union protest in White City Jabavu the previous morning.

Louw was taken to Jabulani police station in Soweto before being released from Moroka police station about three hours later. Twenty-three teachers were also arrested.

The police allege Louw contravened the Police Act by taking pictures of people detained in lawful custody pending prosecution. The police confiscated his film.

The case was postponed until September 29 for further investigation.

JOE LOUW

no normal schooling, probably until the end of the school year."

Twelve of 1992's 86 school days so far had been "lost" to pupil and teacher action and stay-aways.

Many more would be lost to the DET's "abdication of responsibility. Any further time lost will obviously adversely affect our results," Maepa said.

"We have teacher shortages, vandalised schools, lack equipment, lack space — you name any problem and we are sure to have it, but only much worse."

Many pupils this week expressed serious reservations about the looming strike. "They (Sadtu)

should just leave politics out of our schools," said one Jabulani matric pupil. "Many of us are just sick and tired of all these disruptions in our education. Most of these guys got their matrics long ago and I just wish they could let us get on with it."

Most were bitter about not being consulted by Sadtu.

An Orlando High pupil who said his sympathies lay with the PAC and Azapo felt he was "just being forced by others to toe the line even if I don't feel like it."

Some of his friends said they feared not taking part in boycotts "because one never knows what's going to happen next."

Violence erupted after two days of preliminary

strikes this week at the Lekgang school in Soweto, where about 500 teachers staged a noisy demonstration.

Sadtu members demanded the reinstatement of Thoko Sehurutsi, who was fired two weeks ago for swopping classes with another teacher.

Police used teargas and rubber bullets to disperse the teachers.

At the J C Merkin School for the Disabled, closed earlier this month because school officials felt that "continuous disruptions" at the school endangered pupils' lives, protesters demanded that the school be reopened and that teacher Rebecca Sehudi — fired a month ago — be reinstated.

Sadtu members picketed at Dube Primary School yesterday over the dismissal of teacher L Hlatwayo, who was fired after complaining over not having been paid for 18 months, union officials said.

"As far as we are concerned the strike which starts on September 2 is on track unless the DET accedes to our demands," Sadtu official M C Shoba said.

The SECC and Sadtu would hold a joint rally tomorrow at the Alca Stadium in Rockville to discuss the strike, Maepa said.

WIBIDI-GAYEVIDES

PRINCESS DI Lady or tramp?

How the ORIGINAL telephone recording that sparked a royal scandal

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Sowetan besieged by Numsa strikers

JOHANNESBURG. — An estimated 300 striking members of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa demonstrated outside the Sowetan newspaper offices in Industria

The chanting crowd arrived yesterday to complain about "one-sided and incorrect reporting".

They also bemoaned "insufficient coverage" of the 24-day-old Numsa strike.

"We find it strange for a newspaper which is supposedly black to give Seifsa (the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa, an employer body) more space than us," they said in a statement.

After meeting senior staff at the newspaper, Mr Joe Tlholoe and Mr Thami Mazwai, union spokesman Mr Justice Khumalo told the crowd the newspaper would reply to the complaints by next week.

Mr Mazwai said later the newspaper had met community organisations in the past and yesterday's meeting was no different.

He pledged the newspaper would not brush off the complaints and said the "perceptions which were expressed by Numsa regarding our reporting" would be discussed at an editors' meeting on Monday.

The Numsa strike, the biggest in the country's engineering industry, was called off on Thursday.

Up to 100 000 workers at more than 700 plants were advised to return to work on Monday. — Sapa.

... some don't agree



PRINT AND BE SLAMMED ... members of Numsa picket the offices of the *Sowetan* in Industria, claiming unfair coverage of their strike.

Headlines must roll, paper told

By THEMBA KHUMALO

ABOUT 200 members of the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa) picketed outside the offices of the *Sowetan* newspaper on Friday to protest "unfair" coverage of their strike.

And members of the massive union have threatened to boycott the newspaper if it does not meet their demands.

Following the march, a Numsa delegation met with senior *Sowetan* staffers, including Deputy Editor Joe Thlooe, to present the newspaper with a memorandum containing a list of demands.

Numsa shop-steward Justice Khumalo later addressed the marchers and said the newspaper's leadership had undertaken to respond to their demands

through the union's national office in Johannesburg.

He described negotiations with the *Sowetan* staff as "warm and cordial" and expressed hopes that the newspaper would respond positively to the workers' demands.

Khumalo said the Tembisa branch of Numsa had felt strongly about the way the strike

had been reported in *Sowetan* and had initiated the march.

The Numsa strike by 100 000 workers ended this week after a court ruled it illegal. The workers are expected to resume work tomorrow.

Khumalo said following the strong sentiments expressed by their colleagues in Tembisa, the

central Johannesburg region of Numsa decided at a meeting on Thursday to boycott the newspaper as from tomorrow

The response from *Sowetan* to their demands would determine whether the boycott would go ahead.

The *Sowetan's* leadership was not available for comment.

The Appeal Court in Bloemfontein this week heard argument in a case which could have profound implications for press freedom in South Africa. At the heart of the matter were two simple questions: When should the press be gagged and does a company have a right to privacy? CATHY STAGG reports

THE background to Monday's appeal was an unusual public row between the managing directors of two major financial companies. Kevin de Villiers, MD of the Allied, and Louis Shill, chairman and MD of Sage, had crossed swords in June 1990.

Newspapers and financial journals were carrying reports and comment on the row.

The Johannesburg-based Financial Mail had already printed one article. A second one was planned, based on information gathered from two sources which had been leaked to the magazine a confidential document and tapes obtained by tapping Mr Shill's telephone.

The FM showed the companies concerned a draft of the proposed article. The gist of the article was that Sage's interim dividend cut indicated that the group was under financial strain because of its ailing US subsidiary.

Mr Shill wanted to know how the journalist, Jim Jones (now editor of Business Day), had obtained information which had not been available through normal channels.

This led to a series of meetings between FM and Sage staff, negotiations between lawyers for either side and an interview between the FM and Allied chairman Norman Allenborough and Mr Shill.

It was agreed that Sage would vet the article to ensure its views were fairly represented.

But, when the amended article was presented to Sage directors, they said it did not comply with the agreement. Sage went to court to get an interdict to stop publication. The FM opposed the urgent application — but lost.

On Monday, counsel for the FM, Mr Bobby Levin, SC, told the Appeal Court that events had long since overtaken the two-year-old article. However, the case was brought on appeal because important matters of public policy needed to be determined.

Citing English and US precedents, Mr Levin submitted that our courts ought to be reluctant to grant a "gagging" order. Freedom of the press was part of freedom of speech itself, he said.

"Freedom of expression is recognised and enforced by our law as an integral component of democracy," Mr Levin said.

He reminded the court that Sage was listed on the JSE, and said the investing public had shown widespread interest in the public debate around the Sage/Allied dispute over whether Sage was taking unfair advantage of a co-operation agreement.



AT LOGGERHEADS. Allied's Kevin de Villiers and Sage chairman Louis Shill, who became embroiled in a row in June 1990



rights of privacy, he said.

He added that the judge who heard the urgent application in the Witwatersrand Local Division, Mr Justice Joffe, had correctly found that the recordings had been unlawfully obtained — and that the FM had wanted to use the fruits of another person's illegal conduct.

Mr Kuper also submitted that the article written by Jones could not have stood on its own without its wholesale reliance on the Allied document and the tape recordings. In any event, it was not for the court to cut and paste the innocent parts of the article, the whole thing had to be scrapped, he said.

CONTRASTING the interests of the press and Sage's right to protection, Mr Kuper said the judge was correct to find in Sage's favour because a company was entitled to have its boardroom deliberations kept secret and not to have eavesdropping on its communications. Those expectations were part of ordinary business ethics and morals of the market place, he said.

Freedom of expression was not an absolute right, it had to be qualified or we would have anarchy, Mr Kuper said.

Judgment was reserved.

The importance of the case is indicated by the fact that Chief Justice M M Corbett presided with a full bench of four other Appeal Court judges. They were Mr Justice van Heerden, Mr Justice Kumbleben, Mr Justice Goldstone and Mr Justice Howe.

Other members of the judiciary have expressed keen interest in the outcome.

The press has taken a few blows at the hands of our courts — for example, political parties were recently given the right to sue for defamation.

If this decision goes against the FM, the implications are serious. Companies which determine documents to be confidential would be able to apply for the courts to stop newspapers publishing details of them. Since much news comes to the media through confidential documents, this would cut off a primary source of information.

Private matters and public issues

There was also speculation that Mr Shill had hijacked control of Allied because men who supported his views had been voted on to the Allied board's executive committee, said Mr Levin.

The document, which was not marked confidential, set out Allied's view of the situation.

And, on the tapes, Mr Shill could be heard negotiating the sale of Sage's troubled US subsidiary.

The proposed FM article alleged that Sage was trying to persuade the Reserve Bank to give it a favourable

rate of exchange to do its deal, citing anti-South African sentiment as the reason for the US company's problems when that might not have been the only reason.

This was the kind of situation which affected not only Sage but the whole country's foreign reserves, Mr Levin said.

During the initial court hearing, the FM had told the judge that it would in due course be able to show that the article was not defamatory, alternatively that what it contained was true and in the public interest. In English

law, that would have been enough to defeat the request to gag the press.

Yet the FM was completely blocked from publishing the article.

Mr Levin submitted that the English approach, which recognised the potential dangers of restraining the press where issues of undoubted public interest were at stake, was the one that our courts should follow.

"Obviously, the press then publishes at its peril," he said, referring to a case where aggravated damages had been awarded because the

publication had not been able to prove the defence it had used to prevent the granting of an injunction.

It was also argued that Sage had breached an agreement which blocked it from identical information or confidential information Sage had, it was submitted, abandoned its rights in signing the agreement.

But Sage disputed the FM version of what the agreement meant. It could not have taken away the rights which the law gave, it argued, Mr Michael Kuper, SC, who

appeared for Sage, told the Appeal Court that, just as a person had the right to privacy, so a company had the right to be left alone.

If a company — which is an "artificial person" instead of a "natural person" — has a personality which can be defamed, there was no logical reason why a company should not also have the right to privacy, Mr Kuper said.

Although a company could not perform certain human functions, it would be illogical to distinguish between natural and non-natural persons when enforcing the

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Staal Burger gets interdict over bugging of office

By Michael Sparks

(243)

Former Civil Co-operation Bureau member Staal Burger has been granted an interim interdict against The Weekly Mail newspaper, after he found four men in the office next door to his recording his conversations

The men, private investigators hired by The Weekly Mail, had drilled a hole through his office's skirting board and inserted a micro-

phone, which was attached to a tape recorder

Mr Burger noticed the microphone, summoned a policeman, and together they burst in on the men in room 16 of the Breakers Hotel in Berea, Johannesburg. Two of the men were found in the bathroom with recording equipment

Yesterday the Rand Supreme Court granted a temporary interdict preventing The Weekly Mail from pub-

lishing any information it gained by bugging Mr Burger's office

In papers presented to the court Mr Burger, who once headed CCB operations in Johannesburg, said that on entering hotel room No 16 — adjoining his office — with a policeman, two men hired by The Weekly Mail were found in the bedroom

body from the inside was preventing me from opening the door. I then proceeded to shoulder open the door and found two further adult males in the bathroom

"After opening the bathroom door I noticed that one of the adult males had a tape recording device and certain wires concealed under his jacket," the affidavit stated

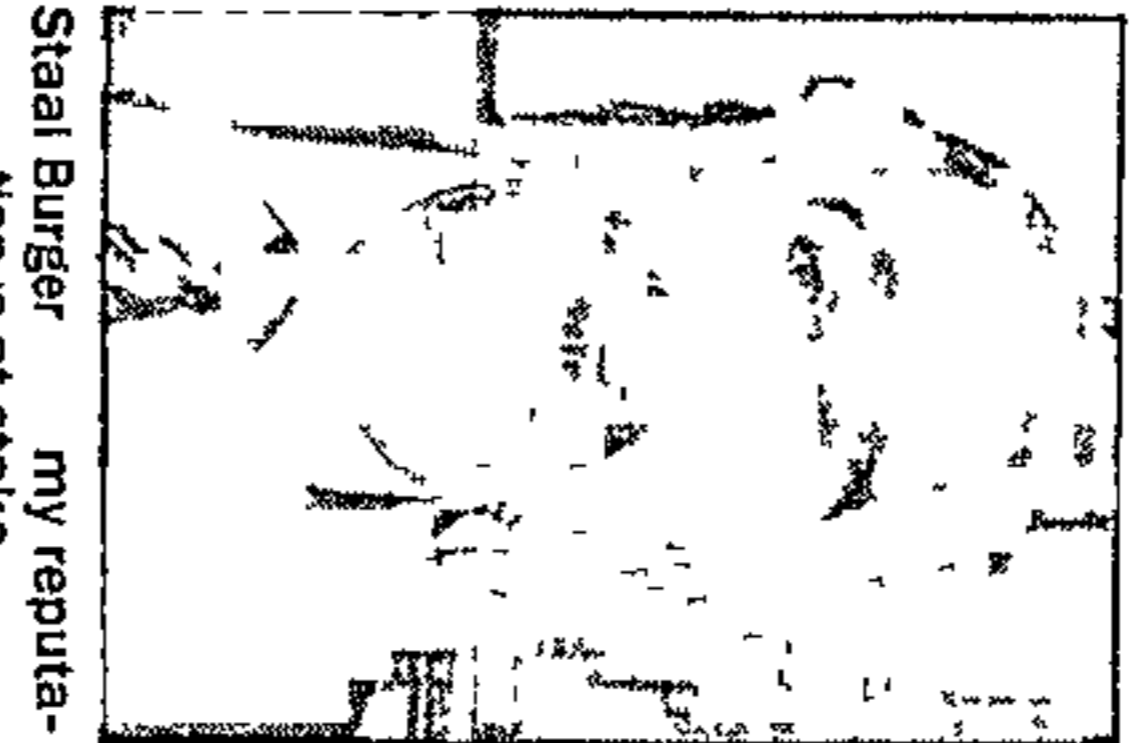
Mr Burger claimed that at a subsequent meeting between himself and Weekly Mail co-editor Aton Harber, with their lawyers present, "Harber openly admitted that it was he who instructed the private investigator to have me placed under surveillance and to intercept and record all discussions which took place in my office"

Mr Burger added "Instead of showing any remorse, Harber was arrogant and unrepentant for his unlawful activities"

Mr Justice C Plewman said "We are not dealing with what they may publish, but with what they may do to obtain their information"

The judge granted the interdict until September 22, when it will be heard

Giving his reasons for bringing the application, Mr Burger — whose name featured prominently when the existence of the CCB was first revealed — said he believed that his reputation would otherwise have suffered "irreparable harm"



Staal Burger my reputation is at stake

CCB man stops media 'spies'

CT 3/9/92 (243)

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Former policeman and CCB operative Mr Staal Burger obtained a court order against the Weekly Mail yesterday after discovering he was being spied on by a private investigator hired by the newspaper.

Mr Justice C Plewman granted an interim interdict in the Rand Supreme Court prohibiting Weekly Mail editor Mr Anton Harber and the newspaper's publishers, M & G Media, or their agents from placing Mr Burger under surveillance, intercepting and recording his discussions or tapping his telephone calls.

Mr Burger launched urgent court pro-

ceedings after discovering on Monday a monitoring and recording device leading from his office in a Berea hotel into an adjoining room.

In an affidavit Mr Burger said he and his legal representatives had met Mr Harber and his attorney on Tuesday.

Mr Harber had admitted responsibility for having Mr Burger placed under surveillance and instructing a private investigator to intercept and record all conversations which took place in his office at The Breakers Hotel.

Mr Burger said a hotel handyman on Monday discovered a small microphone in the skirting board of the office.

"I immediately contacted Colonel Earle of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Unit. He arranged for Major Landman to meet me at my office."

Mr Burger said he and Major Landman went to the adjoining room, where they found two men. Forcing open the closed bathroom door he found two other men.

One of them had a tape recording device and wires concealed under his jacket, Mr Burger said.

The men refused to identify themselves to Major Landman and were subsequently

To page 5

From page 1

CCB case

(243)

escorted away by detectives from Brixton.

It was discovered that the four were employed by a private investigator working for the Weekly Mail.

CT 3/9/92

Mr Burger said that at his meeting with Mr Harber and his attorney, Mr David Dison, neither Mr Dison nor Mr Harber had said the newspaper would desist with its conduct and Mr Harber had refused a request to furnish a written statement admitting his conduct.

He said Mr Harber's activities were "totally unlawful" and a "gross invasion" of his privacy. He had decided to obtain an interdict in view of Mr Harber's unrepentant and arrogant attitude.

He believed the surveillance was still going on.

Mr Burger said he also believed Mr Harber would publish whatever information had been obtained about him.

"Whatever right they may have to publish any of the information which they may have obtained by their unlawful activities cannot override my right to privacy," Mr Burger said.

The Weekly Mail has until September 20 to oppose the granting of a final interdict.

Former CCB man obtains order against

SUSAN RUSSELL

3/9/92

FORMER policeman and CCB operative Staal Burger obtained a court order against the Weekly Mail yesterday after discovering he was being spied on by a private investigator hired by the paper.

Judge C Plewman granted an interim interdiction in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday prohibiting Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber and the newspaper's publisher M & G Media (Pty) Ltd or their agents from placing Burger under surveillance, intercepting and recording his discussions or tapping his telephone calls.

Burger launched urgent court proceedings after his discovery on Monday of a monitoring and recording device leading

from his office in a Berea hotel into an adjoining room.

In an affidavit Burger said he and his legal representatives had met Harber and his attorney on Tuesday Harber had admitted responsibility for having Burger placed under surveillance and instructing a private investigator to intercept and record all conversations in his office at The Breakers Hotel.

Burger said a hotel handyman had found a small microphone in the skirting board of the office. It had been placed by boring a hole from the adjoining room.

He contacted the Brixton murder and robbery unit and he and a Maj Landman went to the adjoining room and found two men. Forcing open the bathroom door, Burger found two other men. One had a tape recording device and wires concealed under his jacket, Burger said.

The men refused to identify themselves and were escorted away by Brixton detectives. It was found that the four were employed by a private investigator working for the Weekly Mail.

Burger said he and his legal representatives met Harber and his attorney, David Dison. Dison openly admitted the Weekly Mail's involvement. Harber admitted that

it was he who had instructed the private investigator to have me placed under surveillance and to intercept and record all discussions which took place in my office."

Neither Dison nor Harber had said the newspaper would desist with its conduct, he said. Harber, Burger added, had refused a request to furnish a written statement admitting his conduct.

He said he had reason to believe surveillance activities were continuing.

"Whatever right they may have to publish information which they may have obtained by their unlawful activities cannot override my right to privacy," Burger said.

Paper bugged CCB chief's office 'in public interest'

243

ARG 4/9/92

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The Weekly Mail said today that it deliberately transgressed newspaper ethics by bugging the Hillbrow office of former Civil Co-operation Bureau regional boss Staal Burger because it felt it was in the public interest

In a front-page report, it said it had resorted to bugs because after several weeks of surveillance, "we believe that Burger is engaged in activities so disturbing as to be of overwhelming public interest"

"And the evidence could be obtained no other way"

The newspaper claimed it was probing allegations of police involvement in illegal activity and informa-

tion that former CCB members were involved in "privatised", "third force" types of destabilisation

Mr Burger was granted an interim interdict against the Weekly Mail this week, preventing it publishing information gained while bugging his offices. It was also restrained from keeping him under surveillance and taping his conversations

This came after he found four men, allegedly investigators hired by the newspaper, recording his conversations from a neighbouring office.

Police were unable to confirm reports that charges were being considered against at least four men following the discovery of the bugs

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ANC gets some new deadlines

PATRICK BULGER (243)

THE ANC has launched its own newspaper in the eastern Transvaal.

The Congress is edited in Nelspruit by ANC official Jackson Mthembu, who said it was not only a mouthpiece for the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP alliance, "but for those communities who are without water, those communities who have no vote, those communities who are under a constant threat from gangsters, the SAP and the SADF"

However, the newspaper also contains a mock voting form, featuring the ANC, AWB, Azapo and other parties as contenders

It notes. "As we are continuously breaking and rolling the skull of apartheid, let us build our branches into strong electoral constituencies. Our recruitment drive is not only aimed at increasing membership but canvassing more votes for victory."

HRC's Coleman says business must act 'to save its economy'

RAY HARTLEY

UNCONTROLLABLE violence and economic decline were pushing the government extremely close to conceding to majority rule, newly elected Human Rights Commission national chairman Max Coleman said last week

"They will only take the decision to agree to elections when the pain of holding on exceeds the pain of letting go," he said

Coleman said in an interview he believed business could play a vital role in ending the violence by putting pressure on government to accept majority rule

"The business community probably hold the key to the whole thing. It's their economy that is going down the drain"

He said government's planned conference of parties favouring federalism was a strategy designed to retain regional powers because they would not win a democratic election

A behind-the-scenes battle between the political and security arms

of government was inhibiting the state's ability to end violence, he said

He accused the security establishment and Inkatha of a campaign to destabilise the ANC and its allies to weaken their bargaining power at the negotiating table

Meanwhile, in a statement yesterday, the HRC defended itself against recent attacks on its impartiality by the SA Institute of Race Relations

As a human rights body, its brief had always been to disseminate information about the observance or violation of human rights by the "apartheid state"

"We agree then that our perspective is one of bias against apartheid," it said

"But it would be ludicrous to suggest the HRC has a need to invent or distort the human rights record of the apartheid state when the record is already so prolific in its detail"

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Transkei SA

focus on press freedom

DEMOCRACY IS more than a buzz word in South Africa

It is the common cry of every liberation movement and most of the political parties. Even the Nationalist Party, an arch-enemy of democracy for all those years, has taken it to heart.

It seems that to a man - and a woman - democracy is on our national lips. In spite of killings, necklacing, imprisonment and castigation, all manner of evil is done in its name.

But how does democracy work?

Consider this example. A group of students decides to be democratic in the way it runs the classes for which the students are enrolled. One student says he cannot, for domestic reasons, attend one particular class. The class says "Let us decide this democratically. Should our group allow him to miss a class?" The answer from the group is "No!"

Democracy? My foot! I could not help wondering what would have happened if the group had decided to shoot the poor student - or maybe flog him to death. If that is democracy, then anarchy is much better.

This is the saddest thing about the word today. It means what any person wants it to mean. The dictionary talks of "government by all the people, direct or representative, a form of society ignoring hereditary class distinctions and tolerating minority views."

This means, it seems, that every citizen has the right to hold an opinion, on any subject, at any time. He or she also has the right to change that opinion. And he or she also has the right to have that right respected by all his fellow citizens.

And that is where the press comes in, *Sowetan* in particular. It is a sad fact, but true, that *Sowetan* is the only daily newspaper in South Africa which strives to serve the interests of the black community. We make no bones about that. In fact, we are proud of it.

This makes us a doubly important player in the democratic stakes. Our readers - because of the ravages of apartheid over many years - have never lived in a democratic state.

They have spent all their lives being told what to do and how to behave. Their opinions have been ignored, their rights have been flouted.

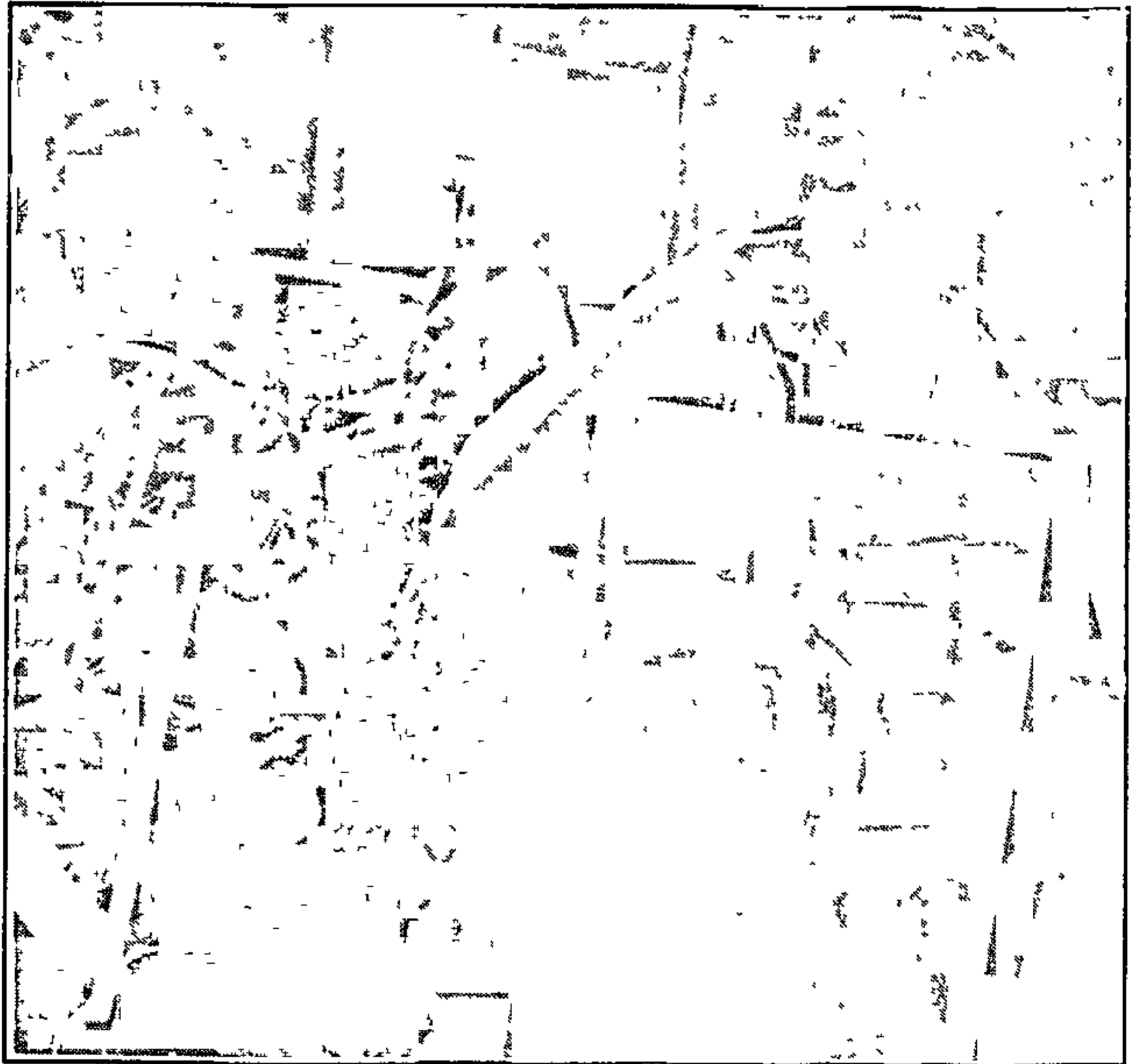
Now a new democratic age dawns, an age in which the opinions of the people will be heard and respected. *Sowetan* will have a very important role to play in publishing a wide variety of opinions, on every possible issue.

And that is why *Sowetan* is an independent newspaper. We are not aligned to any political party or any leader. We have a mind of our own. We support sensible and democratic policies and we reject those that are not in the interests of the people. We do not support any trade union, any language group, any creed, any religion.

Sowetan editor **Aggrey Klaaste** looks at democracy, how liberation movements interpret it and how it affects the Press, particularly the *Sowetan*.

Sowetan 7/9/92

243



A journalist in a demonstration for Press freedom.

But we give every opinion, every point of view, a chance to be heard. At least we try, in all ways humanly possible, to do so.

In this way we know we can be a powerful force for democracy in South Africa.

We can be and have been the forum for points of view to be expressed, debated, argued and assessed.

Conversely, if we were to support any party or any group we would be tied to their apron strings. We would be tied to their mistakes. And, most importantly, we would be denying all the other people their right to express their point of view.

Of course we make mistakes and people criticise us for that. But the amazing thing is that almost everyone criticises us. And we like that, because it means that at least we are being fair to most of the people most of the time. And it means that we are advancing the cause of democracy.

So remember, an attack on the Press or on your newspaper is no more than an attack on your right to know and your democratic right to express your opinion.

Sowetan stands by your democratic right of free expression. We hope you stand for the right of a free Press. Because you cannot have one without the other.

NEWS IN BRIEF

BIDAY 8/9/92 (243) (183)
Caxton buys two Natal titles

CAXTON Newspapers has bought two Natal newspapers, Midland Observer and Estcourt News. Caxton GM Bruce Sturgeon said the two papers would be merged into the Estcourt and Midland News. Caxton also publishes the Ladysmith Gazette and Newcastle Advertiser in the central Natal area.

I took pictures in prison - photographer

By David Katz

A senior Weekly Mail photographer appearing in the Randburg Magistrate's Court yesterday changed his plea and pleaded guilty to taking photographs in a prison without permission

Kevin Carter appeared with Weekly Mail trainee reporter Graham Harvey and former SA Prisoners' Organisation for Human Rights general-secretary Robert Lombard.

All three were charged under the Prisons Act with unlawfully entering a prison, talking to and photographing a

prisoner without permission, taking pictures within a prison without permission and trespassing at the Leeuwkop prison near Johannesburg

The accused initially pleaded not guilty to all charges, but the lawyer for the accused, David Dyson, told the court that Carter had changed his plea on taking photographs within a prison to guilty. Magistrate SP Bezuidenhout accepted the changed plea and dismissed the same charge against Harvey and Mr Lombard.

The State also withdrew a

charge of taking pictures of a prisoner without permission

Commanding officer of Leeuwkop prison Brigadier John Harding told the court that on July 23 the three accused were found parked next to the logistics centre of the prison without the necessary authorisation.

Mr Dyson argued that the accused had been granted permission to enter the prison by the guard at the east gate.

Carter told the court that he had gone to the prison with Harvey and Mr Lombard to investigate allegations that

prisoners were making weapons in the prison workshop that were then transported to Witwatersrand hostels

His assignment had been to take pictures of the workshop and to photograph a shooting range at the prison allegedly used by uniformed AWB members, he said

The Weekly Mail had faxed a request to the Department of Correctional Services headquarters requesting it to conduct a spot check of the premises, Carter said

The trial was held over until tomorrow

STAR

8/9/92

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Qwelane, new
Tribute editor

JOHANNESBURG. —
Controversial journalist
Jon Qwelane, 40, has
been appointed editor of
the upmarket Tribute
magazine, but he will
continue his oft-barbed
column Just Jon in the
Sunday Star (213)

"We believe he is one
of the top 10 journalists
in the country. He fits
the image of the maga-
zine and is able to do jus-
tice to (its) image,"
Penta Publications said
yesterday. — Sapa

Court sequel to shooting of journalists

Weekly Mail Reporter ²⁴³ ~~243~~
WASHINGTON POST journalist Paul Taylor
yesterday testified how he and the political edi-
tor of *The Weekly Mail*, Phillip van Niekerk, nar-
rowly escaped death after being shot at point-
blank range with a pistol while covering a stay-
away. *W/Mail 119-17/9/92*

Appearing in the Vanderbijlpark Regional
Court as a sequel to the incident, which occurred
on August 3, were Simon Sithetho (23), Alfred
Mathipane (19), Enoch Malloane (23) and
Simon Domo (18). The four pleaded not guilty
to two counts of attempted murder and charges
of robbery.

Taylor told the court he was ordered out of the
car in which the two journalists were travelling
by a gun-toting youth, who told him to hand over
everything he had

As a result, he testified, Van Niekerk was
robbed of R50. Taylor said one of their assailants
had used abusive language and questioned their
presence in Evaton township.

Taylor said he was about to hand over his wal-
let to the youth when events took a disturbing
turn, with the sudden sound of gunfire. He then
saw Van Niekerk lying on the ground with blood
all over his face. A bullet had gone through the
side of his right temple and out below his left ear.
Taylor was wounded in the chest.

Magistrate FW Strydom postponed the case to
September 25 because several witnesses failed
to appear in court.

THE WEEKLY MAIL

FM 11/9/92

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government consider a 10% levy on imported printwork to compensate printers and publishers for the higher costs it is imposing on these industries "Our overseas competitors will benefit from the new 10% tariff"

Magazine Publishers' Association chairman Danie Krynauw says the 10% levy is a revenue-gathering exercise by a cash-strapped government. Trade & Industry Minister Derek Keys, who was ultimately responsible for the tariff decision, also wears the Finance Minister hat, which may have clouded his judgment.

"The 10% levy on lightweight coated papers means we will have to pay a tariff on papers not even made in SA. With roughly 30 000 t imported each year at an average cost of R3 000/t, the 10% levy means the industry will have to add R9m to its annual R90m import bill — not to protect local industry, but merely to fill the State's coffers."

Neither Sappi CE Ian Heron nor Mondi chairman Tony Trahar were available for comment this week, but some of their customers are highly upset.

"My concern is that the quality of the product Mondi makes for the local magazine market (litho-gloss) has never been close to that of the imported product," says Caxton MD Terry Moolman. "While imported magazine paper allows a non-stop eight-hour production run of 400 000 magazines, the local product is of such an inferior quality that it forces almost hourly stoppages to clean the machines."

The packaging industry raises similar objections to a new 10% tariff on solid bleached sulphate board imports used in the food, cosmetics and pharmaceutical industries (the product is not made in SA). Tetrapak Liquid Packaging MD Richard Tonkin says it is "a complete anomaly" to charge a 10% duty on imported uncoated base board used in liquid packaging. Value is added locally by coating the paper, but coated board can still be imported tariff-free.

"Why pay duty on the product when you add value locally, while the finished, coated product can still be imported tariff-free?" queries Tonkin.

Board on Tariffs & Trade deputy chairman Helgaard Muller says the board's aim was to simplify the previous complex system. "The result may be that some will pay more, but others less." But, he admits, the board expects the State's total tariff revenue from the industry will be slightly higher than before.

"In the medium to longer term, we want to reduce tariffs. But we await Keys's new industrial policy before this can start," Muller says.

PAPER TARIFFS

~~243~~ 243

Bad news for publishers

FM 11/9/92

After more than two years of study, government finally ruled on paper tariffs last week. It cleverly left newsprint imports tariff-free, but with a new 10% tariff on most magazine papers, it made sure that journal publishers would be unhappy.

"I'm disappointed and frustrated, this move will lead to inflation in the industry," says Newspaper Press Union chairman and Nasionale Pers MD Ton Vosloo. He suggests

Bugged by a question of ethics

11/9 - 17/9 1992
The Weekly Mail's ethics have been questioned in a Prisons Act trial of its journalists. By **JACQUIE GOLDING**

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223
233

THE Weekly Mail's bugging of the office of the former Civil Co-operation Bureau chief, Sjaal Burger, reared its head in a different case at the Randburg Magistrate's Court earlier this week.

Weekly Mail chief photographer Kevin Carter, trainee reporter Graham Harvey and Robert Lombard, secretary-general of the South African Prisoners' Organisation for Human Rights, were appearing on charges of trespassing under the Prisons Act. The charges included unlawfully entering the prison complex without permission, communicating with a prisoner and photographing the prison building without the permission of Brigadier John Harding or the commissioner of prisons.

The Weekly Mail team entered the premises of Leeuwkop Prison in Kyalami on July 23 to investigate allegations that prisoners were forced by wardens to manufacture weapons in the prison workshops, allegedly for transport to hostels in the Vaal region.

It had also been alleged that Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging members were using the prison shooting range for target practice.

During cross-examination, prosecutor Shaun Mulligan questioned Carter on the ethics of journalism, referring to the Sunday Times editorial of September 6, which branded the bugging of Burger as "unethical" and as a breach of "the highest code of journalistic practice".

Carter said he did not regard the Sunday Times editorial as a reflection of the newspaper's entire staff. "It is the opinion of the editor and not that of his reporters," he said.

"It is ironic that in the same issue of the Sunday Times, the front page story included a private letter 'leaked' to them involving Winnie Mandela and Dali Mpofo. The publicising of

such a letter could also be regarded as unethical," he added.

Mulligan argued that the "unlawfulness of a newspaper is judged by the community".

The question of ethics does not affect this case of lawful or unlawful entry into the prison complex," he said.

Earlier in the week, Sergeant J.L. Letsiba, who was guarding the east gate of the prison when the Weekly Mail team sought the question of whether the WM was highly regarded by other newspapers was "hearsay opinion".

The question of ethics does not affect this case of lawful or unlawful entry into the prison complex," he said.

Earlier in the week, Sergeant J.L. Letsiba, who was guarding the east gate of the prison when the Weekly Mail team sought the question of whether the WM was highly regarded by other newspapers was "hearsay opinion".

tration of The Weekly Mail's car was undermined Letsiba conceded that a Colonel van Zyl took the form after The Weekly Mail team was arrested.

Lombard testified that he and the investigative team had parked opposite the workshop to wait for a response to a fax sent by The Weekly Mail to the Department of Correctional Services stating the alle-

Calling all dreamers.



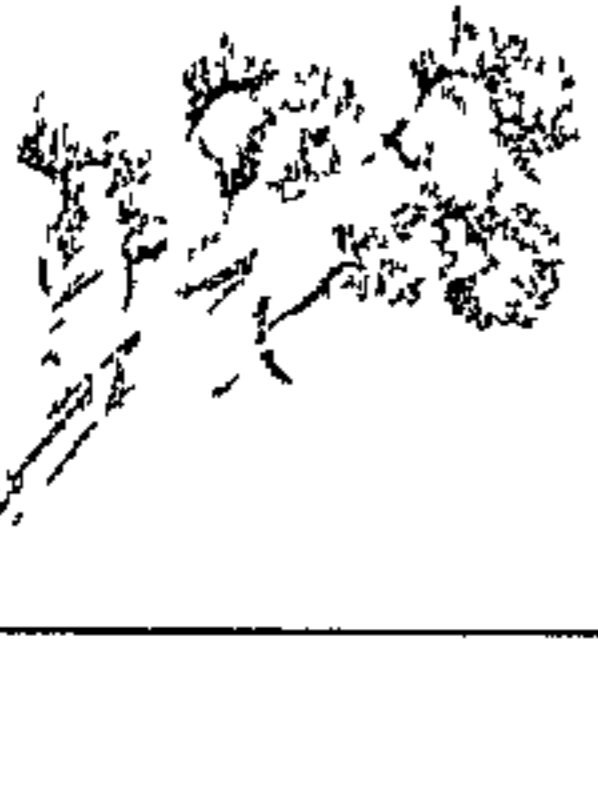
Do you dream of unspoilt, sundrenched beaches, as far as the eye can see? Of pristine white sands dotted with palms?



Do you dream of the bluest of seas, warm with the Indian Ocean current and laden with blue marlin and coral reef teeming with exotic tropical fish?



Do you dream of snow-capped bold peaks, majestic above the high savannah? Of four-wheel safaris through the tall



grassland... with cheetah and lion just alongside?



Forging the Moscow connection

STAN 12/9/92

A NEW newspaper for businessmen has arrived in Johannesburg. But it is a newspaper with a difference. Called New Bridge, it twins a similar publication in Moscow which aims to increase and assist business contacts between South African and Russian businessmen.

According to local representative Helen Koulik — who also files stories on art for Tass and is married to Tass southern Africa correspondent Sergei Koulik — the monthly publication is already in its third edition.

"It was initially launched in Moscow with Leonid Shinkarev as editor and is funded by the Russian Diamond and Gold Corporation and the Moscow-based



FROM RUSSIA: Helen Koulik represents New Bridge in Johannesburg
●Photograph: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

Society of Cape of Good Hope, and is supported by the Moscow Stock Exchange.

"It aims to bring South African and Rus-

sian businessmen closer," she says.

The sister Russian-language newspaper published in Moscow obviously promotes South African events and stories while New Bridge, published in English, enlightens local businessmen about business-related events and news in Russia.

The A3 16-page paper will carry advertising

from all companies interested in reaching the Russian market.

The Russian-language newspaper has a circulation of 120 000 while the local version is aiming for a circulation of around 10 000, Koulik says.

Its annual subscription will be US \$50 (R140) and it is planning to go weekly from January next year, Koulik says.

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~~243~~

Tucked away in the basement of a Bre Street building are the offices of the Afrikaans community magazine, Ons Leer Mekaar. This project may be unimportant to the dwellers of Cape Town, but it has profound meaning to many rural communities and literacy organisations. The magazine is one of a few accessible sources of information for marginalised Afrikaans-speaking communities in rural areas. It is also the only regular publication that is appropriate for Afrikaans first-language adult literacy teaching.

Over the past five years Ons Leer Mekaar has grown from a modest and cheaply produced pamphlet to an easy reading magazine. Little did the literacy workers who launched Ons Leer Mekaar in 1987 know what would become of their humble attempt at producing material relevant to the lives of adult literacy learners. Initially they formed a voluntary organisation called the Samewerkingsgroep vir Afrikaanse Geletterdheid (SAG) and produced Ons Leer Mekaar twice a year.

According to Dawie Bosch, one of the founding members, they soon realised that more people than just literacy learners could benefit from Ons Leer Mekaar. To accommodate the growth of the publication, SAG was restructured in 1990 into an editorial collective and development workers outside the literacy field became involved. A coordinator was employed and the magazine was produced bi-monthly.

"The restructuring of SAG into an editorial collective made it possible for Ons Leer Mekaar to become more of a popular rural magazine, while retaining the essential function of a developmental and literacy tool", says Bosch.

Popular culture

Paging through one of the latest issues of the magazine, it becomes clear that the editorial collective — working closely with the communities it serves — now largely succeeds in reflecting aspects of a popular rural culture in the magazine, stretching from the Karoo to as far as Upington and Namakwaland.

But the strongest impact of the magazine is in terms of its rural development and literacy work. In the August/September issue, for instance, it focused on the new rights granted to farm workers through the Basic Conditions of Employment and Unemployment Insurance Acts, the prospects of development in the Karoo and the educational needs of rural areas.

A very important aspect of Ons Leer Mekaar's work

From left: Douglas Wagenstroom, Christoff Oosthuizen and Simone Noemdoe of Ons Leer Mekaar

Magazine for rural reading

South 129-16/9/92
is the production of literacy exercises for Afrikaans first-language literacy groups. These exercises are produced in conjunction with literacy workers and inserted as a supplement to the magazine. The exercises are based on articles in the magazine.

The recently appointed editor, Christoff Oosthuizen, argues that the magazine still needs some fine tuning and that they should learn from the success of popular mainstream magazines.

He says "Die Husgenoot and You sell 700 000 copies because they successfully project themselves into the lives of ordinary South African people. Their shortfall, though, is that they reflect only the sensational and TV dominated culture." What Ons Leer Mekaar attempts to do, according to Oosthuizen, is to present an alternative to the imposed American norms, "pushed down people's throats through the mainstream media." "We try to reflect the culture of disempowered rural people and highlight the institutions important to their upliftment," he says. To do this Ons Leer Mekaar runs a regular vervolgerhaal, fills its let-

ter pages and provide hints on every day problems. And it also writes about the church, local government, community struggles and national politics.

Many of these articles are written by people from rural communities. A training programme is currently being developed with the aim of creating a pool of skilled correspondents who will be able to write about their communities. About 15 correspondents will take part in this training programme.

The design of the magazine is geared towards new readers. Simone Noemdoe, the production coordinator, says that through "the design of the magazine we would like to entice the communities we serve to read and ensure that they stay up to date with what is happening around them."

"We also want to encourage everyone to start reading and instill in them the need to want to be informed," she says.

About a year ago, the collective initiated its own distribution network with the aim of covering the whole of the Cape Province. Community sellers from

rural towns are recruited to sell the magazine and in return they receive a commission. According to reports from sellers, an average of eight people share each magazine. This means that about 20 000 people are currently reached, a figure which the collective wants to push up to more than 30 000 by the end of 1992.

Recognition

To keep the magazine within reach of the average rural person, the cover price is heavily subsidised. Consequently, the magazine is dependent on donations from agencies supporting the aims of rural development and erasing illiteracy. But, with the changing political situation in South Africa, funding agencies have redefined their priorities and are not as keen to donate money to media projects.

Lida van der Merwe, chairperson of the collective, explains what problems they face in this regard. "Donors do not see media as a priority — something we cannot agree with. At this juncture informed debate on development issues and our political future is crucial. The availability of accessible information is therefore even more important than ever. Donors and large companies should recognise this and support projects like Ons Leer Mekaar which contribute to the development of marginalised communities. This magazine is the only accessible resource regularly reaching rural Afrikaans-speaking communities across the Cape Province and it should be recognised for that."

Resource for rural Afrikaans speakers

John Schuurman works as a human resources developer on a Ceres farm and is active in the local community. In this interview he shares his views on the impact of Ons Leer Mekaar on rural towns.

Do rural people find Ons Leer Mekaar useful and do they enjoy reading the magazine?

It is a joy reading Ons Leer Mekaar because it is in Afrikaans, the mother-tongue of most rural communities in the Cape Province. The articles are very topical, educational and written in such a manner that everyone can understand it with ease.

You work on a farm, communicating with the workers. How do they experience Ons Leer Mekaar?

Many farm workers who read the magazine for the first time find it as an eye opener. It is often their first encounter with information about their rights and they are motivated through reading about the struggles of other people. It is encouraging to them to read how others have overcome their problems under apartheid.

How does Ons Leer Mekaar help the people of Ceres and other rural communities?

Ons Leer Mekaar is the only progressive magazine available to us. It provides a counter for the Nationalist Afrikaans media. Through this magazine it is possible for our people to read about happenings and news that will never reach the pages of the Rapport, Die Burger and the SABC.

I know of cases in other towns where the participation in civic meetings improved after people read some of the articles in Ons Leer Mekaar. People understand the issues better and become more aware of the role they have to play.

People need to know about the political changes and they must be informed to be able to make sound choices in future elections. In the long term Ons Leer Mekaar should continue to be a tool for the education and development of rural communities. Something which will need attention for a long time still, even in the new South Africa.

Durban weekly fights on

By Chiara Carter

(243)

South 1919-2319192
New African co-editor Mr

THE DURBAN-based independent newspaper *New African* hits the streets next week as a monthly rather than weekly publication. But despite a funding crisis and a R1-million defamation suit, the paper is not about to close.

Ricky Naidoo said the paper had been forced to operate on a shoe-string budget after the European Community cut off funds more than two years ago.

He said the paper was being revamped in order to expand sales and revenue.

The decision to appear as a monthly until the end of the

year would allow staff to devote more energy to planning the new-look publication.

Meanwhile, the paper is facing a R1-million defamation suit from Mr Sipwe Mvuyane, a KwaZulu policeman whom it linked to a series of atrocities in the greater Durban area.

Naidoo says that he has been informed that *New African* is also to be sued by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Papers have been served on his distributors.

Water shortage threat to four power stations

S (Times) (BUS) 20/9/92.

By DON ROBERTSON

THE possibility of water shortages at four Highveld power stations has forced Eskom and the Department of Water Affairs to rush ahead with a R60-million pipeline to serve the drought-stricken Kangwane area

Construction of the 42km pipeline, financed by Eskom, will link the Usutu and Komati Government water schemes. It is hoped that it will avoid any water shortage at the power stations.

The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry says the normally reliable Komati River which flows through SA, Swaziland and Kangwane, has run dry.

To meet the needs of people in the Tonga area of Kangwane water was released from the Vygeboom Dam in June and July.

The dam was built to sup-

ply the Arnot, Hendrina, Duvha and Komati power stations. Should further releases be needed, "it could have serious implications for electricity supply which could have serious socio-implications for the country," says the department.

The four power stations supply 8 700mW of electricity.

Work started on the pipeline at the beginning of this month and will be completed by March 1993.

Rains

The pipeline will carry 2 300 litres of water a second from the Jericho Dam at Camden power station across the divide to the Komati system near Breyton.

It will then be delivered to the Boesman Spruit, from where it will flow to the Nootgedacht Dam upstream of Vygeboom.

Ian Tudhope, technical consultant for fuel and water at Eskom, says rains in October are essential.

"I hope we will not have to release more water from the Vygeboom Dam, but we might have to before the pipeline is completed."

Although water can be carried to the power stations, its quality is a problem.

The department says that although water shortages at the power stations are unlikely, the threat cannot be ignored.

Sell-out for ANC

THE ANC is spending R10 000 a month on its first newspaper, The Congress, a monthly in the Eastern Transvaal area.

Editor Jackson Nthembu says all 10 000 copies (at 30c each) printed for the first issue were sold 20/9/92.

"The first issue only had four pages and the next issue — due out at the end of September — will have eight. For the rest of this year we will publish monthly, going fortnightly in January and weekly from March-April."



5702 2219192

Bugging: Mail decides not to fight interdict

The Weekly Mail has dropped its defence against a court order brought by a former security policeman who it had "bugged" with a secret listening device.

The paper paid private investigators to eavesdrop on Staal Burger, a former agent of the Civil Co-operation Bureau

Mr Burger obtained a court interdict prohibiting the Weekly Mail from publishing the information it obtained through the bug. (43)

Editor Anton Harber said yesterday "Our lawyers have advised us we would do better to spend our resources on the investigation, rather than fighting the interdict" — Sapa-Reuter

Perskor ordered to reinstate workers

DURBAN — Publishing giant Perskor has been ordered to reinstate 300 workers it dismissed four years ago. They are all members of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa. The order was handed down by

the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein after a four-year legal battle between the company and the union. *ET 22/9/92*

The order, which requires that all dismissed employees be reinstated and receive wages owing

to them, is expected to cost the company millions of rands.

The workers were part of a group which went on strike over wages soon after the company and Myasa signed an agreement in 1988. *(243)*

Mail drops

'bug' defence

JOHANNESBURG.

The Weekly Mail yesterday dropped its defence against a court order brought by a former security policeman Mr Staal Burger whom it had "bugged".

The paper paid private investigators to eavesdrop on Mr Burger who obtained a court interdict prohibiting the Mail from publishing the information it obtained.

Mail drops defence (243)

"THE Weekly Mail yesterday dropped its defence against a court order brought by a former security policeman who it had "bugged" *SIDAM 22/9/92*
Former CCB agent Staal Burger obtained an interdict prohibiting the Weekly Mail from publishing any of the information it obtained through the bug

Newspaper freedom

DRAFT legislation to remove the last vestiges of a legislative threat which hung over newspapers like a "sword of Damocles" was published on Thursday (243)

The Department of Home Affairs' chief legal officer Attie Tredoux said the Registration of Newspapers Amendment Bill, would finally remove the threat of a 1982 Act to set up a Government-approved disciplinary body to which all newspapers had to belong to on pain of deregistration - Sapa

Journal 25/9/92

Threat to newspapers on way out

CAPE TOWN — Draft legislation to remove the last vestiges of a legislative threat which hung over newspapers like a "sword of Damocles" was published yesterday.

The Department of Home Affairs' chief legal officer, Attie Tredoux, said the Registration of Newspapers Amendment

Bill would finally remove the threat of a 1982 Act to set up a Government-approved disciplinary body to which all newspapers had to belong on pain of deregistration.

He said the provision had in fact never been put into operation, because agreement was

reached between the Government and media representatives that the Media Council be set up instead.

"The effect of the Bill is to withdraw the sword of Damocles that has hung over the head of the newspaper industry since 1982," said Mr Tredoux. — Sapa

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**Threat to press
finally removed**

DRAFT legislation to remove the last vestiges of a legislative threat to newspapers was published yesterday.

The Department of Home Affairs' chief legal officer, Mr Attie Tredoux, said the Registration of Newspapers Amendment Bill would finally remove the threat of a 1982 act to set up a government-approved disciplinary body for all newspapers. Sapa

ET 25/9/92

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Groups to discuss freedom of Press

■ Seminar will keep alive the memory of intolerance:

By Joe Mdhlela

A PRESS seminar to mark the dark and cloudy day when the Government closed several newspapers takes place at the Vista University, Soweto campus, on October 19

On this day the late Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, closed *The World*, *Weekend World* and a host of other publications because they dared say things he and his Government did not want to hear. *Sowetan* 25/9/92.

Broken structures

Lest this day be forgotten, *Sowetan* has decided to slot it into its annual National Building campaign to remind all and sundry of the importance of Press Freedom

The Editor of *Sowetan*, Mr Aggrey Klaaste, insists that such days are part of the programme to put in place the broken structures of our society

On this day, liberation movements and political parties will say their piece

and give an analysis of their perception of Press Freedom and its indivisibility

Trade unions and their federations will also be on the platform

Red-letter day

Political organisations earmarked for this red-letter day include the Azanian Peoples' Organisation, African National Congress, Pan Africanists Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party

Some of the union federations expected to grace this day include the Congress of South African Trade Unions and National Council of Trade Unions

The theme, Press Freedom From Your Political Party's Viewpoint and the Vision of the Future South Africa, will surely point out as many divergent views as there are political organisations

● Convenor Mr Sydney Matlhaku invites those keen to attend to contact him at (011) 474-0128.

26 1972
**Photographers
fight subpoena**

VANDERBILJPARK
An inquiry against two newspaper photographers under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act was yesterday postponed in the Magistrate's Court here. The postponement was granted in order to bring an application in the Supreme Court to set aside a subpoena issued to Mr Joao Silva, of the Star and Mr Guy Adams of the Weekly Mail. The subpoena was issued by the police for film shot at the Boipatong massacre funeral.

SA support for

A TEENAGER in the Sun computer her city Brando convicted van Zyl has a floor, a top this year Long Street He was Zyl's wedding Passing

Wor for

A WOMAN went a nine year



Trend shows shift to multicultural media

MEDIA of the future will have to be multicultural, judging by significant shifts in black media consumption and crossovers to traditionally white media types, says Bernstein Loxton Golding & Klein deputy media director Erna Storm

Amps figures on black media consumption showed there was a large increase in TV viewership. While white, coloured and Asian viewership grew by only 6% in the 1990/1991 Amps diary, black viewership grew by a significant 46%. Storm said there had also been a significant rise in readership of English magazines. More blacks were reading newspapers and most of the traditionally white English newspapers had a black readership of between 37% and 68%.

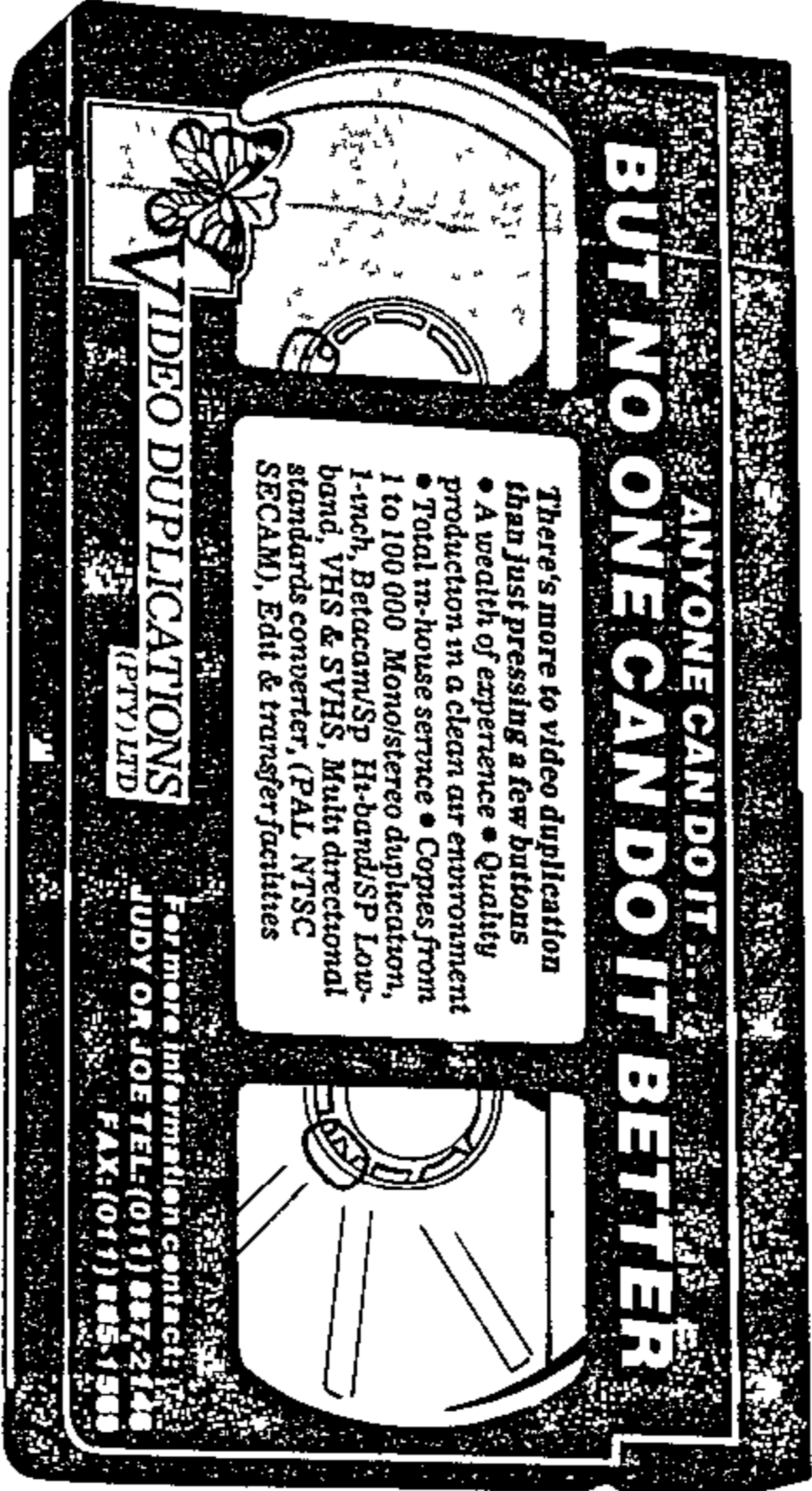
These statistics had some important effects on marketing. "Used tactically, the above overflow can be a very useful tool to expose the more economically active blacks to a campaign at no extra cost," Storm said. He added that radio remained culture bound.

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BBC to apply for FM licence

THE BBC's Africa service would apply for an SA FM licence within three weeks, BBC head of African services Dorothy Williams said last week.

Williams, in SA to investigate opportunities for BBC Radio and to attend a seminar on the future of broadcasting, said she had explored South Africans' attitudes towards the BBC and had decided it was viable to apply for a licence.

Williams said the BBC broadcast to the whole of Africa and had big audiences in many countries, but "we were never really able to have access to South Africans", as the medium-wave signal could be received only at certain times. In addition, SA listeners had "an FM habit".

She said the BBC hoped for a listenership of between 5% and 10% of the population. The African Service would open an office in SA on November 1.

Moral dilemma when crime pays

STAR 1/10/92.

(243)

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(244)

MOST people would agree that there is little justice in a callous murderer not only being released after serving a mere three years of a life sentence, but being paid handsomely for his story

Freed mass murderer Barend Strydom is being paid an undisclosed sum of money — probably more than R100 000 — by the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport for his exclusive tale

Despite numerous attempts by The Star to reach Rapport editor-in-chief Izak de Villiers for comment yesterday, no calls were returned. He told Sapa, however, that murderers had been paid for their stories in the past — and would be paid in the future

Asked whether he was happy with the practice, he said "It's not a matter of me being happy or unhappy, and I prefer not to discuss the matter further"

Although Mr Strydom is legally entitled to sell his story, media lawyers believe there is a loophole in the Prisons Act which needs to be covered to prevent criminals released on parole, such as Mr Strydom, from being rewarded for their stories

And although there is no media code of conduct stopping newspapers from striking such a deal in a case like Mr Strydom's, the SA Union of Journalists (SAUJ) plans to set up ethics committees to address this kind of dilemma

Most lawyers and journalists agree it is immoral when the crimes of killers like Mr Strydom become lucrative assets while their innocent victims often struggle without compensation.

For instance, one of Mr Strydom's victims, Geelbooi Mabena, who was crippled from the waist down, is battling on a disability grant of R500 after formerly earning a monthly salary of R700

University of South Africa Professor Koos Roelofse told

Cheque-book journalism has raised its ugly head again with a newspaper's payment to mass murderer Barend Strydom (below) for his gory tale. How does one address such an issue without stripping a free man of his rights and without censoring the media?
HELEN GRANGE reports.



Sapa he felt "cheque-book journalism" should be used only as a last resort to obtain information in the public interest. In Rapport's case, the deal had been struck to boost the newspaper's circulation and revenue. "Rapport will boost Strydom's image and give him celebrity status. This is dangerous because there is a public perception that murderers are not being punished," he said

Despite this state of affairs, however, justice has on occasion managed to see the light

Britain's Yorkshire Ripper, Peter Sutcliffe, who killed 13 women and is serving a life sentence, was sued successfully for damages by his youngest victim's mother

Sutcliffe, who made a small

fortune from publicising his story, was compelled to pay a large chunk of the proceeds of the sale of his house to the woman

At home, in the case of scissor murderer Marlene Lehnberg, a Republican Press deal involving payment of about R50 000 for the autobiography she had written in her cell was scuppered when the Prisons Act was amended in 1977 to stop prisoners from writing for financial gain

But as the Prisons Act only prevents remuneration or benefit for a prisoner's crime stories, prisoners who are released, even on parole, escape this constraint

This meant that when Miss Lehnberg was released after

serving seven years of her 20-year jail sentence for murdering her lover's wife, she immediately sold her story for R120 000

At the time, London's Observer newspaper spoke out against a "bitterly unjust" situation whereby an "innocent human was brutally murdered and, as the victim, her family gets nothing"

Mr Strydom has also been freed to earn from his crimes in this way, and in addition, does not have to fear being sued for compensation

South African law stipulates that compensation must be sought within a period of three years of being found guilty of the crime (Mr Strydom was judged and sentenced in May 1989)

Rapport also escapes on a technicality. According to the code of conduct of the SA Media Council, "no payment shall be made for feature articles or programmes to persons engaged in crime or other notorious misbehaviour"

This covers only criminals who are known to be continuing criminal activity, and hence journalists' concern over ethics in a case like Mr Strydom's

SAUJ general secretary Karen Stander said the situation was problematic and that regional ethics committees were in the pipeline

"We think it would be extremely unfortunate if cheque-book journalism became widespread in South Africa, not only because of the ethics question but because exclusivity of information limits diversity of opinion," she said

In Britain, several newspapers have been roundly criticised by the former British Press Council for making payments to criminals

In one instance, a newspaper was condemned for paying for the confessions of a woman whose activities contributed to the downfall of a Cabinet Minister □

Trust fund for independents

STAR

3/10/92

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MANDY JEAN WOODS

NEGOTIATIONS are underway between the three largest media groups in South Africa and several independent newspapers to establish a special trust fund to be used to financially assist independent newspapers.

News of these secret talks, which have been going on for several months, was first hinted at by outgoing Newspaper Press Union (NPU) president and Nasionale Pers chairman Ton Vosloo during a speech in Swaziland at the NPU annual conference this week.

Since foreign funding for independent newspapers such as New Nation, South and Vrye Weekblad dried up in the middle of last year (with the exception of a little allocated for on-the-job training), alternative sources of funding have been sought.

Foreign donors, such as the European Community and various media trusts in Holland and Sweden are being asked to make one final donation — to the proposed trust — to which the local media groups (Argus, Times Media and Nasionale) will also make a contribution.

This money will then be used as seed capital to fund independent media (mainly newspapers) to get them up and running.

Already a joint business plan incorporating Vrye Weekblad and New Nation (who will continue to operate as separate newspapers) has been presented to the media groups for discussion.

VryeWeekblad editor Max du



PRESS FREEDOM: Financial independence the key, says Ton Vosloo.

Preez this week welcomed the interest shown by the press groups in setting up a trust fund of this sort which would ensure the survival of a diversity of opinions in South Africa.

"There is no doubt this will help level the playing fields and help independent newspapers become viable businesses," he said. "Allocations from the fund should be done strictly on business principles and should be a one-off kind of loan. I see it as being a short-term thing, not subsidies for the rest of our lives."

Du Preez and Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harber both praised the move saying it was a sign that the weekly independent newspapers and the mainstream press had buried the hatchet of competition.

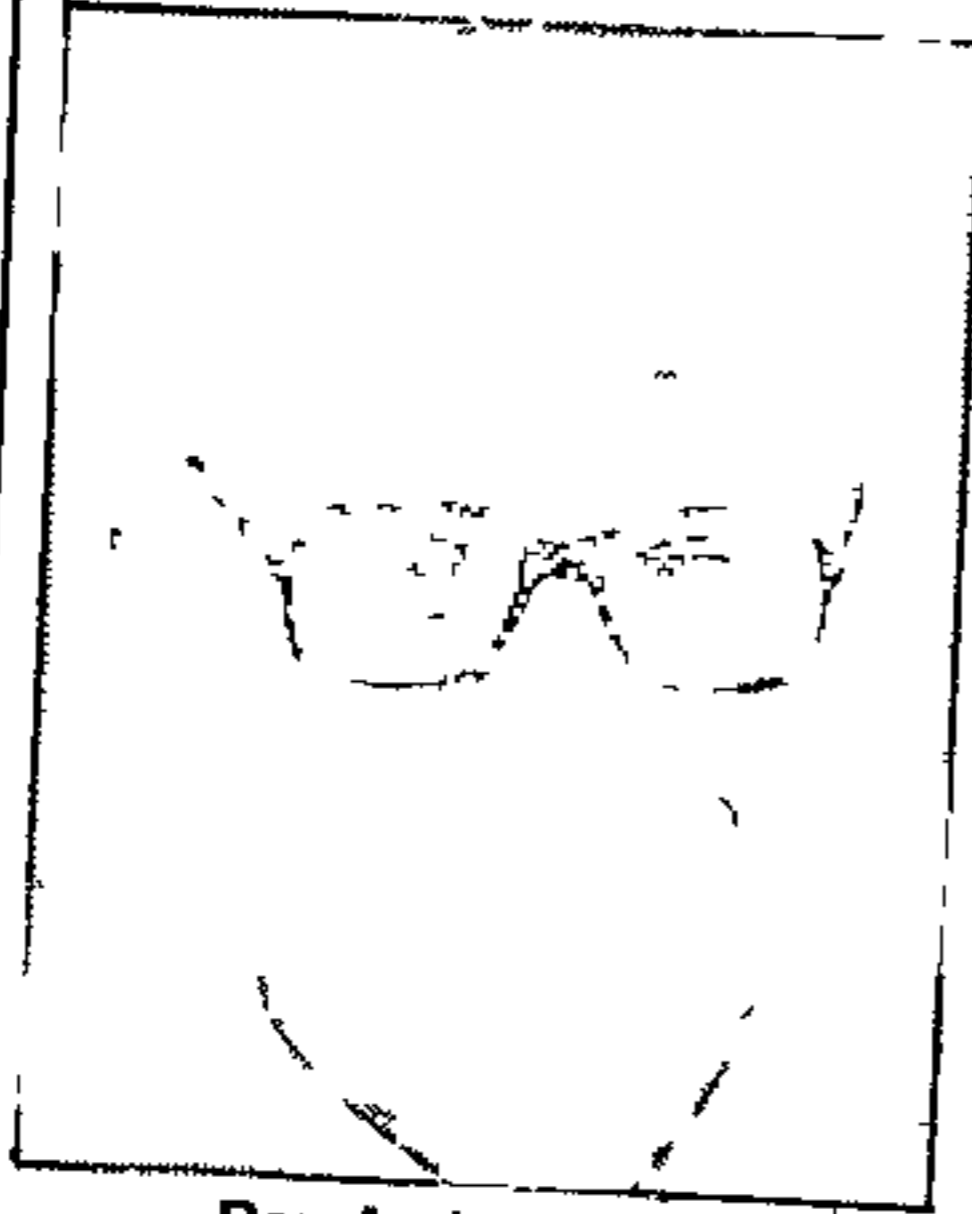
"There has been a vast improvement in the relationships between the mainstream media groups and the independents. This is only the beginning. Now we have to talk about relationships and joint ventures and so on," Du Preez said.

"It is a significant and valuable start to addressing the need to level the playing field and to aid media diversity," Harber said. "Fortunately, the Weekly Mail is a newspaper that is already financially viable so we would be more concerned that the goodwill this move reflects is repeated in other areas, such as distribution and printing."

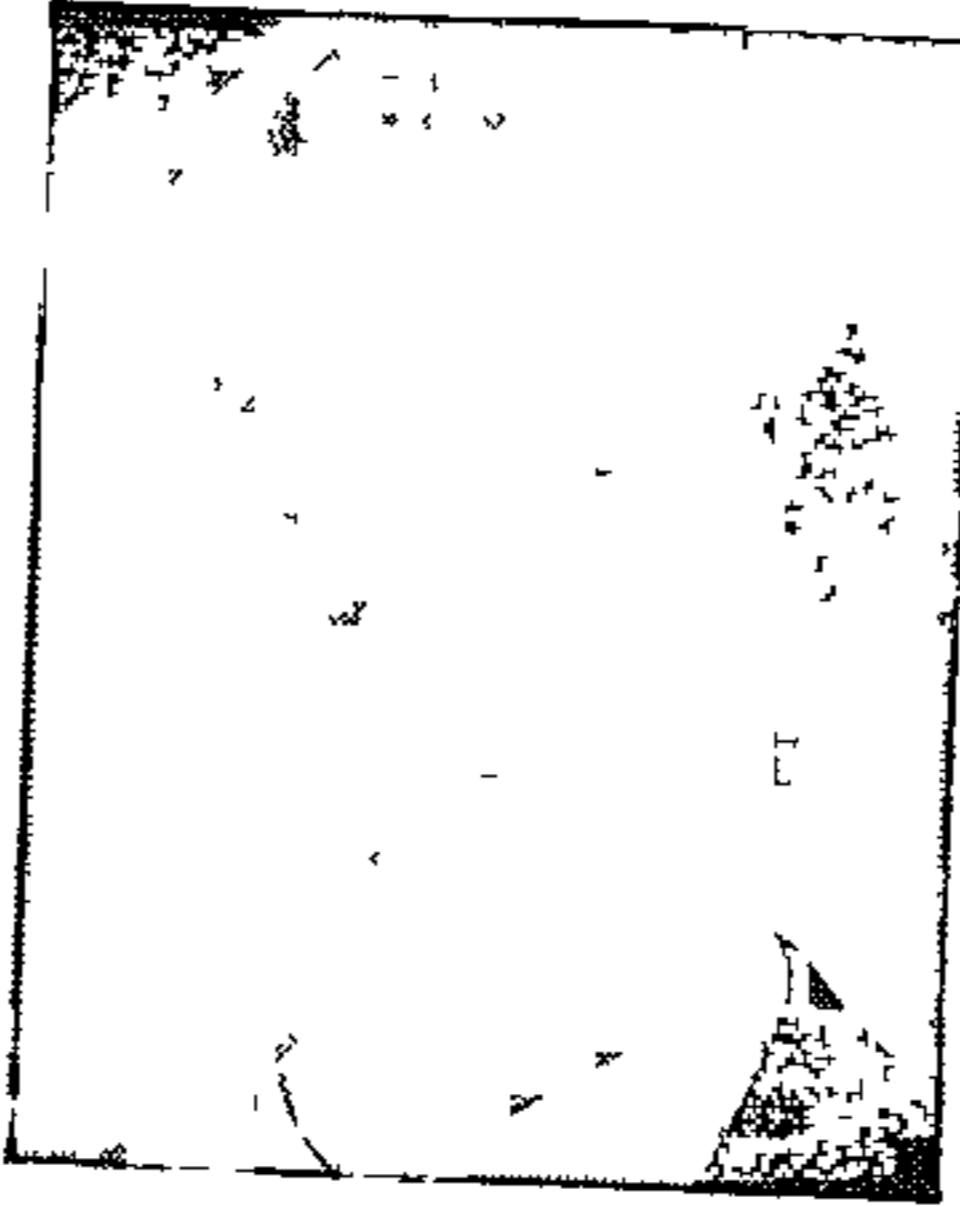
At the annual Federation of International Newspaper Publishers' conference earlier this year, the NPU supported a call for the formation of a trust fund to be used in the formation of an independent press and the diversification of the print media in South Africa.

In his speech, Vosloo cautioned that the only real freedom for newspapers lay in financial independence. "It seems as if a media diversity trust could be a constructive proposal. If the state comes to the aid of newspapers there will be a price to pay in terms of loss of freedom and independence," he said.

If a democracy was to be built in South Africa, it was urgent that a mechanism be found to foster and grow the diversity of media voices already in existence. This could well become possible through a trust fund, of which more would be heard in the future, Vosloo said.



Ron Anderson



Peter Sullivan



Rex Gibson

New executive appointments at The Star

Ron Anderson, editor of the daily Star, has been appointed deputy editor-in-chief of The Star in succession to Rex Gibson. He will take up his new post when Mr Gibson retires early next year.

Peter Sullivan, former editor of the Saturday Star and now assistant general manager of The Star, has been appointed editor of the daily Star.

Anderson, a journalist of 35 years experience, was educated at St John's College, Johannesburg, and the University of the Witwatersrand.

In 1960 he joined the staff of The Star, where he was a general news reporter and then news editor, a position he held for 12 years before being appointed editor of the daily in 1986.

Sullivan was educated at Grey College, Bloemfontein, and the University of the Witwatersrand. He was a teacher in Johannesburg before joining the Rand Daily Mail in 1973.

He joined The Star as a political correspondent in 1980 and five years later was appointed editor of the Saturday Star.

He returned to Johannesburg

as assistant general manager two years ago after a short stint as deputy editor of The Pretoria News.

Making the announcements yesterday, editor-in-chief Richard Steyn paid a warm tribute to his retiring deputy. "Rex Gibson has made an immense contribution to newspapering in South Africa, as editor of the Sunday Express and the Rand Daily Mail and, since 1985, as deputy editor-in-chief of The Star. We are going to miss his experience, vitality and sharp wit."

STAR 8/10/92 (243)

the north in brief

Sowetan 8/10/92 ~~243~~
Petrol price up by 15 cents

MOTORISTS could soon be paying up to R9 more to fill their petrol tanks.

SABC radio news reported yesterday an increase of up to 15c a litre was imminent. An announcement is expected from Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs Mr George Bartlett in the next two days.

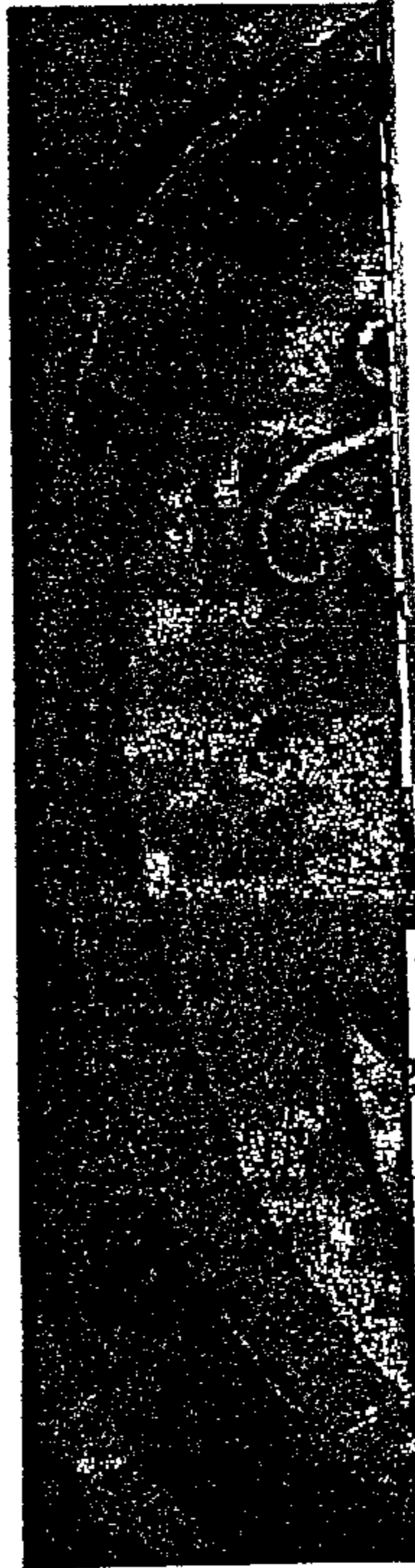
Bartlett last week said a petrol price rise was unavoidable because consumers on the Witwatersrand had been paying far too little for petrol since March. In July and August, the under-recovery was more than 14,5c a litre.

However, there is some good news for farmers and transport operators - the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs has confirmed that the price of diesel will not be increased.

Press remembers bannings

A PRESS seminar under the auspices of Sowetan's Nation Building campaign will be held on October 19 to focus on the issue of Press freedom and other issues related to the media. Sowetan 8/10/92

Newspapermen and political and trade union leaders will engage in a debate on the issues. The seminar will also be a commemoration of the banning of political organisations and the closure of newspapers, including *The World* and *Weekend World*, on October 19 1977. The event will take place at the Soweto campus of Vista University. (243) ~~243~~



The electronic newspaper

The concept of the electronic newspaper has excited technologists since they first realised the advantages of acquiring news via a computer screen. But such concepts as Videotext have proved only a limited success, primarily because they are not as convenient as newspapers. You can't carry your terminal on to a bus or into the loo. They are also a bit of a strain to read. FM 9/10/92 (243)

However, the electronic newspaper may not be dead. A new option was described at the IAA congress last week by American researcher Roger Fidler, who is director of new media development for the newspaper division of Knight-Ridder. It will be in the form of an electronic board a centimetre thick and weighing less than 1 kg. You will be able to plug it into a TV set or other communications device to download a full newspaper's worth of news. You can then read this newspaper using a touch panel to call up any page you wish.

You buy the board much as you would buy an M-Net decoder and then pay a rental every time you download a day's news.

The "page" on display will look like an ordinary newspaper page, except that it is electronic.

This gives it an extra vital advantage, you can have moving TV pictures on the page with sound.

"It is my belief that newspapers will continue to thrive but, for the first time, we will make them converge with radio and TV," says Fidler. "It is very important that any new medium is familiar to us. You should not have to read a manual. So this new medium will look like a newspaper, except that you will turn the page by touch or using a pen and it will be portable."

The possibilities for user-friendly improvements are endless. You could enlarge the type to make it easier to read, you could have the text read to you by an electronically activated voice, there could be a built-in dictionary, you will be able to clip and save "cuttings" into your own filing cabinet, you could even have newspapers tailored to individual needs, providing a package of the kind of news and information which suits you.

And the cost? Initially it will be relatively expensive. By 1995, says Fidler, a device offering text clarity close to that of today's print will cost about US\$1 000. By the end of the decade it will be down to \$200-\$300.

Tony Koenderman

Govt launches export aid magazine

8/10/92 12/10/92
THE greatest challenge facing the Trade and Industry Department was the poor export awareness among SA businessmen, director-general Stef Naude said at the weekend.

Naude was speaking at the launch of a new magazine published by the department to provide information on export issues.

The magazine, Global Trade, was part of the department's effort to boost SA exports, including projects launched by its export centre

The bi-monthly magazine would be

(243) TIM COHEN (1/16)

sent to 10 000 SA exporters and cost the department R2 a copy

To combat the poor export culture, the department was doing its utmost to ensure a change in emphasis from production for the local market to product development for the world market, he said. The department's aim was also to increase the level of beneficiation of raw materials and to broaden the base of the exports of SA's manufactured products.

Press draws politicians

Sowetan 13/10/92

(243)

■ Country's biggest trade unions will also be at the Sowetan Press seminar:

By Joe Mdhlela

ALL major political organisations are expected to make their input during the *Sowetan* Press Seminar scheduled to take place at Vista University, Soweto campus, on October 19

They include the Azanian People's Organisation, African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress, Inkatha Freedom Party and the Democratic Party

The country's biggest labour fed-

erations, Nactu and Cosatu, will be represented, *Sowetan* features editor and co-ordinator of the seminar Mr Sydney Matlhaku said yesterday

The Media Workers Association of SA will be represented by its general secretary, Mr S'thembele Khala

General secretary of Cosatu Mr Jay Naidoo and Nactu general secretary Mr Cunningham Ngcukana will also talk

Editors of newspapers, Mr Khulu Sibiyi of *City Press*, Mr Max du

Preez, of *Vrye Weekblad*, Mr Ameen Akhalwaya of *Indicator*, Mr Ken Owen of *Sunday Times*, Mr Richard Steyn of *The Star* and Mr Aggrey Klaaste of *Sowetan*, will deliver papers

Deputy president of Azapo Dr Nchaupe Mokoape will give a keynote address, followed by PAC first vice-president Mr Johnson Mlambo

The ANC's Dr Pallo Jordan will be another guest speaker

For more information phone Matlhaku at (011)474-0128

ANC lashes out at 'gutter journalism'

ARG 14/10/92

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress has dismissed as "gutter journalism" critical reports about it in Britain's biggest tabloid newspaper, the Sun, which compared ANC leaders' lifestyles with those of rank-and-file members

The article, by the tabloid's Johannesburg correspondent Mike Ridley, included pictures of what was described as the "10-bedroom Johannesburg mansion" in which ANC president Mr Nel-

son Mandela lives

The report said a R3,5 million Hyde Park mansion was bought for Mr Oliver Tambo "by British tycoon Tiny Rowland through one of his companies"

ANC executive member Mr Chris Hani was criticised for sending his 12-year-old daughter Lindiwe to a private school at a cost of R10 000 a year — the amount most black families have to live on, according to the paper

A colour photograph was captioned "One of Mandela's henchmen hacks at the body of a political opponent"

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the articles were approached with the pre-conceived purpose of hurting the ANC, but he did not believe that would happen

"People will judge the value of the story from where it comes," said Mr Niehaus, adding "The Sun is not known for serious and insightful journalism"

He said while the Sun was publishing reports about the ANC, it had at the same time been forced to publish a retraction for other reports it had published that were inaccurate (243)

Press freedom seminar marks banning of two newspapers 15 years ago

Axing of newspapers recalled

By **Themba Molefe**
Political Reporter

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SOUTH Africans, blacks in particular, have lived through decades under a Government which has denied them information and knowledge as provided in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

This denial, coupled with the lack of jobs and housing, can only be described as human degradation

■ 15th anniversary of silencing of *Sowetan* and *Weekend World*:

White South Africans know very little about life in black townships as a result of the lack of a free flow of information

It is these thoughts which remind one of October 19 1977 when in one fell swoop the *World* and *Weekend World* newspapers were banned together with 19 black organisations

On Monday *Sowetan* marks the 15th anniversary of the banning of these newspapers and

remembers the dent caused to freedom of expression

At the Vista University campus on Monday, *Sowetan* will honour Press freedom by holding its annual seminar with the theme "Is Press Freedom Fundamental for Democracy?"

All those interested in attending should get in touch with convenor Sydney Mathakur at (001) 474-0128

Sowetan 15/10/92
Sowetan 15/10/92

Stop harassment of journalists - Azapo

Sowetan 16/10/92

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■ **FREE PRESS** Commemoration of 15th anniversary of the
banning of two newspapers and black organisations by State:

By Mathatha Tsedu

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has called on political organisations to stop harassing journalists. In a statement to mark the 15th anniversary of the banning of black organisations and newspapers by the Government in 1977, Azapo cautioned journalists to stop "allowing personal bias to cloud their judgment and colour their stories"

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said the anniversary should be used by black people and their organisations to bring unity and an end to inter-black killings.

"Azapo calls on the ANC and the PAC and all components of the broad liberation movement to meet urgently behind closed doors to work out strategies to defend and protect black people from the continued onslaught of the nationalist regime," Moodley said.

He said a free Press was an integral

part of a free country, adding that the banning of newspapers in 1977 was part of the onslaught to deny people the right to know.

Meanwhile, Azapo will hold a commemoration service to mark the day at the Paul Nel Hall in Bekkersdal on the West Rand. Other services will be held in Port Elizabeth and Seshego.

The Jabulani branch of Azapo has called on black people to commemorate the day in any manner they deemed fit.



Reinventing the newspaper

If there's a single common preoccupation shared by newspapers around the world today, it is the threat posed by TV, which has robbed them of readers and advertising. Of 19 papers presented to the annual congress of the International Newspaper Marketing Association in Barcelona recently, 12 specifically addressed this issue.

Delegates heard case studies from Spain, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, SA, Finland and Belgium describing how newspapers had defended themselves against TV in the battle for advertising revenue. But TV is not the only problem.

In the US, where advertising accounts for 80% of newspaper revenues, newspaper penetration has fallen from 98% of US households in 1970 to 67% now. And, according to James Lessersohn, director of corporate planning at the *New York Times*, "market forces are transforming the nature of advertising. They have driven US newspapers to a crossroads — a point at which the risk of doing nothing is probably as great as that of doing the wrong thing. Business as usual has become a dangerous option."

The Newspaper Association of America defined these forces as fragmentation of media, targeting by advertisers, and resulting bypass of traditional mass media.

"The changes caused by these trends are permanent and structural," Lessersohn says. "That's why our problems have not just disappeared as the recession ends. Second, two industries have exploited these trends especially well and largely at our expense — cable TV, which continues to win more and more of our readers' time, and direct marketing, which is gaining more of our readers' dollars."

"These media compete on entirely new terms. That's why simply producing a better newspaper will not be enough to solve our problems."

Among the differences they offer highly targeted content yet are not bound by local geographic markets, and they rely on consumers more than advertisers for their revenue.

Direct mail and other forms of bypass go for the jugular by bringing together buyers and sellers more efficiently than the traditional media triangle of consumers, media and advertising, says Lessersohn.

Four strategies have characterised publishers' responses:

- Holding down cover prices and ad rates to preserve market share,
- Creating upmarket quality publications,
- Add-on products that serve niche market needs, and
- Integrating the publication into a direct marketing service.

The immediate outlook, says Lessersohn, is a five-year period of experimentation during which the newspaper industry will reinvent itself. "Doing nothing means surrendering the future to our competitors," he says. ■

Hiding its light

In a move which may defuse some of the negativity about its methods, French media buying giant Carat will be entering the SA market under the umbrella of Eurospace International. Eurospace, which is a joint venture operation between Carat and international ad agency TBWA, will own 90% of the SA company, with the rest in the hands of operational management, says local MD Franco Barocas.

Though the local operation is expected to be "actively trading" by November 1, Barocas says the official launch may be put back to January 1 because of delays in the signing of office leases and in staffing.

Eurospace has formed a joint venture company with advertising agency Hunt Las-

caris TBWA to handle the agency's media planning, buying and research and expects to finalise a similar deal with another agency within a week. A separate division will be responsible for handling direct clients.

Barocas emphasises that Eurospace will not be primarily a discount buyer on the Carat model. "Our focus will be on research," he says. "Too much emphasis has been placed on the evils of discounting. We intend to concentrate on adding value to the media function through research."

SA's first small media independents were established six years ago, but it is only in the last year that the big players have begun to take an interest in this market. The process was accelerated when it became known that Carat was planning to open here.

Media "dependents" (as some people prefer to call them) have been set up by Ogilvy & Mather Rightford, McCann Erickson and Lintas. A media buying club is also being mooted under the wing of Optimedia, the Foote Cone & Belding subsidiary. Six agencies, which last year billed about R900m, have joined.

Tony Koenderman

REBUILDING THE BRAND

Jeremy Sampson, who built Jeremy Sampson & Associates into one of SA's leading design shops in the Eighties before being headhunted by British ad agency group Lopex five years ago, has returned to SA. In addition to his plans to rebuild his design business, he has opened a representative office for Interbrand, a London-based brand research consultancy.

Sampson believes the end of the sanctions era offers great opportunities in SA. "This country is poised to move ahead after the current turbulence subsides," he says. "Local companies will need to strengthen their brands to see off foreign interlopers such as Mars. A strong brand will deter competitors."

Sampson was involved in one of the biggest repositioning exercises necessitated by disinvestment in the Eighties, the renaming of IBM as ISM.

Interbrand's main activities are brand design, naming and a sophisticated system of evaluation. The last, he says, is "more than putting a value on the balance sheet. It also helps marketing departments focus on their brand values." What accountants call goodwill is often simply the equity built into a brand.

Though the value may not be stated in the balance sheet, corporate predators are prepared to pay heavily for the brands they buy when they acquire a company.



focus on the Press

Sowetan 16/10/92

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THE Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 reads:

"The advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief, and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people

"Article 19: Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers"

Will post-apartheid South Africa accept these noble principles? Will it be truly free to exercise its responsibility?

To steal a phrase, it is in the need to protect society against human faults - greed, vanity and dishonesty - that Press freedom finds its purpose

South Africans, blacks in particular, have lived through decades under a Government which has denied them information and knowledge. This has been described as human degradation, comparable to the denial of basic rights such as jobs and shelter

As South Africa staggers towards a new order, white South Africans continue to know very little about life in black townships because of this denial

And until now, very few white South Africans knew how on October 19 1977 the Government, in the form of one Jimmy Kruger, profoundly dealt black advancement - and unity - a death-blow

It was on this day that, in one fell swoop, the *World* and *Weekend World* newspapers were banned together with 18 black organisations

October 19 has become known as "Black Wednesday" because it was on a Wednesday 15 years ago that life in the townships came to a standstill. The forces of darkness had worked relentlessly during the previous night.

The late Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of the *World* and *Weekend World*, had been visited by Security Branch officers who officially informed him that his newspapers had been declared illegal

Similarly, many other leaders had been visited and told their organisations had been banned

This purge was premeditated. Earlier, Prime Minister Balthazar John Vorster, had warned the Press to "put its house in order"

Qoboza had been summoned to a meeting in Vorster's office in Pretoria - also attended by Kruger, then Minister of Justice and Police - about the "anti-Government line" the newspapers were adopting

At a subsequent public meeting addressed by Vorster in Durban, a 3 000-strong audience of whites roared that the Prime Minister should ban the *World* and *Weekend World*. Kruger then did

Press freedom finds its purpose in the need to protect society from human faults. But will post-apartheid South Africa accept these principles? **Themba Molefe** explores the degradation suffered under apartheid which denied blacks the right to know:



Sowetan staffers Joe Thlooe, Mokgadi Pela and Mike Tissing took to the streets to demonstrate against Government threats to muzzle Sowetan.

it. In spite of the argument being put forward that these newspapers were actually moderate and their existence important to both blacks and whites, this reasoning went unheeded

Professor Anthony Giffard of Rhodes University argued at the time that only black journalists could articulate their people's aspirations and tell what was happening in their townships

He said the paper gave prominence to the intrusion of police activity in the life of the community, demanded an inquiry into allegations of police brutality, told of people being ejected from their homes and defended the basic rights of people

If whites had read the *World*, Giffard said, they would have realised earlier how blacks felt about Afrikaans as the medium of instruction at black schools

"Whites seldom became aware of black issues until they reached disaster proportions," said Giffard

After banning the newspapers Kruger said he believed in Press freedom. "but there are people in South Africa who can't write a straight story - they are politically committed"

Kruger, who said the death in detention (on September 12 1977) of black consciousness leader Steve Biko left him cold, is dead now. So is Vorster

In January this year media lawyer Mr Peter Reynolds observed that Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act remained on the Statute Book

Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act is used by the State against journalists and for many years had been a matter of considerable concern, said Reynolds

It provides that journalists can be subpoenaed to force them to disclose confidential sources or face jail

"We need to clean up laws which unnecessarily gag the Press, otherwise we can expect a future government to take over where the present one leaves off," warned Reynolds

The fight for Press freedom

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Sowetan 19/10/92

■ Today, 15 years ago, the Government clamped down on the black Press:

Sowetan Correspondent

ON October 19 1977, the Government banned *The World* and *Weekend World* newspapers and 18 other black consciousness organisations.

In honour of media practitioners who were victims of this action, and in defence of a free media in this country, Sowetan today hosts a seminar on press freedom at Vista University from 8 30am.

The Union of Black Journalists was one of the 18 organisations that were banned.

Among the others were Sasm, SSRC, Saso, BPC, BPA, Medupe Writers Association, African Women Federation, six provincial youth clubs, Zimele and Siyazingceda Trust Funds.

There have been many occasions since 1977 when newspapers were banned, journalists detained and arrested, and legislation used to curtail access to information and freedom of expression.

(See story on Page 6)

the nation in brief

ANC's torture findings

THE African National Congress (ANC) is to release its findings today on allegations of torture at its camps.

A full report of its commission of inquiry into complaints by former ANC prisoners would be released to the Press later today.

There will be no further comment until then, the ANC said.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela appointed a three-member commission consisting of lawyer Louis Skweviya, Bridgit Mabandla and Gilbert Marcus to inquire into conditions at its camps in the wake of the torture claim.

The commission is expected to make recommendations which may include the removal from office of people implicated in the alleged torture.

It is believed the commission has heard evidence from more than 20 witnesses - both former detainees and high-ranking ANC officials.

325 000 sit matric exams

MORE than 325 000 matric pupils will sit for their final examination from tomorrow amid unresolved problems between the education authorities, teachers and pupils.

The Congress of South African Students has resolved that the final examinations be written despite the violence and harassment affecting their members in Ciskei, Natal and the PWV areas.

However Cosas said they were not going to hesitate in calling the exam to a stop if these factors affected students. Cosas blamed the Department of Education and Training for its intransigence and unwillingness in responding to the pupils and teachers' demands.

O'NEILL & MATHER, RIGHTFORD SEARLE, TRIPP & MAKIN 46488

Focus on media

TODAY MARKS THE 15th anniversary of the banning of newspapers and black organisations by the South African Government

Then, journalists had to look over their collective shoulders each time they wrote anything about the regime.

The peoples' organisations were at that time still banned. They spoke in whispers from underground.

The argument in the black community at the time was that the white regime was banning and harassing mainly black journalists because they were defending their settler control.

"Wait till we are free and you will see how free we will be," the argument went.

• Fifteen years later, what is the position?

According to the Institute of Race Relations' publication, *Mau Mauing the Media*, the greatest threat facing black journalists today comes from black political organisations.

According to the publication, which is a compilation of articles written by black journalists, political activists threaten them in their job, insisting that only the opinions of their chosen organisations be reflected in the media.

The activists referred to belong to organisations such as the ANC, Azapo, PAC and Inkatha, among others. Trade unions and their federations have also been found to be culprits in the journalist bashing.

And yet, in their public pronouncements and official positions, these organisations pledge themselves to a free Press and the right of divergent opinions to be heard.

But who must defend the media? The practitioners, in the form of journalists and publishers, political organisations who depend on the media for communicating their activities to the public, or the public that depends on the media for information and entertainment?

The answer should be all. For the media and its practitioners are an important cog in the wheel of democracy. It is the media that, as a watchdog of the public good, has exposed numerous irregularities in Government relating to the squandering of public funds.

Other exposes include killer squads within the Government security network. Without the media, a blanket of propaganda by State broadcasters would envelop the public, leaving them uninformed.

Sowetan, in its efforts to promote this understanding, today remembers the 1977 fell swoop that banned our predecessors, *World* and *Weekend World*, with an annual seminar to focus on the role of the media.

While as journalists we may tend to look at problems that we encounter externally, there are internal issues such as ownership of the media.

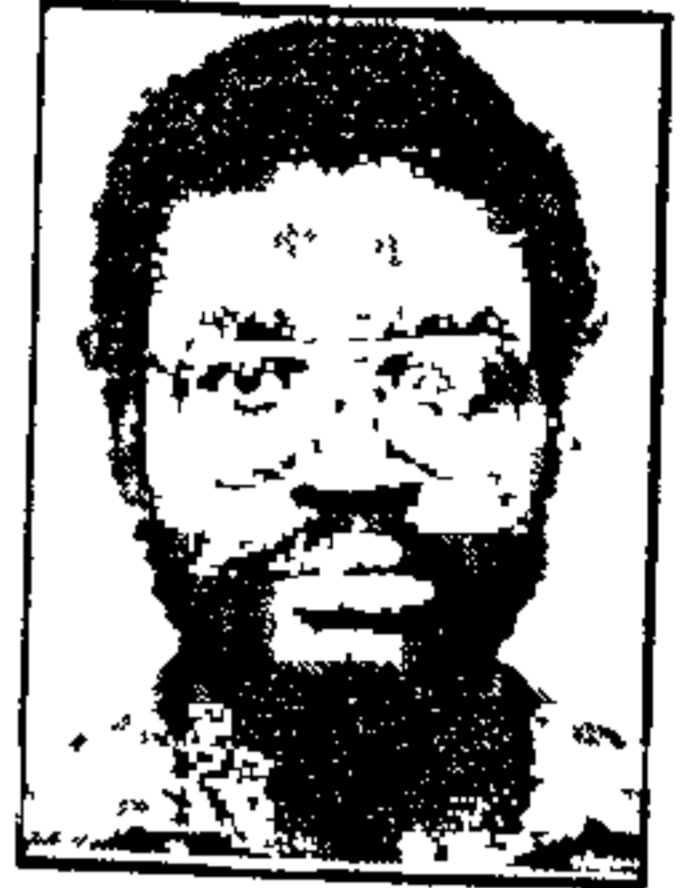
If in a country like ours, the media is in the hands of an insignificant but rich and powerful

Who should protect the right of free communication and the role of the

media in the future South Africa?

Sowetan journalist **Mathatha**

Tsedu considers the question:



FLASHBACK: Mr Thami Mcerwa, President of Azapo, addressing last year's Sowetan seminar.

white minority, is it possible for such media to serve the majority?

What are the present efforts to "unbundle" conglomerates such as the Argus and TML? How do black organisations that are today in opposition plan to deal with the media in the days of their power?

Can free media survive a black takeover of government? Has it happened anywhere in the black world?

Is the voice of labour being heard at all? What are the trade unions doing about this? Is it safe for workers to depend on capitalist-owned media to talk to each other?

These issues concern not only journalists, political activists and trade unionists. It concerns all of humanity for a free Press is a prerequisite for a free country.

It is for these reasons that *Sowetan* has today brought together as wide a spectrum as possible to discuss the matter.

Among keynote speakers will be Azapo deputy president Dr Nchape Mokoape, PAC

first deputy president Mr Johnson Mlambo, ANC information and publicity director Dr Pallo Jordan, and Mr Mandla Msomi of Inkatha.

These men will talk on their views and need to be questioned about their activities on the ground. People must therefore be there to ask the questions and demand real answers.

The general secretaries of Cosatu, Nactu, Mwasa and SAUJ will also speak on the trade union perspective of Press freedom.

Editors of South Africa's important newspapers will all be there. They include those of the *Sowetan*, *The Star*, *Indicator*, *Weekly Mail*, *Vrye Weekblad* and *City Press*.

This seminar is but one of many efforts to keep the issue of Press freedom on the agenda of public debate.

But at the end of the day, Press freedom can only be safeguarded if men and women of integrity stand up and insist that politicians, policemen, activists and everybody else respect the need for a free flow of information in this country.

NEWS Teachers vow to de

Monopoly 'must end'

Sowetan 20/10/92
 ■ Press freedom would be enhanced if media did not belong to corporations:

By Joe Mdelela (243) ~~1992~~

PRESS freedom could not be truly achieved as long as the media was controlled by big business corporations such as Anglo American, which owns the Argus Group

This was the view of most of the speakers at the *Sowetan* Press Seminar in Soweto yesterday, commemorating the closure of newspapers on October 19 1977

Speakers, including African National Congress official Dr Pallo Jordan, Mr Barney Desai of the Pan Africanist Congress and Mr Peter Soal of the Democratic Party, expressed the wish that the Press should diversify and that monopoly be done away with

The general secretary of National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), Mr Cunningham Ngcukana, bemoaned the low standard of journalism and the lack of enterprising journalism especially in *Sowetan*.

General Secretary of Cosatu, Jay Naidoo, supported the notion of Press freedom and was against the physical attacks on journalists

Publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Strini Moodley, urged trade unions and political organisations to deal with "the Oppenheims and De Klerks of this world"

"If you want Press freedom, you must join the liberation movement," Moodley said

The PAC's second vice-president, Mr Johnson Mlambo, expressed concern about the bias in reporting, especially where the views of his organisation were concerned

"There is a censorship by omission being practised by journalists who are against the PAC," he said



focus on The Press

Sowetan 20/10/92

(243)

TODAY IS EXACTLY 15 years to the day that the jackboot of apartheid descended and crushed the dissenting Press in our country. They banned the *World and Week* and *Pro Veritate* newspapers and the UBJ. Before October 19 1977 there had certainly been many encroachments on Press freedom and since then there have been many more. But October 19 1977 epitomises the height of intolerance of this regime to ideas other than its own. On this day, not only were newspapers and the UBJ banned, but 16 other organisations that propagated the philosophy and ideas of Black Consciousness were also banned.

Many people were banned and imprisoned, many were killed, and many more fled their motherland.

We could look at this episode of bannings with both sadness and pride. Sadness because it occasioned suffering for our people and delayed the process of transforming our society.

Today the same regime that resisted new ideas is tottering on the brink of an abyss, about to be consigned to the dustbin of history. In that fate it is not alone. It joins a long queue of similarly-minded regimes that are history's debris and that litter the sands of time.

Many today know that in fact the earth does revolve around the sun. Many of you might also know that Tiro and Steve Biko were murdered in the most brutal manner for advocating BC.

You also know that today Black Consciousness is the driving force of our total liberation.

From all that I have said it should be clear that Azapo's answer to the question "Is press freedom fundamental for Democracy?" is an emphatic "Yes". For Press freedom is inseparable from freedom and progress, and freedom is inseparable from democracy.

Questions are interlinked

Let us turn the question on its head and ask "Is democracy fundamental for press freedom?" And again Azapo's answer is an emphatic "Yes". For Azapo the two questions are interlinked and interpenetrable.

Which leads us immediately to two fundamental questions: "What is democracy?" and "What is Press freedom?"

Without an understanding of these questions we might be in danger of echoing shiboleths that might in fact stab our people in the back.

It is absolutely essential to strive for the universal norm. But it is simultaneously essential to adapt that universal norm to the specific conditions of our society.

For us in Azapo, without attempting to offer a comprehensive definition, democracy means the maximum empowerment of every single individual in our society to exercise power in and influence the direction of society.

Political leaders debated the question of Press freedom and democracy at a seminar organised by the Sowetan yesterday. In the first article in a series, we publish excerpts from a paper by Azapo's **Dr Nchaube Mokoape**.



Delegates at Sowetan's seminar on the Press at Vista University yesterday.

It means both the ability of the individual working within society to maximise his potential and to contribute to society. It means both individuality, as opposed to individualism, and solidarity, as opposed to servility. By inference, it is mutually exclusive with poverty and deprivation.

For as long as a small minority has economic power to the exclusion of the majority, talk of democracy is idle at best. Democracy cannot mean the mere exercise of a vote by an ignorant, hungry and confused people.

Democracy and the fruition and contestation of ideas are inseparable. This leads us to the question of freedom of the Press.

The freedom of the Press, or better still the freedom to express and propagate ideas, is a right that has been won for us by previous generations in countless battles. But like democracy, it has become the freedom of the powerful to propagate and impose their ideas.

The same limitations that condition democ-

ocracy apply to Press freedom. The obvious question is: "Whose press freedom are we talking about, whose ideas are being propagated?"

For black people in this country and for all the people in the oppressed world, this question is a strident one because we are involved in an effort to shape our destiny but we do not have the capacity to propagate our ideas.

While the struggles for Press freedom and democracy go hand in hand, the struggle for democracy takes priority.

The black Press should wage a struggle for the democratisation of the institutions in which they function and must become spokespersons of their people.

The black Press should network with their counterparts in the deprived world to wage war against the monopoly of information and to encourage critical readership and listenership.

Tomorrow: Peter Soal of the Democratic Party speaks on the Press.

the nation in brief

Sowetan 20/10/92
Azapo stayaway call flops

THE one-day stayaway call by the Azanian People's Organisation on the Reef yesterday went unheeded as workers went to work in their usual thousands

According to the South African Chamber of Business and transport service organisations, business was normal and buses and trains were full yesterday morning

A spokesman for Spoornet, Mr Ephraim Mohale, said the call had had no effect on trains. A Putco spokesman, Mr Brian Treweek, supported Mohale, saying as far as he knew there was no stayaway on the Reef yesterday

Sowetan 20/10/92
Otis charged for lift death

AN elevator company is facing criminal charges following the death two years ago of a man who was cut in half by a lift in a Durban building

The Natal division of the Otis Elevator Company faces charges in terms of the Machinery and Occupational Safety Act for allegedly designating that Mr K Marimuthu, who was not under the supervision of an experienced person, work on the lift

The company's director, Mr S Lewis, yesterday pleaded not guilty in the Durban Magistrate's Court to the charge. The case was postponed to November 16

Sowetan 20/10/92
Red Cross gets R920 000

MORE than R920 000 to assist victims of violence in Alexandra was given to the South African Red Cross Society in Johannesburg yesterday by Social Relief Fund board chairman Dr Piet Koornhof

The money, totalling R920 801,45, was the first allocation approved by the fund's executive for the Southern Transvaal Red Cross

Koornhof said the Social Relief Fund was established after parliamentary approval was granted for the Fundraising Act to be amended to make official provision for the granting of financial assistance to communities affected by violence

Sowetan 20/10/92
Alleged harassment of PAC

SEVERAL cases of alleged harassment by security forces of Pan Africanist Congress members have been forwarded to the organisation's lawyers, PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday

Sowetan 20/10/92
Rhodes Press lecture (243)

THE editor of Zimbabwe's leading independent newspaper, the Financial Gazette, will deliver the Rhodes University annual Press freedom lecture on Thursday.

Mr Trevor Ncube's topic will be Press freedom in Zimbabwe. The Financial Gazette made headlines earlier this month after Ncube became embroiled in a dispute with a parliamentary committee over his source for a report on a multi-million-rand corruption scandal

Sowetan 20/10/92
Mediation for Willards strike

A PAY dispute that has led to a two-week pay strike at Willard Batteries would be referred to mediation today, National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa spokesman, Mr Bimba Mangabashana, said yesterday

SA press 'should be free'

By BARRY STREEK,

THE newspaper industry should not be controlled solely by a few, white-dominated companies, the Democratic Party said yesterday

However, it would oppose government action to force any company from divesting itself of a newspaper or magazine, its spokesman on the media, Mr Peter Soal, said at a seminar at Vista University in Soweto

Mr Soal said South Africa needed to move from a closed society into a culture of open debate based on a free flow of information

CT 20/10/92
The DP believed that when negotiations were resumed a resolution in support of unrestricted freedom of speech and the press should be adopted as soon as possible

It had also asked the government to repeal laws that tended to restrict press freedoms

Mr Soal also said the DP was convinced that a representative commission on freedom of information should be appointed to set procedures for citizen access to government information. It should also oversee the declassification of currently secret records

PRESS FREEDOM *Freedom of speech clause should be included in new constitution*

IS PRESS FREEDOM fundamental for democracy?
The short answer would be for me to say "Yes" and to sit down

However, I have no doubt you require more from me than that

The Democratic Party and its predecessors have long supported the principle of a free and unfettered Press as a guarantor of freedom of expression and of democratic fundamentals

During the current transition, all elements of society will only develop confidence in a democratic future for our country if they are assured their voices will be heard through the adoption of laws and policies supporting Press freedom

We have no doubt that the disgraceful policies of apartheid would have shrivelled years earlier had they been exposed to the light of an unfettered Press. The integrity and fearlessness of a few journalists and editors - people who had the courage to risk life and careers to attack unjust policies or expose shameless government scandals - made substantial contributions to bringing about apartheid's final demise

Freest in Africa

Although South Africa's Press is possibly the freest in Africa, our recent experience has shown that substantial changes will be required to assure that South Africa will benefit from the high standard of Press freedom our citizens expect

Bill Of Rights

The Democratic Party strongly believes that a Bill of Rights, specifically assuring freedom of speech and of the Press will need to be included in the new constitution for South Africa. The descriptions of these freedoms in the constitution should be short, succinct and unambiguous so as to avoid confusion and possible complications from the changes brought about by future developments or technologies

Any person or group should have the right to test any Act of Parliament against the Bill of Rights through the courts. Without these firm constitutional safeguards, the ability of South Africans to protect our seedling democracy will be sadly restricted

Basic Rights

A citizen's right to privacy, dignity and other freedoms entrenched in the Bill of Rights should not be violated in favour of the freedom of the Press

In inter-acting with society, newspapers should conduct and regulate themselves in accordance with a code of conduct which conforms to democratic norms and standards

Restrictive Press Laws

As a demonstration of its faith in the future of democracy and free speech in South Africa, the Democratic Party asks and has asked the government frequently to repeal the following laws, or

A free Press vital for SA

Sowetan 21/10/92
CITIZEN'S RIGHT Part of an address by DP media spokesman

Mr Peter Soal at the annual Sowetan Press seminar this week:

the relevant sections, which tend to restrict Press freedoms

- Internal Security Act
- Defence Act
- Police Act
- Prisons Act
- Criminal Procedure Act
- Petroleum Products Act
- Mental Health Act
- Electoral Act
- National Key Points Act
- Armaments Development Act
- Public Safety Act

This partial list, drawn from experts at a conference earlier this year, demonstrates the wide range of legislation impinging on Press freedom at the present time

Other groups, including the Media Council, have also prepared lists of laws restricting Press freedom that require urgent amendment or repeal

When a Bill of Rights is adopted, laws such as these, or their relevant sections, will no doubt be declared unconstitutional by the courts

However, it is essential for a successful political transition that these laws or their relevant sections be repealed as soon as possible

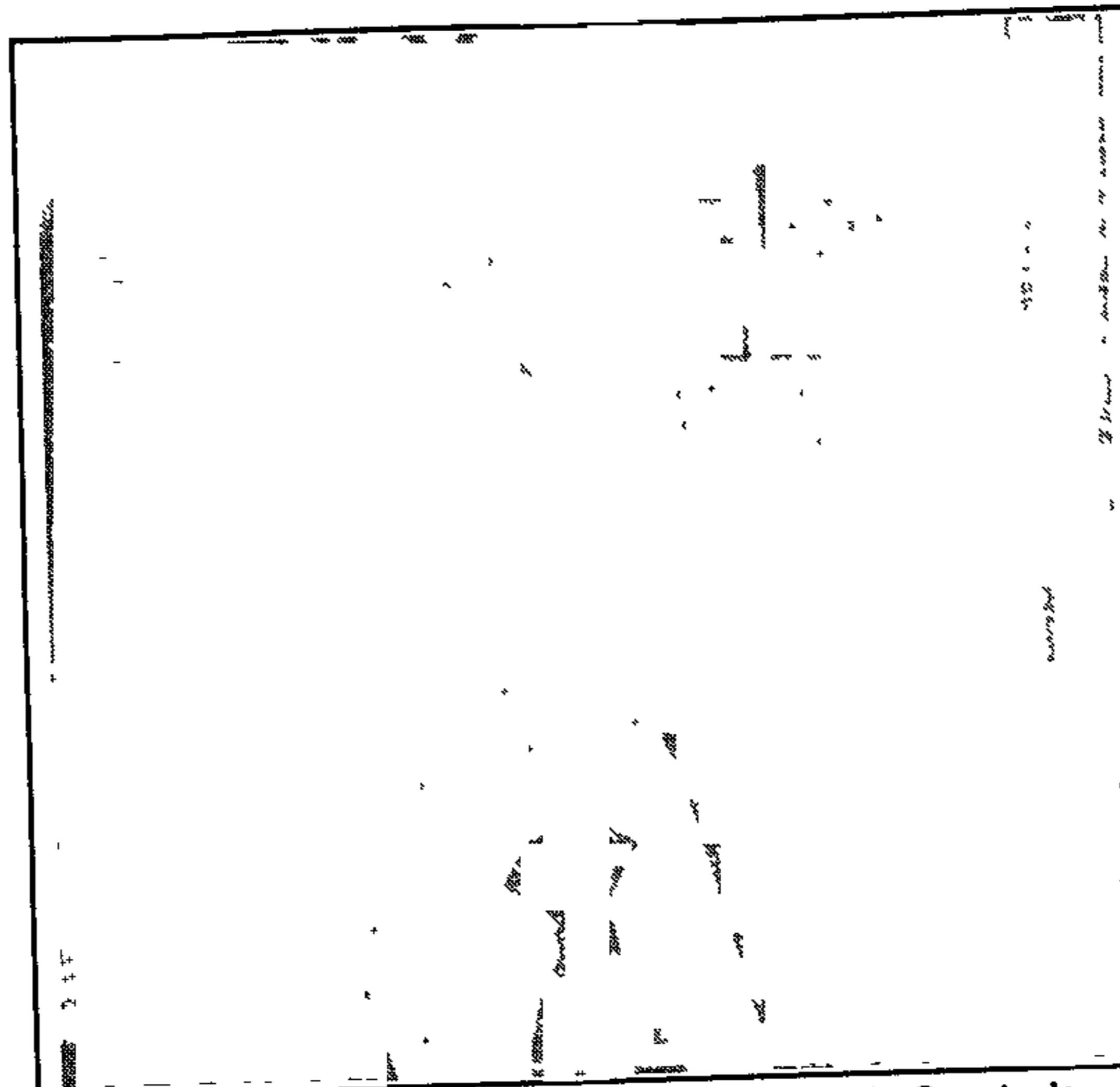
Protection Of Information or Freedom Of Information

The fundamental changes which our country is undergoing requires nothing less than a complete re-evaluation of the way in which we treat information, particularly public information. If our citizens and the world are to believe in the National Party reforms then it is high time to lift the veil of secrecy which covers much of the government's activities

In view of Government's poor record in protecting the civil liberties of its citizens during the apartheid years and in view of the urgent need to develop a sense of trust between people and government, the Democratic Party strongly urges the adoption of Freedom of Information policies by the negotiators and by Parliament

Freedom of Information Commission and Opening Of Police Files

We in the Democratic Party are con-



Mr Peter Soal of the Democratic Party who spoke at the Sowetan's annual Press seminar held at Vista University in Soweto this week.

vinced that the government should appoint a Commission on Freedom of Information composed of say five individuals of prominent standing in the community who are broadly representative of all South Africans

Matter of urgency

It would set procedures for citizen access to government information with the powers to oversee the declassification of most records currently kept secret from South Africans and to set guidelines for the continued justification of classified materials in the future

Further, the commission should, as a matter of urgency, work with the NIS, SAP and Department of Defence to immediately declassify and make available to individual South Africans all information that has been collected on them

It has long been a dirty little secret of this country that many people - both

ordinary individuals and powerful politicians - have been the subject of secret surveillance by government. If there is no criminal investigation underway and no justifiable national security consideration at stake, the people who pay the bills have a right to know what records are being kept on them

Ownership And Control Of The Press

South Africa's special history has resulted in a unique pattern of Press ownership and control. Because the industry is dominated by four major groups, many South Africans do not believe that the Press adequately represents their interests and concerns

Many feel they are being served only biased editorial policies and may feel that their views are inadequately reflected

The Democratic Party believes that, in carrying out their role as conveyors of political opinion, newspapers are primarily business enterprises. Like other

businesses, newspapers must understand and serve their markets in order to continue their work

We believe that South Africa, including its majority disadvantaged by apartheid, is best served by commercially-owned newspapers

On the other hand, many black South Africans believe they have been ill-served by a lack of diversity in newspaper ownership

The answer, as we see it, is not the creation and funding at public expense of several additional newspapers for the various political parties. Rather, we would think a programme of affirmative action in information policy, in which government offers tax incentives to the major newspaper chains to sell one or more papers and magazines to a black-owned company

Additional incentives might be offered to other companies who assist with equipment, supplies, training, printing or other fundamental service required in the setting up of newspaper and/or magazines serving those peoples in our country who have not been served by apartheid's legacy

We urge that when negotiations resume, a technical committee meet with the Newspaper Press Union, the heads of the major newspaper chains and with the independent Press to discuss public policy options that could serve the end of broadening newspaper ownership and control

Although we oppose government action which would force any company to divest itself of a newspaper or magazine, we share the view of many that efforts need to be made so that the industry is not dominated solely by a few, white-dominated companies

The new South Africa's fundamental premise is the broadening of access - the inclusion of those previously excluded. We hope to work with all to develop public policies that will broaden the ownership and control of our print media and contribute to the concept of the freedom of the Press

Establish Democratic Media

South Africa needs to move from a closed society into a culture of open debate based on the freest possible flow of information. Affirmative action is needed to redress inequalities in our society created by the wrongs of past governments

I conclude in the manner in which I began. I have no doubt Press freedom is fundamental for democracy. Press freedom includes freedom of information and the free flow of ideas. In this connection the South African Press has a proud record

We must ensure that freedom is protected so that in the new South Africa the seed of democracy will take root and flourish under the protection of a free Press

Tomorrow: The PAC's John Mlambo speaks on the Press.

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Call for black-owned newspapers

THEO RAWANA (243)

OWNERSHIP and control of the media took centre stage this week at the annual Press Seminar organised by the Sowetan newspaper to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the banning of The World and Weekend World newspapers.

Trade union and political leaders highlighted their assertion that media owned and controlled by major SA companies could hardly be expected to articulate sincerely the aspirations of blacks.

The high point of the debate was a call by DP media spokesman Peter Soal for a joint government and private sector effort to help a black company buy some publications from the major newspaper chains.

Soal said while SA was best served by commercially owned newspapers, blacks believed they had been ill served by a lack of diversity in newspaper ownership.

The answer was a programme of affirmative action by which government offered tax incentives to major newspaper chains to sell some publications to a black-owned company, Soal said.

PAC second deputy president Johnson Mlambo denounced the "stranglehold on

Press freedom by white-owned conglomerates" and the "control and manipulation of the electronics media by the regime".

Mlambo added: "Moreover, the very high price of entry ensures that there is only a one-sided flow of information from the ruling class, but no effective free and democratic dialogue."

ANC media spokesman Saki Macozoma said democratisation of the media would entail all communities having access to technical means of receiving and disseminating information, including electricity.

Legislation preventing monopolies and concentration of media resources would have to be implemented and affirmative action in terms of financial and technical resources would have to be effected.

Nactu general secretary Cunningham Ngcukana said the SABC should be moved from the state's ownership.

Aubrey Mokoape of Azapo said the black Press should wage a struggle for the democratisation of the institutions in which they functioned.

21/10/92
S.M.P.



focus on the Press

Sowetan 22/10/92

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SINCE OUR GATHERING COINCIDES with the 15th anniversary of the banning of *The World* and 18 organisations of the oppressed, it necessarily assumes the nature of a commemoration

The bannings and detentions by Jimmy Kruger and BJ Vorster were ruthless and dramatic - in accord with "kragdadigheid" then characteristic of apartheid practitioners

PAC commends those of you who continued to fulfil your patriotic duties in spite of the numerous detentions and harassments

But it is our contention that other less dramatic attacks on, or obstacles to, Press freedom should also be denounced These are

* The stranglehold on Press freedom by white owned conglomerates,

* The control and manipulation of the electronic media by the regime, and

* The prevalence of political intolerance among the oppressed which threatens journalists in their work

Barney Desai, PAC secretary for publicity and information, has enlarged at various forums on our concerns about the monopoly stranglehold on the Press by the "big four" These are the Argus Group, Times Media Ltd, Perskor and Volkskas NasPers The first two dominate the English Press and are both controlled by Anglo-American The last two, controlled by the Rembrandt Group and Sanlam respectively, run the Afrikaans Press

But like the English giants, they also own *City Press*, *Drum* and *True Love* - which are read by the African community

This stranglehold is accentuated by the regime's control and manipulation of the SABC-TV and radio, as well as the control of M-Net by the "big four" with the SABC

The very high price of entry ensures there is only a one-sided flow of information from the ruling class but no effective free and democratic dialogue

The agenda for debate, even the content of freedom of speech, freedom of the Press and of democracy is set unilaterally economically and politically

The absence of political tolerance among the oppressed has manifested itself, for example, in attempts by some organisations to boycott the *Sowetan* several times, or attempts to put pressure on certain media institutions not to employ people of a particular political tendency

This unfortunate anti-democratic tendency is being fully manipulated by the regime - violence perpetrated by its agents takes cover under so-called black-on-black violence

Mr FW de Klerk on February 2 1990 assured us "the season of violence is over"

But violence has dramatically increased PAC denounces this trend and blames the regime and its mercenaries from Angola, Namibia, Mozam-

In an address at the *Sowetan* seminar PAC first deputy president **Mr Johnson P Mlambo** looks back over the years of "kragdadigheid" which characterised the apartheid crusade by John Vorster and Jimmy Kruger. He commends those who, despite intimidation and harassment, fulfilled their patriotic role:



PAC first deputy president Johnson Mlambo.

bique and Selous Scouts from Zimbabwe

PAC president Mlamli Clarence Makwetu - during the signing of the Peace Accord in 1991 - called for the expulsion of mercenaries from our country under international supervision

But De Klerk's solution of disbanding these forces is not only nominal, it spreads the cancer of violence throughout our country

On negotiations, the PAC regards the present trend of talks with the regime by the oppressed as unfortunate

PAC forfeited its right to speak to the regime in April 1991, to enhance unity - which the PAC worked hard to achieve

We have said in the past that this is an untenable situation which we wish to redress in the interest of genuine democracy

Recent examples of the biased reporting from this media are

* Censorship by omission of Apla and the PAC by most newspapers when reporting on FW de Klerk's recent threats to take strong

action against the armed wings of ANC, PAC and AWB This betrays a deep desire to portray PAC as insignificant.

* Another glaring example of these diplomatic assaults on Press freedom - the reports on Boipatong's angry response to De Klerk's visit on June 20 1992.

Ignoring the presence of PAC second deputy president, Advocate Dikgang Moseneke, and six other PAC leaders, media reports only spoke of a mob that chased De Klerk away and attributed everything to another organisation in spite of the fact that the slogans and flag clearly showed the unmistakable presence of the PAC

This practice has a long history When the PAC introduced non-racialism in 1959, we were told this word was "un-English" When we called for an elected Constituent Assembly instead of rushing into negotiations we were again ridiculed

But thanks to our principled steadfastness, these have become popular

PRESS A democratic Press will act as a catalyst of change — Chief Buthelesi

The media needs to be impartial

243
23/10/92
Sowetan

A LEADING politician in this country, with years of experience in the political realm, and through direct exposure to the politics of the day, I have developed clear and concrete ideals and beliefs concerning the structure and functioning of a future democratic South Africa.

But before my vision can be realised I need to shape the vision of all South Africans.

Many South Africans are not so sure what direction should be taken. Their vision of South Africa is the vision they have been exposed to. Their interpretation of events is the interpretation given by the media - on television, in the newspapers and on the radio - and it is the merits for and the disadvantages against this vision that I would like to address today.

In our violent and controversial times, the challenges and obstacles facing journalists must be addressed. South Africa is a rapidly changing nation, and it is the crucial function of the media to accurately reflect the political dynamics which our country is facing.

On the one hand South Africa over the past couple of years has witnessed massive reform and reconstruction programmes, and on the other hand this country has witnessed a seemingly uncontrollable wave of violence, corruption and anarchy.

Who more than the Press is better equipped to investigate and publish the

political factions. This all centres on the issue of the availability of information, how it is used and the uses to which it is put.

If the Press is restricted in any way in these vital areas of information dissemination, then it cannot hope to fulfil its democratic function in society.

Only half of what we read and hear is accurate. The rest is made up of political posturings, distortions and concerted attempts to sway and prejudice the public.

A vision emerges

The credibility of the local media is seriously undermined by this process. The public in South Africa is not allowed to make up its own mind. Without recourse, our thinking is shaped for us and unwittingly a vision emerges based on a distorted and incomplete reality.

For the sake of peace and stability in South Africa, each and every journalist has the important task of acting as independent monitoring body. The Press must somehow be prevented from attributing blame to, or senselessly discrediting, any political organisation for the violence.

Unsubstantiated and biased statements which needlessly anger or provoke the people on the ground, the victims of the bloody violence.

If it can be firmly established that the published findings of journalists are directly related to further incidents of violence, then these individuals together with their editors and

Violence in South Africa is the greatest stumbling block to democracy

FRANK TALKING Address by Chief

Buthelesi to Sowetan Press seminar this week:

members of a community or region whose political affiliations, beliefs and perceptions differ from those reported.

It is only through impartiality that journalists can ever hope to survive in our multi-dimensional and plural society.

Journalists must rally to protect the ideals and principles of their profession. South Africa is a heterogeneous society made up of a myriad of different races, cultures, languages and ethnic groupings,

all with varied political affiliations. The freedom of association, the freedom of the Press and the freedom of expression ultimately mean that all these views must be allowed to be expressed openly and without political intimidation.

A democratic Press will act as a catalyst of change which communicates across all divides in these challenging times, helping us create a vision which imparts hope and faith in the future of this country.

Journalists must rally to protect the ideals and principles of their profession

Sowetan

23/10/92

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details of these happenings? We need to question whether the South African media is feeding the public truthful, objective accounts of the turmoil that is taking place in our communities, at the negotiation table and in the streets?

Are our journalists standing as independent assessors, able to resist the temptations of political propaganda and subversive reporting? Is the vision of South Africa, as portrayed by the media, the reality as it really exists?

The freedom of expression and the freedom of the Press are fundamental prerequisites to any future democracy. And while every individual within the world of the media has the right to personally associate with whatever political views or organisations they choose, they - as journalists - must attempt to transcend their personal biases in favour of honest and responsible reporting.

Free expression

The new awareness of the potential for free expression in South Africa, where the limits on reporting have been radically minimised, must not be transformed into a political propaganda tool, even further restricting our public understanding and appreciation of current events.

Violence in South Africa is the greatest stumbling block to democracy. Violence has destroyed communities, it has destroyed family life, it has destroyed the respect for humanity.

Yet, while the appalling death toll in Natal and the Transvaal escalates beyond comprehension, I regret to observe that the South African media in general has offered little critical or constructive analysis of its causes and course.

While the role of the Press is not to stand as arbitrator or judge, it is vital that it offers our public a clear perception of events, an unprejudiced scrutiny of facts, and a responsible monitoring of political violence.

The media functions as the watchdog, not only of the government, but of society at large. Journalists have a duty to expose ills of administration in public office. To expose injustices as they occur. To expose pressure and intimidation from various

supervisors, should be held legally accountable for their irresponsible reporting. South Africa must not become a victim of Press sensationalism!

Rather the focus of today's journalists needs to be more analytical and discerning and their scope of reporting should be broadened significantly. More concrete efforts must be made to focus on the root causes of the violence rather than attribute the violence solely to political factors.

There is a growing concern about the violence perpetrated against members of the journalist profession. There are very real threats coming from radical elements in our society, often not recognised or reported, but which force our local journalists to publicise very specific lines of political thinking.

While forced biased reporting in favour of particular organisations may temporarily appease these organisations, the more this practice becomes the norm, the more distorted the stories will become and the greater the pressure which will be brought to bear on the journalists.

Biased reporting alienates many other

The media needs to be impartial

Sowetan 23/10/92 (243)

AS A LEADING politician in this country with years of experience in the political realm and through direct exposure to the politics of the day, I have developed clear and concrete ideals and beliefs concerning the structure and functioning of a future democratic South Africa. But before my vision can be realised I need to shape the vision of all South Africans.

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Who more than the Press is better equipped to investigate and publish the details of these happenings? We need to question whether the South African media is feeding the public truthful, objective accounts of the turmoil that is taking place in our communities, at the negotiation table and in the streets?

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The freedom of expression and the freedom of the Press are fundamental prerequisites to any future democracy. And while every individual within the world of the media has the right to personally associate with whatever political views or organisations they choose, they as journalists - must attempt to transcend their personal biases in favour of honest and responsible reporting.

Free expression

The new awareness of the potential for free expression in South Africa where the limits on reporting have been radically minimised must not be transformed into a political propaganda tool, even further restricting our public understanding and appreciation of current events.

Violence in South Africa is the greatest stumbling block to democracy. Violence has destroyed communities, it has destroyed family life - it has destroyed the respect for humanity.

Yet, while the appalling death toll in Natal and the Transvaal escalates beyond comprehension I regret to observe that the South African media in general has offered little critical or constructive analysis of its causes and course.

While the role of the Press is not to stand as arbitrator or judge, it is vital that it offers our public a clear perception of events - an unprejudiced scrutiny of facts, and a responsible monitoring of political violence.

The media functions as the watchdog, not only of the government, but of society at large. Journalists have a duty to expose ills of administration in public office. To expose injustices as they occur. To expose pressure and intimidation from various

political factions. This all centres on the issue of the availability of information, how it is used and the uses to which it is put. If the Press is restricted in any way in these vital areas of information dissemination, then it cannot hope to fulfil its democratic function in society.

Only half of what we read and hear is accurate. The rest is made up of political posturings, distortions and concerted attempts to sway and prejudice the public.

A vision emerges

The credibility of the local media is seriously undermined by this process. The public in South Africa is not allowed to make up its own mind. Without recourse, our thinking is shaped for us and unwittingly a vision emerges based on a distorted and incomplete reality.

For the sake of peace and stability in South Africa, each and every journalist has the important task of acting as independent monitoring body. The Press must somehow be prevented from attributing blame to, or

senselessly discrediting, any political organisation for the violence.

Unsubstantiated and biased statements which needlessly anger or provoke the people on the ground, the victims of the bloody violence.

If it can be firmly established that the published findings of journalists are directly related to further incidents of violence, then these in-

dividuals together with their editors and supervisors should be held legally accountable for their irresponsible reporting. South Africa must not become a victim of Press sensationalism!

Rather the focus of today's journalists needs to be more analytical and discerning and their scope of reporting should be broadened significantly. More concrete efforts must be made to focus on the root causes of the violence rather than attribute the violence solely to political factors.

There is a growing concern about the violence perpetrated against members of the journalist profession. There are very real threats coming from radical elements in our society, often not recognised or reported, but which force our local journalists to publish very specific lines of political thinking.

While forced biased reporting in favour of particular organisations may temporarily appease these organisations, the more this practice becomes the norm, the more distorted the stories will become and the greater the pressure which will be brought to bear on the journalists.

Biased reporting alienates many other

FRANK TALKING *Address by Chief*

Buthelezi to Sowetan Press seminar this week:

members of a community or region whose political affiliations, beliefs and perceptions differ from those reported.

It is only through impartiality that journalists can ever hope to survive in our multi-dimensional and plural society.

Journalists must rally to protect the ideals and principles of their profession. South Africa is a heterogeneous society made up of a myriad of different races, cultures, languages and ethnic groupings,

all with varied political affiliations. The freedom of association, the freedom of the Press and the freedom of expression ultimately mean that all these views must be allowed to be expressed openly and without political intimidation.

A democratic Press will act as a catalyst of change which communicates across all divides in these challenging times, helping us create a vision which imparts hope and faith in the future of this country.

Journalists must rally to protect the ideals and principals of their profession

Violence in South Africa is the greatest stumbling block to democracy



Court rules for Times Media against union

AN APPLICATION by the SA Union of Journalists to compel Times Media Ltd to participate in the media industry's collective bargaining forum, known as the Conciliation Board, has been turned down by the Industrial Court. *(10/15)*

SAUJ president Dirk Hartford said yesterday the application had been brought to force TML to participate in the board until

(243) RAY HARTLEY *(10/15)*

a final court ruling was made next year. The court ruled that TML could remain outside the board, from which it withdrew in April. *(10/15)*

TML group secretary Barrie Harris said negotiations were still under way with the union over ways in which the conciliation board could be used in future. *(10/15)*

FOCUS *Mediocre journalism needs to be 'treated with contempt'*



focus on the **Press**

Sowetan 27/10/92

Strini Moodley, publicity secretary of Azanian People's Organisation, discussed Press freedom at the *Sowetan* Press seminar in the context of South African society. He maintains that to cry for Press freedom in an unfree society is a romantic notion and says the Press will never be free as long as "it is controlled by a fascist minority". (243)

SOME MONTHS AGO I was in Johannesburg. I picked up a copy of *The Star* and read about a major incident of violence somewhere near Daveyton. The reporter wrote about 200 Zulus marching against 200 Xhosas.

I wondered how this reporter (a white woman) was able to distinguish the differences between the "Zulu gang" and the "Xhosa gang".

It is this kind of mediocre journalism that deserves to be treated with the utmost contempt. It is this kind of journalism that leads to the kind of harassment that white journalists and some black ones suffer when they attempt to go into the township to report.

I am not condoning attacks on journalists but I must caution all journalists to take a little more care when they report on events in this country - particularly in these very sensitive times.

To cry for Press freedom in an unfree society is a romantic notion. Press freedom and the media in general will never do its duty for as long as it exists within the confines of a society that is controlled by a minority and that is characterised by fascism.

What are the ethics of journalism? The journalist cannot be neutral - particularly in a society where there is blatant oppression and exploitation.

The journalist has a duty to uncover evils perpetrated by those in power and those who aspire to power.

The journalist is, in fact, a freedom fighter. Because for as long as the society is unfree, the media can never be freed.

In our country the media is owned and controlled by the minority and propagates the ideas of the minority group. In such a situation the journalist becomes a victim who cannot truly report on events and articulate the ideas of those who oppose that ruling class.

The big corporations in our country are clearly bent on proposing one set of ideas which will ensure that their power and control is perpetuated even as we languish at the edge of transition. That is why Azapo's views on Codesa, for example, were not given as much space or time in the newspapers. That is why journalists wrote Azapo into marginalisation.

Journalists, if they truly believe in their profession, must be able to expose the underlying conspiracy by the ruling class to keep itself in power.

Journalists are victims of bosses who have no interest in liberating society. They are intent upon maintaining the status quo. That is why the major white newspapers in this country continue to employ white exiles from Zimbabwe as sub-editors; that is why black journalists will always be denied the right to take control of major newspapers in this country.



Strini Moodley

have demonstrated a much greater understanding of the notion that a journalist is a freedom fighter. Nat Nakasa and Can Themba are two examples.

White journalists, on the other hand, are incapable in the main of recognising the link between Press freedom and liberation. Newspapers such as *The Sunday Times* and *The Star* are designed to satisfy the interests of white people, to articulate the views of white society.

People like Ken Owen and Denis Beckett have no sync with black people's thinking and black people's frustrations. Yet people like them will hold senior positions. It would be inconceivable to have black commentators or analysts to occupy such powerful positions.

Aggrey Klaaste, Khulu Sibiyi, Barney Mhomboti will never be allowed to control the political desk on such newspapers.

If Azapo had its way, the Ken Owens and the Denis Becketts would be relegated to community newspapers that circulate in Parktown

and Khulu would take over the political desks and editorships of *The Star*, *The Sunday Tribune* and *The Sunday Star*.

That is why the Black Consciousness Movement as long ago as 1972 called for the establishment of an independent black Press. Not the kind of white controlled black Press that we have in our country now.

As journalists involved in the black community we were keenly aware at the time that if we were to truly uphold the principles of journalism we had to engage in battle with the powers that be.

That is why so many journalists were subjected to harassment, torture, detention and even death at the hands of the ruling class - and this does not exclude the corporations themselves which found every opportunity to rid itself of upstart black journalists.

If journalists are concerned about Press freedom, then they must plan strategies to take over the newspapers for which they work - in every sense of the word - in short, they must be prepared to storm the ramparts of the owners' mansions and their offices.

Mwasa and other trade unions in the media industry must come together to plan strategies to overthrow their bosses. They must also work out ways and means by which they can establish independent newspapers which will counterpoint the propaganda of the very newspapers for which they work.

The journalists themselves need to become involved in the struggles of their trade unions in more revolutionary ways - not just at the level of wage struggles but in re-defining the manner in which we report the things we say, the issues we report on and how we project ourselves in the community.

Black journalists need to be encouraged to be upgraded. They have achieved the positions they have through hard struggles financially and politically - unlike their white counterparts.

Azapo believes that all of us across the political spectrum within the liberation movement must get together behind closed doors to thrash out a strategy to overthrow the ruling class and build a society in which Press freedom can be

Afrikaans paper to print views of blacks

24/3
July 28/10/92
BLOEMFONTEIN. — An Afrikaans daily newspaper in Bloemfontein has introduced a new service to enable readers to become acquainted with the political interpretations of black newspaper editors.

Die Volksblad editor, Mr Johan de Wet, said in an editorial that the project had been launched because South Africa was likely to be involved in an election campaign unparalleled in the country's history.

Voters of all races were preparing to go to the polls together, and political parties would be trying to gain as much support as possible across racial divisions.

The newspaper's new project would provide guidance to voters as South Africa could not afford to enter the crucial elections "with blinkers on".

The editors of City Press, New Nation, the Indicator, Sowetan and Ilanga have agreed to take part in the project, whereby their editorials or political columns will be published on various days on Die Volksblad's editorial pages.

Mr de Wet said the participating editors had been carefully chosen.

The Sunday paper City Press was a sister publication of Die Volksblad, Die Burger, Beeld and Oosterlig. This newspaper, as well as the Sowetan — the largest daily in the country, published by The Argus Group — were therefore in "white hands".

The weekly New Nation newspaper was African National Congress-inclined, while the weekend Ilanga was controlled by the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The Indicator, also a weekly, was aimed at the Indian community.

The participants were therefore representative of the widest possible political spectrum, said Mr de Wet.

To avoid misunderstanding, the editors' views would be published verbatim in English, and as completely as possible.

Mr de Wet said that when deemed necessary, his newspaper would react to those views in its own editorials.

In this way a healthy dialogue could be established with some of South Africa's most influential opinion makers, thus far largely ignored by white readers.

The project began on Monday with Mr Khulu Sibya of City Press's column: "Go all the way on torture expose".

Yesterday saw the publication of the political column of Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, editor of New Nation, with the column of Mr Ameen Akalwaya, of the Indicator, today.

It will be the turn of Mr Aggrey Klaaste, editor of Sowetan, tomorrow, and Ilanga's opinion by Mr T G Mthembu on Friday. — Sapa.

focus on the Press

Sowetan 28/10/92

THE ANC's **Saki Macozoma** gave the organisation's perspective on freedom of the Press at the Sowetan's Press seminar and argued that there could be no democracy if the free flow of information was not accessible to all citizens. He said a media charter would have to be drawn up which will detail media freedoms and broad principals:

THERE IS a direct relationship between the formation of the ANC in 1912 and an independent black Press in South Africa.

One of the first projects the ANC engaged in after its formation was to create a newspaper called *Abantu-Batho*. The founding fathers and mothers of the ANC had learnt from practical experience of the importance of a Press that would represent their views and interests within the context of a growing climate of intolerance and exclusion.

Over the 80 years of the ANC's existence and in the struggles waged over that period the ANC has had its views on the importance of a free Press reinforced and incorporated into its policies. Press freedom from any political group's viewpoint can be viewed from three perspectives. These are:

● Press Freedom In Democratic Theory:

The ANC believes that the core of democratic theory is the recognition of the right of all citizens to participate fully in the decision-making process of their society. This means there cannot be a democratic society without a free flow of information accessible to all citizens.

● Press Freedom In A Period Of Transition:

Apartheid is a totalitarian ideology that sought to suppress all competing ideas through a myriad of Press and security laws. It is a *sine qua non* that a political transition that will lead to democracy is a reversal of all the factors that have contributed to the muzzling of the views of the oppressed majority. In colloquial political parlance this is referred to as the levelling of the political playing field.

Of course it is not only government-imposed restrictions that have resulted in the marginalisation of the oppressed in the media. As early as the 1880s black people realised the importance of access to a Press that was in their hands and served their interests as a group that was facing marginalisation in a colonial society. In launching his newspaper on November 3 1884 John Tengo Jabavu wrote:

"Although the columns of the Colonial press have never been open to any Native to unbosom himself, still, speaking as Natives who have had opportunities of observing the newspapers in the Colony, we have arrived at a conclusion not dissimilar to that expressed by our talented friend the Reverend E Makiwane during the sessions of the last Missionary Conference held in this town (King William's Town), that, in addressing Europeans, our countrymen felt rightly or wrongly, that they spoke or wrote out of courtesy."

In the 28 years that the independent black Press survived between 1884 and 1912, the people were underdeveloped and proletarianised.



Saki Macozoma

By 1913 Sol Plaatje, first Secretary-General of the ANC, was to write "Three Native papers have ceased publication during 1913, but we are still here to tell the story. It is not through any valour on our part as much as through the liberality of advertising firms throughout South Africa, who stood by us when our natural customers, the Native peasants of the Free State and Transvaal, were driven from pillar to post under the cruel provisions of an unprecedented law, and send us money."

In order to level the political playing field a number of mechanisms are necessary. ANC proposals on these mechanisms were submitted to Working Group 3 of Codesa. An essential element of those proposals dealt with an independent Media Commission which would ensure fair treatment of all political parties by the public broadcasting system, especially during the elections for a Constituent Assembly.

Since the referendum and the collapse of Codesa 2 we have been extremely concerned by the role played by the commercial media in the

transition period.

Monitoring that will look into bias, selectivity, omission, equal access, style of reporting, use of information without verification, etc., will have to be instituted.

It would be better if these measures should become unnecessary due to an understanding being reached among South Africans with an interest in the media field.

● Press Freedom In A Democratic Society

The view of the ANC is that a Media Charter will have to be drawn up which will detail media freedoms and broad principles that will promote them. Some of the elements of such a charter will be contained in the legislation and in a Bill of Rights. Others will merely serve as social guidelines.

The Media Charter would have to contain a number of provisions including Basic Rights and Freedoms.

Other elements of Basic Rights and Freedoms are:

The right to freely publish, broadcast and disseminate information,

Access to state information subject to limitations by a Bill of Rights and the Constitution,

No legislative measures restricting the free flow of information or imposing any form of censorship,

All media shall subscribe to a standard of practice or a Code of Conduct agreed upon by producers and distributors of public information;

No restrictions on public broadcasting can be tolerated.

● Democratisation Of The Media

This will take into account the historical imbalances. It will also have to take into account the diversity of communities in terms of geography, language, gender, interests and prevailing levels of literacy.

Legislation preventing monopolisation and concentration of media resources will have to be put in place.

● Conclusion

The ANC is totally committed to a free Press in South Africa. The free Press cannot be a servant of power but should be a mirror in which all of us can look at ourselves.

NEWS FEATURE *Hardships of journalism here surprises a visiting American journalist*

In awe of the SA journalists

By Janet Connor

■ DIFFERENT WORLDS SA's most dangerous job, while in the US the worst is being shunned or scoffed at:

THE SOWETAN FREEDOM OF the Press seminar last week was an inspiration. Maybe no one in the room felt like I did because as an American journalist, I was an observer, not a participant.

Sitting before me were men who had spent years behind bars for the right to print the truth. Or print anything.

The freedom of the Press rights discussed are so basic to me that I never thought of discussing them. access to basic government information, protection of sources and expanding ownership of the media.

Several times Thomas Jefferson, writer of the US Constitution, was quoted and references made to American Press freedom. It then realised how high the walls are that journalists in this country have been forced to climb.

Strini Moodley, Azapo's information secretary, said journalists had the most dangerous job in this country - if they're good.

What? I never considered my profession perilous. At home the worst that happens is being shunned or scoffed. But one of the first things I learned here was when to flaunt my notebook and when to hide it.

It seems American journalists face physical danger only when reporting in a foreign country.

But back up. Their talk of freedom of information acts, affirmative action in media ownership and media charters went right over my head. Yeah, I've heard it all before. Discuss-

Sowetan 28/10/92 (243)

tion among American media is on a different level, although I now realise it's fluff compared to South Africa. The recent hot topic, especially in universities, surrounds political correctness, an idea I've never figured out. The debate is whether terminology offensive to a minority group should be condoned in the name of free speech and who has the authority to decide.

On a more practical level, in my home state of South Carolina, the freedom of information act was recently challenged during a state government sting.

Three reporters were jailed for several days for refusing to reveal sources. After an outcry that was quickly resolved, the journalists triumphed.

Another hot topic is access to government information when it may affect national security. As the troops were readying themselves before the Gulf War, the polemic was reporters' access to the troops and their manoeuvres.

The Pentagon opened the doors and journalists bombarded Saudi Arabia by the thousands. Now that's freedom of the press - although later it was confirmed the Pentagon released biased information.

Investigative journalism has been the pride of American Press. But it is fading because of the lack of drive in upcoming journalists. The average reader in the United States wants news to be easy to read, quick and not too terribly thought-provoking.

Television news, with its short, visual stories, has shortened attention spans and turned news into entertainment.

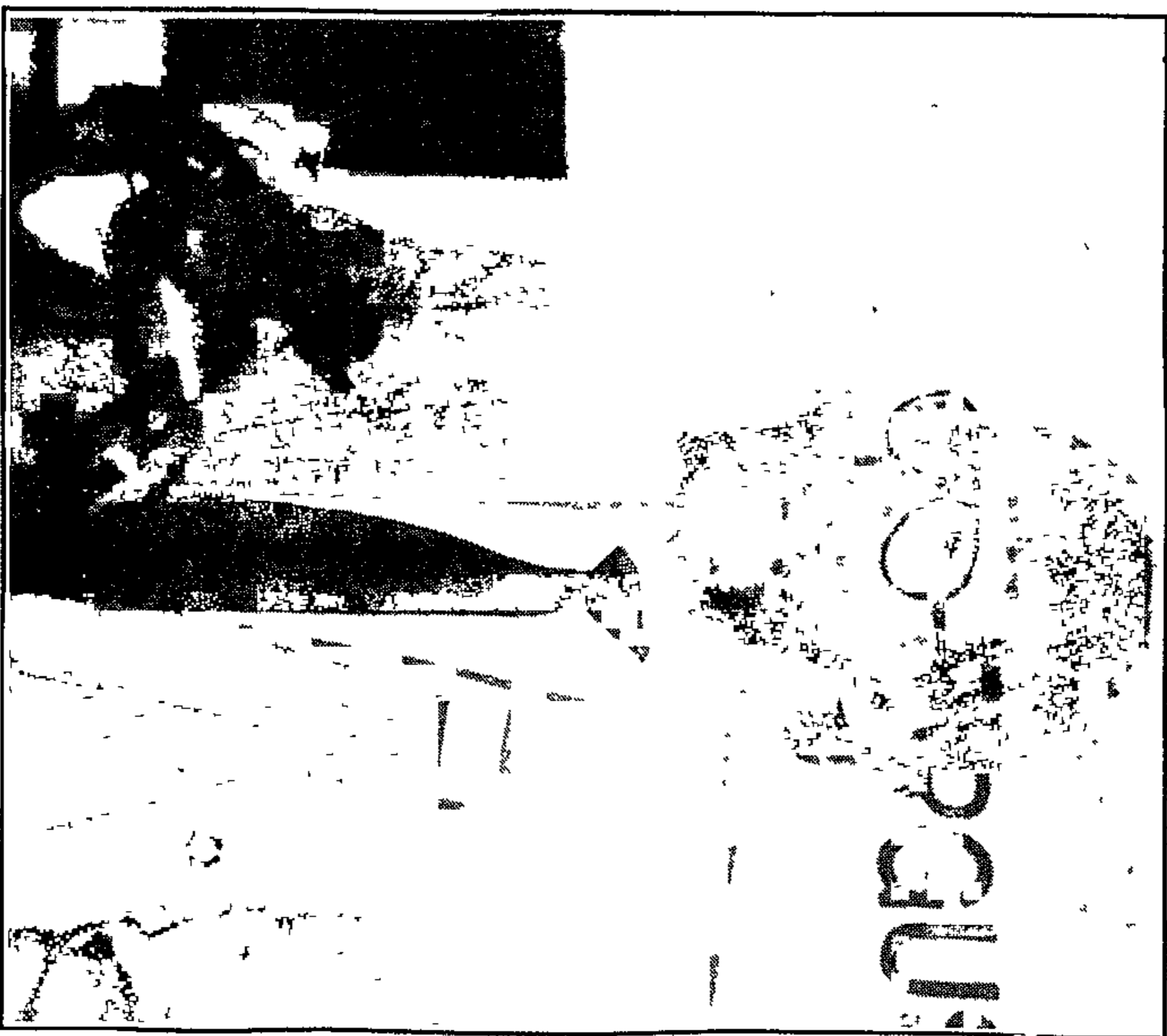
Of course it is essential to have media legislation and charters but they must be implemented with gusto. True, the American Press theoretically has access to any government information which does not threaten national security (a debatable clause) but the information often is hidden or ignored.

The American Press, although occasionally breaking new ground or managing to bring a top dog to his knees, often takes for granted its scope of freedom and fails to fully use its access.

I forget that journalists on the other side of the ocean are willing to spend years behind bars for the right to question a government official and get an answer.

While I spent years studying libel and right to privacy law cases, journalists in this country were fighting to have police reports released.

Put in this light, it was humbling to face these dedicated journalists.



Strini Moodley ... Journalists have a dangerous job.

focus on the Press

MWASA, WHOSE ORIGIN was in the Union of Black Journalists - which was directly affected by the ignoble attempt to silence and completely emasculate the Press - seizes this opportunity to commend all the positive forces of light that stood steadfastly against the perpetrators of the evil political suppression, economic exploitation and social degradation

Were Bantu Biko, Onkgopotse Tiro and a host of others to arise from their graves and find the National Party brushing shoulders with the condemned - and the leadership of the country entrusted upon it - they would quickly return to their graves in shock

Biko sought to inculcate and infuse blacks with a militant spirit to fight injustices without fear

Self-help projects mushroomed throughout the country and organisations aimed at fostering that spirit were founded

The UBJ had its origins in that kind of a situation *The World* and the *Weekend World* were utilised by black journalists who were not recognised by law as workers to enlighten and inform their community

A whole gamut of laws aimed at curtailing the freedom of the Press were enacted. A number of extremely good journalists were turned into social casualties, many more banished and a host of others jailed

Some went into exile and, worse still, others lost their lives at the hands of the South African security apparatus

The few that remained operated under extreme hardships of total censorship and the notorious Section 205

Still, these men and women remained true to their calling and assumed the role of harbingers of the new social order. They undertook to report matters as they were. They exposed themselves to State brutality in pursuit of Press freedom and freedom of speech

The electronic media in this country is the monopoly of the State

It provided the intellectual muscle to the colonial parliament that condoned the massacre of people at Belhoek, Sharpeville, Langa, Nyanga, Soweto and everywhere

It protected the police murder machine that killed freedom fighters in detention

It protected the Vorster Government that defrauded the taxpayers of billions of rands in the Information Scandal. It suppressed the findings of the Sanlam commission in its own fraud

It was founded along the lines of the German broadcasting corporation and later modelled after the Nazi radio stations

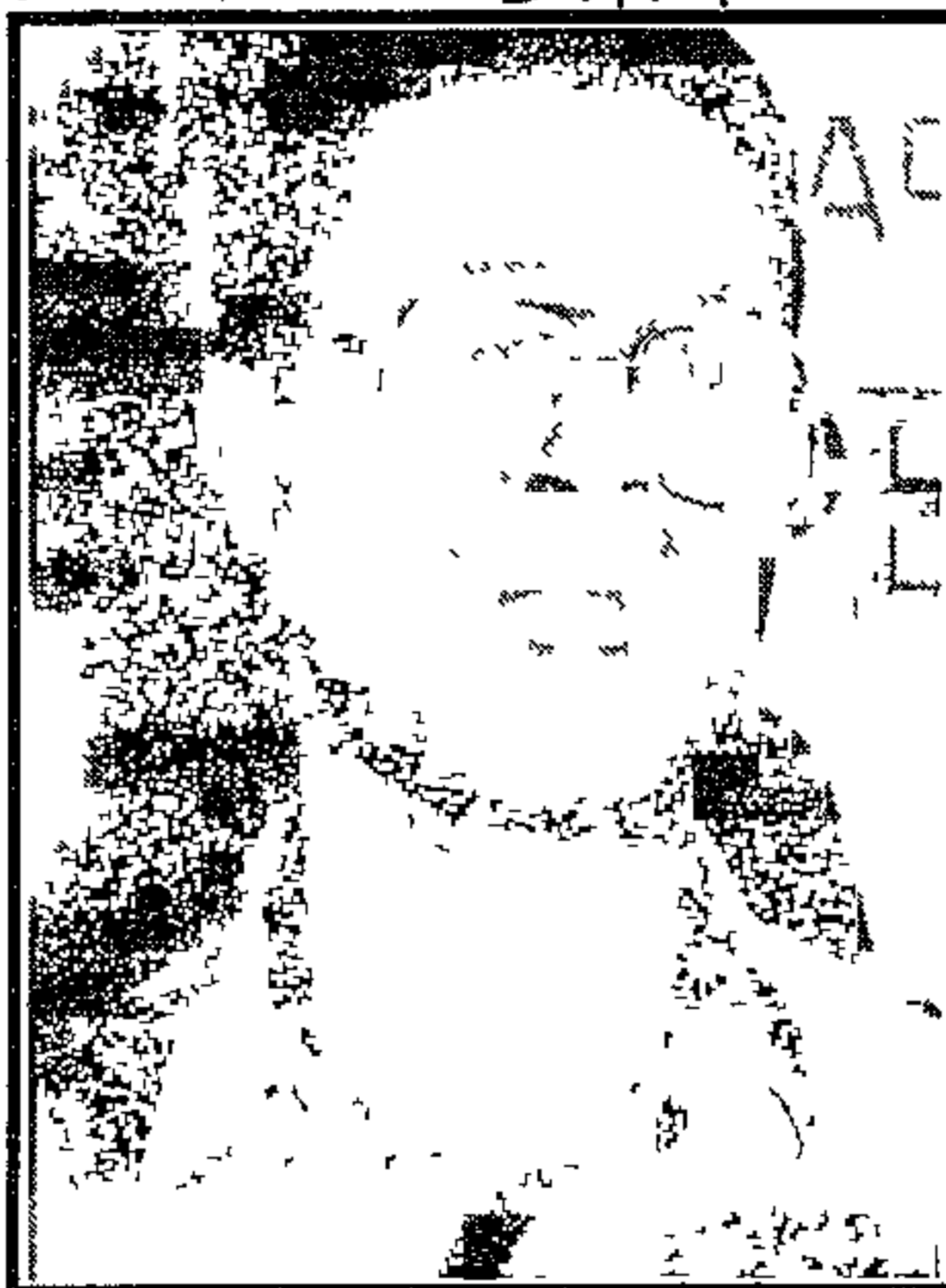
We hope that the winds of change will blow in this direction

The freedom of the Press should therefore be seen as a fundamental right to report without fear

Looking back at the years of racial oppression and suppression of the Press, Mwasa secretary general S'thembele Khala, who addressed the Sowetan seminar on freedom of the Press, examines the necessity of its role in the light of Bantu education which robbed generations of blacks of the right to know.

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S'thembele Khala of Mwasa

or favour. It should be seen as the first right of any society, which would be above all the laws, ethics and traditions of the country

The media cannot be politically aligned. What we see in our country today is the bad influence of the SABC which should be discouraged. If the media is politically aligned it paces itself into the political chemistry of its ally. If the ally is guilty of complicities, the allied paper cannot step aside as an innocent bystander

The fundamental tenet of the media is its accessibility to the public. Its objectivity and ability to take criticism

The present media must break with the historical role played by the media. The media has, with regard to the different economic and political systems, been the spokesman of the ruling classes

The role of the media, under the heading of Press freedom, should be clearly defined. He who controls the media, controls the minds of the people

This is very important in the shaping of society and must be guarded carefully

Freedom of speech and of the Press is not an

absolute right. We cannot for instance accept the rights of racist and fascist newspapers to preach sermons of racism and anarchy

No instrument of dissemination should be granted the right to sow anarchy, confusion and hate

The political situation in this country is confused and the media has a critical role to play. The media must be the watchdog of the people

The media is doing too little to bring current issues into focus

In most instances it reports them in a complicated and confusing manner

At most we are given the Government definition

If the fighting forces cannot tolerate one another now, what will happen if one is in power and the other the subject. The investors will lose confidence and there will be a mass disinvestment, which would result in the loss of jobs, the increase in misery and human suffering

The media is doing very little to correct misconceptions and deliberate distortions. It is time that the media becomes critical and possesses a mind of its own

People have died and continue to die in the name of democracy. Can we blame Mussolini for saying that democracy is a putrefying corpse? Can we blame Bernard Shaw for his deep suspicions of democracy, that in the end democracy is a tool in the hands of the wealthy minority in which their demagogues humbug people into voting for them?

Bantu education has denied us the opportunity to tackle these basic social issues at an early age. It is too late now to go back to school to learn new concepts

Because of these historical disadvantages we now rely totally on the media for education

The media is an important ally of any democratisation process. Our society must be exposed to all the information it requires or else our citizens will never be in a position to identify and positively and constructively respond to the issues facing them. The media in South Africa must serve the public in such a way that the ideals of a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous society is pursued and advanced to the fullest

Thursday

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NEWS Male pupils main users of hormone

Workers abused - claim

■ 'Blacks used as part of white employees' package'

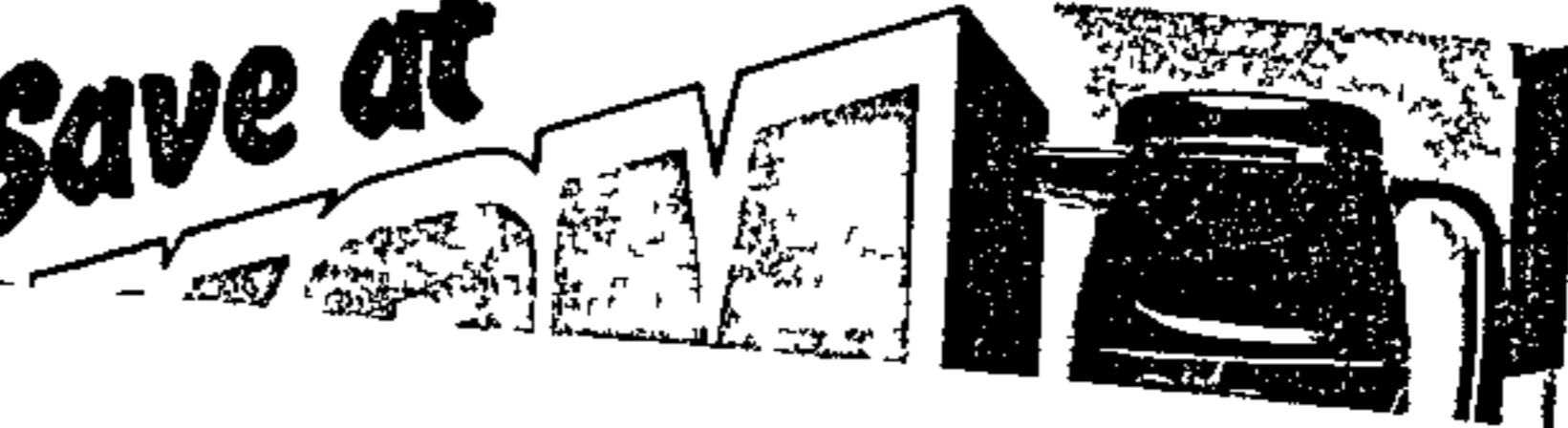
THE Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) is considering taking legal action against the management of the Durban-based Republican Press magazine group. At a Press conference

yesterday, Mwasa assistant general secretary Themba Hlatshwayo alleged black workers at Republican Press were "regarded as part and parcel of the white employees' privilege package"

Hlatshwayo specifically alleged that white staff had been given permission to use black workers as gardeners and domestic servants and that the highest echelons of management were "part of that" - Sapa



Save at



Weekly Mail allegations 'unfounded'

Informants' statement totally

false

Sowetan 30/10/92

Sowetan Correspondent

THERE is no evidence to support allegations made in the *Weekly Mail* of May 8 to 14 and May 15 to 22 that the South African Police (SAP) planned and instigated violence in the Vaal area, the Goldstone Commission has found.

In a report released yesterday the Commission also found that in evidence before the one-man Goldstone Committee chaired by Mr RM Wise, SC, set up to investigate the *Weekly Mail* allegations, nothing justified the allegations that the SAP had a base which was linked with the planning of assassinations in the Vaal, or the innuendo that the police were involved in a death campaign or a "silent war against leaders and activists of the ANC and its allies".

The committee also found the statements by Mr Daniel Kolsang and Mr Solly Mngomezulu that the SAP planned and instigated violence, which constituted the basis of reports by the *Weekly Mail* on May 8 and 15 this year, to be totally false.

Covert police hit squad report 'lies'

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ARG 30/10/92

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Allegations in the Weekly Mail that police planned and instigated violence in the Vaal and maintained a base from which to plan assassinations, were untrue, the Goldstone Commission found.

The report of a one-man committee of the commission by Mr RM Wise, disclosed to President De Klerk yesterday, found that the two sources quoted in the Weekly Mail, who alleged police instigated attacks on activists, were lying

Their information was "untruthful and without substance," said the chairman of the commission, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone

The Weekly Mail reports, published in May this year, were "seriously prejudicial" to police, who had not had an opportunity to respond before publication, the judge said.

'Police ignored massacre warning'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The police were either involved in the Boipatong massacre or their handling of the attack by Kwamadala hostel dwellers showed gross incompetence, lawyers representing the ANC told the Goldstone Commission inquiry into the June 17 massacre.

Delivering his preliminary closing arguments, ANC lawyer Arthur Chaskalson said the police had been warned of an impending attack but had taken no action to prevent it.

Even if there were no secu-

The reports were based on information supplied by Mr Daniel Kholisang and Mr Solly Mngomezulu who told the committee that police used false names, unmarked cars with false number plates, unregistered safe houses and pag-

rity force Casspirs and no white people present during the attack — a number of witnesses had alleged there were — it implied a level of involvement on the part of the police, if not gross incompetence or complicity, Mr Chaskalson said.

He asked why the Boipatong police station was not properly equipped, since police were afraid to enter the township without armoured vehicles.

"It should not be a question of money or resources. Nothing is more important than stopping the violence," Mr Chaskalson said

ing numbers.

Mr Wise found that Mr Kholisang was in fact a police informer and Mr Mngomezulu had lied. It was completely untrue that Captain AD du Plessis, Constable Johannes Nkwane, Warrant Officer Thys

Nolte, or Sergeant George Supra were in any way involved with planning or committing acts of violence

The allegations appeared to have been based solely on that the four policemen were members of the Crime Intelligence Service (CIS), and as such were associated with or involved in covert operations

The commission made three recommendations:

- It would be inappropriate — and an infringement on the freedom of the Press — for the commission to instruct the Weekly Mail to publish its findings with equal prominence to that given the allegations.

- It referred the manner in which covert operations should be carried out to the Minister of Law and Order. Covert operations should be investigated by a non-police impartial agency

- Police should be given adequate time to respond to allegations

Focus on the Press

BECAUSE THIS IS A SEMINAR on the Press, I would rather share my vision of journalism in the new South Africa. My view of the prospects for a free Press is somewhat pessimistic.

Any new government will, almost inevitably, fail to meet expectations and, as criticism mounts, it will be tempted to do what governments in trouble always do: turn on the bearer of bad tidings and blame him for the bad news.

A huge body of legislation on the statute book has restricted the free flow of information and inhibited open discussion for as long as many of us can remember.

Matters have improved in the last year or so, but old habits die hard.

Bureaucrats of all races regard themselves as responsible more to the Government than to the public. Their instinctive reaction to media inquiries is "What the hell has it got to do with you?"

At many levels, there is scant understanding of the role of a critical and inquiring press. Pressure, both subtle and unsubtle, continues to be exerted upon journalists to take sides in the political struggle on the basis of "If you are not for us, you must be against us".

This intolerance of the irritating intrusions and occasional excesses of newspapers in a free society suggests that the fight for freedom of expression will have to be fought for over and over again in the future.

Everyone seems to agree that the Press has great influence for good or ill in the new society.

But to who are we responsible? We are responsible to our readers, and our responsibilities - it seems to me - are these:

- To convey information and ideas to people, and put choices before them that will make them free; and

- To act as a channel of communication between government and people, and people and government, thereby promoting justice and sound governance.

We must give reasonable opportunities for reply to those whom we attack or criticise. We must keep free of any affiliations that might compromise us in the eyes of the public.

And we must keep at bay powerful commercial interests who seek to control and influence the way in which news and comment is presented.

Perhaps most important of all is our duty to ensure that the "market place of ideas", to borrow a phrase from John Grogan of Rhodes, remains open.

We have to insist that the mistakes of the past are not repeated by whatever government comes to power.

In order to make sensible decisions and govern properly, governments need to find out facts quickly and respond to them.

The Star's editor-in-chief **Richard Steyn** argued at Sowetan's seminar on Press freedom that because of too much garbage from the past, journalists that had been involved in the liberation struggle would discover that power does strange things to people:

Sowetan 30/10/92



Richard Steyn

And free and open media are best placed to provide those facts.

We must also remain in the frontline in upholding the right to free speech and defending the rights of others, including political opponents, to speak freely.

It's easy to stand up for one's own right to free speech - the test of our sincerity is to what extent we are prepared to stand up for the rights of those with whom we strongly disagree.

We journalists have not always set a good example in this regard. We are also sadly divided among ourselves.

South African journalism still betrays many of the divisions of the apartheid society. We have a mainstream Press and an alternative Press.

Newspaper proprietors are divided into members of the Newspaper Press Union and non-members.

We have a Conference of Editors and a Con-

ference of Independent Editors. We have a Media Council recognised by some and not by others, we have a code of conduct observed by some and ignored by the rest. Radio and television operate to a different set of rules from the print media.

Journalists belong to separate and racially divided trade unions. We run different courses for trainee journalists.

And all this in a profession, or craft, which is not slow to preach to others about the need to let bygones be bygones and come together.

We should also be far more ready to stand together. An attack on one journalist is an attack on all.

Self-respecting journalists

Advocacy journalists who have spent their lives in the struggle for liberation have understandable difficulty in realising that power does strange things to people.

There comes a time when the interests of power-holders and those of self-respecting journalists diverge.

Our freedom, in the end, depends on whether or not we have the support of the public.

We can assist in building up the nation, or contribute to what Professor Johan Degenaar of Stellenbosch calls the "polarisation syndrome", the politics of "us" and "them".

If we lead our readers to believe that negotiations are a zero-sum game in which one side will win all at the expense of the other, we are reducing the chances of differences being settled peacefully.

Finally, we must continue to remind people, without preaching to them or sounding holier-than-thou, that a free Press is not only a *sine qua non* for democracy - you cannot have one without the other - but the final guarantee of their security.

Have these lessons been learned by our future leaders and by the people? I wonder. I hope they have been learned by journalists.

Democracy, if it is to succeed, needs the nourishment of good, accurate, informed journalism.

My vision of the future, my hope for the future, is for South African journalism to provide that nourishment.

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Black lines

(243)

The views of five black editors are being carried into the homes of many conservative Afrikaners of the Free State and northern Cape. From this week *Die Volksblad*, Bloemfontein's representative in the Nasionale Pers stable, will publish daily editorials by the five.

In a front-page announcement on Monday *Die Volksblad* said that editors Khulu Sibiyi (*City Press*), Zwelakhe Sisulu (*New Nation*), Ameen Akalwaya (*The Indicator*), Aggrey Klaaste (*Sowetan*) and T G Mthembu (*Ilanga*) had agreed to submit their leaders or political columns for publication. So, "the voices of black editors will be heard in English in this newspaper."

Volksblad editor Johan de Wet has said in

continue →

(243)

an editorial that when necessary his newspaper would react to the views or political comment voiced by the black editors. "In this manner we could possibly start meaningful dialogue with some of the most influential opinion-formers in the country who to a great degree have so far been ignored by white newspaper readers. We believe there has been a gap."

De Wet believes SA will face a general election campaign next year — of a kind which the country has never experienced before. Publication of the views and political comment of black editors will give *Volksblad* readers an opportunity to see how black editors interpret politics.

De Wet, who succeeded Hennie van Deventer in March, is taking something of a political risk. The circulation area of his newspaper is predominantly CP territory. During the last two white elections the NP (for years the only party in the Free State to hold parliamentary seats) fared badly.

At a farewell function in March Van Deventer confessed to his staff that the biggest failure of his 12-year tenure had been *Die Volksblad's* inability to halt rightwing growth. De Wet will, however, find support from Naspers MD Ton Vosloo, who said at Van Deventer's farewell: "The cause which *Die Volksblad* propagates is not welcomed by all readers. However, we do not close our eyes to political reality and we will keep presenting the realities of our country for the scrutiny of our fellow citizens."

This is not the first time that De Wet has confronted a delicate political situation since he became editor. Last month he urged farmers of the conservative, self-proclaimed Republic of Kafferrivier in the southern Free State to change the offensive name of the area to make a contribution to reconciliation.

Like most of Naspers's recent editors, De Wet, who comes from Pietersburg, served a few years in one of the group's overseas bureaus. He was based in Washington DC before being appointed assistant editor of *Beeld* in the late Eighties.

Eddie Botha

Police-instigated violence 'untrue' — Goldstone

PRETORIA. — The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation yesterday found that allegations by the Weekly Mail newspaper of the planning and instigation of violence by the SA Police in the Vaal area were devoid of truth.

The commission's report, released here after being sent to President F W de Klerk, also found no justification for the newspaper's allegations that the police operated a base in the Vaal, from which assassinations of leading activists were planned.

The commission's findings were based on conclusions and observations by Mr R M Wise, who was appointed on May 22 this year by the Goldstone Commission to inquire into the allegations by the Weekly Mail in its May 8 and May 15 editions.

In the report, the Goldstone Commission agreed with Mr Wise's findings that statements by Mr Daniel Kollasang and Mr Solly Mngomezulu — whose allegations of police involvement in violence and assassinations were the basis of the Weekly Mail reports — were totally false.

While finding the allegations by the newspaper false, the Goldstone Commission considered it inappropriate to accede to a submission by the police's legal counsel during the proceedings that, if the claims were found to be untrue, the newspaper should be directed or requested to give similar prominence to the findings as it gave the original allegations.

In his report, Mr Wise had left a decision on this matter to the commission itself.

The Goldstone Commission did, however, say that Recommendation B of Mr Wise's

report, which deals with the manner in which covert police investigations are conducted, be referred to the Minister of Law and Order for his consideration as it was outside the terms of reference of the commission.

Recommendation B, according to the Wise Report, says that while covert operation for legitimate purposes appears to be recognised both internationally and by the National Peace Accord, "it would appear to be necessary that the way in which such covert operations are implemented and supervised should be investigated by a non-police, impartial agency and that such guidelines

should be laid down in connection with this. With regard to publication by the Weekly Mail of its allegations, the Goldstone Commission accepted the finding that the newspaper staff's attempts to get police comment were inadequate.

"It is obvious that the reports that appear in the Weekly Mail were seriously prejudicial to the SA Police in general and to the named officers in particular. The commission agrees that ... the manner in which the SA Police were invited to respond prior to publication was inadequate," said the commission. — Sapa

CT 30/10/92

Thumbs-up ⁽²⁴³⁾ for Mont Fleur

W/Mail 30/10 - 5/11/92

By REG RUMNEY

THE first left-of-centre scenario exercise South Africa and possibly the world has been welcomed by a random poll of those who have seen it

A supplement detailing the Mont Fleur scenario exercise is to be published as a supplement to *The Weekly Mail* next week. One criticism is that it has tended to be too prescriptive in form

Accountancy firm Senekal Mouton & Kitshoff senior partner Jannie Mouton describes it as an excellent and thought-provoking scenario study

"It makes a very good contribution, perhaps not so much to the debate as to people's awareness of the realities of the situation," Rand Merchant Bank chief economist Rudolf Gouws believes

It will, he believes, dampen expectations and instill realism about what is possible and what is not possible in South Africa.

The Democratic Party's Colin Eglin remarks that while it tends to oversimplification, as all scenarios do, simplification becomes a useful political tool. "Most importantly, it could give a focus to the political debate"

Leftwing economist Rob Davies has commented: "Too many self-proclaimed socialist governments in Africa and elsewhere have followed Icarus-style 'boom and bust' policies. If a democratic government in South Africa were to follow this course, it would not be long before it were subject to IMF conditionalities, which would preclude all possibilities of progressive change"

Pan Africanist Congress deputy president Dikgang Moseneke finds the scenarios a valuable exercise but contends they are prescriptive

"One can't help feeling too much is being done to prop up the Flamingo scenario. It is a thinly veiled 'high road'."

That this scenario exercise involved the voteless of South Africa makes a difference for BP manufacturing trading manager Deyar Natha. He says: "Up to now the scenarios we've seen, such as those by Clem Sunter and Nedcor-Old Mutual, have all tended to be seen by those left of centre as being the view of big business."

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE Goldstone Commission has cleared the police of allegations that a secret network of police bases in the Vaal area was used to plan and instigate political violence.

However, the one-man investigation by advocate RM Wise into the allegations — carried in *The Weekly Mail* earlier this year — recommends that covert operations aimed at obtaining intelligence in relation to crimes of violence should be investigated by a "non-police, impartial agency" and that guidelines should be laid down for the implementation and supervision of these.

"When an organisation exists which is permitted to carry out such under-

Goldstone clears 'secret base' police

WMAF 20/10 - 5/11/92

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cover operations and which has sophisticated means of doing so, the opportunity and temptation for abuse exists," Wise notes. "Outside the evidence before this committee there is much to suggest that in other contexts and other circumstances covert operations have been abused, in that they have been the means whereby illegal acts of violence have been carried out by the security forces."

He stresses, however, that covert operations for legitimate purposes appear to be recognised both internationally and by the National Peace Accord.

The "Wise Commission" was charged with conducting a preliminary inquiry, with an eye to determining whether a wider investigation into *The Weekly Mail's* allegations was necessary. Finding that the sources relied on by the newspaper "proved to be untruthful and without substance", it recommends that no further investigation take place.

The commission also finds that the police were not given adequate time to respond to the allegations before they were published. "(*Weekly Mail* editor Anton Harber) did not send the police the draft articles, but a list of questions

which cannot really be said to have made it clear what they were being accused of," he says.

The Weekly Mail based its reports on affidavits by a Vaal activist, Daniel Kolisang, and a recently returned exile, Solly Mngomezulu, who both stated they had been taken to a secret house and offered training or money to carry out attacks on African National Congress targets.

A *Weekly Mail* investigation discovered the location of the house and others linked to it, that it was a police operation and the names of several policemen involved. To do this, it had

to penetrate an elaborate veil of secrecy, including the systematic use of falsely registered vehicles and falsely registered pager and telephone numbers.

The Wise Commission found that Kolisang and Mngomezulu's statements were "totally false". It also cleared the policemen mentioned in *The Weekly Mail* reports, Captain AD du Plessis, Constable Johannes Mkwane, Warrant Officer Thys Nole and Sergeant George Supra, of involvement in planning or committing acts of violence.

● The commission's report only arrived an hour before the paper went to press. A fuller report will appear next week. See editorial, Page 18



Axed workers get jobs back

CT 2/11/92
PRETORIA — Perskor has been ordered to reinstate workers it dismissed in 1988, but will not have to pay compensation, according to the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) and the company.

Perskor group personnel manager Mr Fanie Gous said yesterday the Pretoria Labour Appeal Court ruling would affect about 70 workers — Sapa (243) ~~1/11/92~~

Business Day dawns on 18% of target market

CAPE TOWN — Eighteen percent of members of the business community read Business Day, and they all read it for its clearly focused business reporting.

This is the finding of a nationwide survey in an SA Business Research Evaluation study commissioned by Times Media Limited (TML) and carried out by Markinor

Only one other daily paper, The Star, which has a general circulation more than five times that of Business Day's, is read by more business people — 28% of those surveyed.

After Business Day came The Citizen with 17% and Beeld with 16%

Two other TML publications — the

6/12/87 3/11/92
LINDA ENSOR
Financial Mail and the Sunday Times — were read by most people in the business community in their respective categories. (243) (483)

The research was conducted by Markinor between July and September this year and was the fourth study undertaken since the project was started in 1986

A total of 53% of the respondents read the Sunday Times, and 48% of those who read the weekly financial sections read the Sunday Times' Business Times. Rapport and Sake Rapport came second in these two categories

Among magazines the Financial Mail took 30% followed by Time with 19%, Signature at 15%, Finance Week with 14% and Financies & Tegniek at 13% TML's other magazines, The Executive and Leadership, each won 6% support.

A total of 2 000 interviews were conducted in person with readers in the target market, which included business people of all races who were 25 years or older and who belonged to top or middle management, or were engaged in professional and technical occupations.

The total size of the target market, defined in a way compatible with AMPS, was estimated at close to 175 000

By ARTHUR GOLDSTUCK and PAUL STOBER

ABEL RUDMAN, the man the government entrusted with a worldwide disinformation campaign, this week told of his bitter battle for compensation with the South African Defence Force and the Office of the State President

Rudman was the frontman for *Newslink*, the hub of an international propaganda network aimed at undermining the image of the African National Congress

Sitting in the study of his Pretoria home with a portrait of President FW de Klerk hanging on the wall behind him, he said his decision to reveal his involvement in the secret projects came despite deep loyalty to the government.

A confident, tough-talking businessman, Rudman made it clear that he wanted what was his due, and he had had enough of every approach to the state being buffed.

"I've been pushed too far," said Rudman. "I'll fight to my last cent, my

9. As a means of subtly influencing the thought processes and perceptions of the people in Botswana - i.e. the ANC negative/RSA positive

10. As a legitimate cover for any number of projects and/or operations

State's propaganda man

U Mail 6/11-12/11/92
last drop of blood"

Rudman claims that, at one stage, the SADF had proposed a settlement payment of R6-million to "privatise" *Newslink*. However, the deal was never authorised, and went to arbitration. Rudman's claims were rejected, and the SADF obtained a ruling that it could claim money back from him.

BUSINESSMAN ABEL RUDMAN TELLS HOW HE RAN SAS INTERNATIONAL

that, while they've launched a military operation, they now want their money back as if it was a normal business deal?" Rudman angrily asked "No war can be a profit centre - you fight a campaign, using up bullets and equipment and so on, you're not expected to come back with money for it. You

write off the costs. Now they want money back that they spent on the project."

Rudman is furious that the government pulled the plug, but failed to protect the assets of the front company or its employees. Because of resultant cashflow problems, the company was

forced to retrench employees to close down.

He believed the state's *Weekly Mail* last week that it was going to recover assets and losses was sheer nonsense. It could have saved the company liquidation a year ago if they try to protect the assets.

The detailed report showed *The Weekly Mail* revealed that

● While the project was in 1988, under PW Botha's expansion of the project was recommended by chief of the tenant General AJ "Kat" L. on February 12 1990 a million in covert approved

● At that point, the day release from prison of Mandela, the army saw the need to counter the "twisted perception of Umkhonto against South Africa" in Africa

● The state had already more than R5-million for that stage. By the time the closed down on August 26 1991, R12-million had been spent

● *Newslink*, the new hub of the campaign, was August 31 1990 well after the end and the ANC's operations

● A front company called Investments was established on island of Jersey to act as a state funds from Military

State operatives to sue SADF for millions

By THE MAIL (S.A.)
The South African Defence Force may have to pay out millions to former employees of their now defunct secret projects if the employees sue the state.

After the state pulled the plug on projects like the Civil Operations Bureau (COB) and the Office of Front Companies promoting conservative black organisations, several former employees - some at being dumped or held accountable for cost overruns - are suing the state.

Through secretly funded, some front companies were established to conduct a wide range of operations. By pulling the plug on the projects, the SADF is responsible for a number of legal headaches.

The SADF and Defence Minister Pieter Mulder are being sued by 23 former members of the COB's Council of Contract. The combined sum is estimated to be in the region of R25-million.

Abel Rudman, the owner of

Newslink, is suing the SADF for R6-million. He claims that the SADF had proposed a settlement payment of R6-million to "privatise" *Newslink*. However, the deal was never authorised, and went to arbitration. Rudman's claims were rejected, and the SADF obtained a ruling that it could claim money back from him.

Rudman is seeking a R6-million settlement from the state for compensation for his own company into a now defunct MI operation. The state is now demanding R12-million from Rudman, which a claim was filed to the court. A settlement of R6-million was offered to Rudman and the court rejected Rudman's claims and ordered him to repay the R6-million to the state. The state is threatening to call in the R3-million "loan".

The state's lawyers are also suing several other former employees of the state. They were told yesterday by a Defence Ministry spokesman that the SADF was not going to compensate them. They are now suing the state for R25-million.

In another case, Di Barends Conradie, former head of the SAS International

in 1988 under the auspices of an MI front company in the eastern Cape, is suing the SADF for salary payments of R12-million. No settlement has been set for the case.

After being approached to set up a front company to promote race relations through education, Conradie soon discovered that the real aim of the project was to form and promote black groups in opposition to the United Democratic Front.

He was dismissed from the project in 1988 for what the SADF called financial mismanagement. His subsequent reinstatement in 1991 was overturned when he refused to hand over documents and assets of the company.

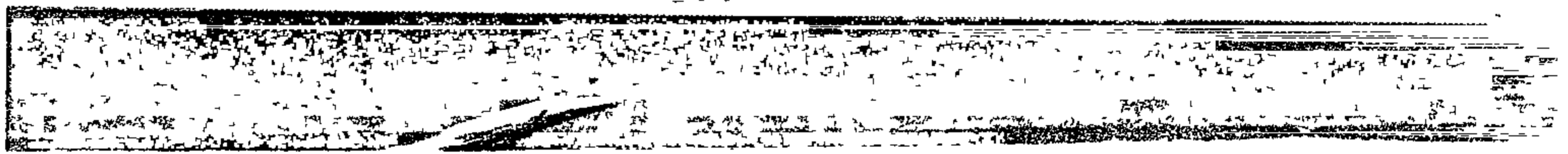
"I've lost my career. They just dropped me without any compensation. They set up front companies which became credible and could not just be liquidated," Conradie said this week. "They were using able people to perform certain tasks. After 1990 they simply tried to get rid of all the staff and their property."

Conradie says he holds no grudge against the SADF for setting up the MI project but objects to the way he was dumped. "They leave a man on his own with R55, claim back whatever they give him in the form of assets - that is an unfair labour practice."

Conradie now lives on royalties from scientific books he has written. As an employee of AEC he drew a salary of R105 000 a year and claims he was guaranteed a job until the age of 65. His associates are in the process of tabulating the amount owing to him.

On the COB affair, an SADF media liaison officer said: "The overall matter of settling disputes between the COB and the SADF is being handled by a negotiations mechanism. As good progress had been made in these negotiations, the SADF does not regard it appropriate to elaborate further."

The spokesman said he could not comment on the other civil proceedings until further investigations had been completed.



processes and
ANC negative/RSA

projects and/or

man

SA'S INTERNATIONAL

forced to retrench employees and then to close down

He believed the state's claim in *The Weekly Mail* last week that it attempting to recover assets and minimise losses was sheer hypocrisy "They could have saved the company from liquidation a year ago Why didn't they try to protect the assets then?"

The detailed documentation he showed *The Weekly Mail* this week revealed that

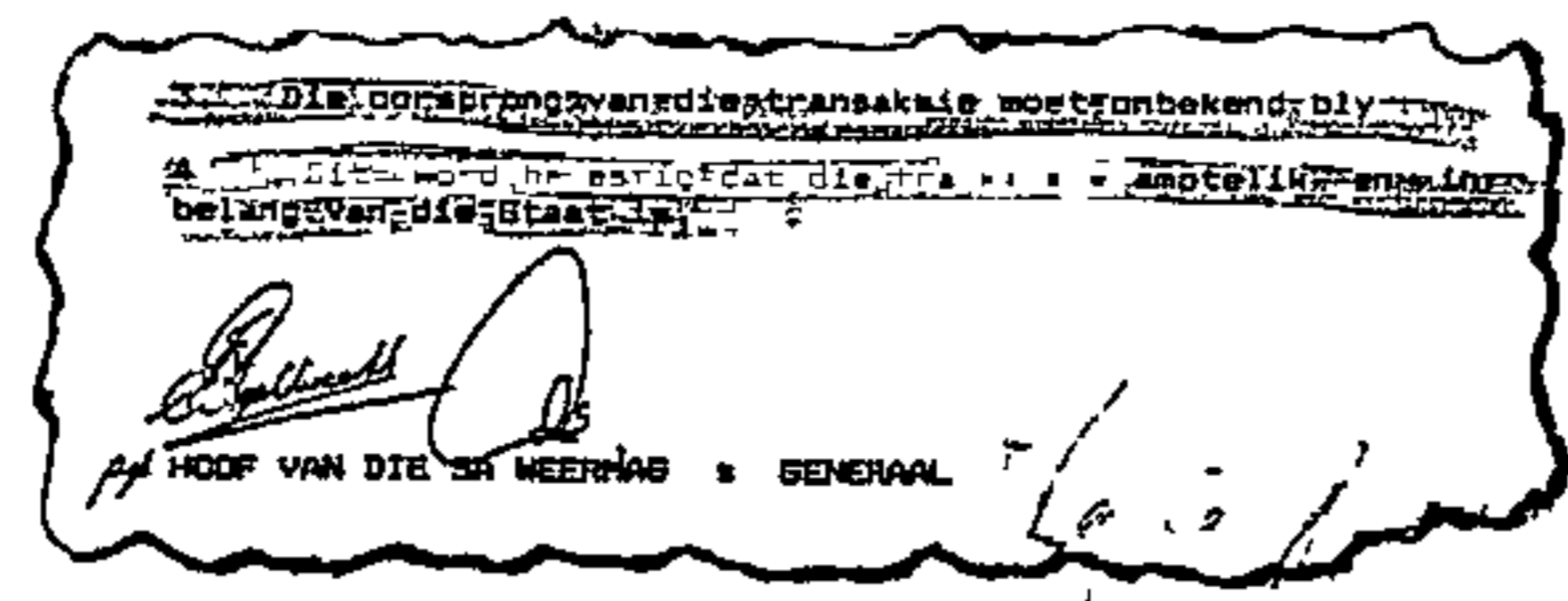
●While the project was conceived in 1988, under PW Botha's rule, expansion of the project was recommended by chief of the army Lieutenant General AJ "Kat" Liebenberg on February 12 1990 a further R2.3-million in covert funding was approved

●At that point, the day after the release from prison of Nelson Mandela, the army saw the project as crucial to counter the "twisted and false perception of Umkhonto we Sizwe against South Africa" in Africa

●The state had already approved more than R5-million for the project at that stage By the time the project was closed down on August 26 1991, nearly R12-million had been spent

●*Newslink*, the newspaper at the hub of the campaign, was launched on August 31 1990 well after the government and the ANC had entered negotiations

●A front company called Strelley Investments was established on the island of Jersey to act as a conduit for state funds from Military Intelligence



breaks cover

W/Mail 6/11-12/11/92 (243)

DISINFORMATION CAMPAIGN

(MI) to *Newslink*

●Volkskas Bank was intimately involved in the transfer of secret funds On February 15 1990, its International Department authorised the transfer of R2 327 366,31 from its account at Lloyds Bank in London to Strelley Investments

●On one occasion, the chief executive officer of Volkskas was instructed by MI to pay R300 000 into Rudman's personal account in Wolmaranstad, and was further instructed to keep the source of the funds secret Volkskas head office then instructed the local branch to make the payment without costs, to be credited by its international department

●By January 15 1991, *Newslink* had made a major impact on the Botswana newspaper market, had opened a branch office in Francistown, was distributing copies into Zimbabwe, and had targeted Zambia as its next distribution focus

●Purchase of a new printing press, at a cost of R650 000, was approved and effected as late as February 1991, to enable *Newslink* to increase its distribution

●On April 1 1991, it was proposed that a one-off final payment be made to cover operating costs until 1995, the end of the initial launch period origi-

nally envisaged for the project

●After funding was cut off in August 1991 and allegations of its military links made, contingency plans were discussed in a meeting with SADF representatives on August 4 A "settlement" figure of R6-million was proposed

"The original deal was that I would eventually own the company after five years," said Rudman "I stopped all my other businesses and invested everything into this thing It was an enormous operation The marketing involved was immense We sponsored

'They can't use you as a prostitute and then afterwards say they're over and done with you'

soccer tournaments, pop festivals, horses, the works Now they want to recover losses It's ridiculous"

Rudman alleged that a Washington front set up by MI, International Network Information — with the same propaganda objectives as *Newslink* — had cost the state at least R5-million in funding They had then paid a substantial settlement figure to their

alleged front man, lobbyist Tom Huhee, to close down the operation "cleanly"

However, claims Rudman, the settlement figure discussed with him on August 4 last year created a problem for the SADF, as they would be unable to persuade the treasury to authorise the amount Smaller amounts had been paid out of the Special Defence



Abel Rudman 'I've been pushed too far'

Account, but the Treasury had to be given authority to pay out the kind of lump sums required in the *Newslink* project

Rudman was advised to go for arbitration, and they would present a case that would enable the settlement figure to be "rubberstamped" by a judge

However, the case presented by the SADF during the secret arbitration

proceedings was very different — what Rudman had been led to expect, and a finding was made against him (see separate story)

"They can't use you as a prostitute and then afterwards say they're over and done with you And then they still want their money back" he said "I've got no option I must pursue this matter to the end"

LET's be frank — our witnesses were lousy on the day. Their testimony left the Goldstone Commission little choice but to find they were unreliable.

But the Goldstone report into police complicity in violence in the Vaal conducted by advocate RM Wise, released last week, leaves many questions unanswered, and *The Weekly Mail* is far from satisfied that the allegations against the South African Police are devoid of truth. Large question marks also hang over the police role in the affair, why critical information was held back until the commission heard evidence and why the commission never took a proper look at what was happening inside police secret houses in the Vaal

The background is as follows. recently returned exile Solly Mngomezulu, a victim of the African National Congress' detention camps, came forward with a curious tale of a semi-abduction at the hands of mysterious men who took him to a secret house and offered him training to attack his former tormentors. Later, Daniel Kolisang, of Sebokeng, made an affidavit to the ANC in which he, too, claimed to have been taken to a secret house and offered money to attack ANC targets

The Weekly Mail's part was to establish, through a lengthy investigation, that the two men had indeed had contact with a covert network in the Vaal, that it was a police network, the location of the secret houses and the names of some of the policemen involved

That the network exists, and uses a variety of ploys of dubious legality to conceal itself, was not disputed when the allegations came before a Goldstone inquiry. But the SAP insisted it was a legitimate anti-crime operation, and that secrecy was vital to the safety of its operatives.

From a hostile newspaper like the *Citizen* one might conclude that *The Weekly Mail* published false claims to smear the police. This is untrue.

After weeks of contact with Kolisang, and as much cross-checking as was possible, we and our lawyers concluded he was fundamentally reliable. Mngomezulu was clearly maimed by the horrors of exile, but there seemed to be a core of truth to his claims

At the commission, both men were torpedoed by documentary evidence only available to the SAP. Kolisang's Waterloo, for example, was his frantic denial that he was a police informer — his signature on information he provided, and receipts for payouts, exploded this. Police documents also blew him away on the dates he claimed to have met his "handler"

In his report, Wise censures *The Weekly Mail* for giving the SAP too little time to respond to the allegations. This is nonsense, as is his outlandish finding that we should have given the articles to the SAP before publishing.

We "doorstepped" two policemen four days before publication, and three more the next day, questioning them closely about Kolisang and the secret house in Vanderbijlpark. We then sent a list of questions and a request to meet the Law and Order Minister, the police commissioner or his deputy

Where 'tis folly to be Wise

*The Wise Commission criticising
a Weekly Mail exposé of a
secret police operation in the
Vaal leaves many questions
unanswered,
argues DREW FORREST*

The request was refused, and other than declaring they had referred the matter to Goldstone, the police said nothing before we published.

It would have taken five minutes to confirm that Kolisang was a police spy — why was this vital fact not conveyed to *The Weekly Mail*? One possible answer is bureaucratic inertia. But another is that the police wanted the newspaper to publish, with the aim of springing the documentary evidence at Goldstone

A week later, when *The Weekly Mail* was preparing to blow the whole secret network and sent questions in this regard, the police showed they could respond swiftly if they chose to. In a single day, they assembled a complex application — including a 67-page founding affidavit — for a publication ban

Kolisang and Mngomezulu gave poor evidence, and on the strength of it Wise could not find for us. But is its core, that they were incited to violence, a simple pack of lies? For the following reasons, we suspect not:

●No evidence was led, and no finding made, on the witnesses' motives — but in these lie a profound puzzle. Why should Mngomezulu, who suffered in the ANC's camps, concoct a story damaging to the police and supportive of the ANC's "third force" claims? Why should Kolisang, a police informer, abruptly turn on the police and risk exposure by running to the ANC and then working for many weeks with *The Weekly Mail*?

In one way, Kolisang's claims make better sense if he was a spy — his "handler" would be more likely to instigate violence in the context of an established relationship

●Kolisang and Mngomezulu are unknown to each other, and yet their tales bear a curious similarity. Both say they were contacted by men claiming to represent fictitious companies, that they were driven to unstated destinations

lying on the back seat of a car with heads covered, that en route they shifted from tar to dirt road, that they were questioned by white men about Umkhonto weSizwe. They also, independently, claim they were incited to violence.

●Since *The Weekly Mail's* original reports — the focus of the Wise Commission — suggestive details have emerged about some of the policemen linked to Kolisang's account

A municipal policeman allegedly mentioned to Kolisang as a "hit squad trainer" has been accused of arming members of a private football club in Sebokeng, and taking them for regular meetings at a local Inkatha house. An SAP man once based at Kolisang's "safe house" has been named as being present at a "planning meeting" at the kwaMadala hostel, at which violence was discussed

Both policemen, coincidentally, appear on a list of suspected "hit men" compiled by the ANC in the Vaal

In its narrow scope, we believe, the Wise Commission was flawed from the outset. Our request for a full inquiry into the covert network, which falls under the Criminal Intelligence Service, was refused by Judge Goldstone. A small victory is Wise's call for an impartial body to investigate covert operations and draft guidelines, but until this happens, their scale, modus operandi and systems of accountability remain in the shadows

Wise appears to view the CIS as an offshoot of the Boy Scouts movement, but SAP insiders confirm it is nothing less than the once-dreaded security police under a new name. Manned by men who have devoted their lives to destabilising the ANC, it deserves the deepest suspicion

Two things suggest the old security police mentality persists in the CIS: obsessive secrecy, extending even to title deed fraud and the false registration of phone numbers, and the evident belief that operatives are above the law. *The Weekly Mail* uncovered cases where the car licence numbers of bona fide firms and individuals had been hijacked for police use

If the "safe houses" are genuinely about keeping tabs on violence, one may reasonably doubt their effectiveness. With breathtaking cynicism, the SAP met the Waddington Report's charge that its intelligence systems had failed before the Boipatong massacre by blaming *The Weekly Mail* for blowing its Vaal operation. According to CIS boss General PJ Viljoen, the network was set up nationally in 1988. Between September 1990 and June 1991, long before *The Weekly Mail's* exposé, 108 people were killed in five Vaal massacres

Finally, there is the lack of context. Nowhere among Wise's dry legal certainties is there any sense of a country being torn apart by violence, nor of the extraordinary difficulties faced by journalists trying to unravel it

Almost without exception, newspaper sources are themselves men of violence, semi-literate, psychological cripples or from the criminal underworld. At Goldstone they face the phalanxes of the state, drilled in court procedure and with vast resources at their fingertips

243
Shares
SI Times
for staff

(BUS)
 ARGUS chief executive Doug Band has sold 5% of the Sowetan newspaper to its staff members. 8/11/92

Details of the deal, in which Argus is to sell 45% of the Sowetan to a trust fund, will be announced in a few weeks

The fund, the Sowetan Trust, is claimed to represent the broad community served by the newspaper

Argus owns 37% of Times Media. In the 1992 report, Argus chairman Murray Hofmeyr commented on the issue of Argus' role in the concentration of power in the mainstream press. Times Media managing director David Kovarsky believes he would have been told if the Argus stake in Times Media were under scrutiny

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Business Times by far the most widely read

BUSINESS Times is the most widely read financial newspaper by far (243)

It dwarfs its nearest competitor in its penetration of South Africa's big earners (SITW) (BASS)

The South African Business Research Evaluation (Sabre) report, released this week by Times Media which commissioned the research, shows, once again that Business Times is a winner. It is read by 48% of business decision makers (8/11/92).

Second is another TML publication, the Financial Mail (30%)

The financial section of the daily Star is read by 23% of decision makers, Sake Rapport by 20%, Business Day by 18%, Saturday Star by 17% and the Sunday Star by 16%

Sabre, conducted by Markinor among 2 000 top and middle managers, professionals and senior technical staff whose monthly household income is more than R7 000 and who live in major metropolitan areas, was first published

Business Times Reporter

in 1986 and has been updated every two years. The Sunday Times is the most widely read weekly newspaper and preferred by 53%. Rapport is read by 23% and the Saturday Star and Sunday Star by 19%.

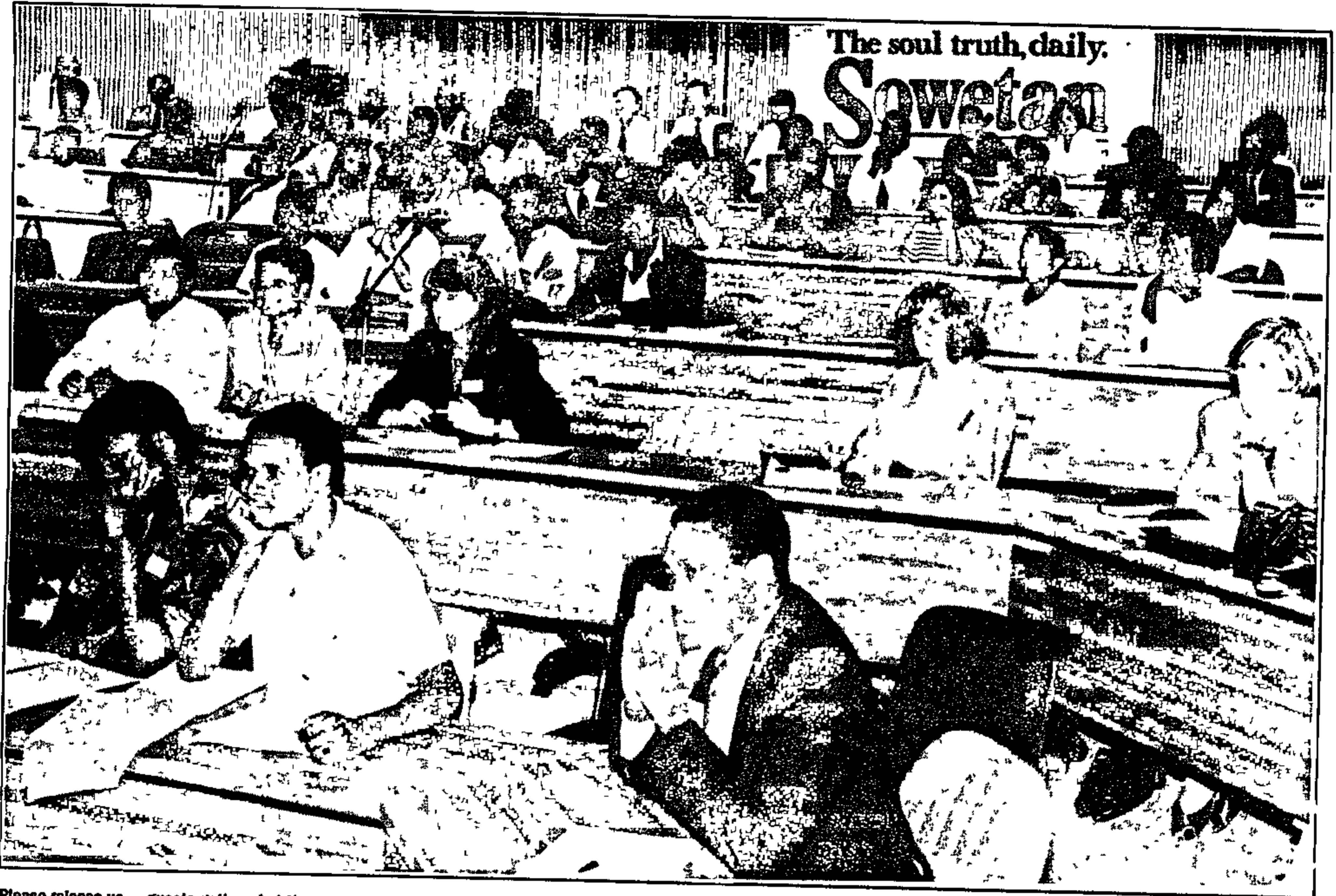
The results show that Times Media's financial publications are considered tops — the Financial Mail is the most widely read financial-news magazine in the country. Time is read by 19% of the sample.

The market research covers a wide range of topics, from use of computers to choice of hotels, from the most popular car-hire firm to the most used bank and credit card.

Sabre is the only evaluation of the preferences, dislikes and activities of SA's senior business people.

The complete research is available from TML's marketing services department.

NATION BUILDING *Journalists get together to affirm the ideal that the Press should be free*



Please release us ... guests gathered at the recent Sowetan Press Freedom seminar.

You can't keep a good pen down

By Themba Molefe

THE THIRD ANNUAL Sowetan Press Freedom seminar on October 19 once again underscored the divisions in South African politics

And while journalists concurred on the need to maintain a free Press, battle lines were drawn between the "mainstream" Press and the "alternative" media, especially on control and ownership of both broadcast and print media.

Argument from the "alternative" Press was that the monopoly ownership by big giants, The Argus Company and Times Media Limited, should be broken to maintain independence. The "mainstream" justified the monopoly as in line with the free enterprise system.

Human degradation

However, the seminar at the Soweto campus of Vista University succeeded in bolstering the need to uphold a free Press

South Africans, blacks in particular, have lived through decades under a Government which has denied them information and knowledge. This has been described as human degradation, comparable with the denial of basic rights such as jobs and shelter

It is in the need to protect society against human faults - greed, vanity and dishonesty - that Press freedom finds its purpose.

New order

As South Africa staggers towards a new order, white South Africans continue to know very little about life in black townships because of this denial

And until now, very few white South Africans knew how on October 19 1977,

■ DARK DAYS *Remembering the time*

when silence was the only sound we made:

the Government, in the form of one Jimmy Kruger profoundly dealt black advancement - and unity - a death-blow

It was on this day that, in one fell swoop, the *World* and *Weekend World* newspapers were banned together with 18 black organisations

Forces of darkness

October 19 has become known as 'Black Wednesday' because it was on a Wednesday 15 years ago that life in the townships came to a standstill. The forces of darkness had worked relentlessly during the previous night.

The late Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of the *World* and *Weekend World*, was visited by Security Branch officers who officially informed him that his newspapers had been declared illegal

Similarly, many other leaders had been visited and told their organisations had been banned.

Whites roared

This purge was premeditated. Earlier, the then Prime Minister, Balthazar John Vorster, had warned the Press to "put its house in order"

Qoboza had been summoned to Vorster's office in Pretoria where Vorster and Kruger, then Minister of Justice and Police, questioned him about the "anti-Government line" the newspapers were adopting

At a subsequent public meeting addressed by Vorster in Durban, 3 000 whites roared that the Prime Minister should ban the *World* and *Weekend World*. Kruger then did it.

At the end of the day Qoboza and his assistant, Aggrey Klaaste, editor of *Sowetan*, were detained without trial together with hundreds of other leaders

In spite of arguments that those newspapers were actually moderate, and their existence important to both blacks and whites, this reasoning went unheeded. Professor Anthony Giffard of Rhodes University argued at the time that only black journalists could articulate their

At the end of the day Qoboza and his assistant, Aggrey Klaaste, editor of Sowetan, were detained without trial together with hundreds of other leaders

people's aspirations and tell what was happening in their townships

He said the paper gave prominence to the intrusion of police activity in the life of the community, demanded an inquiry into allegations of police brutality, told of people being ejected from their homes and defended basic rights of people

If whites had read the *World*, Giffard had said, they would have known earlier

about the feelings of blacks over Afrikaans as a medium of instruction at black schools

"Whites seldom became aware of black issues until they reached disaster proportions," said Giffard.

After banning the newspapers Kruger said he believed in Press Freedom. "but there are people in South Africa who can't write a straight story - they are politically committed"

Left him cold

Kruger, who said the death in detention (on September 12 1977) of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko left him cold, is dead now. So is Vorster

However, since 1945 not only black newspapers were being targeted by the State but all newspapers critical of the Government.

Between 1985 and 1989 the Government used state of emergency regulations, and later security legislation, to silence and censor newspapers

In 1989 co-editor of *Weekly Mail* Anton Harber said police were using a "new approach" to quash honest reportage and political events in the country

This was after he and two reporters were summoned to appear in court for contravening state of emergency regulations.

Listed person

The same year the *Sowetan* editor was charged in terms of the Internal Security Act for publishing a speech by ANC leader Harry Gwala who was then a "listed person"

Until 1989 the South African media lived under a permanent state of emergency and had to rely on the courts to challenge restrictive regulations.

In January this year media lawyer Mr Peter Reynolds observed that Section

205 of the Criminal Procedure Act remained on the Statute Book.

A week earlier the Government published the Police Amendment Act which repealed Section 27B of the Police Act.

Section 27 inhibited the free flow of information, especially the publishing of misdemeanours and questionable activities of the police

Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act is used by the State against journalists and for many years had been a matter of considerable concern, said Reynolds

It provides that journalists can be subpoenaed to force them to disclose confidential sources or face jail.

Clean up laws

"We need to clean up laws which unnecessarily gag the Press, otherwise we can expect a future government to take over where the present one leaves off," warned Reynolds

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 reads

"The advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief, and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people.

"Article 19 Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers"

Will post-apartheid South Africa accept these noble principles?

Will it be truly free to exercise its responsibility, and those who defend that freedom allowed to do that, and ensure the nation's peace and prosperity?

THREE MORE AWARDS

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FM . 13/11/92
Financial Mail journalists again performed well in this year's Transnet Transport Journalism awards

Senior Editor Eddie Botha won the hard news section and Associate Editor (Transport) David Pincus won the topical articles and reports section, as well as a merit award in the category technical/specialised reports and articles.

Botha was the journalist who uncovered the disaster of the Rail Commuter Corp investing millions in the failed Cape Investment Bank. Pincus — the only journalist since the inception of the awards who has won the overall award twice — took his category award for a series of articles on the inadequacies of Jan Smuts airport and his merit award for a report on Spoornet's proposed ultra-high-speed train between Johannesburg and Durban.



Eddie Botha, FM Editor Nigel Bruce, David Pincus

The overall winner was TV reporter Karien van der Merwe of the SABC, for reports of murders on commuter trains.

Roger Makings of the *Sunday Times* won the human-orientated report category with a story that dealt with the fear of flying. Rollo Dixon won the technical/specialised category with a report in *SA Transport* on transport subsidisation.

Black journalists on board (243)

TWO prominent black journalists, Jon Qwelane and Maud Motanyane, have been appointed to the board of directors of Penta Publications, the publishers of upmarket magazines *De Kat*, *Living* and *Tribute*. CIPRES 15/11/92

Qwelane, the present editor of *Tribute* and Motanyane, the founding editor of the magazine, have also been appointed to the board of directors of the publication, Penta MD Nicholas Leonsins announced this week.

Chris Marais, editor of *Living*, and Damaris Haasbroek, Penta's former financial manager, have also been appointed to Penta's board, Leonsins said.

■ Reports by Sapa, Sapa-Reuter

The conservationists include surfing pro Mike "Rose" Roscoe, Gordon

The surfers have gathered a 1 500-strong petition arguing against the

into the river was carefully monitored and did not overpower the environment or create a health hazard

perior
"The Mother Superior told me they made a lot of

ANC boots press out of US meeting

S/Times

15/11/92

243

By SIMON BARBER
New York

THE ANC's permanent US representative, Lindiwe Mabuzza, had the press ejected from a public meeting with US anti-apartheid activists at New York's Riverside Church last week.

Although the meeting, a preliminary session for this weekend's National Conference in Support of the ANC and other Democratic Forces, was open to any member of the public, Miss Mabuzza prevailed on the conference chairman, the ANC's US attorney Lennox Hinds, to bar reporters from attending proceedings.

Mr Hinds, much to the surprise of Dr Nthato Motlana, with whom I was in conversation, approached and ordered me to leave. He then instructed the church's "security" to bar me from the meeting hall.

All other persons, whether or not they were registered to attend the conference, were permitted to enter. The meeting attracted more than 100 people, drawn in expectation of hearing ANC foreign affairs

director Thabo Mbeki. By the scheduled close of the session, at 10pm, Mr Mbeki had not appeared

Mr Hinds brushed aside suggestions that he was damaging his client's image and said the presence of journalists would inhibit "activists" from speaking.

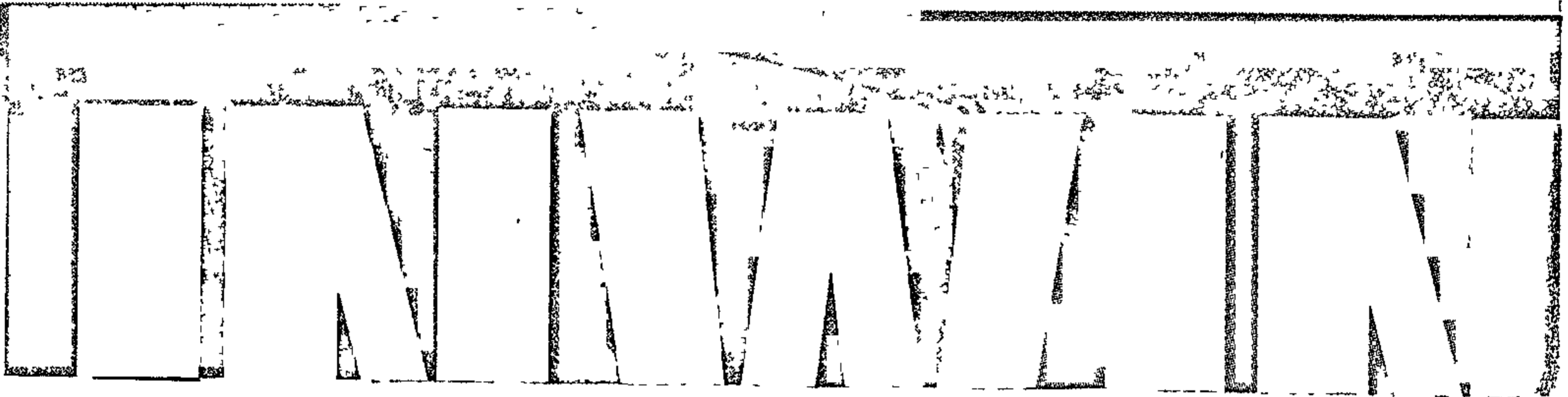
According to participants, many of whom left early with dazed expressions of boredom, nothing new or unusual was said during the meeting.

There was, however, one oddity. Pamphlets were distributed urging

a campaign against Citibank, Chase Manhattan and manufacturers Hanover on the ground that they were still providing correspondent services to South African banks.

Under a plan endorsed by ANC president Nelson Mandela, the targeted institutions are all providing in-house training to black South Africans.

The pamphlets, authored by something called the Immobilise Apartheid Coalition, said: "Tell these banks they should stop business with South Africa and start lending us more money."



SA advertising agencies shine in London awards

SA advertising stole the show at the London International Advertising Awards which were broadcast live to the US and Europe from London last night.

Nearly 10% of the awards were scooped by SA agencies. They won 10 gold statues out of about 90 winners selected from 6 000 entries from 40 countries.

Awards organiser Barbara Levy said that given the size of the SA advertising industry it was pleasing to see about 18 SA agencies achieve finalist status, and six agencies win gold statues.

Hunt Lascaris TBWA led the SA winners, taking four of the 10 statues. This was the largest haul of any individual agency worldwide. Three months ago, the agency took two golds lions and a silver award at Cannes.

The agency won two golds for its client BMW. One was in the corporate category for its Mercury ad, and the other in the automotive category for an ad called High Miler.

Its other gold awards were its

(B/DAY) 17/11/92.
MARCIA KLEIN

Fishbowl ad for Technics in the home entertainment category, and its Little Boy print ad for Nashua in the office equipment category. The agency had 16 finalists.

Creative director John Hunt said the awards were particularly gratifying in that as with the Cannes Awards and the Loeries (where the agency excelled), the awards were spread across the agency's creative department.

He said creative credits went to Mike Shalit and Sandy de Witt for Mercury, Matthew Bull and Tony Granger for Fishbowl and High Miler, and Stefania Ianigro and Graham Lamont for Little Boy.

Ogilvy & Mather RS-T & M won two golds. It won in the radio category for its Bambino Lisp ad for SmithKline Beecham, and it also won a gold for Radio 702 in the direct mail category. O & M had five finalists, three for print and two for radio.

The Jupiter Drawing Room won a statue for the third consecutive year.

It had nine finalists, with more finalists in the print category than any other SA agency. It won the gold for TV copywriting for its Campbell ad, one of a series of three TV ads for client CSIR.

Lindsay Smithers FCB won a gold in the transport category for its Bushmen ad for Spoornet, and McCann-Erickson won a statue in the print category for Gillette Sensor.

Sherwoods Strategic Advertising took a gold award in the medical category for a Pfizer product which treats hypertension and angina, using the theme of fly fishing.

Levy said that the standard of SA advertising had been high for the past three years, particularly in TV advertising.

Next year the awards would be expanded to include packaging design and promotional advertising.

Hunt Lascaris TBWA MD Reg Lascaris said the awards were a big boost to SA, and showed SA could take on the world's best and win — if not at rugby, then at least in advertising.

Penta appoints two editors to board of directors

PENTA Publications appointed two of its editors to the board of directors last week, and elevated several others from its managerial staff into senior positions.

Tribute editor John Qwelane and founding editor Maud Motanyane are now directors of both the magazine and Penta.

Living editor Chris Marais and Penta's former financial manager Damaris Haasbroek have also been

(B/DAY) 17/11/92.
GAVIN DU VENAGE (243)

appointed to the board, placing the company's entire senior management on a directorship level.

Leonsins believed the moves would make for more efficient functioning, involving key decision makers directly in the running of the company.

He said Penta was now positioned to take on groups dominating the local publishing industry, and would

be challenging their market share.

"We believe Penta will grow to become a prominent publishing house in SA," said Leonsins.

The first editions of Living and Tribute bearing the Penta stamp appeared this month. Both trademarks were bought in June this year, but forward planning of issues meant that succeeding magazines were largely in the mould of previous management.

Ad Indaba delegates listen intently to speakers during their visit to the Sowetan.

Need to reclassify media trends

Sowetan 23/11/92.

243

By Sonti Maseko

THE QUESTION of how well advertisers invest their money and whether they get the most out of where they invest it continues to be hotly debated in media circles

So big is the issue that it dominated discussions at *Sowetan's* fourth Ad Indaba, which was attended by media planners, advertising agencies, journalists and politicians at the weekend at the *Sowetan's* offices

Is the usage of terms like black publications and black television still justified? Is it racist? More seriously, can the so-called black media still be treated as an aside from the mainstream?

Can so-called white newspapers and television continue to be called white despite clear evidence that they are gaining more and more black readership and listeners?

In a rapidly changing society like ours nothing remains constant and information and statistics need to be revised all the time

The flood of information, news analyses and future projections made riveting stuff that kept delegates at the Ad Indaba on their toes.

Hopefully, it prompted them to reconsider how well their advertising money, the lifeblood of all media in the country, was being spent

The question was not that marketers or advertisers should drop labeling terms such as black or white, but instead to be more in touch with the users of their products

For instance, while unemployment figures were rising, particularly in black communities, more and more black people were becoming involved in the growing informal business sector like spaza shops

Companies with popular products used by black consumers did not show a corresponding investment in advertising media that served black consumers, Dimape Serenyane of Herdbuoys pointed out

He also described how lack of revenue eventually eroded the quality of certain black media

SHOCKING DATA The black media get only a 14 percent slice of the South African advertising cake:

Drum executive editor Barney Cohen said despite huge business activity pointing more and more in the black community, a shocking 14 percent of all advertising in South Africa was shared by the black media television, newspapers, magazines and radio

They asked that, with the population trends, urbanisation and marketing trends in the future pointing to more business activity involving more and more black people, was it realistic to maintain an Eurocentric rather than Afrocentric approach?

Contrary to white fears and apprehensions, a changing society did not mean certain forms of media, languages or culture would be threatened with extinction, Cohen argued and giving media trends in the United States as an example

‘To exclude whites would not only be foolhardy in the extreme, but also morally wrong’

Cohen says in a sea of white media, black publications there had survived and thrived because of their ability to speak to their black readers in a way that no other media could

Similarly, he said, the black media would continue in the future, hopefully in the post-apartheid society, because assumptions of a new monolithic society in the future South Africa were wrong

With a success story of some eight million multiracial viewers behind the

Contemporary Community Values television or CCV-TV, its chief architect, Madala Mphahlele, argued persuasively that marketers needed to apply methods of segmenting their viewers other than race being the single most important criterion

He suggested such measures as lifestyles and buying power be used, although asserting that future consumers were likely to be young and black

Political parties, represented by Faith Gasa of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Jaki Seroke of the Pan Africanist Congress and African National Congress legal advisor Penuell Maduna, were in agreement that - as has become customary on occasions like these - the whites had a role to play in the creation of a new South Africa

Skills were needed and those who had unjustly benefited more in the past had a greater responsibility to contribute more in the future, argued Seroke. He added that the PAC classified Africans in terms of allegiance and loyalty to Africa

It was more a question of "this is what I have and what can you give", said Gasa, who said race was not a factor in her organisation

"To exclude whites would not only be foolhardy in the extreme but also morally wrong," she said

"Whites, like Dr Beyers Naude and Ruth First, were part of the process which has brought us to where we are today and it would be erroneous for any of us to exclude them in this process," Penuell Maduna said

Maduna said all South Africans had a fourfold task of ending minority rule in the country, building a non-racial democracy, rapidly expanding economic growth and delivering improved living conditions for all, particularly those who suffered under apartheid rule

NEWS Claim that De Klerk is hostage to the military ● 1

Pressure mounts on FW

Sowetan 23/11/92

Evidence by CCB chief at Webster inquest spurs demands for an interim government:

THE Government, under fire over damning accusations about security force dirty tricks, is facing increasing pressure to make way for an interim elected administration, political leaders and analysts say

"There have now been sufficient crises for the Government to lose status as a credible negotiating partner. It now has to make way for an elected interim government with joint control over security forces," Mr Brian Currin, director of Lawyers for Human Rights, said yesterday.

Dealing the latest blow to State President FW de Klerk, the chief of the Civil Cooperation Bureau, Mr Joe Verster, said he was told by De Klerk there would be no witch-hunt over security force dirty tricks

Verster told a closed inquest into the murder of anti-apartheid activist David Webster that a former head of the SADF told him the Government accepted everything the CCB did "was in good faith", according to newspaper reports.

The allegation follows disclosures by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone that there was evidence senior military intelligence officers hired a twice-convicted murderer to discredit the ANC

A Government spokesman said yesterday that De Klerk, as Commander-in-Chief, had a special duty to protect the SADF from "orchestrated attempts

to undermine its legitimate functions and good reputation."

He said the State President's approach to the CCB and "similar questions," was "a matter of record".

"It has been his (De Klerk's) position that allegations of wrong-doing should be established and that anybody guilty of offences should be charged and punished," the Government spokesman said

The Democratic Party spokesman on justice, Mr Tony Leon, said there was circumstantial evidence that De Klerk was hostage to the military.

Acting in concert

"Elements within the security forces are either undermining the Government or acting in concert with the Government according to a hidden agenda. Either option is dangerous. There is now an urgent need for a deal on an interim government," Leon said.

Mr Rocky Williams, a military analyst, said "securocrats" were holding a gun to De Klerk's apartheid reforms

"The problem is that he (De Klerk) is in a process of transition and you do not cut off options when negotiating.

"He may need to fall back on their assistance and therefore has no alternative but to live with them," Williams said.

Goldstone asked for more powers and

resources to investigate wrongdoing by all armed forces of the Government, the black opposition and rightwing groups De Klerk offered extra police investigators but said the Commission already had sufficient legal powers

Signalling a tough line ahead of a Government-ANC summit to be held soon, ANC president Nelson Mandela has threatened to abandon bilateral talks with the Government unless there was an agreement soon on a date for the installation of an all-race interim government.

In response to Mandela's threat, Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said Pretoria had already committed itself to the implementation of an elected transitional government as soon as negotiations with all political parties had been completed - Sapa-Reuter.

New venture for teenagers

Sowetan 23/11/92. A JOINT Sowetan/Star venture has come up with a new and exciting newspaper specifically tailored for the teenage market.

The newspaper, to be launched tomorrow, has been born out of a realisation that there is a gap in the market, demonstrated by the popular teenage response to Sowetan's column "Gloria's Youth"

A board of editors, comprising six black and six white teenagers, will write stories. Each group will contain the same number of males and females.

New paper out tomorrow:

Investigative stories, special features, including some written by Gloria and her white counterpart Cathy, are just some of the items to be offered by *The Newspaper With No Name*, as it will be called on its first launch

A competition will be run and a computer awarded to the person who comes up with the most appropriate name.

The newspaper will be inserted into *Sowetan* and *The Star* and will come out once a month



NEWS Claim that Buthelezi tries to use ethnicity to turn people against the ANC

Barnard linked to Inner Circle

Sowetan 24/11/92
243

SINISTER links have been drawn between Ferdi Barnard's Military Intelligence (MI) operation and the so-called "Binnekring" (Inner Circle) which threatened top Cabinet Ministers and President de Klerk earlier this year.

The *Star* revealed in May this year that President de Klerk and at least three senior Cabinet Ministers had received threatening letters from an organisation calling itself the "Binnekring" and claiming to be a formal covert group made up of former security officials.

The letters called on the top National Party politicians to "turn back" from Codesa or face the consequences. In the letters the Inner Circle claimed to be a well-structured group of former members of the SADF, MI, Special Forces, SAP Task Force, security police and of the National Intelligence Service.

On Sunday an Afrikaans paper claimed it had information indicating that the secret organisation and Barnard's MI unit -

■ Newspaper claims unit threatened De Klerk and three Cabinet Ministers:

exposed by the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry - were "one and the same thing".

Johannesburg escort Carol Ann Burton told *Rapport* Barnard had said the secret unit he was involved in put him in a position to monitor and "tap" black radicals for information.

This unit would be known as the Binnekring/Inner Circle, she said.

According to Burton the Inner Circle had been in existence since July last year.

"Ferdi told me it consisted of the elite of disillu-sioned security force members," said Burton.

She said Barnard had also told her that there was an "Outer Circle" which stood around the elite and collected information for the Inner Circle, and, through achievement, could aim for the Inner Circle



Justice Richard Goldstone

26/11/92
Sowden 24/11/92

Complaint against paper (243)

THE Attorney-General is investigating a complaint against the *Sunday Times* following the publication of a "substantially inaccurate version" of the evidence given by CCB managing director Colonel Joe Verster to the David Webster inquest on Friday.

His evidence was heard in camera although transcripts will be made available later. Reporters from *Sunday Star* and *Sunday Times* managed to listen to the tapes of the evidence before they were typed up on Saturday and stories of Verster's evidence were published on Sunday. Verster's counsel, Mr J.J. Wessels, complained yesterday that the *Sunday Times* report was inaccurate.

Goldstone to probe witness' lies

JOHANNESBURG — A deserter from the Mozambican army was instigated by "unknown persons" to make a false report about police involvement in political violence to the Vrye Weekblad, the Goldstone Commission said yesterday

The commission has established a one-person committee of inquiry into the allegations made by Mr Joao Cuna, who has informed counsel for the commission that

he gave false information to the newspaper, commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said

The newspaper published a report on October 30 quoting Mr Cuna as saying he had been approached by a policeman to attack ANC activists in Durban

But Mr Cuna told the commission that he had been instigated by "certain persons" to make the false report which led to the Vrye Weekblad article

~~243~~ 243 251
The one-man inquiry under senior Johannesburg advocate Mr R M Wise will begin its investigation on November 26

Mr Wise said both the newspaper and the police had requested the probe

Vrye Weekblad editor Mr Max du Preez said yesterday "If he was fabricating evidence, it is important to know whether

one arm of the security forces set up another arm of the security forces" — Sapa CT 24/11/92


NEWS All sides accept delay in applying

Sowetan 25/11/92 243 ~~243~~ Daily Dispatch in wages row


■ Union official says talks over increases broke down last week:

THE PAPER Printing Wood and Allied Workers' Union last week declared a dispute with the *Daily Dispatch* newspaper following a deadlock in wage negotiations. The union's branch secretary, Mr

Pumzile Mshiyu, said on Monday that management refused to accept its demand for a R50 a week across-the-board increase. They want the annual bonus of R563 to be increased to R1 000 - *Elnews*



CONSORTIUM



7th Floor, Nedbank Building,
145 Commissioner Street

— Canteen facilities.



Blacks 'need to be represented'

South African Radio Metro
By Isaac Molede

Talkback



With Tim Modise

It is not surprising that the South African government has been criticised for its failure to represent the black population in the media.

The government has been accused of being unrepresentative in the media.

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The government has been accused of being unrepresentative in the media.

The problem here in the country was political but since things are beginning to open up for blacks it has become a combination of so many things. Yes political yes economic and so many other problems. It is not just a simple thing that we need to start a public discussion.

The media should stop taking sides. They should not be biased.

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The media should stop taking sides. They should not be biased.

next Talkback topic

THE much-awaited bilateral meeting between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party is now on the cards. But what prospect for peace does it hold? You can tune in to the programme on FM 96,4 on the Reef and on 92,4 in Pretoria.

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063

243
**In camera
rulings**

**challenge
our court
reporters**
STAR
26/11/92

By Bronwyn Wilkinson
and Susan Smuts

Lawyers are desperately hunting for a compromise to the in camera issue which has kept reporters out of the inquest into the death of David Webster for at least five key testimonies in as many weeks.

On Monday, attorneys representing the Webster Trust suggested hospital screens could protect the identity of sensitive witnesses while still allowing reporters to hear their testimony.

Hospital screens were brought into court to surround the witness box in which stood former Civil Co-operation Bureau managing director Joe Verster.

But Verster opposed the screens on the grounds that they did not obscure him completely from the public gallery. And Mr Justice Michael Stegmann found the screens interfered with the visual communication between counsel and witness.

Loudspeakers

On Tuesday, State Advocate Janne van Vuuren suggested that loudspeakers be installed outside the court so the press could hear the testimony instead of waiting for transcripts.

It is not yet clear whether the proposal will be accepted.

The inquest has given rise to a new breed of court reporter.

The skills of court reporting — attention to detail and a nose for sniffing out the noteworthy in drawn-out testimony — do not apply here.

Instead, reporters loiter outside court 4F at the Rand Supreme Court, waiting for tea and lunch breaks which bring lawyers out of the sealed courtroom. Reporters then eagerly descend on counsel for crumbs of the day's testimony.

While court is in session, reporters usually converge on the ground floor press room (at least five of them have learned to play bridge during this inquest) or cajole the transcript typists into releasing transcripts or tapes.

At 4 pm, there is a rush from the fourth floor of the court building to the advocates chambers, where ever-hopeful reporters clamour for any measly piece of information that counsel might leak.

Failing that, they wait for the transcripts of the evidence (invariably at least four days out of date) to be made available.

Except for two reporters from the Sunday papers — Sunday Star's Jacques Pauw and Sunday Times' Charles Leonard — who managed to listen to the tapes on a Saturday morning before they were published, reporters are not given access to typed records until the news is overtaken.

Persuade

Attempts to persuade Datavyf, which holds the copyright to the court records, have been unsuccessful. Reporters who have asked to listen to the tapes during lunch breaks have been rebuffed and told that the arrangement between the typist and the Sunday reporters had nothing to do with Datavyf.

Van Vuuren has told reporters complaining about the number of hours spent on hard benches outside the court: "Rather the truth comes out in camera than not at all." But the transcripts, when they do become available, are faint copies which are often confusing.

Until a solution is found that allows reporters to hear testimony for themselves, court 4F remains sealed, with "Court in camera — no entry" notices on both doors and reporters continue to practise their card games and sleuthing techniques.

NEWS Lawyers battle for an in camera compromise at the David Webster inquest

Webster Trust against

in camera testimonies

Sowetan 26/11/92
By Sowetan Correspondent

LAWYERS ARE DESPERATELY hunting for a compromise to the in camera issue which has kept reporters out of the inquest into the death of David Webster.

On Monday attorneys representing the Webster Trust suggested hospital screens could protect the identity of sensitive witnesses while allowing reporters - locked out of at least five testimonies in as many weeks - to hear their testimony

Hospital screens surrounded the witness box in which stood former Civil Co-operation Bureau managing director Joe Verster
Verster said they did not obscure him completely. Mr Justice Michael Stegmann found they interfered with the visual communication between counsel and witness.

(243)
TRANSCRIPTS LATE Suggestion of speakers

outside court as reporters get typed evidence late:

On Tuesday State Advocate Janne van Vuuren suggested that loudspeakers be installed outside the court so the Press could hear the testimony instead of waiting for transcripts, often faint and confusing, to wade through

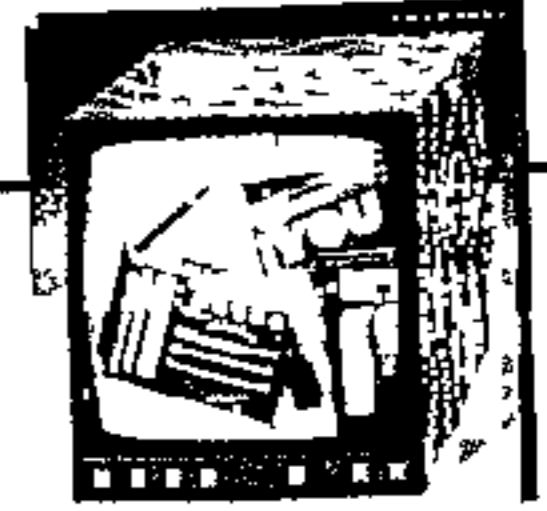
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Two reporters - *Sunday Star's* Jacques Pauw and *Sunday Times'* Charles Leonard - managed to listen to tapes on a Saturday morning before they were published
Attempts to persuade Datavif, which holds the copyright to the court records, have been unsuccessful They say the arrangement between the typist and the Sunday reporters had nothing to do with them





NEWSPAPERS

Unbundling of *The Sowetan*

FM 27/11/92

(243)

Plans to shift control of *The Sowetan*, SA's biggest daily newspaper, to a new company partly owned by "the community" will not be allowed to compromise its editorial independence, says editor Aggrey Klaaste

Speaking at *The Sowetan's* ad agency open day last week, Klaaste confirmed what until now has been just a rumour that Argus Newspapers is to relinquish its total control over the newspaper. A new company, Sowetan Publications, will be owned 50% by Argus, 45% by a trust representing the community and 5% by staff.

"The final announcement will contain details of how we will maintain editorial independence and how the trustees will be chosen," says Klaaste. "An important consideration will be the maintenance of printing and distribution contracts."

"Special care will be taken to look after the staff. This is only the start of a process. Don't expect Utopia from day one, but see it as a journey which will lead ultimately to the empowering of the stakeholders of *The Sowetan*."

"This could be the role model for the development of other companies in the new SA. Argus is to be congratulated for taking these bold and imaginative steps. *The Sowe-*

tan will be an even more independent newspaper in the future. The community which reads our newspaper has a special kind of link with us."

The announcement is planned for next week. Clearly its most important element will be how the members of the trust are chosen. GM Rory Wilson says it will be done according to a "rather complicated" formula but members of political movements or parties will be disqualified.

"This will be just the first step. We hope to have a series of steps that will go a considerable distance into the future."

The Sowetan overtook *The Star* as SA's biggest-selling daily newspaper for the first time last year, with a 13% spurt in sales in the second half, while *The Star* lost 8% (compared with the same period the previous year). *The Sowetan's* circulation is now almost 225 000.

Though it is still far behind *The Star* in advertising revenues, *The Sowetan* has marketed itself aggressively in the past few years and is now capitalising on its position as the circulation front-runner.

Wilson notes that ad revenues so far this year are 63% ahead of last year at a time when few other publications can even keep

pace with inflation.

According to MRA's Adindex, *The Star* had display advertising worth R109,9m in the 12 months to September, compared with R18,7m in *The Sowetan*. The figures exclude classified advertising.

THE readers of *The Weekly Mail* are no doubt aware of the less than cordial relationship which has existed over the years between *The Weekly Mail* and the South African Police. It is unlikely that they would have read many positive stories about the police in this tabloid and consequently it should come as no surprise that we are under a firm conviction that *The Weekly Mail* has been conducting a campaign to try and discredit the South African Police.

Over the years, the South African Police Public Relations Division has built up a good working relationship with most of the media. On a personal and professional level, sound relationships exist. However, due to the obvious anti-police agenda followed by certain newspapers, relationships became soured. Whilst the South African Police has generally welcomed constructive criticism, most of the reports by these newspapers have been destructive by nature.

The South African Police does not expect any newspaper to be "pro-police" or only to write positively about the police. All we ask is that the media remain objective and practise fair and balanced journalism. Surely it is only ethical to obtain the other party's point of view when adverse allegations are made against that party.

A problem which we have experienced with certain newspapers (including *The Weekly Mail*) is that the South African Police is given little or no time to respond to lengthy enquiries. The result is that pages of allegations discrediting the police are carried with little or no comment from the police.

A case in point was the so-called exposé of the police "safe-houses" in the Vaal triangle. After some four to five months of investigations, the police were given about four days to respond to lengthy allegations (on other occasions we have been given only a day, or even hours, in which to respond to allegations).

Even after the Goldstone Commission found that the two men who had furnished the newspaper with the information regarding the safe-houses (and other allegations) were liars, the newspaper still refused to accept the finding and criticised the one-man commission (they claim that it is their right to do so). However, the police don't own a newspaper and even if they issue a news media statement, newspapers can decide whether or not to publish it or they can use it selectively. Thus, whilst most people will agree that there must be press freedom, surely there must be a limit

Why are
W/M Mail
 27/11-3/12/92
 you so
 nasty
 to the
 SAP?

The Weekly Mail is unfair to the police, argues MAJ-GEN LEON MELLET, spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order

the lives of policemen, they (the SAP) are still criticised. The same critics have themselves resorted to these measures to seek redress.

As the newspaper is the medium which carries the stories, the tangible proof of improved relationships ought to be reflected in this medium.

...We will continue to assist reporters in obtaining information for their stories but it is difficult only supplying them with "ammunition" with which to "shoot us". We trust that positive stories will also be carried as readers should be fully informed.

In conclusion, this police force is here to stay — adapting constantly to changing circumstances. It can be to nobody's benefit for the South African Police to be constantly denigrated. Should any of our members err, we will ensure that disciplinary steps are taken. It is unfair, however, that the entire police force should be vilified.

The South African Police is already performing a difficult and thankless task under strenuous and testing circumstances. As long as we are discredited by, inter alia, sections of the media, we will face an uphill battle in trying to improve and cement police-community relationships.

THE EDITORS RESPOND:

Major-General Mellet complains that we gave the police only four days to respond to our story. By any standards, four days is a long time and an exceptional display of good faith.

Clearly, the police have not lost the unfortunate habit of blaming the media for its own problems. The major-general conveniently forgets some of the force's own contribution to poor media relations, years of lying to the press, harassing the media in the

courts, detaining journalists and closing and confiscating newspapers. Not enough has been done to repair this damage and restore trust.

Improved police/press relations will not come about from our finding "friendly" stories to write about the force, it will only come from change within the South African Police.

We do run a campaign around the police force to clean it up, make it accountable to the public and help restore its lost legitimacy and trust. Maj-Gen Mellet is mistaken in dismissing this as anti-police.

Our "safe houses" story led to a commission of inquiry that pointed to the need to put these institutions under proper control. Maj-Gen Mellet should be thanking us for highlighting this problem, if he is genuinely interested in changing the force.

The police plotters and the

The Weekly Mail's report of a spy source in the South African Police... (The text is partially obscured and difficult to read due to the image quality.)



to this freedom.

What the police object to is the following:

- Unsubstantiated allegations being presented as fact (as was the case with the "safe houses" story)
- Lengthy allegations being submitted so shortly before the deadline that it is impossible to furnish a meaningful reply
- Stories reflecting positively on the police being ignored or rarely being published

The police were criticised for restrictive legislation which existed (for example section 27B of the Police Act and the media Emergency regulations). However, these were repealed and generally welcomed.

However, when the police resorted to ordinary legal methods to prevent publication of an article which endangered

news

in brief

Ruling on Strydom

243

A PANEL of the South African Media Council will today hear an appeal by *Rapport* newspaper against a ruling it had erred in paying mass murderer Barend Strydom for articles after his release from jail. *Sowetan 1/12/92*

A complaint was lodged by Mr AJ Bothma, of Lyttelton, against the newspaper.

A statement said in terms of new procedures the complaint was first put to the Media Council's conciliator, Mr Ed Linington, who concluded *Rapport* had contravened Article 6 of the Code of Conduct by making such a payment. The Afrikaans newspaper paid Strydom about R25 000 for exclusive stories following his release in October under amnesty. The hearing in Johannesburg will be the council's first adjudication under the new rules.

ANC abuse probe delayed

ADRIAN HADLAND

DESPITE mounting local and international pressure, the commission of inquiry appointed by the ANC to investigate abuses in its detention camps would begin its deliberations only next year, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday

The ANC's national working committee had been too busy preparing for this week's bosberaad with government to consider the commission's terms of reference

The commission was set up after an internal ANC investigation into alleged brutality at ANC camps in Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Uganda during the 1980s

The publication last week by Amnesty International of a report detailing widespread abuses increased pressure on the ANC to uncover full details of activities in its camps

In a letter to Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday, DP justice spokesman Tony Leon called for improved witness protection facilities for former ANC detainees willing to testify

He also called on Kriel to negotiate the

release of Katiza Cebekhulu, a key witness in the recent Winnie Mandela trial, from protective custody in Zambia

The Amnesty report said the findings of the James Stuart commission of inquiry into the 1984 ANC mutiny had been suppressed, ensuring that the security department "would be able to continue unchecked"

Angolan embassy representative Jorge Morais said Angola's government, unlike Zambia's, would not be conducting a separate investigation "This is a matter that people from the ANC should answer as the camps were controlled by them. We didn't know anything"

Sapa reports the Returned Exiles' Committee yesterday welcomed the disclosure of ANC atrocities committed in exile — and demanded an end to atrocities in SA

Committee chairman Pat Hlongwane said people's courts, self-defence units and civic organisations were guilty of atrocities at home

Deserter: ANC member told me to lie

PRETORIA — Mozambican army deserter Joao Cuna said yesterday an Indian member of the ANC had promised to pay him for telling the Vrye Weekblad newspaper lies implicating the SA Police in political violence, after Cuna was taken to the Indian man by two Military Intelligence (MI) agents

Cuna, who said he now feared for his life, testified

before a Goldstone commission committee that he was taken by MI agents "Frank" and "Riley" to a house in Muller Street, Yeoville, whose owner — "his name sounds like Rule" — was a member of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe

Cuna said he met the Indian, who he described as tall and having a beard and whitish hair, "many times" and he suggested Cuna tell the story which appeared in Vrye Weekblad

The October 30 issue of the publication carried a report quoting Cuna as saying he was given AK-47 rifles and paid R4 000 by security forces to kill ANC activists outside Durban. Yesterday Cuna insisted the story published in the newspaper was false — Sapa

Plea for public to foster AIDS orphans

THE National Council for Child and Family Welfare today put out an urgent appeal to the public to "open your homes" and adopt or foster one of the hundreds of orphans who have been left behind by AIDS-infected parents

The council has chosen World AIDS Day today to highlight the plight of those who are mostly forgotten about in the AIDS epidemic — the orphans

In a statement the council said the construction of extra children's homes would not be possible in the present economic climate as institutional care was extremely expensive "Foster parents, adoptive parents and day care centres will be the only answer," the council said

The council has also appealed to communities to take care of the growing number of babies who are born HIV positive — and it plans to lobby government for higher grants for those who care for HIV positive children

Council spokesman Keith Heimann said

KATHRYN STRACHAN

SA could not even deal with the 80 000 street children, and called on the community urgently to find ways to care for the AIDS orphans

Society for AIDS Families and Orphans organiser Claire Fleming said her organisation cared for more than 500 AIDS orphans in Soweto alone, but the organisation had been refused government assistance

Department of Health figures indicate that as many as half a million children in SA could be orphaned through AIDS within seven years

The Department of Health has referred the problem of AIDS orphans to the council on the grounds that to distinguish them from other orphans would lead to them being stigmatised

But Fleming disputed this argument, and claimed that as the already overburdened welfare sector does not have the resources to cope

Deserter says he 'lied'

PRETORIA — Mozambican army deserter Mr Joao Cuna yesterday once again interrupted a Goldstone Committee's proceedings here when he said he had lied to the Vrye Weekblad newspaper, the police and the committee and did not want to continue with the hearing (243) ~~SP~~

The outburst was prompted by a question from Mr Azhar Cachalia, counsel for the Vrye Weekblad and the ANC, that Mr Cuna did not want to

CT 2/12/92
tell the truth as there was nobody that would help him

The committee was appointed after Mr Cuna was quoted in the newspaper as saying the security forces gave him an AK-47 rifle, paid and ordered him to kill ANC activists outside Durban.

● Stories published in two Johannesburg newspapers linking the ANC's Mr Mac Maharaj to evidence before the committee's hearing into the Cuna case have been referred to the attorney-general. — Sapa

Rapport 'did not violate media code'

BIOA. 2/12/92

LLOYD COUTTS

THE Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport did not contravene the media code of conduct by paying mass murderer Barend Strydom for the exclusive rights to his story, a SA Media Council panel found yesterday

It said, however, that payment to a mass murderer was offensive to a substantial number of South Africans, and recommended the revision of the section of the code governing chequebook journalism

"The present wording of the section, on an ordinary reading, only prohibits payments to people currently engaged in crime or other notorious misbehaviour," said council chairman Kobus van Rooyen (243)

While there existed some doubt in panel members' minds whether the framers of the code did not intend it to have wider application, it was a well-known rule of law that in cases of doubt the benefit had to go to the person affected by the provision, he said

Rapport editor Bob van Walsem said in a statement submitted to the hearing that his newspaper's reports on Strydom did not aim to sensationalise or glorify the man's crimes, but to provide an insight into his views

Rapport paid R20 000 for exclusive articles on Strydom and his wife after the Wit Wolf killer's release from prison in September.

The hearing arose after Rapport contested council conciliator Ed Linington's opinion it had contravened the ethical code

Rapport paid killer Strydom

JOHANNESBURG. — The issue of chequebook journalism came under the spotlight yesterday at the South African Media Council's adjudication of a complaint against the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport.

The newspaper admitted paying convicted mass killer Barend Strydom and his wife Karin for exclusive rights to publish their story. The amount was reputed to be R20 000.

The council found Rapport did not contravene the council's Code of Conduct, but announcing the decision, SAMC chairman Professor Kobus van Rooyen recommended that Article 6 of the code should be revised.

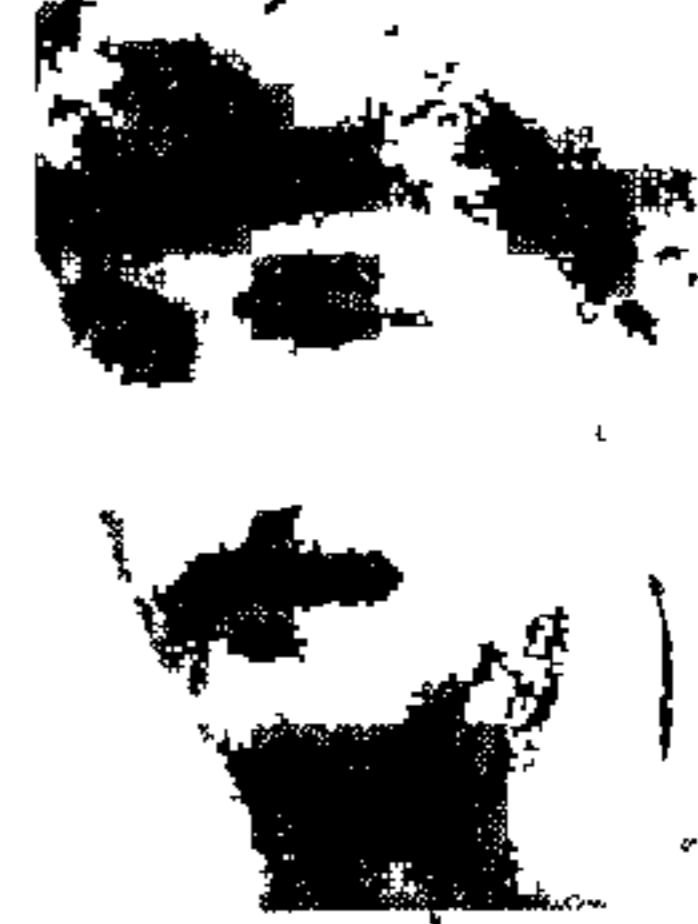
The section reads: "No payment shall be made for feature articles or programmes to persons engaged in

crime or other notorious misbehaviour".

Prof Van Rooyen said the present wording of Article 6 on an ordinary reading "only prohibits payments to people currently engaged in crime or other notorious misbehaviour".

"While there exists some doubt in the minds of the members whether the framers of the code did not intend it to have wider application, it is a well-known rule of law that in cases of doubt the benefit must go to the person (in this case Rapport) affected by the provision."

The case was the first to be adjudicated under the Media Council's new rules which came into effect this year. — Sapa



PAID TO TALK ..
Barend Strydom

(243) CT 2/12/92

Strydom article: Rapport off hook

By Peter Wellman

243

STAR. 2/12/92.

A panel of the South African Media Council decided on Monday that the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport had not contravened the council's code of conduct by paying for interviews with mass murderer Barend Strydom.

The issue over whether Rapport had contravened the code revolved around section 6, which states "No payment shall be made for feature articles or programmes to persons engaged in crime or other notorious misbehaviour".

Committed

Specifically, the issue was whether Strydom, sentenced to death in 1988 for the murder of eight blacks in Pretoria, but granted amnesty in September,

was still "engaged" when he was paid by Rapport after being freed

In the view of council conciliator Ed Linnington, Strydom was still "engaged" because, among other things, Strydom remained committed to killing blacks and had only been stopped by the law when he was arrested.

He had shown no remorse, and had propagated the same views while on parole, said Linnington

Rapport editor Bob van Walsem told the panel yesterday that he disagreed. Strydom was not "engaged" in terms of article 6 of the code, he said.

The hearing was informal, in terms of new Media Council rules adopted in September. The idea is to get away from an adversarial courtroom atmosphere, and instead to have round-table discussions to resolve issues. Lawyers may give advice to participants but may not normally address the hearings.

Yesterday, panel chairman Professor Kobus van Rooyen said the panel agreed with Rapport.

He added "The panel does, however, strongly recommend revision of the relevant section of the code as, in its view, the payment to a mass murderer is offensive to a substantial number, if not an overwhelming majority, of South Africans.

Prohibits

"The present wording of the section, on an ordinary reading, only prohibits payments to persons currently engaged in crime or other notorious misbehaviour.

"While there exists some doubt in the minds of the members whether the framers of the code did not intend the code to have wider application, it is a well-known rule of law that, in cases of doubt, the benefit must go to the person (in this case, Rapport) affected by the provision."

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He had shown no remorse, and had propagated the same views while on parole, said Lunnington

Rapport editor Bob van Walsem told the panel yesterday that he disagreed Strydom was not "engaged" in terms of arti-

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Prohibits

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Newspapers ^{STATE 2/12/92} 'ignored' ruling

Two newspapers are alleged to have contravened a section of the Public Violence and Intimidation Act of 1991, a Goldstone Commission committee has found.

Mr Justice R. Wise, chairman of the committee investigating Joao Cuna's claims in the Vrye Weekblad, ruled that certain information relating to Cuna's testimony that day should not be published. (243)

He said reports in the Citizen and the Sunday Times constituted a *prima facie* case of contempt of the ruling. (243)

Four whites die and the word terrorist surfaces, observes Mathata Tshedú

Our prejudices come shining through

STAN 3/12/92.

THE racism of the South African police, Government and the media is sickening. In a country where the deaths of 10 people does not warrant a page one story in any newspaper any more, it is surprising how the death of four whites in King Williams Town has stirred the emotions of the media.

As if by a turn of a switch, we have now seen the return of the word terrorist. Terrorist because the victims of this particular attack were white.

Whatever happened to the usual "unknown gunmen" who have been blamed for spraying equally innocent black people at night vigils, birthday parties and other

innocuous gatherings with bullets?

Let us look at what happens when four whites at a golf club are shot as they eat dessert after a wine tasting ceremony.

The police launch a huge manhunt, which never happens when the killings are at Folweni.

We are told of how the unexploded petrol bombs resemble those found at previous Apla attacks. We are told of strong leads. Of imminent arrests. Of rewards of R50 000.

Does anyone remember how the killings in Sebokeng, Boipatong or Folweni resemble any other attack and thus maybe Inkatha or the ANC or whoever else is the prime suspect?

It is this sort of racism of the media, police and regime, the PAC's Benny Alexandra said, that led many people to believe that the violence would stop soon enough if it spread to white areas and left some whites dead.

The manner in which the deaths of black people are treated by the police and the media is really appalling. No details, no names, just the bare allegations that are recorded for historical purposes.

The racism embedded in the psyche of South Africans over centuries will be hard to eradicate. One would understand perhaps the reaction of individuals touched by the incident.

But for organised institutions

such as television, newspaper and the police force to allow the prejudices to shine through like at a time when they are telling of a new South Africa is total unacceptable. In fact, the whole selective uproar over the killing is enough to drive one into sympathising with the killers, and not the victims of the King carnage.

And unless we stand up and decry the selective and racial reactions of both the Government and the media, it will continue. We need to cultivate a philosophy that looks at life as life, and not white life and therefore deserves more attention than black life. *Mathata Tshedú is Investigations Editor of The Sowetan.*



Mr. Doug Band, chairman of Argus Newspapers Limited, Aggrey Klaaste, Sowetan editor, and Rory Wilson, general manager of Sowetan, at the Press conference to announce the newspaper's new ownership structure

New Era for

Sowetan

Building the Nation

Sowetan
11/2/92

243

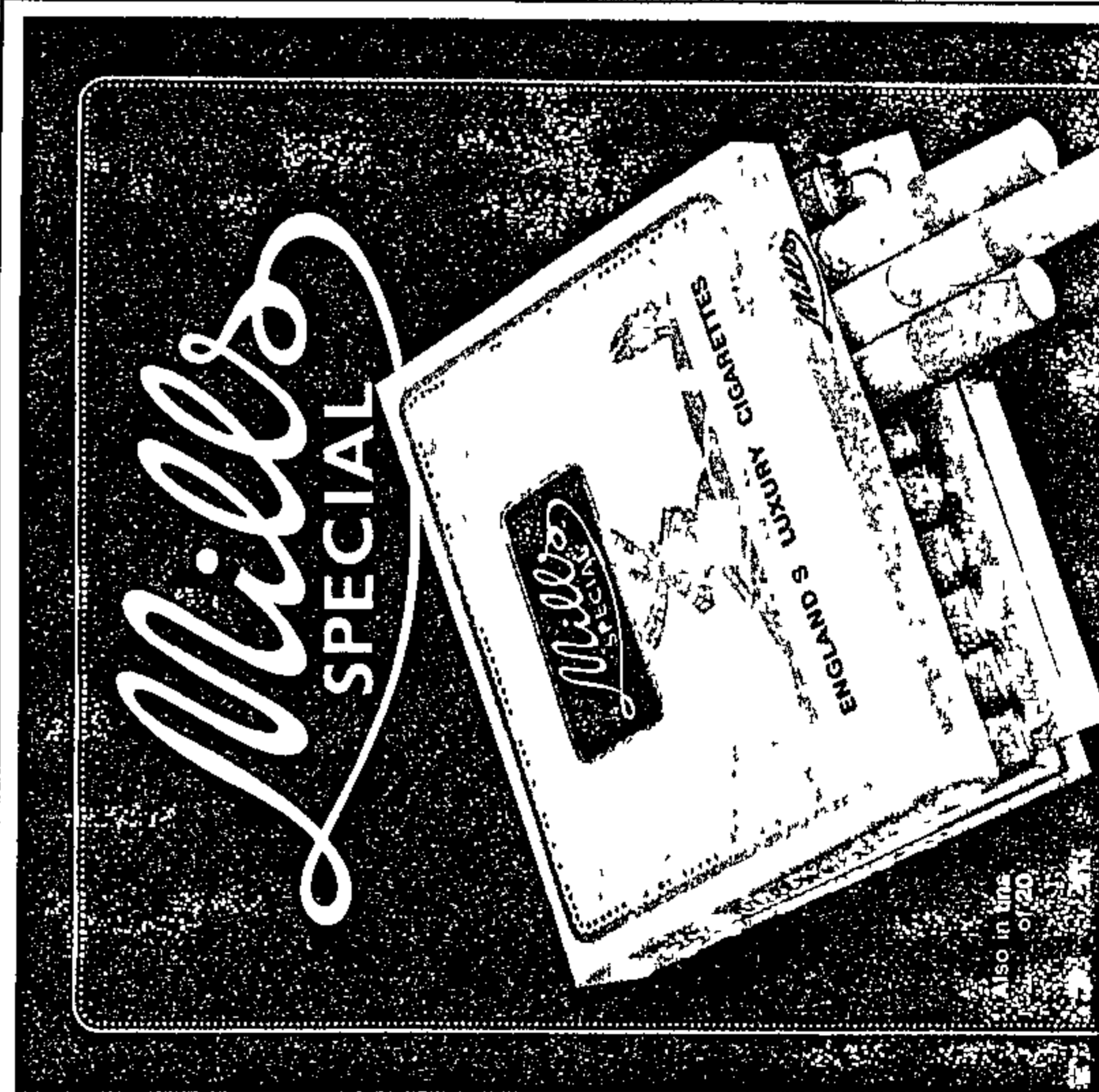
88

The Argus company yesterday announced details of an historic step to "unbundle" the *Sowetan*, which will allow for the creation of a separate, independent company and community involvement in the ownership of the paper.

The creation of a separate *Sowetan* company has widespread significance for South Africa's print media which are largely controlled by four major companies. With an election and changes to the country's political structures imminent, the control of media is bound to become an explosive issue.

The Argus Company has now taken the plunge by "unbundling" the *Sowetan* by the creation of a new company which is likely to set the trend for companies faced with the same pressure.

PAGE 9



Trust and staff to buy 50% stake in Sowetan

~~BY~~ LLOYD COUTTS (243) ~~BY~~

A NEW company with community trust shareholding, Sowetan Publications Ltd (Sowetan PL), is to acquire the Sowetan newspaper — currently wholly owned by Argus Newspapers — by April 1.

The sale, part of Argus's unbundling programme, has been dismissed by the ANC as "sleight of hand" for not addressing concentration of ownership.

Argus Holdings CE Doug Band said yesterday the Sowetan Trust would be formed to hold a 45% interest in Sowetan PL on behalf of the community served by the newspaper. *BIDAM 4/2/92*

Argus Newspapers would hold 50% and 5% would be offered to staff through an employee trust. The Sowetan Trust's acquisition of its share of Sowetan PL would be financed interest-free by Argus.

A panel of "eminent individuals", including Desmond Tutu, Sam Motsuenyane, Van Zyl Slabbert, Stanley Mogoba and Sowetan editor Aggrey Klaaste had been asked to appoint between six and 12 trustees. No political party officials would be permitted to serve as trustees.

Three trustees would serve on the board, Argus would have four directors, the staff one and the GM and editor would be ex-officio board members.

Band said the publication had been valued at between R55m and R60m.

Sowetan PL would be capitalised with an ordinary share capital of 2-million shares of R1 each, and debentures of R53m which would bear interest at prime overdraft rate. Argus would subscribe for 55% of the debentures (R29,15m) and 45% (R23,85m) would go to the trust. Argus would finance the debentures.

The trust would have the right to require the listing of Sowetan PL on the JSE after March 31 1996.

Band also said Argus would consider delinking with TML, in which it has a 37% stake, band also lacks participation in Argus companies, broader representation on boards and staff shareholding.

Sowetan's 'unbundling' a challenge

Sowetan & Radio Metro
Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Tsale Makam

THE Rumble, especially the one which the Sowetan should talk back to the unbundling process, was a clear victory for the Sowetan. It was a clear victory for the Sowetan.

It is a clear victory for the Sowetan. It is a clear victory for the Sowetan. It is a clear victory for the Sowetan.

The unbundling process is a clear victory for the Sowetan. It is a clear victory for the Sowetan. It is a clear victory for the Sowetan.

...of the power and influence of the media on people.

...why they are a threat to the total nation.

...did not go with the other side of the coin.

...the company, planned to have a meeting with the board of directors.

...I want to check it out. I want to check it out. I want to check it out.

...at the end of the day, the paper is not a commodity.

...the fact that it is a commodity, it is not a commodity.

...I don't know where it is going to go. I don't know where it is going to go.

next Talkback topic

THE Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show opens the lines on Monday for you to raise any issue of topical interest or that is bothering you. You can phone Tim Modise between 7pm and 8pm. You can tune in to the programme on FM 96.4 (and 92.4 in Pretoria).

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063

Argus plan to share control of Sowetan paper

(243)
ARG 4/12/92

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The Argus group has agreed in principle to give up its majority control of the Sowetan newspaper

The deal could eventually result in the Sowetan, South Africa's largest-selling daily newspaper, achieving a separate listing on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange

Argus chief executive Doug Band said yesterday that a new company, Sowetan Publications Ltd (Sowetan PL) had been formed, in which Argus would retain a 50 percent stake, but sell the remaining shares to the Sowetan Trust (45 percent) and to newspaper staff (five percent)

The Sowetan Trust will be run by up to 12 trustees to be appointed so as to reflect a wide representation of the community served by the newspaper

Sowetan PL will be capitalised with an ordinary share capital of 2 million shares at 100c each and 53 million debentures of 100c each, which will bear interest at the prime overdraft rate.

Argus will finance the trust's acquisition of 45 percent of the debentures — amounting to R23,9 million — at 1,9 percent below ruling overdraft rates.

This will allow the trust to trade profitably from the start, although it will repay Argus through dividend income received from its 45 percent stake in the Sowetan.

Argus will have four seats on Sowetan PL's board, the trust three seats and staff members will elect one direct representative.

Mr Band said Argus was willing to give up majority control in March 1996 — three years from the effective date of the transaction.

At that time the Sowetan Trust can request the listing of Sowetan PL on the JSE, which would require that both the trust and Argus reduce their shareholding to 40 percent

● In a separate announcement Argus said it would be offering staff with two years service an option to acquire 50 Argus Holdings shares at 800c a share, a substantial discount on the current R27 market price

Mall traders plan action

CT 4/12/92

ST GEORGE'S Mall hawkers have unanimously voted to seek an interdict overturning Cape Administrator Mr Kobus Meiring's decision yesterday to ban them from trading in the city centre.

A Provincial Gazette published today will ban all but 13 traders from the mall from Monday. The Small Business Development Corporation has expressed concern that the eviction order contravenes the Businesses Act.

Within hours of their learning of the decision — which many said would threaten their livelihood — traders had raised R5 000 for legal costs to fight the edict.

About 80 traders met at Greenmarket Square where they formulated a strategy including court action to ensure the Provincial Administration plan was overturned.

St Georges Mall Interim Action



FREE MARKET REVOLT. St Georges Mall traders met in Greenmarket Square last night vowing to fight the ban on their trade. Picture: CLIVE SMITH

Committee member Mr Chris Lubbe told fellow traders: "We are trying to avoid confrontation. If we can use legal loopholes we will avoid casualties."

A two-day-old traders' petition for the continuation of the flea market has brought strong public support with over 3 000 signatures.

SA denies Zim charge over Unita

CT 4/12/92

PRETORIA. — The government last night denied allegations by Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe that South Africa is supporting Unita and overflying the frontline states.

"There is no basis for unsubstantiated allegations of support for Unita in the present conflict in Angola," Foreign Affairs director-general Mr Rusty Evans said in a statement released here.

President Mugabe alleged yesterday that South Africa is backing Unita moves to topple the Angolan government and is engaging in "hostile manoeuvres" in the rest of the sub-continent.

South African military flights are alleged by the frontline states to have repeatedly violated the airspace of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Botswana and Zambia since October.

But Mr Evans claimed yesterday that Pretoria supports the Angolan peace process.

"In view of the volatile situation in Angola, South Africa is revising its position and a further statement will be issued within 24 hours," he added.

Mr Mugabe, who is also chairman of the frontline states, hit out at Pretoria during his annual state-of-the-nation address to parliament yesterday.

A Zimbabwe newspaper said yesterday that Zimbabwe has lodged an official complaint with Pretoria.

A South African spokesman said the complaint is being investigated and a report is expected soon.

Namibia has also formally protested at alleged South African airspace violations. — Sapa

● Angolan govt puts army on war alert — Page 2

Press must 'beware of rumour'

(243) CT 4/12/92

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The chairman of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, last night called for greater vigilance in the field of reporting on violence.

Speaking at a function at the Maharani Hotel in Durban, during which he received the Headliner of the Year Award from the Durban Press Club,

he said that there were too many newspaper claims and allegations concerning violence which turned out, on investigation, to have been based on misinformation, malicious rumour and incorrect interpretations.

"I ask for no more than a greater vigilance in this field," and a greater awareness of the fact that, in some cases, reports concerning violence can in

fact lead to more violence."

Mr Justice Goldstone said it was little appreciated in South Africa that it was the only country in the really troubled areas of the world where local people talked to one another.

It was the only one where the people of the country could create, staff and operate a National Peace Accord.

He said that a commission such as the one which he head-

ed could not operate in Northern Ireland, the Middle East or in what was Yugoslavia.

That was a substantial reason for optimism. South Africans were not conscious of the fact that probably 80% of the country was not racked by violence.

Mr and Mrs Justice Goldstone were awarded a free flight to Miami by SAA as part of their prize.

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Namaquanuus staff members ... 'The people are on our side'

By GAYE DAVIS

WHEN Eric Cloete went to the mayor of a tiny Namaqualand dorp about residents' grievances, he was threatened with death before having to beat a hasty retreat from the man's dogs.

Cloete (22) laughs when he tells the story; at his terror at broaching the lion in his den and at the mayor's outrage in being called to account by someone he clearly saw as an uppity darkie.

For Cloete, the encounter was all in a day's work. And it is with relish that he relates how his persistence paid off: the mayor did something about the grievances.

Cloete is one of three full-time journalists on *Namaquanuus*, a community newspaper which has catalysed the political awakening of the region, just as the rain and sun coax out each spring the wildflowers for which Namaqualand is famous.

Launched in 1989 on the initiative of the Namaqualand Council of Churches and local civics, it was intended to provide a voice for communities ignored by mainstream media and disempowered by their isolation from one another — no small task in a region where white people are suspicious of anyone interfering with "our coloureds".

Eileen Phillips (23), a co-worker of Cloete's, tells how "at first, our own people were suspicious. A newspaper was a strange thing for them. It took a while before they realised it was a voice for them which could air their grievances. Then they saw that *Namaquanuus* wasn't against them."

White hostility has proved something else again. Says Phillips: "We've been sworn at and shouted at. We've had threatening phone calls. They look at us like we're *teenvoeters* (adversaries) who're going to look under the blankets."

Recently, editor Welma Odendaal discovered the nuts on a wheel of her car had been loosened: "I'd like to think it was someone just trying to steal my wheel," she says. "But the secretary of the National Party in Springbok was

A new flower blooms in Namaqualand

w/m and 4/12-10/12/92
(243)

attacked recently by a rightwinger.

"Before, the white community could write *Namaquanuus* off as just another coloured newspaper. But for the past few months, we've been dealing with real issues: constitutional, labour ... We're questioning things that have never before been questioned in Namaqualand and people feel threatened."

Not all whites react the same way: "People here are all Afrikaans-speaking, no matter what their colour — so there's a very narrow cultural base. Things aren't black and white as they are in the cities. There are *oopkop* (open-minded) people here. We're getting advertising and support from progressive businessmen. It's a complex society."

Staffers, drawn from the community, have had to overcome inbred fears of confronting white officialdom. Says Phillips: "He's a white man, and you're not white. You're brought up to think that he's better than you. You feel uncertain — but there's the deadline and the story's got to be written."

"Over time you gain self-confidence: now, it's a case of 'I'm a human being, and he's also *mos* a human being'."

Covering enormous distances, the journalists will often spend days on the road, coming back with stories from places with resonant names such as Lekkersing and Pofadder. They're proud of the role they've played in bringing about change in poor and isolated communities: housing for the people of Tentedorp, Port Noloth's shanty town; a feeding scheme for

Vaalputs families who used to scavenge at a local toxic dumpsite.

When communities across Namaqualand were fighting the House of Representatives' decision to slice their communal land into privately held pieces, *Namaquanuus* formed the link supplying knowledge and therefore strength. When negotiations were underway over the proclamation of the Richtersveld National Park, *Namaquanuus* kept people informed of every step of the process.

A poster produced by the staffers proclaims: "We speak for the community." But finding that voice has not been easy — and not just because of rightwing threats to silence it.

"There are gaps in our own community between the workers and the middle class," says Boeboe van Wyk, a Steinkopf teacher who chairs the newspaper's executive committee.

Being identified with the African National Congress was another problem. Says Van Wyk: "We have a political position, but we don't want to be seen as linked to any political party. We have done a lot of stories involving the ANC, but that's because it's doing a lot of work where civics don't exist. If the ANC does things that help people, we feel we should write about it."

But *Namaquanuus* has also run stories critical of the ANC. Says editor Odendaal: "We get flak from the rightwing as well as from the ANC — and that's because we're trying to bring out a paper that's balanced and independent."

Every month, after being printed in Cape Town, 18 000 copies of *Namaquanuus* get distributed over the four-day period it takes for all the distribution points to be reached.

Odendaal speaks of funding and skills constraints. "But the upside is that we're the only paper serving this huge area and our circulation shows we have the people on our side. The need for education and communication is crucial, especially if there's going to be an election soon — so *Namaquanuus* is of vital importance. And it's virgin territory for any journalist ..."

Listing possible for Sowetan

By Sven Lünsche

(243)
The Argus group has agreed in principle to give up its majority control of the Sowetan newspaper in a deal which could eventually result in the Sowetan, SA's largest-selling daily newspaper, achieving a separate listing on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange

Argus chief executive Doug Band said yesterday that a new company, Sowetan Publications Ltd (Sowetan PL) had been formed, in which Argus would retain a 50 percent stake, but sell the remaining shares to the Sowetan Trust (45 percent) and to newspaper staff (five percent).

Star 4/12/92
The Sowetan Trust will be run by up to 12 trustees to be appointed so as to reflect a wide representation of the community served by the newspaper.

Sowetan PL will be capitalised with an ordi-

nary share capital of two million shares at 100c each and 53 million debentures of 100c each, which will bear interest at the prime overdraft rate.

The capitalisation reflects the valuation of the Sowetan at between R55 million and R60 million

In the current financial year to end-March 1993 the Sowetan is expected to report a profit of about R11 million on a R60 million turnover

Argus will finance the trust's acquisition of 45 percent of the debentures — amounting to R23,9 million — at 1,9 percent below ruling overdraft rates

This will allow the trust to trade profitably from the start, although it will repay Argus through dividend income received from its 45 percent stake in the Sowetan.

Argus will have four seats on Sowetan PL's board, the trust three

seats and staff members will elect one direct representative.

Argus and Sowetan PL will enter into a management contract in terms of which Argus will provide management for four years and favourable access to printing and distribution facilities for three years

Band said Argus was willing to give up majority control in March 1996 — three years from the effective date of the transaction.

At that time the Sowetan Trust can request the listing of Sowetan PL on the JSE, which would require that both the trust and Argus reduce their shareholding to 40 percent.

● In a separate announcement Argus said it would be offering staff with two years service an option to acquire 50 Argus Holdings shares at 800c a share, a substantial discount on the current R27 market price

Sowetan sale means new beginning

By Helen Grange (243)

In a significant step towards empowering the black community in the media, the Argus company has sold half its shares in the Sowetan newspaper and announced the formation of a new, independent company to run it.

The shares of the company, to be called Sowetan Publications Limited (Sowetan PL), will be divided in ownership between Argus (50 percent), an independent trust called the Sowetan Trust (45 percent) and the Sowetan's staff (5 percent).

Argus chief executive Doug Band, formally announcing the initiative yesterday at the Sowetan's premises, said the step was part of what would be a continuing process directed at addressing criticisms against the current Argus ownership structure and creating a more diverse ownership of the English-language media.

To this end, the Argus company would also offer the general body of its various newspapers' staff an opportunity to buy shares at a discounted market price.

Band said community involvement in the Sowetan would be further entrenched when, three years from now, the Sowetan Trust would ac-



A new era . Argus chief executive Doug Band and Sowetan editor Aggrey Klaaste celebrate the new ownership structure. Picture Peter Mogaki

quire the right to list shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

The new shareholders of the Sowetan, which up to now has been a wholly owned operating division of Argus, would subscribe to a set of guidelines, outlined in the Sowetan charter, aimed at maintaining independence both commercially and editorially.

And, crucial to the independence of the Sowetan Trust would be the careful appointment of trustees, said Band.

"We have been very conscious of having as trustees people of quality and people who are, as far as possible, representative of the black community. Accordingly, we have decided to call upon a panel of wise individu-

als to undertake this task," he said.

The panel included the Rev Stanley Magoba, Dr Nthato Motlana, Dr Sam Motsuenyane, Dr Mamphele Ramphele, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Sowetan editor Aggrey Klaaste.

It had been agreed that no trustee should be an office bearer of a political organisation, Band said.

Three members of the Sowetan Trust would serve on the board of Sowetan PL, while the Argus would have four board members and the Sowetan's staff would elect one.

The election of a staff director to serve on a newspaper company board is an innovation in large SA companies.

The Sowetan charter stipulates that the newspaper will not be partisan in favour of any political organisation, commercial interest or social group, and will strive to publish factual, balanced reports.

Band said the new ownership structure was, to some extent, politically motivated but was essentially a commercial deal. It could be seen as a signpost to many other companies trying to find a way to adapt to the new SA, he said.

● Listing possible for Sowetan — Page 17

Newspapers get the message — and prosper

S/Times (BySS) 6/12/92

243

By CIARAN RYAN

IN THE mid-80s the prophets of doom predicted a steady but certain decline in the fortunes of the print media. Advertisers were deserting newspapers for the immediacy and reach of electronic media.

Newspapers publishers responded by diversifying into the information business: radio, television, specialised publications and premium-rate subscription phone services. Income streams were also protected by spreading investments. Times Media, Argus and Perskor emerged in the late 1980s leaner and healthier with earnings and share-price growth well above the JSE average.

Investments in M-Net, which has strong subscriber support, protected the revenue of newspaper publishing houses from declining advertising revenue. The groups have shown surprising resilience against declining advertising revenue in the past three years, reporting increases in earnings a share of 59%, 56,6% and 61% respectively.

Pressure is growing for an unbundling of the media empire, starting with the sale of 45% of the Sowetan — SA's largest circulation daily paper — to a trust and 5% to staff. There is speculation that Argus is considering unbundling itself from TML. In a democratic SA, control of the media is likely to become contentious although all political groups stress the need for an independent media.

Times Media, under former managing director Stephen Mulholland was transformed from a unwieldy bureaucracy with underperforming assets and high gearing into a strong cash generator with few assets and low gearing.

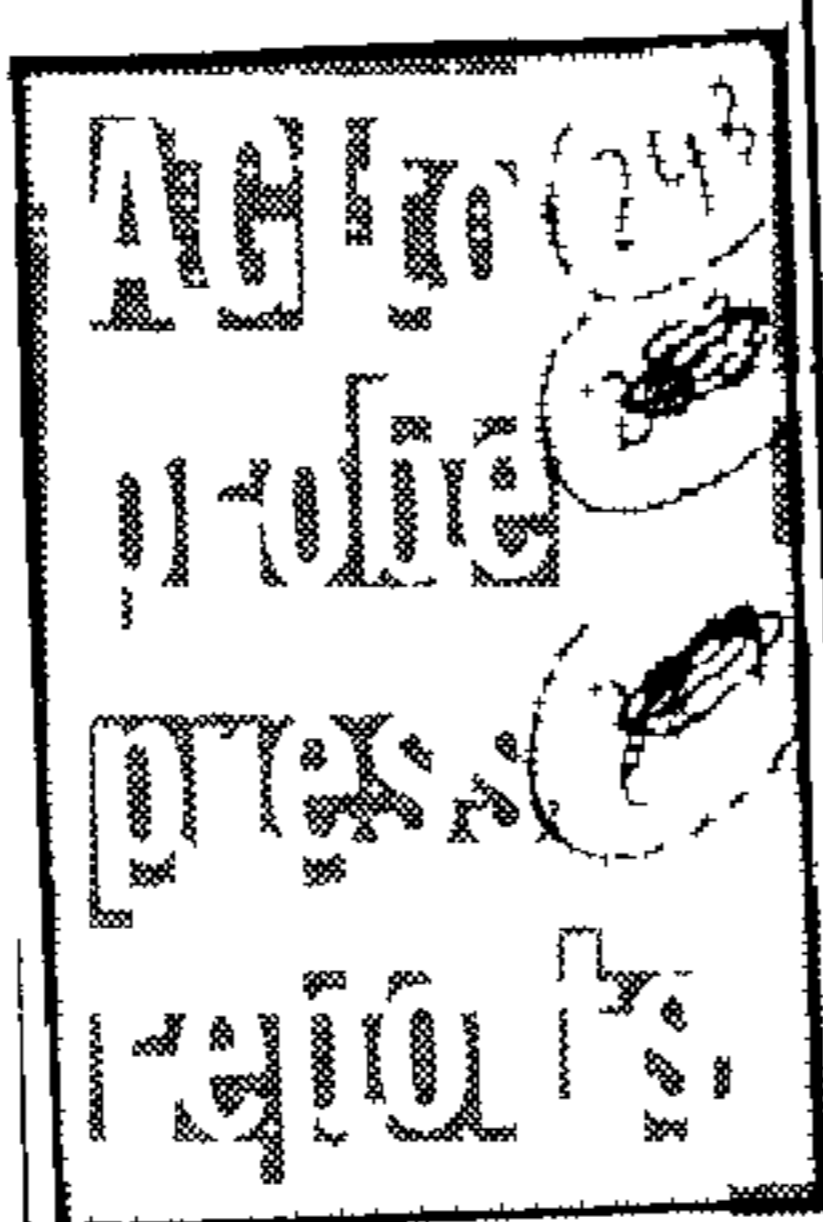
It reported a 15% increase in earnings a share to 98c for the six months to September.

KEY

Argus' interests in CNA Gallo (33%) and TML protected it against shrinking advertising revenue in some of its key publications. Circulation of the Sowetan has rocketed and this message is now being broadcast to advertisers trying to penetrate the black market. The results of 46% associate CTP, publisher of knock-and-drop papers, are commendable.

Perskor's 15,4% stake in M-Net provided a welcome lift in both dividend receipts and share price. It has started to enter the black market with publications such as Thandi and Bona. The Citizen remains a strong performer in the English-language market.

Strong performances among publishing groups in the past financial year belie the tough conditions prevailing this year. Advertising revenues fell sharply after Boipatong and Bisho and a clear signal from the politicians is required to reverse the situation. Results throughout the JSE printing and publishing sector were boosted by false expectations of economic recovery in 1991 — a recovery which looks as if it will be delayed until late 1993. Things could change rapidly, however, if a political settlement is achieved.



Sunday Times Reporter

THE Attorney-General is to investigate a complaint that the Sunday Times and Citizen newspapers were in breach of an order issued by the Goldstone commission.

Mr Rob Wise, appointed by the commission to investigate claims by a Mozambican that he was paid by the SA police to murder ANC members, this week accused the newspapers of a "prima facie and blatant breach" of an order he had issued on November 26.

The order prohibited the press from publishing information about a man who had allegedly instigated the Mozambican, Mr Joao Cuna, to plant a false story in the Vrye Weekblad newspaper.

Mr Wise claimed that articles published by the Sunday Times and the Citizen last weekend breached that order.

Complained

He also noted that the articles had mentioned Mr Mac Maharaj, a prominent member of the ANC, in connection with the inquiry.

"At no stage during the hearings last week was Mr Maharaj's name mentioned in evidence, and prior to reading these articles in the Citizen and the Sunday Times the members of the commission were not aware of any allegations that Mr Maharaj might be involved in the matters being investigated," he said.

In a subsequent statement, Mr Wise confirmed that he had referred the matter to the Attorney-General.

● Attorneys representing the ANC, meanwhile, have complained that an editorial in the Sunday Times last week misrepresented the evidence that had been heard by the Goldstone commission and had made "wholly unfair and unwarranted conclusions based on this inaccurate information".

The editorial said the commission had heard evidence that the ANC or SACP may have carried out a classic disinformation operation by sending a Mozambican (Mr Cuna) to plant a false story in Vrye Weekblad.

Hearsay

This, said the editorial, suggested the ANC was continuing a clandestine "dirty war".

The ANC's attorneys objected on the basis that the evidence before the commission was hearsay, the evidence by Mr Cuna had subsequently been challenged by another witness and the ANC's legal representatives would be placing on record that at no time had Mr Maharaj, or any other member of the ANC, met Mr Cuna.

"Your editorial therefore is extremely misleading when it suggests that it has been established as fact that the ANC or its SACP arm had sent a Mozambican agent to plant a false story in Vrye Weekblad," said the attorneys.

● The Sunday Times at no point stated as a fact that the ANC or SACP had conspired to plant a story. It speculated on the possibility and its implications if true.

Goldstone: A free press is essential

ST Times 6/12/92
Sunday Times Reporter

MR JUSTICE Richard Goldstone, chairman of the commission into violence, said this weekend that the media were the first line of defence against human rights abuses

Accepting the Indicator newspaper's Newsmaker of the Year award in Lenasia near Johannesburg on Friday night, Judge Goldstone said the media had a vital and difficult role to play in the field of human rights

"It is one of the guardians of these rights and it must constantly remain vigilant to ensure that abusers will be publicly exposed. The media, in that respect, are the first line of defence," he said.

The judge said a free press and human rights were the reverse sides of the same coin.

"Show me a country with no free press and you will

be showing me a country where human rights are not respected."

Judge Goldstone said a nation's trust in a newspaper's reliability was essential if that publication was to play a meaningful role in human rights.

"In this area in particular, if a newspaper acquires a reputation for reporting unchecked and inaccurate stories, it will cease to be an effective protector of human rights."

● Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general of the ANC, and Rev Gerrie Lubbe, president of the World Conference on Religion and Peace, were joint recipients of the Indicator's Human Rights Award. Among the nominees for the award was Dr Jonathan Gluckman, the pathologist who recently accused the police of murdering detainees.

STYL 7/12/92

'Free press, rights linked'

Staff Reporter 243

Human rights and a free press were described as the opposite sides of the same coin by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone on Friday night as he accepted The Indicator's Newsmaker of the Year award in Lenasia, south of Johannesburg.

Judge Goldstone said that though the worst human rights abuses occurred in countries with no free press, abuses also occurred in countries with a free press — with the difference that they became public in those countries.

He used the recent example of the brutal beatings by policemen of motorist Rodney King in Los Angeles, which turned out not to be a rare occurrence.

He said that even in the years of greatest oppression in

South Africa, there was always a relatively vigorous press, except for areas specifically limited such as prisons and armaments. He conceded, though, that "there was a general chilling effect because of detentions and police activities"

He emphasised the need for the community to be able to trust newspaper articles to be accurate, in order to be trusted as a vigilant protector of human rights.

At the same function, former Azapo president Dr Saths Cooper said in a memorial lecture on peace that South Africa was a society where force had proved to be effective, especially since June 1976. It was time for citizens to exert force, Cooper said. Only then would democracy prevail.

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Blind eyes to sex mags at borders

CT 9/12/92 (243)

CUSTOMS officials will no longer confiscate "girlie" magazines and other banned publications from people entering South Africa, it was learnt yesterday.

Customs have new 'hands-off' policy

The Department of Customs and Excise, the frontline watchdogs for the Publications Board, said in a letter distributed to their offices yesterday it was no longer responsible for the control or confiscation of banned publications.

"It is no longer the function of this office to confiscate traditional banned publications such as Playboy which may be found while searching baggage," the letter said.

In the letter, notice was also given that the Post Office's involvement in the handling of literature and the application of legislation on publications would also fall away.

It was not clear last night whether this would allow South Africans to subscribe to overseas publications deemed offensive or pornographic.

The Department of Home Affairs will become the Publication Board's watchdogs, said the letter.

Last night a senior Home Affairs official denied any knowledge of his department assuming the watchdog role.

A Customs and Excise official at Jan Smuts airport last night, Mr D Ruiter, refused to say when the switch as "moral watchdogs" would occur.

The change follows the scrapping of certain clauses in the Customs and Excise Bill.

Only if people chose to hand in such literature to customs officials would action be taken. In such cases the official would register it at the State Warehouse where it would be destroyed without any formal notice of procedure. — Sapa, Staff Reporter

● Nacssa now manufactures coffins

Nacssa World is free

■ Newspaper will educate club members:

By Joshua Raboroko

Sowetan 11/12/92
THE Centre for Black Economic Development has launched a monthly newspaper called *Nacssa World* aimed at reaching more than 120 000 members throughout South Africa.

General manager Mr Peter Nemakhavhani said the paper would be distributed free to members every month. He said that the revenue to run the newspaper would come mainly from ad-

vertising

"We are hoping it will pay for itself as we would like to maintain editorial freedom," he said.

Nemakhavhani said that the newspaper would educate societies and clubs about opportunities available to them.

"Time is ripe that blacks should own newspapers and this is an attempt in that direction," he said, adding, "we need to articulate our views in our own media."

"CALLING ALL BURIAL SOCIETIES/CLUBS"

Allen's

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Police to probe torture claims

SAP 12/12/92
POLICE will thoroughly investigate allegations made in the Weekly Mail newspaper yesterday that Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad detectives routinely tortured detainees to extract information, police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said.

The newspaper reported that detainees were tortured in a "waarheidskamer" (truth room) in the squad's headquarters in Brixton, Johannesburg,

in spite of police pledges that illegal investigation methods would not be tolerated

It quoted police sources and lawyers as saying confessions were extracted from detainees by giving them electric shocks, hanging them from their wrists and beating them

Opperman said in a statement yesterday the SAP had never condoned or tolerated misconduct by its members, especially unlawful killings

and torture

In the near future an independent police board would investigate serious complaints and allegations, he added

The Weekly Mail report said torture had always been standard practice at Brixton and reached a peak during the 1980s, when the Murder and Robbery Squad was headed by former Civil Co-operation Bureau section leader Staal Burger — Sapa

Paper folds after funding dries up

By S'BU MNGADI

243

CP Press
13/12/92

THE relaunched Durban-based newspaper *New African* is folding after only two editions.

In its three years of existence the newspaper used more than R4-million from the European economic community and other European donor agencies.

Five months ago, co-editors Siphon Khumalo and Ricky Naidoo announced the paper would be revamped and relaunched as a monthly.

Following several meetings the paper was launched by a collective of inexperienced but ambitious journalists in 1989.

However, contrary to the publicly-flaunted policy of independence, the paper soon earned itself the reputation of an "ANC rag". Critics argued that the paper was never neutral and its circulation failed to grow beyond 5 000 copies.

New African also took an aggressive anti-Inkatha and KwaZulu stance. However, this did little to endear it to the ANC.

Overseas funding dried up before the collective could transform the paper into a financially viable project.

As the paper folded this week, co-editors Khumalo and Naidoo said the paper "can proudly say that it has, in some small way, made a contribution to opening the eyes of the world to the unfolding political drama that is taking place in our country".

THERE IS criticism that the Argus Company, which owns *Sowetan*, has not gone far enough in unbundling by retaining 50 percent of the shares and is clinging to control.

The *Sowetan* is a business in the newspaper industry. It has a staff, suppliers, readers, advertisers and so on.

Last year the ANC tried to buy the *Sowetan*. The Chairman of the Argus, Douglas Band, denied this and further had to assure *Sowetan* staff that the newspaper would not be sold.

Many of our staff would have left. Not because they do not like the ANC but being a journalist for a newspaper owned by a political organisation is a different type of journalism. We see it in the Afrikaans media.

Likewise, if the Argus were suddenly to announce a radical change in the ownership of the newspaper today, the effect on the staff would be disastrous.

There would be too much insecurity, as is natural whenever new owners are on the cards. Add to this that there is a shortage of senior black journalists, then we would not have the same *Sowetan* a day later.

‘I want the *Sowetan* to be black from top to bottom’

Secondly, if the Argus suddenly sold the *Sowetan*, our present advertisers, who provide more than 60 percent of the revenue, could be scared off. When advertisers buy advertising in *Sowetan*, they know they are dealing with a newspaper that has a track record of reliability and is part of the Argus culture.

If the Argus suddenly divested itself of all interest in the *Sowetan*, the advertisers would first want to assess the newspaper for a number of months before placing their adverts. Where would we then get the money to meet the running costs of *Sowetan*? Run cap in hand to the Argus?

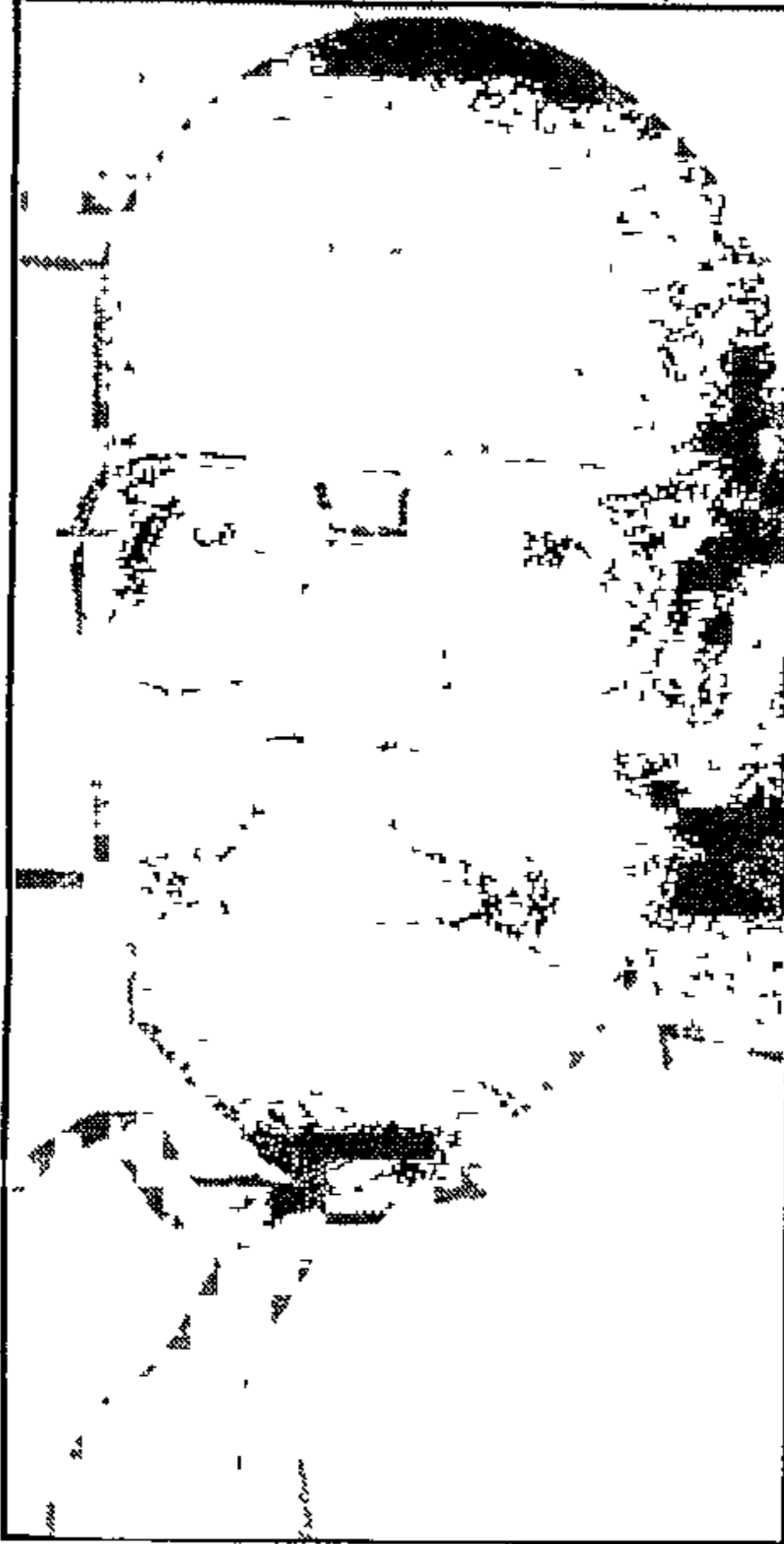
Thirdly, the newspaper enjoys credit facilities from suppliers like Mondi, Sappi and others. These suppliers give credit to *Sowetan* because, among other factors, they know the Argus would step in if there was any default in payments.

In fact, some of the deals were concluded with Argus head office. Would we expect these suppliers to continue to extend credit to a new company even though they were not sure of its credit-worthiness?

Our readers are an unknown quantity. Most would continue buying the *Sowetan*, while some

Sowetan day editor Thami Mazwai addressed the annual national conference of Nacsa at Funda Centre in Soweto, on the advantages of giving workers a stake in their company:

Sowetan 14/12/92



Thami Mazwai. . . recruiting executives

would start saying it was not the same newspaper as Argus skills would be withdrawn.

Whatever happened, we would lose some of our readers and they would start buying other publications. Lastly, because of the above, the value of the shares of the new company would drop when the company was listed.

It would then have problems raising investment capital and might end up being taken over by Nasionale Pers or Times Media Limited. What would the unbundling then have achieved?

The unbundling is undoubtedly politically motivated but it must make good business sense to benefit the recipients.

I welcome the fact that the Argus retains an interest in the paper, and next year this interest could be 40 percent in terms of assurances given by the company.

‘Part of these profits must now start making its way into black pockets’

243 ~~*195*~~

The Argus name is goodwill we cannot afford to dispense with simply to please political activists, some of whom have a knowledge of business that is dangerous to the future of this country.

In addition, if the *Sowetan* went solo tomorrow, it would not be only the above factors that would militate against its continued existence. We simply do not have all the skills to run the company.

I want the *Sowetan* to be black from top to bottom. However, after 25 years in the industry I know that while we have produced good black editors, we have not yet even started producing enough black commercial and management staff.

Deeply-ingrained apartheid in the industry, and the reluctance of blacks to get into management lines because they were less glamorous than journalism, saw to that.

The *Sowetan* is now aggressively recruiting qualified blacks for the commercial side of the business. Two senior black executives have joined management and a third could soon be appointed.

It is going to be a hard slog

It is going to be a hard slog but we are going to succeed.

The most important thing is that *Sowetan* must have black shareholders as soon as possible. Fortunately, as you do not need to train people to love profits, those shareholders are ready and waiting for next year.

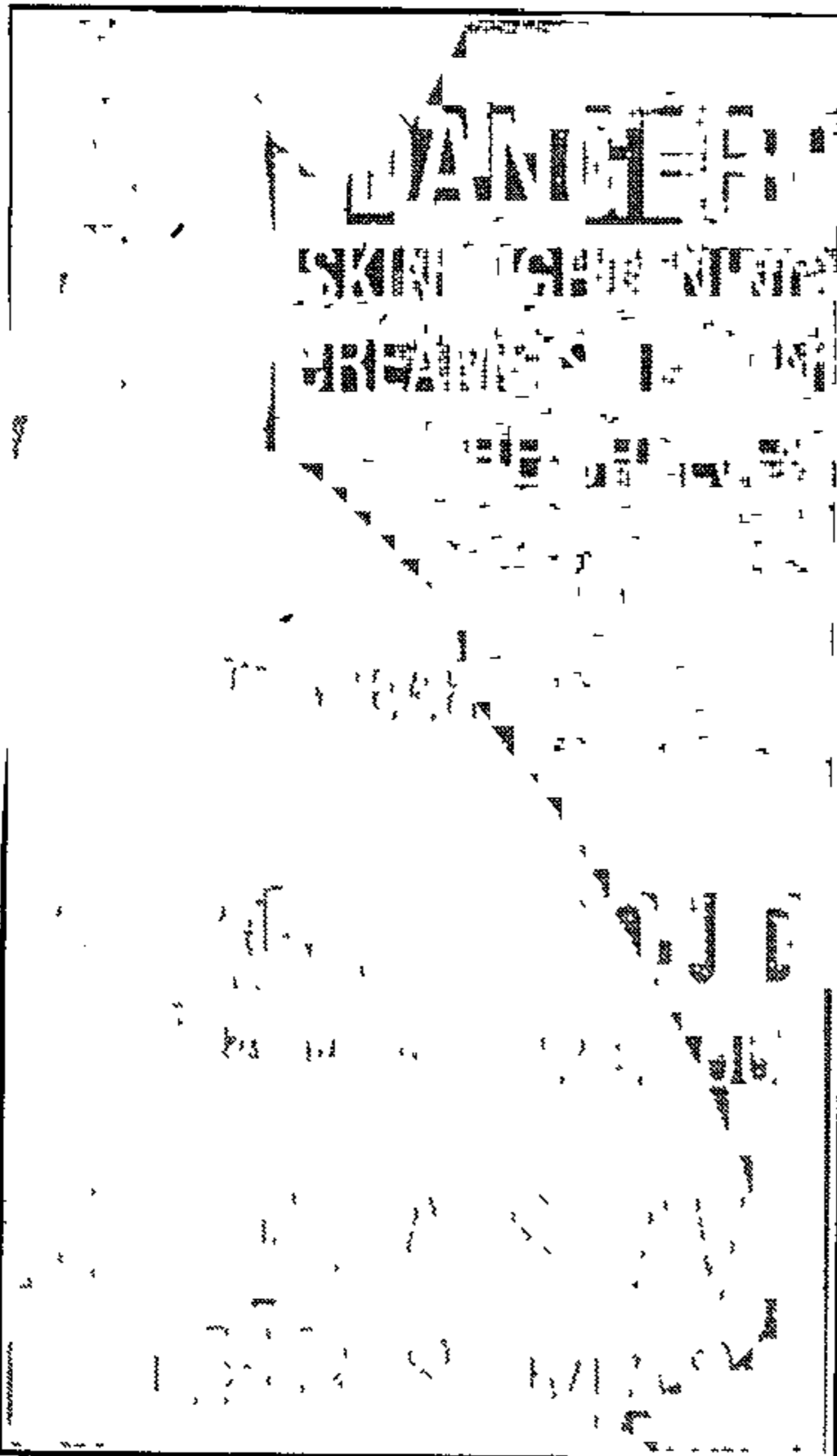
These lovers of profits will be on to a good thing for this year alone the newspaper's profits will exceed R10 million. Part of these profits must now start making its way into black pockets. The whole unbundling process is about black shareholders and black empowerment.

I therefore want Nacsa and other major black investing organisations to keep their ears to the ground and know when to start going for *Sowetan* shares.

PEOPLE'S LIVES *Read about harsh realities*

We identify with tough female issues

Sowetan 18/12/92



Detail of a cover of *Speak*. The magazine tackles tough issues.

■ Today we flight a summary of interesting stories from the December issue of *Speak* magazine which we hope you will not only enjoy but also find informative: (243) (255A)

By Sizakele Kooma (291)

SOWETAN Woman identifies with *Speak*'s commitment to enlighten women, on all levels, of their rights, both as workers and human beings, and the role it places on educating the general public

Once a month we will give you a glimpse of stories you will find in the magazine, whose slogan is "Putting women first"

How many of us know that for every person who dies in political violence, seven die through personal violence?

Read a feature on the Jazzart Theatre in Cape Town, and find out more about the dance house's recent drama on domestic violence, based on a research by two doctors on violence against black women

See what you can glean for yourself from the story of award-winning filmmaker Mira Nair, the woman behind *Salaam Bombay* and *Mississippi Masala*. Nair uses the camera to show people's lives and to question why people live the way they do

Find out what it is like being homosexual. Hear what 23-year-old Cecil Nyathi has to tell you about the pain and torture of accepting his "queer" status

Speak also has some tips on how you can get your partner to agree to use a condom. Here are some of them

When he says: You carry a condom with you? Like a prostitute!

You say: I carry one because I care about myself. I have one with me now, because I care about us both

When he says: I love you! I wouldn't give you an infection

You say: Many people don't know they are infected

SAUJ disputes hiring of Kriel

W/Mail 18/12 - 22/12/92
Weekly Mail Reporter

THE daughter of Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel is at the centre of a simmering dispute between the South African Union of Journalists (SAUJ) and SABC management. (243)

Caro Kriel (22) is in the midst of her second stint as a student editorial assistant with the television news department. It is understood she is keen to be hired full-time and become a reporter.

At issue is whether the daughter of the cabinet minister should be allowed to file stories as a reporter. The SAUJ is known to have deep misgivings about her possible appointment, fearing that a conflict of interest would arise if Kriel were involved in reporting on violence or the South African Police.

The SAUJ is seeking clarification from SABC management on the issue. An SAUJ spokesman declined to discuss the issue at length, except to say that he expected to make a decision on filing a grievance "within the next week". Caro Kriel was unavailable for comment.

Acting editor-in-chief of television news Rob Stevenson said, "All journalists working for SABC are to be professional, fair and balanced. This is regardless of any personal beliefs they may have or any relationships with prominent personalities."

Tussle looms over Finance Week shares

CAPE TOWN — A tussle is looming between Finance Week co-founder and minority shareholder Stuart Murray and the magazine's editor and co-founder Allan Greenblo over the purchase of the Finance Week Holdings (FWH) shares owned by the provisionally liquidated Tollgate Holdings group

Murray, who publishes Company Motoring among other magazines, confirmed yesterday that he was interested in bidding for the 7 610 TGH-held shares which represent 26,7% of the total issued share capital of FWH.

Murray, currently holding a substantial stake in FWH, would become controlling shareholder if he were to buy the TGH-owned shares. He would not disclose the size of his stake, but is believed to control about 30% of the shares. Greenblo, who was not available for comment, is believed to have a 14,5% interest and to exercise control through supporting shareholders such as Tollgate's CE Julian

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Provisional liquidator Chris van Zyl confirmed that Greenblo had made a bid, but denied that it was as low as the R10,52 a share being suggested in some circles. He estimated net asset value was about R40 a share, which would value the company at R1,14m

Van Zyl said he had not yet received an offer from Murray. No sale could take place until final liquidation of the TGH group and then only with the consent of creditors.

Van Zyl said Greenblo claimed to have a pre-emptive right to buy the shares but he had not yet had the opportunity to investigate the legal validity of his claim.

But Murray said the validity of the right was questionable as Greenblo had not taken up the shares when they were offered by Rand Merchant Bank. The shares changed hands be-

fore ending up in the TGH portfolio and if the pre-emptive right clause followed the shares, then Greenblo would have the right to them.

Murray said he had indicated to the TGH liquidators that he was interested in buying the shares. He said the major TGH creditor, Absa Bank, had been asked to assess the value of the FWH shares. Murray's motivation was more to prevent control of the company passing to an outside shareholder, or being sold at a large discount to net asset value, than a wish to gain control for its own sake.

"I did not anticipate the sudden availability of a large number of shares coming onto the market through the provisional liquidation of the TGH group," Murray said.

Murray acquired shares held overseas by Lynn Hill (wife of fugitive chemicals manufacturer Oliver Hill) and Richard Rolfe, a British freelance journalist who helped establish Finance Week.

Killing of 43 journalists this year condemned ⁽²⁴³⁾

BRUSSELS — The International Federation of Journalists yesterday condemned the killings of at least 43 journalists during 1992

The IFJ's yearly report singled out Turkey and Bosnia-Herzegovina as the most dangerous nations for reporters

Aside from the 43 confirmed slayings, the Brussels-based federation said it was investigating 23 other media workers who were feared killed because of their work.

In Bosnia, at least seven journalists were killed this year, bringing to 30 the number of reporters slain in the former Yugoslavia since fighting erupted in June 1991.

"Journalists are alerting the conscience of the world to the horrifying truths of the conflict in Yugoslavia and are paying with their lives," said IFJ gen-

eral-secretary Aidan White.

The IFJ said it had confirmed that 10 journalists were murdered in Turkey this year. They had perished in the south-east of the country where Kurdish separatists are fighting for independence.

Other black spots for journalists included the South American nations of Columbia, Peru and Venezuela where a total of 10 media workers were killed.

Four journalists were reported slain in the strife-torn former Soviet republic of Tajikistan.

"The IFJ believes that the persistence of recorded attacks on journalists and media organisations in recent years has become intolerable and requires urgent actions from the international community," White said in a statement. — Sapa-AP

28/12/92
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8/10/1997
3/1/12/92

60 journalists killed

SIXTY journalists died in conflict areas around the world this year, according to a report compiled by the International Federation of Journalists in London. Ten journalists were killed in Turkey and Bosnia — named as the most dangerous areas.

REPORTS Sapa-AFP Reuter-AP
Own Correspondent

(243)

(1997)

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